THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED

together by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer, Plutarke of Chæronea:

Translated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMYOT, Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priuy counsel, and great Amner of Fraunce, and out of French into Englishe, by

Thomas North.

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1579.

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESSE ELIZABETH,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND,

Fraunce, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith: &c.

NDER hope of your highnes gratious and accuſtomed fauor, I haue preſumed to preſent here vnto your Maieſtie, Plutarkes lyues tranſlated, as a booke fit to be protected by your highnes, and meete to be ſet forth in Engliſhe. For vvho is fitter to giue countenance to ſo many great ſtates, than ſuch an highe and mightie Princeſſe? vvho is fitter to reuiue the dead memorie of their fame, than she that beareth the liuely image of their vertues? vvho is fitter to authorize a vvorke of ſo great learning and vviſedome, than she vvhome all do honor as the Muſe of the vvorld? Therefore I humbly beſeech your Maieſtie, to ſuffer the ſimplenes of my tranſlation, to be couered vnder the amplenes of your highnes protection. For, moſt gracious Souereigne, though this booke be no booke for your Maieſties ſelfe, vvho are meeter to be the chiefe ſtorie, than a ſtudent therein, and can better vnderſtand it in Greeke, than any man can make it Engliſhe: yet I hope the common ſorte of your ſubiects, ſhall not onely profit them ſelues hereby, but alſo be animated to the better ſeruice of your Maieſtie. For amonge all the profane bookes, that are in reputacion at this day, there is none (your highnes beſt knovves) that teacheth ſo much honor, loue, obedience, reuerence, zeale, and deuocion to Princes, as theſe liues of Plutarke doe. Hovve many examples ſhall your ſubiects reade here, of ſeuerall perſons, and vvhole armyes, of noble and baſe, of younge and olde, that both by ſea & lande, at home and abroad, haue ſtrayned their vvits, not regarded their ſtates, ventured their perſons, caſt avvay their liues, not onely for the honor and ſafetie, but alſo for the pleaſure of their Princes?

Then vvell may the Readers thinke, if they haue done this for heathen Kings,

vvhat should vve doe for Chriſtian Princes? If they haue done this for glorye, vvhat shoulde vve doe for religion? If they haue done this vvithout hope of heauen, vvhat should vve doe that looke for immortalitie? And ſo adding the encouragement of theſe exſamples, to the forvvardnes of their ovvne diſpoſitions: vvhat ſeruice is there in vvarre, vvhat honor in peace, vvhich they vvill not be ready to doe, for their vvorthy Queene?

And therefore that your highnes may giue grace to the booke, and the booke may doe his ſeruice to your Maieſtie: I haue tranſlated it out of French, and doe here moſt humbly preſent the ſame vnto your highnes, beſeeching your Maieſtie vvith all humilitie, not to reiect the good meaning, but to pardon the errours of your moſt humble and obedient ſubiect and ſeruaunt, vvho prayeth God long to multiplye all graces and bleſſings vpon your Maieſtie. VVritten the ſixteene day of Ianuary. 1579.

Your Maieſties moſt humble and obedient ſeruaunt,

Thomas North.

TO

To the Reader.

THE profit of ſtories, and the prayſe of the Author, are ſufficiently declared by Amiot, in his Epiſtle to the Reader: So that I ſhall not neede to make many wordes thereof. And in deede if you will ſupply the defects of this tranſlation, with your owne diligence and good vnderſtanding: you ſhall not neede to truſt him, you may proue your ſelues, that there is no prophane ſtudye better then Plutarke. All other learning is priuate, fitter for Vniuerſities then cities, fuller of contemplacion than experience, more commẽdable in the ſtudents them ſelues, than profitable vnto others. Whereas ſtories are fit for euery place, reache to all perſons, ſerue for all tymes, teache the liuing, reuiue the dead, ſo farre excelling all other bookes, as it is better to ſee learning in noble mens liues, than to reade it in Philoſophers writings. Nowe for the Author, I will not denye but loue may deceiue me, for I muſt needes loue him with whome I haue taken ſo much payne: but I beleue I might be bold to affirme, that he hath written the profitableſt ſtory of all Authors. For all other were fayne to take their matter, as the fortune of the contries whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath choſen the ſpeciall actes of the beſt perſons, of the famoſeſt nations of the world. But I will leaue the iudgement to your ſelues. My onely purpoſe is to deſire you to excuſe the faults of my tranſlation, with your owne gentlenes, and with the opinion of my diligence and good entent. And ſo I wiſhe you all the profit of the booke. Fare ye well. The foure and twenty day of Ianuary. 1579.

Thomas North.

Amiot to the Readers.

THe reading of bookes vvhich bring but a vaine and vnprofitable pleaſure to the Reader, is iuſtly miſliked of vviſe and graue men. Againe, the reading of ſuch as doe but onely bring profit, and make the Reader to be in loue therevvith, and doe not eaſe the payne of the reading by ſome pleaſauntnes in the ſame: doe ſeeme ſomevvhat harshe to diuers delicate vvits, that can not tary long vpon them. But ſuch bookes as yeeld pleaſure and profit, and doe both delight and teache, haue all that a man can deſire vvhy they ſhould be vniuerſally liked and allovved of all ſortes of men, according to the common ſaying of the Poet Horace:

That he which matcheth profit with delight,
Doth winne the price in euery poynt aright.

Eyther of theſe yeeld his effect the better, by reaſon the one runneth vvith the other, profiting the more bicauſe of the delight, and deliting the more bicauſe of the profit. This commendacion (in my opinion) is moſt proper to the reading of ſtories, to haue pleaſure and profit matched together, vvhich kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this vviſe arme in arme, hath more allovvance then any other kind of vvriting or inuention of man. In reſpect vvhereof it may be reaſonably auovved, that men are more beholding to ſuch good vvits, as by their graue and vviſe vvriting haue deſerued the name of Hiſtoriographers, then they are to any other kind of vvriters: bicauſe an hiſtorie is an orderly regiſter of notable things ſaid, done, or happened in time paſt, to mainteyne the continuall remembrance of them, and to ſerue for the inſtruction of them to come.

And like as memorie is as a ſtorehouſe of mens conceits and deuiſes, vvithout the vvhich the actions of the other tvvo parts ſhould be vnperfect, and vvelneare vnprofitable: So may it alſo be ſayd, that an hiſtorie is the very treaſury of mans life, vvhereby the notable doings and ſayings of men, and the vvonderfull aduentures & ſtraunge caſes (vvhich the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preſerued from the death of forgetfulnes. Hereuppon it riſeth, that Plato the vviſe ſayth, that the name of hiſtorie vvas giuen to this recording of matters, to ſtay the fleting of our memorie, vvhich other vviſe vvould be ſoone loſt, and retaine litle. And vve may vvell perceiue hovv greatly vve be beholding vnto it, if vve doe no more but conſider in hovv horrible darkenes, and in hovv beaſtly and peſtilent a quamyre of ignorance vve ſhould be plunged: if the remembrance of all the thinges that haue bene done, and haue happened before vve vvere borne, vvere vtterly drovvned and forgotten. Novv therefore I vvill ouerpaſſe the excellencie and vvorthines of the thing it ſelfe, foraſmuch as it is not onely of more antiquitie then any other kind of vvriting that euer vvas in the vvorlde, but alſo vvas vſed among men, before there vvas any vſe of letters at all: bicauſe that men in thoſe dayes deliuered in their lifetimes the remembrance of things paſt to their ſucceſſors, in ſonges, vvhich they cauſed their children to learne by hart, from hand to hand, as is to be ſeene yet in our dayes, by the example of the barbarous people that inhabite the nevvfound landes in the VVeſt, vvho vvithout any records of vvritings, haue had the knovvledge of thinges paſt, vvelneare eight hundred yeares afore. Like vviſe I leaue to diſcourſe, that it is the ſureſt, ſafeſt, and durableſt monument that men can leaue of their doings in this vvorld, to conſecrate their names to immortalitie. For there is neither picture, nor image of marble, nor arche of triumph, nor piller, nor ſumptuous ſepulchre, that can match the durablenes of an eloquēt hiſtory, furniſhed vvith the properties vvhich it ought to haue. Again, I mind not to ſtand much vpon this, that it hath a certaine troth in it, in that it alvvayes profeſſeth to ſpeake truth, & for that the proper groūd therof is to treate of the greateſt & higheſt things that are done in the vvorld: inſomuch that (to my ſeeming) the great profit thereof is as Horace ſayth, that it is commonly called the mother of trothe & vprightnes, vvhich commendeth it ſo greatly, as it nedeth not elſvvhere to ſeeke any authoritye, or ornament of dignitie, but of her very ſelfe. For it is a certaine rule and inſtruction, vvhich by examples paſt, teacheth vs to iudge of things preſent, & to foreſee things to come: ſo as vve may knovvve vvhat to like of, & vvhat to follovv, vvhat to miſlike, and vvhat to eſchevv. It is a picture, vvhich (as it vvere in a table) ſetteth before our eyes the things vvorthy of remembrance that

haue

haue bene done in olde time by mighty nations, noble kings & Princes, vvise gouernors, valliant Capteines, & persons renovvmed for some notable quality, representing vnto vs the maners of straũge nations, the lavves & customes of old time, the particular affaires of men, their consultations & enterprises, the meanes that they haue vsed to compasse thē vvithall, & their demeaning of them selues vvhen they vvere comen to the highest, or throvven dovvne to the lovvest degree of state. So as it is not possible for any case to rise either in peace or vvarre, in publike or priuate affaires, but that the person vvhich shall haue diligently red, vvell conceiued, & throughly remembred histories, shall find matter in them vvhereat to take light, & counsell vvherby to resolue himselfe to take a part, or to geue aduice vnto others, hovv to choose in doutfull & daungerous cases that, vvhich may be for their most proffit, and in time to find out to vvhat poynt the matter vvill come if it be vvell handled: and hovv to moderate himselfe in prosperitie, and hovv to cheere vp and beare him selfe in aduersitie. These things it doth vvith much greater grace, efficacy, and speede, than the bookes of morall Philosophie doe: forasmuch as examples are of more force to moue and instruct, than are the arguments and proofes of reason, or their precise precepts, bicause examples be the very formes of our deedes, & accompanied vvith all circumstances. VVhereas reasons and demonstrations are generall, and tend to the proofe of things, and to the beating of them into vnderstanding: and examples tende to the shovving of them in practise and execution, bicause they doe not only declare vvhat is to be done, but also vvorke a desire to do it, as vvell in respect of a certaine naturall inclination vvhich all men haue to follovv examples, as also for the beavvtie of vertue, vvhich is of such povver, that vvhersoeuer she is seene, she maketh her selfe to be loued and liked. Againe, it doth things vvith greater vveight and grauitie, than the inuentions & deuices of the Poets: bicause it helpeth not it selfe vvith any other thing than vvith the plaine truth, vvheras Poetry doth commonly inrich things by commending them aboue the starres and their deseruing, bicause the chiefe intent thereof is to delight. Moreouer, it doth thinges vvith more grace and modestie than the ciuill lavves and ordinances doe: bicause it is more grace for a man to teach and instruct, than to chastise or punish. And yet for all this, an historie also hath his maner of punishing the vvicked, by the reproch of euerlasting infamie, vvherevvith it defaceth their remembrance, vvhich is a great meane to vvithdravv them from vice, vvho othervvise vvould be levvdly and vvickedly disposed. Likevvise on the contrarie parte, the immortall praise and glorie vvherevvith it revvardeth vvelldoers, is a very liuely & sharpe spurre for men of noble corage and gentlemanlike nature, to cause them to aduenture vpon all maner of noble and great things. For bookes are full of examples of men of high corage and vvisedom, vvho for desire to continue the remembraunce of their name, by the sure and certaine recorde of histories, haue vvillingly yeelded their liues to the seruice of the common vveale, spent their goods, susteined infinite peines both of bodie and minde in defence of the oppressed, in making common buildings, in stablishing of lavves and gouernments, and in the finding out of artes and sciences necessarie for the maintenance and ornament of mans life: for the faithfull registring vvhereof, the thanke is due to histories. And although true vertue seeke no revvard of her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth her selfe vvith the conscience of her vvell doing: yet notvvithstanding I am of opinion, that it is good and meete to dravv men by all meanes to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honor of their vertuous deedes, seeing that honor doth naturally accompanie vertue, as the shadovv doth the bodie. For vve commonly see, not to feele the sparkes of desire of honor, is an infallible signe of a base, vile and cloynish nature: and that such as account it an vnnecessarie, needelesse, or vnseemely thing to be praised, are likevvise no doers of any things vvorthy of praise, but are commonly men of faint corage, vvhose thoughtes extend no further than to their liues, vvhereof also they haue no further remembraunce, than is before their eyes. But if the counsell of olde men be to be greatlie esteemed, bicause they must needes haue seene much by reason of their long life: and if they that haue trauelled long in straunge countries, and haue had the managing of many affaires, and haue gotten great experience of the doings of this vvorld, are reputed for sage, and vvorthie to haue the reynes of great gouernmentes put into their handes: hovv greatly is the reading of histories to be esteemed, vvhich is able to furnishe vs vvith mo examples in one day, than the vvhole course of the longest life of any man is able to doe? Insomuch that they vvhich exercise them selues in reading as they ought to doe, although they be but young, become such in respect of vnderstanding of the affaires of this vvorld, as if they vvere old and

grayheaded, and of long experience. Yea though they neuer haue remoued out of their houſes, yet are they aduertiſed, informed, and ſatisfied of all things in the vvorld, as vvell as they that haue shortned their liues by innumerable trauells and infinite daungers, in ronning ouer the vvhole earth that is inhabited: vvhereas on the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the things that vvere done & come to paſſe before they vvere borne, continue ſtil as children, though they be neuer ſo aged, and are but as ſtraungers in their ovvne natiue contries. To be short, it may be truely ſayd, that the reading of hiſtories is the ſchole of vviſedom, to facion mens vnderſtanding, by conſidering aduiſedly the ſtate of the vvorld that is paſt, and by marking diligently by vvhat lavves, maners, and diſcipline, Empires, kingdoms and dominions, haue in old time bene ſtablished, and aftervvard mainteyned and increaſed: or contrarivviſe chaunged, diminished, and ouerthrovven. Alſo vve reade, that vvhenſoeuer the right ſage and vertuous Emperour of Rome, Alexander Seuerus, vvas to conſult of any matter of great importance, vvhether it concerned vvarres or gouernment: he alvvayes called ſuch to counſell, as vvere reported to be vvell ſeene in hiſtories. Notvvithſtanding, I knovv there are that vvill ſtand againſt me in this poynt, and vphold that the reading of hiſtories can ſerue to ſmall purpoſe, or none at all, tovvards the getting of skill: bicauſe skill conſiſteth in action, & is ingendred by the very experience & practiſe of things, vvhē a man doth vvel marke & throughly beare avvay the things that he hath ſeene vvith his eyes, & found true by proofe, according to the ſaying of the aūcient Poet Afranius.

My name is skill, my Syre Experience hyght,
And memorie bred and brought me forth to lyght.

VVhich thing vvas ment likevviſe by the Philoſopher that ſayd, that the hand is the inſtrument of skill. By reaſon vvhereof it comes to paſſe (ſay they) that ſuch as ſpeake of matters of gouernment and ſtate, but ſpecially of matters of vvarre by the booke, ſpeake but as booke knights, as the Frenche prouerbe termeth them, after the manner of the Græcians, vvho call him a booke Pilot, vvhich hath not the ſure and certaine knovvledge of the things that he ſpeakes of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to truſt to the vnderſtanding vvhich he hath gotten by reading, in things that conſiſt in the deede doing, vvhere the hand is to be ſet to the vvorke: no more then the often hearing of men talke and reaſon of paynting, or the diſputing vppon colors, vvithout taking of the penſill in hand, can ſtand a man in any ſtead at all to make him a good paynter. But on the contrary part, many haue proued vviſe men and good Captaines, vvhich could neither vvrite nor reade. Beſides this, they alleage further, that in matters of vvarre, all things alter from yeare to yeare: by meanes vvhereof the ſlights and policies that are to be learned out of bookes, vvill ſerue the turne no more than mynes that are blovven vp. According vvhereunto Cambyſes telleth his ſonne Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in Muſicke the nevveſt ſongs are commonly beſt liked of for once, bicauſe they vvere neuer heard afore: So in the vvarres, thoſe policies that neuer vvere practiſed afore, are thoſe that take beſt ſucceſſe, & commonly haue the beſt effect, bicauſe the enemies doe leaſt doubt of them. Neuertheleſſe I am not he that vvill mainteyne that a vviſe gouernor of a common vveale, or a great Captaine can be made of ſuch a perſon, as hath neuer trauelled out of his ſtudy, and from his bookes: hovvbeit that vvhich Cicero vvriteth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that vvhen he departed out of Rome as Captaine generall and Lieuetenant of the Romanes, to make vvarre againſt kinge Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the vvarres, and yet aftervvard he beſtovved ſo great diligence in the reading of hiſtories, and in conferring vppon euery poynt vvith the olde Captaines and men of longe experience, vvhome he caried vvith him, that by the tyme of his comming into Aſia, vvhere he vvas in deede to put his matters in execution, he vvas found to be a very ſufficient Captaine, as appeared by his deedes: inſomuch that by thoſe vvayes, cleane contrary to the common order of vvarre, he diſcomfited tvvo of the moſt puyſſant, and greateſt Princes that vvere at that time in the Eaſt. For his vnderſtanding vvas ſo quicke, his care ſo vigilant, and his courage ſo greate, that he needed no longe trayning, nor groſſe inſtruction by experience. And although I graunt there haue beene diuerſe Gouernors and Captaynes, vvhich by the onely force of nature (furthered by longe continevved experience) haue done goodly and greate exploytes: yet can it not be denyed me, but that if they had matched the giftes of nature vvith the knovvledge of learning, and the reading of hiſtories, they might haue done much greater thinges, and they might haue becomen much more perfect. For like as in euery other cunning & skill vvherein a man intendeth to excell: ſo alſo to become a perfect & ſufficient perſon to gouerne

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in peace and vvarre, there are three thinges of neceſsitie required, namely, nature, art, and practiſe. Nature (in the caſe that vve treate of) muſt furnishe vs vvith a good moother vvit, vvith a bodie vvell diſpoſed to indure all maner of trauell, and vvith a good vvill to aduaunce our ſelues: Art muſt geue vs iudgement and knovvledge, gotten by the examples and vviſe diſcourſes that vve haue read and double read in good hiſtories: and practiſe vvill get vs readineſſe, aſſuredneſſe, and the eaſe hovv to put thinges in execution. For though skill be the ruler of doing the deede, yet it is a vertue of the minde vvhich teacheth a man the meane poynt, betvvene the tvvo faultie extremities of too much and too litle, vvherein the commendation of all doinges conſiſteth. And vvhoſoeuer he is that goeth about to attaine to it by the onely triall of experience, and had leuer to learne it at his ovvne coſt, than at an other mans: he may vvell be of the number of thoſe that are touched by this auncient prouerbe, vvhich ſayth, Experience is the ſchoolemiſtreſſe of fooles: bicauſe mans life is ſo short, and experience is hard and daungerous, ſpecially in matters of vvarre, vvherein (according to the ſaying of Tamachus the Athenian Captaine) a man can not fault tvvice, bicauſe the faultes are ſo great, that moſt commonly they bring vvith them the ouerthrovv of the ſtate, or the loſſe of the liues of thoſe that do them. Therefore vve muſt not tary for this vvit that is vvon by experience, vvhich coſteth ſo deere, and is ſo long a comming, that a man is oftitimes dead in the ſeeking of it before he haue attained it, ſo as he had neede of a ſeconde life to imploy it in, bicauſe of the ouerlate comming by it. But vve muſt make ſpeede by our diligent and continuall reading of hiſtories both old and nevv, that vve may enioy this happineſſe vvhich the Poet ſpeaketh of:

Three things neceſſary for a Magiſtrate, or Captaine.

Prouerbe.

A happie wight is he that by miſhappes
Of others, doth beware of afterclappes.

By the vvay, as concerning thoſe that ſay that paper vvill beare all things: if there be any that vnvvorthily take vpon them the name of hiſtoriographers, and deface the dignity of the ſtory for hatred or fauor, by mingling any vntrueth vvith it: that is not the fault of the hiſtorie, but of the men that are partiall, vvho abuſe that name vnvvorthily, to couer and cloke their ovvne paſsions vvithall, vvhich thing ſhall neuer come to paſſe, if the vvriter of the ſtorie haue the properties that are neceſſarily required in a ſtorie vvriter, as theſe: That he ſet aſide all affection, be voyde of enuy, hatred, and flattery: that he be a man experienced in the affaires of the vvorld, of good vtterance, and good iudgement to diſcerne vvhat is to be ſayd, and vvhat to be left vnſayd, & vvhat vvould do more harme to haue it declared, than do good to haue it reproued or condemned: foraſmuch as his chiefe drift ought to be to ſerue the common vveale, and that he is but as a regiſter to ſet dovvne the iudgements and definitiue ſentences of Gods Court, vvhereof ſome are geuen according to the ordinarie courſe and capacitie of our vveake naturall reaſon, and other ſome goe according to Gods infinite povver and incomprehenſible vviſedom, aboue and againſt all diſcourſe of mans vnderſtanding, vvho being vnable to reach to the bottome of his iudgements, and to finde out the firſt motions and groundes thereof, do impute the cauſe of them to a certaine fortune, vvhich is nought elſe but a fained deuice of mans vvit, dazeled at the beholding of ſuch brightneſſe, and confounded at the gaging of ſo bottomleſſe a deepe, howbeit nothing commeth to paſſe nor is done vvithout the leaue of him that is the verie right and trueth it ſelfe, vvith vvhom nothing is paſt or to come, and vvho knovveth and vnderſtandeth the very originall cauſes of all neceſsitie. The conſideration vvhereof teacheth men to humble them ſelues vnder his mightie hande by acknovvledging that there is one firſt cauſe vvhich ouerruleth nature, vvhereof it commeth, that neither hardineſſe is alvvaies happie, nor vviſedom alvvaies ſure of good ſucceſſe. Theſe ſo notable commodities are euery vvhere accompanied vvith ſingular delight, vvhich proceedeth chiefly of diuerſitie and nouelty vvherein our nature delighteth and is greatly deſirous of: bicauſe vve hauing an earneſt inclination tovvards our beſt proſperity and aduauncement, it goeth on ſtill, ſeeking it in euery thing vvhich it taketh to be goodly, or good in this vvorld. But foraſmuch as it findeth not vvherevvith to content it ſelfe vnder the cope of heauen, it is ſoone vveary of the things that it had earneſtly deſired affore, & ſo goeth on vvädring in the vnskilfulnes of her likings vvherof she neuer ceaſſeth to make a continuall chaunging vntill she haue fully ſatisfied her deſires, by attaining to the laſt end, vvhich is to be knit to her chiefe felicity, vvhere is the full perfection of all goodlines and goodnes. This liking of varietie can not be better releeued, than by that vvhich is the finder out and the preſerver of time, the father of all noueltie, and meſſenger of antiquitie. For if vve finde

a certaine ſingular pleaſure, in hearkening to ſuch as be returned from ſome long voyage, and doe report things vvhich they haue ſeene in ſtraunge contries, as the maners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of liues, differing from ours: and if vve be ſometime ſo rauished vvith delight and pleaſure at the hearing of the talke of ſome vviſe, diſcreete, and vvell ſpoken old man, from vvhoſe mouth there flovveth a ſtreame of ſpeech ſvveeter than honnie, in rehearſing the aduentures vvhich he hath had in his greene and youthfull yeares, the paines that he hath indured, and the perils that he hath ouerpaſſed, ſo as vve perceiue not hovv the time goeth avvay: hovv much more ought vve be rauished vvith delight and vvondring, to behold the ſtate of mankind, and the true ſucceſſe of things, vvhich antiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the vvorld, as the ſetting vp of Empires, the ouerthrovv of Monarchies, the riſing and falling of Kingdoms, and all things elſe vvorthie admiration, and the ſame liuely ſet forth in the faire, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that ſo liuely, as in the very reading of them vve feele our mindes to be ſo touched by them, not as though the thinges vvere alreadie done and paſt, but as though they vvere euen then preſently in doing, and vve finde our ſelues caried avvay vvith gladneſſe and griefe through feare or hope, vvell neere as though vve vvere then at the doing of them: vvhereas not vvithſtanding vve be not in any paine or daunger, but only conceiue in our mindes the aduerſities that other folkes haue indured, our ſelues ſitting ſafe vvith our contentation and eaſe, according to theſe verſes of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleaſure for to ſit at eaſe
Vpon the land, and ſafely thence to ſee
How other folkes are toſſed on the ſeaes,
That with the bluſtring windes turmoyled be.
Not that the ſight of others miſeries
Doth any way the honeſt hart delight,
But for bicauſe it liketh well our eyes,
To ſee harmes free that on our ſelues might light.

Alſo it is ſeene that the reading of hiſtories doth ſo holde and allure good vvits, that diuers times it not only maketh them to forget all other pleaſures, but alſo ſerueth very fittely to turne avvay their griefes, and ſomtimes alſo to remedie their diſeaſes. As for example, vve find it vvritten of Alphonſus King of Naples, that Prince ſo greatly renovvmed in Chronicles for his vviſedom and goodneſſe, that being ſore ſicke in the citie of Capua, vvhen his Phiſitions had ſpent all the cunning that they had to recouer him his health, and he ſavv that nothing preuailed: he determined vvith him ſelfe to take no mo medicines, but for his recreation cauſed the ſtorie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deedes of Alexander the great, to be red before him: at the hearing vvhereof he tooke ſo vvonderfull pleaſure, that nature gathered ſtrength by it, and ouercame the vvayvvardnes of his diſeaſe. VVhereupon hauing ſoone recouered his helth, he diſcharged his Phiſitions vvith ſuch vvords as theſe: Feaſt me no more vvith your Hippocrates and Galene, ſith they can no skill to helpe me to recouer my helth: but vvell fare Quintus Curtius that could ſo good skill to helpe me to recouer my helth. Novv if the reading and knovvledge of hiſtories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I ſay it is much more for great Princes and Kings, bicauſe they haue to do vvith charges of greateſt vveight and difficultie, to be beſt ſtored vvith giftes and knovvledge for the diſcharge of their dueties: ſeeing the ground of ſtories is, to treate of all maner of high matters of ſtate, as vvarres, battells, cities, contries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it ſeemeth more fit for them, than for any other kinde of degrees of men: bicauſe they being bred and brought vp tenderly, and at their eaſe, by reaſon of the great regard and care that is had of their perſons, (as meete is for ſo great ſtates to haue) they take not ſo great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoueth thoſe to take vvhich vvill learne the noble auncient languages, and the painfull doctrine comprehended in Philoſophie. Againe, vvhen they come to mans ſtate, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, ſo as there remaineth no exerciſe of vvit more conuenient for thē, than the reading of hiſtories in their ovvne tunge, vvhich vvithout paine is able to teache them euen vvith great pleaſure and eaſe, vvhatſoeuer the painfull vvorkes of the Philoſophers concerning the gouernment of common vveales can shevve them, to make them skilful in the vvell ruling and gouerning of the people and contries that God hath put vnder their ſubiection. But the vvorſt is, that they euer (or for the moſt part) haue ſuch maner of perſons

about

about them as ſeeke nothing els but to pleaſe them by all the vvayes they can,and there are very fevv that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: vvhereas on the contrary part, an hiſtory flattereth them not,but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of ſuch as vvere like them in greatneſſe of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalereus (a man renovvmed aſvvell for his skill in the good gouernment of a common vveale,as for his excellent knovvledge otherviſe) counſelled Ptolomy, firſt king of AEgypt after the death of Alexander the great,that he ſhould often and diligently reade the bookes that treated of the gouernment of kingdomes,bicauſe (ſayd he) thou ſhalt finde many things there,vvhich thy ſeruaunts and familiar friendes dare not tell thee. Moreouer,this is another thinge, that ſuche great perſonages can not eaſily trauell out of the bounds of their dominions,to goe vievv ſtraunge contries as priuate perſons doe: bicauſe the ielouſie of their eſtate, and the regarde of their dignitie,requires that they ſhould neuer be in place vvhere another man might cõmaund them. And often times for vvant of hauing ſeene the contries,and knovven the people and Princes that are their neighbours,they haue aduentured vpon attempts vvithout good ground: to auoyde the vvhich, the inſtruction they may haue by the reading of hiſtories, is one of the eaſieſt and fitteſt remedies that can be found. And though there vvere none other cauſe then onely this laſt, ſurely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of hiſtories, vvherein are vvritten the heroicall deedes of vviſe and valiant men,ſpecially of kings that haue bene before them, the conſidering vvhereof may cauſe them to be deſirous to become like them,ſpecially vvhich vvere of ſtately and noble courage: bicauſe the ſeedes of Princely vertues that are bred vvith them ſelues,doe then quicken them vp vvith an emulacion tovvards thoſe that haue bene or are equall in degree vvith them, aſvvell in reſpect of noblenes of bloud, as of greatnes of ſtate, ſo as they be loth to giue place to any perſon, and much leſſe can find in their harts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doinges. VVhereof innumerable examples might be alleaged,if the thing vvere not ſo vvel knovven of it ſelf,that it vvere much more againſt reaſon to doubt of it,than needefull to proue it. Therefore a man may truely conclude,that an hiſtorie is the ſcholemiſtreſſe of Princes,at vvhoſe hand they may vvithout payne,in vvay of paſtyme,& vvith ſingular pleaſure learne the moſt part of the things that belonge to their office. Novv,according to the diuerſitie of the matter that it treateth of,or the order and manner of vvriting that it vſeth, it hath ſondry names giuen vnto it: But yet among the reſt there are tvvo chiefe kinds. The one vvhich ſetteth dovvne mens doings and aduentures at length,is called by the common name of an hiſtorie: the other vvhich declareth their natures,ſayings,and maners,is properly named their liues. And although the ground of them both doe cloze very neare in one,yet doth the one reſpect more the things, and the other the perſons: the one is more common,and the other more priuate: the one concerneth more the things that are vvithout the man, and the other the things that proceede from vvithin: the one the euents,the other the conſultacions: betvvene the vvhich there is oftentymes great oddes, according to this aunſvver of the Perſian Siramnes, to ſuch as maruelled hovv it came to paſſe,that his deuiſes being ſo politike had ſo vnhappy ſucceſſe: It is (quod he) bicauſe my deuiſes are vvholly from my ovvn inuention,but the effects of them are in the diſpoſition of fortune and the king. And ſurely amonge all thoſe that euer haue taken vppon them to vvrite the liues of famous men, the chiefe prerogatiue, by the iudgement of ſuch as are cleareſt ſighted,is iuſtly giuen to the Greeke Philoſopher Plutarke,borne in the citie of Chæronea in the contry of Bœotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knovvledge, as his vvorkes may vvell put men out of doubt,if they lyſt to read them through, vvho all his life long euen to his old age,had to deale in affayres of the common vveale,as he him ſelfe vvitneſſeth in diuers places, ſpecially in the treatiſe vvhich he intitled, Whether an olde man ought to meddle with the gouernment of a common weale or not: and vvho had the hap & honor to be ſchoolemaſter to the Emprour Traian,as is commonly beleeued, and as is expreſſely pretended by a certaine Epiſtle ſet before the Latin tranſlation of his matters of ſtate, vvhich (to ſay the truth) ſeemeth in my iudgement to be ſomevvhat ſuſpicious,bicauſe I find it not among his vvorkes in Greeke, beſides that it ſpeaketh as though the booke vvere dedicated to Traian, vvhich thinge is manifeſtly diſproued by the beginning of the booke,and by diuers other reaſons. Yet notvvithſtanding,bicauſe me thinkes it is ſagely & grauely vvritten,and vvell beſeeming him: I haue ſet it dovvne here in this place. Plutarke vnto Traian ſendeth greeting. I knovv vvell that the modeſtie of your nature vvas not deſirous of Souereintie, though you haue alvvayes indeuored to deſerue it by your honorable conuerſation: by reaſon

» vvhereof you haue bene thought ſo much the vvorthier of it, as you haue bene founde the further of
» from all ambition. And therefore I do novv reioice in your vertue & my fortune, if it be ſo great as to
» cauſe you to adminiſter that thing vvith iuſtice, vvhich you haue obtained by deſert. For othervviſe
» I am ſure you haue put your ſelfe in hazard of great daungers, and me in perill of ſlaunderous tongues,
» bicauſe Rome can not avvay vvith a vvicked Emperour, and the common voyce of the people is al-
» vvaies vvont to caſt the faultes of the ſchollers in the teeth of their ſchoolemaiſters: as for example:
» Seneca is railed vpon by ſlaunderous tonges, for the faultes of his ſcholler Nero: the ſcapes of Quinti-
» lians young ſchollers are imputed to Quintilian him ſelfe: and Socrates is blamed, for being too myld
» to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you ſhall doe all things vvell enough, ſo you keepe you as you
» are. If you firſt ſet your ſelfe in order, and then diſpoſe all other things according to vertue, all things
» ſhall fall out according to your deſire. I haue ſet you dovvne the meanes in vvriting, vvhich you muſt
» obſerue for the vvell gouerning of your common vveale, and haue shevved you of hovv great force
» your behauiour may be in that behalfe. If you thinke good to follovv thoſe thinges, you haue Plutarke
» for the directer and guider of your life: if not, I proteſt vnto you by this Epiſtle, that your falling into
» daunger to the ouerthrovv of the Empire, is not by the doctrine of Plutarke. This Epiſtle vvitneſſeth
plainly that he vvas the ſchoolemaiſter of Traian, vvhich thing ſeemeth to be auovved by this vvri-
ting of Suidas: Plutarke being borne in the citie of Chæronea in Bœotia, vvas in the time of the Em-
perour Traian, and ſomvvhat affore. But Traian honored him vvith the dignitie of Conſulship, and
commaunded the officers and Magiſtrates that vvere throughout all the contrie of Illyria, that they
ſhould not do any thing vvithout his counſell and authoritie. So doth Suidas vvrite of him. And I am
of opinion, that Traian being ſo vviſe an Emperour, vvould neuer haue done him ſo great honor, if he
had not thought him ſelfe greatly beholding to him for ſome ſpeciall cauſe. But the thing that maketh
me moſt to beleue it true, is, that the ſame goodneſſe and iuſtice appeared to be naturally imprinted in
moſt of Traians ſayings and doings, vvhereof the paterne and movvld (as a man might terme it) is
caſt and ſet dovvne in Plutarkes Moralls, ſo as men may perceiue expreſſely, that the one could vvell
skill to performe rightly, that vvhich the other had taught vviſely. For Dion vvriteth, that among
other honors vvhich the Senate of Rome gaue by decree vnto Traian, they gaue him the title of the
Good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth that euen vnto his time, vvhen a nevv Emperour came to
be receiued of the Senate, among the cries of good hanſell, and the vvishes of good lucke that vvere
made vnto him, one vvas: happier be thou than Auguſtus, and better than Traian. Hovvſoeuer the
caſe ſtoode, it is very certaine that Plutarke dedicated the collection of his Apothegmes vnto him. But
vvhen he had liued a long time at Rome, and vvas come home againe to his ovvne houſe, he fell to
vvriting of this excellent vvorke of Liues, vvhich he calleth Parallelon, as much to ſay, as a cupling
or matching together, bicauſe he matcheth a Grecian vvith a Romane, ſetting dovvne their liues ech
after other, and comparing them together, as he founde any likeneſſe of nature, condicions, or aduen-
tures betvvext them, and examining vvhat the one of them had better or vvorſer, greater or leſſer
than the other: vvhich things he doth vvith ſo goodly and graue diſcourſe euery vvhere, taken out of
the deepeſt & moſt hidden ſecrets of morall and naturall Philoſophie, vvith ſo ſage precepts and frute-
full inſtructions, vvith ſo effectuall commendation of vertue, and deteſtation of vice, vvith ſo many
goodly allegacions of other authors, vvith ſo many fit compariſons, & vvith ſo many high inuentions:
that the booke may better be called by the name of the Treaſorie of all rare and perfect learning, than
by any other name. Alſo it is ſayd, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of ſingular learning, and a vvor-
thie of the auncient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar frendes (vvhich ſavv him ſo ear-
neſtly giuen to his ſtudie, that he forgate all other things) vvhat author he had leuereſt to chooſe, if he
vvere at that poynt that he muſt needes chooſe ſome one to holde him to alone, did aunſvvere that he
vvould chooſe Plutarke: bicauſe that if they vvere all put together, there vvas no one both ſo profi-
table, and ſo pleaſaunt to read, as he. Soſius Senecio to vvhom he dedicateth his vvorke, vvas a Sena-
tor of Rome, as vvitneſſeth Dion, vvho vvriteth that the three perſons vvhom Traian moſt loued
and honored, vvere Soſius, Parma, and Celſus, inſomuch that he cauſed images of them to be ſet vp.
True it is that he vvrote the liues of many other men, vvhich the ſpitefulnes of time hath bereft vs
of, among vvhich he himſelfe maketh mention of the liues of Scipio Africanus, & Metellus Numidi-
cus. And I haue red a litle Epiſtle of a ſonne of his, vvhoſe name is not expreſſed, copied out of an olde

copie

copie in the Librarie of S. Marke in Venice, vvherein he vvriteth to a frende of his, a regiſter of all the bookes that his father made: and there among the cupples of liues, he ſetteth dovvne the liues of Scipio and Epaminondas, and laſtly the liues of Auguſtus Ceſar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But hauing vſed all the diligence that I could in ſerching the chiefe Libraries of Venice, and Rome, I could neuer find them out. Onely I drevv out certaine diuerſities of readinges, and many corrections by conferring the old vvritten copies vvith the printed bookes: vvhich haue ſtoode me in great ſtead to the vnderſtanding of many hard places: and there are a great number of them vvhich I haue reſtored by coniecture, by the iudgement & helpe of ſuch men of this age, as are of greateſt knovvledge in humane learning. Yet for all this, there remaine ſome places vnamended, hovvbeit very fevve, becauſe ſome lines vvere vvanting in the originall copies, vvhereof (to my ſeeming) it vvas better for me to vvitneſſe the vvant by marking it vvith ſome ſtarre: than to geſſe at it vvith all aduenture, or to adde any thing to it. Novv finally, if I haue ouer-shot my ſelfe in any thing, as it is verie eaſie to do in ſo hard and long a vvorke, ſpecially to a man of ſo ſmall abilitie as I am: I beſeeche the Readers to vvouchſafe for my diſcharge, to admit the excuſe vvhich the Poet Horace giueth me, vvhere he ſayth:

A man may well be ouerſeene
In workes that long and tedious bene.

Specially ſith that of ſo many good men, & men of skill as haue heretofore ſet hand to the tranſlating of it, there vvas neuer yet any one found that vvent through vvith it in any language, at leaſt vviſe that I haue ſeene or heard of: and that ſuch as haue enterpriſed to tranſlate it, ſpecially into Latin, haue euidently vvitneſſed the hardneſſe thereof, as they may eaſely perceiue vvhich liſt to conferre their tranſlations vvith mine. Neuertheleſſe if it ſo fortune that men find not the ſpeech of this tranſlation ſo flovving, as they haue found ſome other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands: I beſeech the readers to conſider, that the office of a fit tranſlater, conſiſteth not onely in the faithfull expreſſing of his authors meaning, but alſo in a certaine reſembling and shadovving out of the forme of his ſtyle and the maner of his ſpeaking: vnleſſe he vvill commit the errour of ſome painters, vvho hauing taken vpon them to dravv a man liuely, do paint him long vvhere he ſhould be short, and groſſe vvhere he ſhould be ſlender, and yet ſet out the reſemblance of his countenance naturally. For hovv harsh or rude ſoeuer my ſpeech be, yet am I ſure that my tranſlation vvill be much eaſier to my contriemen, than the Greeke copie is, euen to ſuch as are beſt practiſed in the Greeke tonge, by reaſon of Plutarkes peculiar maner of inditing, vvhich is rather sharpe, learned, and short, than plaine, polished, and eaſie. At the hardeſt, although I haue not compaſſed my matters ſo happily as ye coulde haue vvished and deſired: yet do I hope that your Lordships in reading it vvill hold the parties good vvill excuſed, vvhich hath taken ſuch paines in doing of it to profit you. And if my labor be ſo happie, as to content you: God be praiſed for it, vvhich hath giuen me the grace to finish it.

THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED BY Plutarke of Chæronea.

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Caius Marius. pag.451.

Lysander. pag.480.
Sylla. pag.499. } cõpared.525

Cimon. pag.528.
Lucullus. pag.544. } cõpared.576

Nicias. pag.579.
Marcus Crassus.pa.600. } cõpared.622

Sertorius. pag.621.
Eumenes. pag.641. } cõpared.654

Agesilaus. pag.655.
Pompeius. pag.678. } cõpared.719

Alexander. pag.722.

Iulius Cæsar. pag.763.

Phocion. pag.797.

Cato Vtican. pag.815.

Agis & Cleomenes.pag.848.
Tiberius and Caius Gracchi. pag.875. } compared.894

Demosthenes. pag.897.
Cicero. pag.912. } cõpared.938

Demetrius. pag.941.
Antonius. pag.970. } cõpared.1011

Artaxerxes. pag.1013.

Dion. pag.1029.
Marcus Brutus.pa.1055. } cõpared.1081

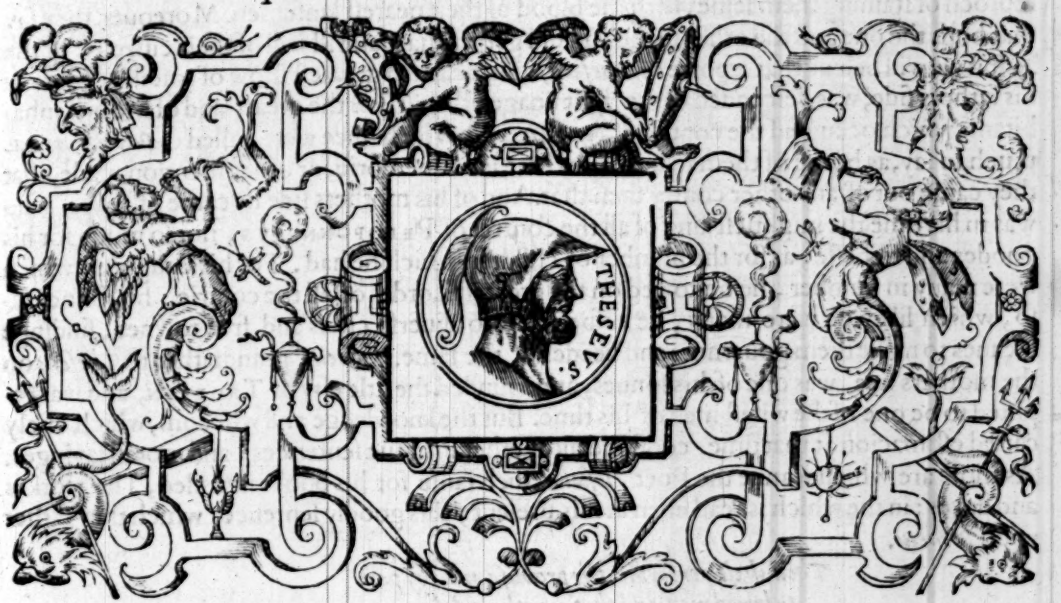
Aratus. pag.1083.

Galba. pag.1108.

Otho. pag.1121.

Annibal. pag.1131.
Scipio African.pag.1157. } cõpared.1173

THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT graue learned Philoſopher and Hiſtoriographer, Plutarche of Chœronea.



Theſeus.

A LIKE as hiſtoriographers deſcribing the world (frende *Soſius Senecio*) doe of purpoſe referre to the vttermoſt partes of their mappes the farre diſtant regions whereof they be ignoraunt, with this note: theſe contries are by meanes of ſandes and drowthes vnnauigable, rude, full of venimous beaſtes, SCYTHIAN iſe, and froſen ſeas. Euen ſo may I (which in comparinge noble mens liues haue already gone ſo farre into antiquitie, as the true and certaine hiſtorie could lead me) of the reſt, being thinges paſt all proofe or chalenge, very well ſay: that beyonde this time all is full of ſuſpicion and dout, being deliuered vs by Poets and Tragedy makers, ſometimes without trueth and likelihoode, and alwayes B without certainty. Howbeit, hauing heretofore ſet foorth the liues of *Lycurgus* (which eſtabliſhed the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS) and of king *Numa Pompilius*: me thought I might go a litle further to the life of *Romulus*, ſence I was come ſo nere him. But conſidering my ſelfe as the Poet *AEſchilus* did:

Soſius Senecio a Senator of Rome.

VVhat champion may vvith ſuch a man compare?
or vvho (thinke I) ſhalbe againſt him ſet?
VVho is ſo bold? or vvho is he that dare
defend his force, in ſuch encounter met?

In the end I resolued to match him which did set vp the noble & famous city of ATHENS, A
with him which founded the glorious and inuincible city of ROME. Wherein I would wishe
that the inuentions of Poets, and the traditions of fabulous antiquitie, would suffer them
selues to be purged and reduced to the forme of a true and historicall reporte: but when they
square too much from likelyhode, and can not be made credible, the readers will of curtesie
take in good parte that, which I could with most probability wryte of such antiquities. Now
Theseus and Romulus very like. surely me thinkes, that *Theseus* in many thinges was much like vnto *Romulus*. For being both
begotten by stealth, and out of lawful matrimony: both were reputed to be borne of the seede
of the goddes.

Both valiant vvere, as all the vvorld doth knovv.

Both ioyned valiancy with gouernment. The one of them built ROME, and the other, by B
gathering into one dispersed people, erected the citie of ATHENS: two of the most noble ci-
ties of the worlde. The one and the other were rauishers of women: and neither thone nor
thother coulde auoyde the mischiefe of quarrell and contention with their frendes, nor the
reproch of staining them selues with the blood of their neareste kinsemen. Moreouer, they say
The linage of Theseus. that both the one and the other in the end did get the hate and ill will of their citizens: at the
leaste if we will beleue that reporte of *Theseus*, which carieth greateste show of trueth. *Theseus* of
his fathers side, was descended of the right linage of *Erictheus* the great, and of the first inha-
bitants which occupied the contrie of ATTICA, the which since were called *Autochthones*, as
much to say, as borne of them selues. For there is no memorie, or other mention made, that
Pelops, king of Peloponnesus. they came out of any other contry then that. And of his mothers side he came of *Pelops*, who C
was in his time the mightieste king of all the contrie of PELOPONNESVS, not so much for his
goodes and richesse, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which
were many in number, he bestowed on the greateste Lordes of all the contrie: his sonnes al-
so, which likewise were many, he dispersed into diuerse cities and free townes, findinge
Pitheus the grandfather of Theseus. The wisedom of Pitheus. meanes to make them gouernors and heades of the same. *Pitheus*, grandfather to *Theseus* on
the mothers side, was one of his sonnes, and founded the litle city of TROEZEN, and was re-
puted to be one of the wisest men of his time. But the knowledge and wisedom, which onely
caried estimacion at that time, consisted altogether in graue sentences, and morall sayinges.
As those are which wanne the Poet *Hesiodus* such fame for his booke intituled, The workes
and dayes: in the which is read euen at this present, this goodly sentence, which they father D
vpon *Pitheus*.

Thou shalt performe, thy promise and thy pay:
to hyred men, and that vvithout delay.

And this doth *Aristotle* the Philosopher himselfe testifie: and the Poet *Euripides* also, calling
Hippolytus the scholler of the holy *Pitheus*, doth sufficiently declare of what estimacion he was.
AEgeus the father of Theseus. But *AEgeus* desiring (as they say) to know how he might haue children, went vnto the city of
DELPHES to the oracle of *Apollo*: where by *Apolloes* Nunne that notable prophecy was geuen
him for an aunswer. The which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, vntill he was re-
turned againe to ATHENS. And bicause the words of this prophecy were somewhat darke, &
hard: he tooke his way by the city of TROEZEN, to tell it vnto *Pitheus*. The wordes of the pro- E
phecy were these.

O thou vvhich art a gemme of perfect grace,
plucke not the tappe, out of thy trusty toonne:
Before thou do, returne vnto thy place,
in Athens tovvne, from vvhence thy race doth roonne.

Pitheus vnderstanding the meaning, perswaded him, or rather cunningly by some deuise de-
AEthra the daughter of king Pitheus, & the mother of Theseus. ceiued him in such sorte, that he made him to lye with his daughter called *AEthra*. *AEgeus* af-
ter he had accompanied with her, knowing that she was *Pitheus* daughter with whom he had
lyen, and douting that he had gotten her with child: left her a sword and a payer of shoes, the
which he hidde vnder a great hollow stone, the hollownes wherof serued iust to receiue those F
things which he layed vnder it, and made no liuing creature priuy to it but her alone, straight-
ly charging her, that if she happened to haue a sonne, when he were come to mans state, & of
strength

A strength to remoue the stone, and to take those things from vnder it which he left there: that she should then sende him vnto him by those tokens, as secretly as she could, that no body els might knowe of it. For he did greatly feare the children of one called *Pallas*, the which laye in wayte and spyall by all the meanes they could to kill him, only of despight bicause he had no children, they being fiftie brethern, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed from her. And *Æthra* within fewe moneths after was deliuered of a goodly sonne, the which from that time was called *Theseus*: and as some say, so called, bicause of the tokens of knowledge his father had layed vnder the stone. Yet some others write, that it was afterwardes at ATHENS when his father knewe him, and auowed him for his sonne. But in the meane time, during his infancie & childehood, he was brought vp in the house of his grādfather *Pitheus*, vnder the go-

B uernmēt & teaching of one called *Cōnidas*, his schoolemaster: in honour of whom the ATHENIANS to this daye doe sacrifice a weather, the daye before the great feaste of *Theseus*, hauing more reason to honour the memorye of this gouernour, then of a *Silanion* and of a *Parrhasius*, to whom they doe honour also, bicause they paynted and caste mowldes of the images of *Theseus*. Now there was a custome at that time in GREECE, that the yong men after their infancie and growth to mans state, went vnto the cittie of DELPHES, to offer parte of their heares in the temple of *Apollo*. *Theseus* also went thither as other did: and some saye that the place where the ceremonie of this offering was made, hath euer sence kept the olde name, (and yet continueth) *Theseia*. Howbeit he dyd not shaue his head but before only, as *Homer* sayeth, like the facion of the ABANTES in olde time: and this manner of shauing of heares, was called for

C his sake, *Theseida*. And as concerning the ABANTES, in trothe they were the very first that shaued them selues after this facion: neuertheles they learned it not of the ARABIANS as it was thought of some, neither dyd they it after the imitation of the MISSIANS. But bicause they were warlike and valliant men, which did ioyne neere vnto their enemie in battell, and aboue all men of the worlde were skilfullest in fight hande to hande, and woulde keepe their grounde: as the Poet *Archilochus* witnesseth in these verses.

Connidas Theseus schoolemaster.

A custome to offer heares at Delphes.

Theseia.

Theseus maner of shauing.

The Abantes.

They vse no slynges in foughten fields to haue,
nor bended bowes: but swords and trenchant blades.
For when fierce Mars beginneth for to raue,
in bloody field: then euery man inuades
D *His fiercest foe, and fighteth hand to hand.*
then doe they deeds, right cruell to recompt.
For in this wise, the braue and warlike bande
Doe shewe their force which come from Negrepont.

The cause why they were thus shauen before, was, for that their enemies should not haue the vauntage to take them by the heares of the head while they were fighting. And for this selfe same consideration, *Alexander* the great commaunded his captaines to cause all the MACEDONIANS to shaue their beards: bicause it is the easiest holde (and readiest for the hande) a man can haue of his enemie in fighting, to holde him fast by the same. But to returne to *Theseus*. *Æthra* his mother had euer vnto that time kept it secret from him, who was his true fa-

E ther. And *Pitheus* also had geuen it out abroade, that he was begotten of *Neptune*, bicause the TROEZENIANS haue this god in great veneration, and doe worshippe him as patron and protector of their cittie, making offerings to him of their first fruites: and they haue for the marke and stampe of their money, the three picked mace, which is the signe of *Neptune*, called his *Trident*. But after he was comen to the prime and lustines of his youth, and that with the strength of his bodie he shewed a great courage, ioyned with a naturall wisedome, and stayednes of wit: then his mother brought him to the place where this great hollowe stone laye, and telling him truely the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his fathers tokens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, & gaue him counsell to goe by sea to ATHENS vnto him. *Theseus* easily lyft vp the stone, and tooke his fathers tokens from vnder it: How-

F beit he answered playnely, that he would not goe by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deale the safer waye, and that his mother and grandfather both had instantly intreated him, bicause the waye by lande from TROEZEN to ATHENS was very daungerous, all the wayes

The cause of shauing their heares before.

Alexander Magnus made the Macedonians shaue their beardes.

Theseus said to be Neptunes sonne.

The Træzenians coyne stamped with Neptunes three picked mace.

Theseus youthe.

Great robbing in Theseus time. Thucid. lib. 1.

being beſett by robbers and murderers. For the worlde at that time brought forth men, which A
for ſtrongneſſe in their armes, for ſwyftnes of feete, and for a generall ſtrength of the whole
bodye, dyd farre paſſe the common force of others, and were neuer wearie for any labour or
trauell they tooke in hande. But for all this, they neuer employed theſe giftes of nature to any
honeſt or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanouſly to hurte and wronge others: as if
all the fruite and profit of their extraordinary ſtrength had conſiſted in crueltye, & violence
only, and to be able to keepe others vnder and in ſubiection, and to force, deſtroye, and ſpoyle
all that came to their handes. Thincking that the more parte of thoſe which thincke it a
ſhame to doe ill, and commend iuſtice, equitie, and humanitie, doe it of fainte cowardly
heartes, bicauſe they dare not wronge others, for feare they ſhould receyue wronge them
ſelues: and therefore, that they which by might could haue vauntage ouer others, had no- B

Hercules a deſtroyer of theeues.

thing to doe with ſuche quiet qualities. Nowe *Hercules*, trauailling abroade in the worlde,
draue awaye many of thoſe wicked theuiſhe murderers, and ſome of them he ſlewe and put
to death, other as he paſſed through thoſe places where they kept, dyd hide them ſelues for
feare of him, and gaue place: in ſo much as *Hercules*, perceyuing they were well tamed and
brought lowe, made no further reckoning to purſue them any more. But after that by fortune
he had ſlayne *Iphitus* with his owne handes, and that he was paſſed ouer the ſeas into the

Hercules ſerueth Omphale.

countrye of LYDIA, where he ſeruéd Queene *Omphale* a long time, condemning him ſelfe
vnto that voluntarie payne, for the murder he had committed. All the Realme of LYDIA du-
ring his abode there, remained in great peace and ſecuritie from ſuch kynde of people. How-
beit in GREECE, and all thereabouts, theſe olde miſchiefes beganne againe to renue, grow- C
ing hotter and violenter then before: bicauſe there was no man that puniſhed them, nor that
durſt take vpon him to deſtroye them. By which occaſion, the waye to goe from PELOPON-
NESVS to ATHENS by lande was very perillous. And therefore *Pitheus* declaring vnto *The-
ſeus*, what manner of theeues there were that laye in the waye, and the outrages and villanies

Theſeus followeth Hercules.

they dyd to all trauellers and wayefaring men, ſought the rather to perſwade him thereby to
take his voyage alonge the ſeas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glorie of *Hercules*
noble dedes, had long before ſecretly ſett his hearte on fire, ſo that he made reckoning of
none other but of him, and louingly hearkened vnto thoſe which woulde ſeeme to deſcribe
him what manner of man he was, but chiefly vnto thoſe which had ſeene him, and bene in
his companye, when he had ſayed or done any thing worthy of memorye. For then he dyd D
manifeſtly open him ſelfe, that he felt the like paſſion in his hearte, which *Themiſtocles* long
time afterwardes endured, when he ſayed: that the victorie and triumphe of *Miltiades* would

Deſire of fame pricketh men forward to great enterpriſes.

not lett him ſleepe. For euen ſo, the wonderfull admiration which *Theſeus* had of *Hercules*
corage, made him in the night that he neuer dreamed but of his noble actes and doings, and
in the daye time, pricked forwardes with emulation and enuie of his glorie, he determined
with him ſelfe one daye to doe the like, and the rather, bicauſe they were neere kynſemen,

Theſeus and Hercules nere kynſemen.

being coſins remoued by the mothers ſide. For *Æthra* was the daughter of *Pitheus*, and
Alcmena (the mother of *Hercules*) was the daughter of *Lyſidices*, the which was halfe ſiſter
to *Pitheus*, bothe children of *Pelops* and of his wife *Hippodamia*. So he thought he ſhould be
vtterly ſhamed and diſgraced, that *Hercules* trauelling through the worlde in that ſorte, dyd E
ſeeke out thoſe wicked theeues to rydde both ſea & lande of them: & that he, farre otherwiſe,
ſhould flye occaſion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he ſhould meete on
his waye. Moreouer, he was of opinion he ſhould greately ſhame and diſhonour him, whom
fame and common bruite of people reported to be his father: if in ſhonning occaſion to
fight, he ſhould conuey him ſelfe by ſea, and ſhould carie to his true father alſo a paire of
ſhooes, (to make him knowen of him) and a ſworde not yet bathed in bloude. Where he
ſhould rather ſeeke cauſe, by manifeſt token of his worthie deedes, to make knowen to the
worlde, of what noble bloude he came, and from whence he was deſcended. With this de-

Periphetes Corineres, a famous robber, ſlayne of Theſeus.

termination, *Theſeus* holdeth on his purpoſed iorney, with intent to hurte no man, yet to de-
fende him ſelfe, & to be reuenged of thoſe which woulde take vpon them to aſſault him. The F
firſt therefore whom he ſlewe within the territories of the cittie of EPIDAVRVM, was a
robber called *Periphetes*. This robber vſed for his ordinarie weapon to carie a clubbe, and

for

A for that cauſe he was commonly ſurnamed *Corynetes*, that is to ſaye, a clubbe caryer. So he firſt ſtrake at *Theſeus* to make him ſtande: but *Theſeus* fought ſo luſtely with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was ſo glad, and chiefly for that he had wonne his clubbe, that euer after he caryed it him ſelfe about with him, as *Hercules* dyd the lyons ſkynne. And like as this ſpoyle of the lyon dyd witneſſe the greatnes of the beaſt which *Hercules* had ſlayne: euen ſo *Theſeus* went all about, ſhewing that this clubbe which he had gotten out of anothers hands, was in his owne handes inuincible. And ſo going on further, in the ſtreightes of PELOPONNESVS he killed another, called *Sinnis* ſurnamed *Pityocamtes*, that is to ſaye, a wreather, or bower of pyne apple trees: whom he put to death in that ſelfe cruell manner that *Sinnis* had ſlayne many other trauellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former

Theſeus caried the clubbe he wanne of Periphetes, as Hercules did the lions ſkin.

Sinnis Pityocamtes, a cruel murtherer ſlaine.

B practiſe or exeſciſe: but only to ſhewe, that cleane ſtrength coulde doe more, then either arte or exercise. This *Sinnis* had a goodly fayer daughter called *Perigouna*, which fled awaye, when ſhe ſawe her father ſlayne: whom he followed and ſought all about. But ſhe had hydden her ſelfe in a groue full of certen kyndes of wilde pricking ruſhes called *Stæbe*, and wilde ſparage, which ſhe ſimplye like a childe intreated to hyde her, as if they had heard and had ſenſe to vnderſtand her: promiſing them with an othe, that if they ſaued her from being founde, ſhe would neuer cutt them downe, nor burne them. But *Theſeus* fynding her, called her, and ſware by his faith he would vſe her gently, and doe her no hurte, nor diſpleaſure at all. Vpon which promiſe ſhe came out of the buſhe, and laye with him, by whom ſhe was

Perigouna Sinnis daughter.

conceyued of a goodly boye, which was called *Menalippus*. Afterwardes *Theſeus* maried

Theſeus begatte Menalippus of Perigouna.

C her vnto one *Deioneus*, the ſonne of *Euritus* the *Oechalian*. Of this *Menalippus*, the ſonne of *Theſeus*, came *Ioxus*: the which with *Ornytus* brought men into the countrye of CARIA, where he buylt the cittie of IOXIDES. And hereof cometh that olde auncient ceremonie, obſerued yet vnto this daye by thoſe of IOXIDES, neuer to burne the bryars of wilde ſparage, nor the *Stæbe*, but they haue them in ſome honour and reuerence. Touching the wilde ſauage ſowe of *Crommyon*, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Phæa*, that is to ſaye, ouergrowen with age: ſhe was not a beaſt to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kyll. *Theſeus* notwithſtanding taryed for her, and kylled her in his iorney, to the ende it ſhoulde not appeare to the worlde, that all the valliant deedes he dyd, were done by compulſion, and of neceſſitie: adding thereto his opinion alſo, that a valliant man ſhould not onely fight

Ioxus, Menalippus ſonne.

Ioxides.

Phæa the wilde ſowe of Crommyon ſlaine.

D with men, to defend him ſelfe from the wicked: but that he ſhould be the firſt, to aſſaulte and ſlaye wilde hurtefull beaſtes. Neuertheles others haue written, that this *Phæa* was a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her bodye, which ſpoyled thoſe that paſſed by the place called CROMMYONIA, where ſhe dwelt: and that ſhe was ſurnamed a ſowe, for her beaſtly brutiſhe behauiour, and wicked life, for the which in the ende ſhe was alſo ſlayne by *Theſeus*. After her he kylled *Sciron*, entring into the territories of MEGARA, bicauſe he robbed all trauellers by the waye, as the common reporte goeth: or as others ſaye, for that of a cruell, wicked, and ſauage pleaſure, he put forth his feete to thoſe that paſſed by the ſea ſide, and compelled them to waſhe them. And then when they thought to ſtowpe to doe it, he ſtill

Phæa a woman theefe.

Sciron a notable robber, throwē downe the rocks by Theſeus.

E ſpurned them with his feete, till he thruſt them hedlong into the ſea: ſo *Theſeus* threw him hedlong downe the rockes. Howbeit the writers of MEGARA impugning this common reporte, and deſirous (as *Simonides* ſayeth) to ouerthrowe it that had continued by preſcription of time: dyd mainteine that this *Sciron* was neuer any robber, nor wicked perſone, but rather a purſuer and puniſher of the wicked, and a friend and a kynſeman of the moſt honeſt, and iuſteſt men of GREECE. For there is no man but will confeſſe, that *Æacus* was the moſt vertuous man among the GRECIANS in his time, and that *Cychreus* the SALAMINIAN is honoured and reuerenced as a god at ATHENS: and there is no man alſo but knoweth, that *Peleus* and *Telamon* were men of ſingular vertue. Nowe it is certeine, that this *Sciron* was the ſonne in lawe of *Cychreus*, father in lawe of *Æacus*, and grandfather of *Peleus* and of *Telamon*, the which two were the children of *Endeida*, the daughter of the ſayed

Æacus.

Cychreus.

F *Sciron*, and of his wife *Charicle*. Alſo it is not very likely, that ſo many good men would haue had affinitie with ſo naughty and wicked a man: in taking of him, and geuing him that, which men loue beſt of all things in the worlde. And therefore the Hiſtoriographers

saye, that it was not the first time, when *Theseus* went vnto ATHENS, that he killed *Sciron*: but that it was many dayes after, when he tooke the cittie of ELEVSIN, which the MEGARIANS helde at that time, where he deceyued the gouernour of the cittie called *Diocles*, and there he slewe *Sciron*. And these be the obiections the MEGARIANS alledged touching this matter. He slewe also *Cercyon* the ARCADIAN, in the cittie of ELEVSIN, wrestling with him. And going a litle further, he slewe *Damastes*, otherwise surnamed *Procrustes*, in the cittie of HERMIONIA: and that by stretching on him out, to make him euen with the length and measure of his beddes, as he was wont to doe vnto straungers that passed by. *Theseus* dyd that after the imitation of *Hercules*, who punished tyrannes with the selfe same payne and torment, which they had made others suffer. For euen so dyd *Hercules* sacrifice *Busiris*. So he stifled *Antheus* in wrestling. So he put *Cycnus* to death, fighting with him man to man. So he brake *Termerus* heade, from whom this prouerbe of *Termerus* euill came, which continueth yet vnto this daye: for this *Termerus* dyd vse to put them to death in this sorte whom he met: to iolle his head against theirs. Thus proceeded *Theseus* after this selfe manner, punishing the wicked in like sorte, iustly compelling them tabyde the same payne and torments, which they before had vniustly made others abyde. And so he helde on his iorney vntill he came to the riuer of CEPHISVS, where certaine persones of the house of the *Phytalides* were the first which went to meete him, to honour him, and at his requeste they purified him according to the ceremonies vsed at that time: and afterwardes hauing made a sacrifice of propitiation vnto their goddes, they made him great chere in their houses: and this was the first notable enterteinment he founde in all his iorney. It is supposed he arriued in the cittie of ATHENS, the eight daye of the moneth of Iune, which then they called *Cronius*. He founde the comon wealth turmoyled with seditions, factions, and diuisions, and perticularly the house of *AEgeus* in very ill termes also, bicause that *Medea* (being banished out of the cittie of CORINTHE) was come to dwell in ATHENS, and remained with *AEgeus*, whom she had promised by vertue of certaine medicines to make him to get children. But when she heard tell that *Theseus* was comen, before that the good king *AEgeus* (who was nowe becomen olde, suspitious, and affrayed of sedition, by reason of the great factions within the cittie at that time) knewe what he was, she perswaded him to poyson him at a feaste which they woulde make him as a straunger that passed by. *Theseus* failed not to goe to this prepared feaste whereunto he was bydden, but yet thought it not good to disclose him selfe. And the rather to geue *AEgeus* occasion and meane to knowe him: when they brought the meate to the borde, he drewe out his sworde, as though he woulde haue cut with all, and shewed it vnto him. *AEgeus* seeing it, knewe it straight, and forthwith ouerthrewe the cuppe with poyson which was prepared for him: and after he had inquired of him, and asked thinges, he embraced him as his sonne. Afterwardes in the common assembly of the inhabitants of the cittie, he declared, howe he auowed him for his sonne. Then all the people receyued him with exceeding ioye, for the renowne of his valiantnes and manhoode. And some saye, that when *AEgeus* ouerthrewe the cuppe, the poyson which was in it, fell in that place, where there is at this present a certen compasse inclosed all about within the temple, which is called *Delphinium*. For euen there in that place, in the olde time, stoode the house of *AEgeus*: in witnes whereof, they call yet at this present time the image of *Mercurye* (which is on the side of the temple looking towardes the rising of the sunne) the *Mercurye* gate of *AEgeus*. But the PALLANTIDES, which before stoode allwayes in hope to recouer the realme of ATHENS, at the leaste after *AEgeus* death, bicause he had no children: when they sawe that *Theseus* was knowen, and openly declared for his sonne and heire, and successour to the Realme, they were not able any lenger to beare it, seeing that not onely *AEgeus* (who was but the adopted sonne of *Pandion*, and nothing at all of the bloude royall of the *Erictheides*) had vsurped the Kingdome ouer them, but that *Theseus* also should enioye it after his death. Whereupon they determined to make warre with them both, and diuiding them selues into two partes, the one came openly in

Cercyon the Arcadian slaine of Theseus by wrestling.

Damastes Procrustes a cruel murtherer, slaine of Theseus.

Hercules doings.

Termerus euill.

Cephisus, a riuer of Boetia.

The Phytalides the first men that feasted Theseus in their houses.

This sacrifice Plutarche calleth Milichia.

Medea perswaded AEgeus to poyson Theseus.

AEgeus acknowledgeth Theseus for his sonne.

The Pallantides take armes against AEgeus and Theseus.

A in armes with their father, marching directly towardes the cittie: the other laye close in ambushe in the village GARGETTVS, meaning to geue charge vpon them in two places at one instant. Nowe they brought with them an Heraulde borne in the towne of AGNVS, called *Leos*, who bewrayed vnto *Theseus* the secret and deuise of all their enterprise. *Theseus* vpon this intelligence went forth, and dyd set on those that laye in ambushe, and put them all to the sworde. The other which were in *Pallas* companie vnderstanding thereof, dyd breake and disparse them selues incontinently. And this is the cause (as some saye) why those of *Pallena* doe neuer make affinitie nor mariadge with those of AGNVS at this daye. And that in their towne when any proclamation is made, they neuer speake these wordes which are cryed euery where els through out the whole

B countrye of ATTICA, *Acouete Leos*, (which is as muche to saye, as Hearken, O people) they doe so extreamely hate this worde *Leos*, for that it was the Heraulde's name which wrought them that treason. This done, *Theseus* who woulde not liue idelly at home and doe nothing, but desirous there withall to gratifie the people, went his waye to fight with the bull of *Marathon*, the which dyd great mischieues to the inhabitants of the countrye of TETRAPOLIS. And hauing taken him aliue, brought him through the citie of ATHENS to be seene of all the inhabitants. Afterwardes he dyd sacrifice him vnto *Apollo Delphias*. Nowe concerning *Hecale*, who was reported to haue lodged him, and to haue geuen him good enterteinment, it is not altogether vntrue. For in the olde time, those townes and villages thereaboutes dyd assemble together, and made a

C common sacrifice which they called *Hecalesion*, in the honour of *Iupiter Hecalian*, where they honoured this olde woman, calling her by a diminutiue name, *Hecalena*: bicause that when she receyued *Theseus* into her house, being then but very younge, she made muche of him, and called him by many prety made names, as olde folkes are wont to call younge children. And forasmuche as she had made a vowe to *Iupiter* to make him a solemne sacrifice, if *Theseus* returned safe from the enterprise he went about, and that she dyed before his returne: in recompence of the good chere she had made him, she had that honour done vnto her by *Theseus* commaundement, as *Philochorus* hathe written of it. Shortely after this exployte, there came certaine of King *Minos* ambassadours out of CRETA, to aske tribute, being nowe the thirde time it was demaunded, which

D the ATHENIANS payed for this cause. *Androgeus*, the eldest sonne of king *Minos*, was slayne by treason within the countrye of ATTICA: for which cause *Minos* pursuing the reuenge of his death, made very whotte and sharpe warres vpon the ATHENIANS, and dyd them greate hurte. But besides all this, the goddes dyd sharpely punishe and scourge all the countrye, aswell with barrennes and famine, as also with plague and other mischieues, euen to the drying vp of their riuers. The ATHENIANS perceyuing these sore troubles and plagues, ranne to the oracle of *Apollo*, who aunswered them that they shoulde appease *Minos*: and when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrathe of the goddes woulde cease against them, and their troubles should haue an ende. Whereupon the ATHENIANS sent immediately vnto him,

E and intreated him for peace: which he graunted them, with condition that they should be bounde to sende him yerely into CRETA, seuen younge boyes, and as many younge gyrles. Nowe thus farre, all the Historiographers doe very well agree: but inthe reste not. And they which seeme furdest of from the trothe, doe declare, that when these yonge boyes were deliuered in CRETA, they caused them to be deuowred by the *Minotaure* within the *Laberinthe*: or els that they were shut within this *Laberinthe*, wandring vp and downe, and coulde finde no place to gett out, vntill suche time as they dyed, euen famished for hunger.

And this *Minotaure*, as *Euripides* the Poet

F sayeth, was

A corps combynd, vvhich monstrous might be deemd:
A Boye, a Bull, both man and beast it seemd.

Leos an Heraulde bewrayeth their treason to *Theseus*.

Theseus killeth the Pallantides.

The bull of Marathon taken aliue by Theseus.

Apollo Delphias.

Iupiter Hecalian.

The Athenians payed tribute to Minos of Crete for the death of Androgeus his sonne.

The manner of the tribute conditioned.

The Minotaure what it was.

But *Philochorus* writeth, that the CRETANS doe not confesse that, but saye that this *Laberinthe* was a gayle or prisone, in the which they had no other hurte, sauing that they which were kept there vnder locke and keye, coulde not flye nor starte awaye: and that *Minos* had, in the memorye of his sonne *Androgeus*, instituted games and playes of prise, where he gaue vnto them that wanne the victorie, those younge children of ATHENS, the which in the meane time notwithstanding were carefully kept and looked vnto in the prisone of the *Laberinthe*: and that at the first games that were kept, one of the Kings captaines called *Taurus*, who was in best creditt with his master, wanne the prise. This *Taurus* was a churlishe, and naughtie natured man of condition, and very harde and cruell to these children of ATHENS. And to verifie the same, the philosopher *Aristotle* him selfe, speaking of the common wealth of the BOTTIEIANS, declareth very well, that he neuer thought that *Minos* dyd at any time cause the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but sayeth, that they poorely toyled in CRETA euen to crooked age, earning their liuing by true and painefull seruice. For it is written, that the CRETANS (to satisfie an olde vowe of theirs which they had made of auncient time) sent somtimes the first borne of their children, vnto *Apollo* in the cittie of DELPHES: and that amongest them they also mingled those, which were descended of the auncient prisoners of ATHENS, and they went with them. But bicause they coulde not liue there, they directed their iorney first into ITALIE, where for a time they remained in the realme of PVGLIA, and afterwardes from thence went into the confines of THRACIA, where they had this name of BOTTIEIANS. In memory whereof, the daughters of the BOTTIEIANS in a solemne sacrifice they make, doe vse to singe the foote of this songe: Lett vs to ATHENS goe. But thereby we maye see howe perilous a thing it is, to fall in displeasure and enmitie with a cittie, which can speake well, and where learning and eloquence dothe florishe. For euer sence that time, *Minos* was allwayes blased and disgraced through out all the Theaters of ATHENS. The testimonie of *Hesiodus*, who calleth him the most worthie King, dothe nothing helpe him at all, nor the prayse of *Homer*, who nameth him *Iupiters* familliar friende: bicause the tragicall Poets gott the vpper hande in disgracing him, notwithstanding all these. And vpon their stages where all the tragedies were played, they still gaue forth many ill fauored wordes, and fowle speaches of him: as against a man that had bene most cruell and vnnaturall. Yet most men thincke, that *Minos* was the King which established the lawes: and *Radamanthus* the iudge and preseruer of them, who caused the same also to be kept and obserued. The time nowe being comen about for payment of the thirde tribute, when they came to compell the fathers which had children not yet maried, to geue them to be put forth to take their chaunce and lotte: the citizens of ATHENS beganne to murmure against *AEgeus*, alledging for their grieues, that he who onely was the cause of all this euill, was onely alone exempted from this griefe. And that to bring the gouernment of the Realme, to fall into the handes of a straunger his bastard: he cared not though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were vnnaturally compelled to leaue and forsake them. These iust sorrowes and complaintes of the fathers, whose children were taken from them, dyd pearce the harte of *Theseus*, who willing to yelde to reason, and to ronne the selfe same fortune as the cittizens dyd: willingly offered him selfe to be sent thither, without regarde taking to his happe or aduenture. For which, the cittizens greatly esteemed of his corage and honorable disposition, and dearely loued him for the good affection, he seemed to beare vnto the comunaltye. But *AEgeus* hauing vsed many reasons and perswasions, to cause him to turne, and staye from his purpose, and perceyuing in the ende there was no remedye but he woulde goe: he then drue lottes for the children which should goe with him. *Hellanicus* notwithstanding dothe write, that they were not those of the cittie which drewe lottes for the children they should sende, but that *Minos* him selfe went thither in persone and dyd chuse them, as he chose *Theseus* the first, vpon conditions agreed betwene them: that is to wit, that the ATHENIANS shoulde furnishe them with a shippe, and that the children should shippe and imbarke with him, carying no weapons of warre: and that after the death of the *Minotaure*, this tribute should cease. Nowe before that time, there was neuer any hope of returne, nor of safetie of their children: therefore the ATHENIANS allwayes

The Laberinthe a prison in Creta.

Taurus one of Minoes captaines.

Of the Bottieians. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 2.

King Minos defaced by the Poets in the theaters at Athens.

Radamãthus.

The thirde time of payment of the tribute.

The Athenians are grieued to depart with their children.

Theseus offereth to goe with the children into Creta.

Lotts drawen for the children that should goe.

A wayes ſent a ſhippe to conuey their children with a blacke ſayle, in token of aſſured loſſe. Neuertheles *Theſeus* putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good corage, and promiſing boldly that he woulde ſett vpon this *Minotaure*: *AEgeus* gaue vnto the maſter of the ſhippe a white ſayle, commaunding him that at his returne he ſhould put out the white ſayle if his ſonne had eſcaped, if not, that then he ſhould ſett vp the blacke ſayle, to ſhewe him a farre of his vnlucky and vnfortunate chaunce. *Simonides* notwithſtanding doeth ſaye, that this ſayle which *AEgeus* gaue to the maſter, was not white, but redde, dyed in graine, and of the culler of ſcarlett: and that he gaue it him to ſignifie a farre of, their deliuerie and ſafety. This maſter was called *Phereclus Amarſiadas*, as *Simonides* ſayeth. But *Philochorus* writeth, that *Scirus* the SALAMINIAN gaue to *Theſeus* a maſter called *Nauſi-*
B *theus*, and another marriner to tackle the ſayles, who was called *Phæas*: bicauſe the ATHENIANS at that time were not greatly practiſed to the ſea. And this did *Scirus*, for that one of the children on whom the lott fell was his nephewe: and thus muche the chappells doe teſtifie, which *Theſeus* buylt afterwardes in honour of *Nauſitheus*, and of *Phæas*, in the village of *Phalerus*: ioyning to the temple of *Scirus*. And it is ſayed moreouer, that the feaſte which they call *Cybernesia*, that is to ſaye, the feaſte of Patrons of the ſhippes, is celebrated in honour of them. Nowe after the lotts were drawen, *Theſeus* taking with him the children allotted for the tribute, went from the pallace to the temple called *Delphinion*, to offer vp to *Apollo* for him and for them, an offering of ſupplication which they call *Hiceteria*: which was an olyue boughe hallowed, wreathed about with white wolle. After he had made his
C prayer, he went downe to the ſea ſide to imbarke, the ſixt daye of the moneth of Marche: on which daye at this preſent time they doe ſende their younge girles to the ſame temple of *Delphinion*, there to make their prayers and petitions to the goddes. But ſome ſaye, that the oracle of *Apollo* in the cittie of DELPHES had aunſwered him, that he ſhould take *Venus* for his guyde, and that he ſhould call vpon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cauſe he dyd ſacrifice a goate vnto her vpon the ſea ſide, which was founde ſodainly turned into a ramme, and that herefore they ſurnamed this goddeſſe *Epitragia*, as one would ſaye, the goddeſſe of the ramme. Furthermore, after he was arriued in CRETA, he ſlewe there the *Minotaure* (as the moſt parte of auncient authors doe write) by the meanes and helpe of *Ariadne*: who being fallen in fanſie with him, dyd geue him a clue of threede, by
D the helpe whereof ſhe taught him, howe he might eaſely winde out of the turnings and cranckes of the *Labyrinthe*. And they ſaye, that hauing killed this *Minotaure*, he returned backe againe the ſame waye he went, bringing with him thoſe other younge children of ATHENS, whom with *Ariadne* alſo he caried afterwardes awaye. *Pherecides* ſayeth moreouer, that he brake the keeles or bottomes of all the ſhippes of CRETA, bicauſe they ſhould not ſodainely ſett out after them. And *Demon* writeth, that *Taurus* (the captaine of *Minos*) was killed in a fight by *Theſeus*, euen in the very hauen mowthe as they were readye to ſhippe awaye, and hoyſe vp ſayle. Yet *Philochorus* reporteth, that king *Minos* hauing ſett vp the games, as he was wont to doe yerely in the honour and memorye of his ſonne, euery one beganne to enuye captaine *Taurus*, bicauſe they euer looked that he ſhould
E carye awaye the game and victorie, as he had done other yeres before: ouer and that, his authoritye got him much ill will and enuye, bicauſe he was proude and ſtately, and had in ſuſpition that he was great with Queene *Paſiphäe*. Wherefore when *Theſeus* required he might encounter with *Taurus*, *Minos* eaſely graunted it. And being a ſolemne cuſtome in CRETA that the women ſhoulde be preſent, to ſee theſe open ſportes and ſights, *Ariadne* being at theſe games amongeſt the reſt, fell further in loue with *Theſeus*, ſeeing him ſo goodly a perſone, ſo ſtronge, and inuincible in wreſtling, that he farre exceeded all that wreſtled there that daye. King *Minos* was ſo glad that he had taken awaye the honour from captaine *Taurus*, that he ſent him home francke and free into his countrye, rendring to him all the other priſoners of ATHENS: and for his ſake, clearely releaſed and forgaue the cittie of
F ATHENS the tribute, which they ſhould haue payed him yerely. Howbeit *Clidemus* ſearching out the beginning of theſe things to thutmoſt, reciteth them very particularly, and after another ſorte. For he ſayeth, about that time there was a generall reſtraint through out all

The Athenians ſent their children into Creta in a ſhippe with a blacke ſayle.

AEgeus geueth the maſter of the ſhippe a white ſayle, to ſignifie the ſafe returne of Theſeus.

Cybernesia games.

Hiceteria offering.

Theſeus taketh shippe with the tribute childrē, the sixt of Marche, and sayleth into Creta.

Venus Epitragia.

Theſeus slewe the Minotaure by meanes of Ariadne, king Minos daughter.

Theſeus returne out of Creta.

Taurus ouercome of Theſeus, was a

Taurus ſuſpected with Paſiphae, king Minoes wife.

How Ariadne fell in loue with Theſeus.

Minos ſendeth Theſeus home with his priſoners, and releaſeth the Athenians of their tribute.

A marine lawe.

GRECE, restrayning all manner of people to beare sayle in any vessell or bottome, wherein A there were aboue fiue persones, except only *Iason*, who was chosen captaine of the great shippe *Argus*, and had commission to sayle euery where, to chase and driue awaye rouers and pyrates, and to scoure the seas through out. About this time, *Dædalus* being fled from CRETA to ATHENS in a litle barke: *Minos* contrarie to this restraint, woulde needes followe him with a fleete of diuers vessels with owers, who being by force of weather driuen with the coaste of SICILE, fortuned to dye there. Afterwardes his sonne *Deucalion*, being marueilously offended with the ATHENIANS, sent to summone them to deliuer *Dædalus* vnto him, or els he woulde put the children to death, which were deliuered to his father for hostages. But *Theseus* excused him selfe, and sayed he coulde not forsake *Dædalus*, considering he was his neere kynseman, being his cosin germaine, for he was the sonne of *Merope*, the daughter B of *Erichtheus*. Howbeit by and by he caused many vessels secretly to be made, parte of them within ATTICA selfe in the village of *Thymetades*, farre from any highe wayes: and parte of them in the cittie of TROEZEN, by the sufferance of *Pitheus* his grandfather, to the ende his purpose shoulde be kept the secretlyer. Afterwardes when all his shippes were readye, and rygged out, he tooke sea before the CRETANS had any knowledge of it: in so much as when they sawe them a farre of, they dyd take them for the barkes of their friends. *Theseus* landed without resistaunce, and tooke the hauen. Then hauing *Dædalus*, and other banished CRETANS for guydes, he entred the cittie selfe of GNOSVS, where he slewe *Deucalion* in a fight before the gates of the *Labyrinthe*, with all his garde and officers about him. By this meanes the kingdome of CRETA fell by inheritance into the handes of his sister *Ariadne*. *Theseus* C made league with her, and caryed away the yong children of ATHENS, which were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amytie betweene the ATHENIANS and the CRETANS: who promised, and sware, they woulde neuer make warres against them. They reporte many other things also touching this matter, and specially of *Ariadne*: but there is no trothe nor certeintie in it. For some saye, that *Ariadne* honge her selfe for sorowe, when she sawe that *Theseus* had caste her of. Other write, that she was transported by mariners into the Ile of NAXOS, were she was maryed vnto *OEnarus*, the priest of *Bacchus*: and they thincke that *Theseus* lefte her, bicause he was in loue with another, as by these verses shoulde appeare.

Dædalus flight.

King Minos dyed in Sicile.

Deucalion king Minoes sonne sent to Athens to demaunde Dædalus.

Theseus sayled into Creta, and wanne the cittie of Gnosus, and slewe Deucalion.

Diuers opinions of Ariadne.

AEgles the Nymphe, vvas loued of Theseus,
vvhich vvas the daughter of Panopeus. D

Hereas the *Megarian* sayeth, that these two verses in olde time were among the verses of the Poet *Hesiodus*, howbeit *Pisistratus* tooke them awaye: as he dyd in like manner adde these other here in the description of the helles in *Homer*, to gratifie the ATHENIANS.

Bolde Theseus, and Pirithous stovvte,
descended both, from godds immortall race,
Triumphing still, this vvearie vvorlde aboute
in feats of armes, and many a comly grace.

Other holde opinion, that *Ariadne* had two children by *Theseus*: the one of them was named *OEnopion*, and the other *Staphylus*. Thus amongest others the Poet *Ion* writeth it, who was borne in the Ile of CHIO, and speaking of his cittie, he sayeth thus: E

OEnopion, & Staphylus Theseus sonnes.

OEnopion vvhich vvas the sonne, of vvorthy Theseus
did cause men buylde, this stately tovvne vvhich novve triumpheth thus.

Nowe what things are founde seemely in Poets fables, there is none but dothe in manner synge them. But one *Paenon* borne in the cittie of AMATHVNTA, reciteth this cleane after another sorte, and contrarie to all other: saying, that *Theseus* by tempest was driuen with the Ile of CYPRVS, hauing with him *Ariadne*, which was great with childe, and so sore sea sycke, that she was not able to abide it. In so muche as he was forced to put her a lande, and him selfe afterwards returning abourde hoping to saue his shippe against the storme, was forthwith compelled to loose into the sea. The women of the countrye dyd curteously receyue and intreate *Ariadne*: and to comforte her againe, (for she was marueilously oute of harte, to F see

Theseus leaueth Ariadne in Cyprus.

A see she was thus forsaken) they counterfeated letters, as if *Theseus* had wrytten them to her. And when her groninge time was come, and she to be layed, they did their best by all possible meanes to saue her: but she dyed notwithstanding in labour, and could neuer be deliuered. So she was honorably buried by the Ladies of CYPRVS. *Theseus* not long after returned thither againe, who tooke her death maruelous heauily, and left money with the inhabitantes of the countrie, to sacrifice vnto her yearely: and for memorie of her, he caused two litle images to be molten, the one of copper, and the other of siluer, which he dedicated vnto her. This sacrifice is done the seconde day of September, on which they doe yet obserue this ceremonie: they doe lay a young childe vpon a bed, which pitiefully cryeth and lamenteth, as women trauellinge with childe. They saye also, that the AMATHVSIANS doe yet call the B groue where her tombe is sette vp, the wodde of *Venus Adriadne*. And yet there are of the NAXIANS, that reporte this otherwise: saying, there were two *Minoes*, and two *Adriadnees*, whereof the one was maried to *Bacchus* in the Ile of NAXOS, of whome *Staphylus* was borne: and the other the youngest, was rauished and caried away by *Theseus*, who afterwardes forsooke her, and she came into the Ile of NAXOS with her nurce, called *Corcyna*, whose graue they doe shewe yet to this day. This seconde *Adriadne* dyed there also, but she had no such honour done to her after her death, as to the first was geuen. For they celebrate the feaste of the first with all ioye and mirthe: where the sacrifices done in memorie of the seconde, be mingled with mourninge and sorowe. *Theseus* then departing from the Ile of CRETA, arriued in the Ile of DELOS, where he did sacrifice in the temple of *Apollo*, and gaue there a C litle image of *Venus*, the which he had gotten of *Adriadne*. Then with the other young boyes that he had deliuered, he daunced a kinde of daunce, which the DELIANS keepe to this day, as they say: in which there are many turnes and returnes, much after the turninges of the *Labyrinthe*. And the DELIANS call this manner of daunce, the crane, as *Dicæarcus* sayeth. And *Theseus* daunced it first about the altar, which is called *Ceraton*, that is to saye, hornestaffe: bicause it is made and builded of hornes onely, all on the left hande well and curiously sette together without any other bindinge. It is sayed also that he made a game in this Ile of DELOS, in which at the first was geuen to him that ouercame, a braunche of palme for reward of victorie. But when they drewe neere the coast of ATTICA, they were so ioyfull, he and his master, that they forgate to set vp their white sayle, by which they shoulde haue ge- D uen knowledge of their healthe and safetie vnto *AEgeus*. Who seeinge the blacke sayle a farre of, being out of all hope euermore to see his sonne againe, tooke such a griefe at his harte, that he threw him selfe headlong from the top of a clyffe, and killed him selfe. So soone as *Theseus* was arriued at the porte named Phalerus, he performed the sacrifices which he had vowed to the goddes at his departure: and sent an Herauld of his before vnto the city, to carie newes of his safe arriuall. The Heraulde founde many of the citie mourning the death of king *AEgeus*. Many other receiued him with great ioy, as may be supposed. They would haue crowned him also with a garlande of flowers, for that he had brought so good tidinges, that the children of the citie were returned in safetie. The Heraulde was content to take the garlande, yet would he not in any wise put it on his head, but did winde it about his Heraulds E rodde he bare in his hande, and so returneth foorthwith to the sea, where *Theseus* made his sacrifices. Who perceiuinge they were not yet done, did refuse to enter into the temple, and stayed without for troubling of the sacrifices. Afterwardes all ceremonies finished, he went in and tolde him the newes of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for sorowe, hasted with speede towardes the citie. And this is the cause, why to this day, at the feast called Oscophoria (as who woulde say at the feast of boughes) the Herauld hath not his heade but his rod onely crowned with flowers, and why the assistantes also after the sacrifice done, doe make suche cryes and exclamations: *Ele, leuf, iou, iou*: whereof the first is the cr[illegible] and voyce they commonly vse one to an other to make haste, or else it is the foote of som[illegible] songe of triumphe: and the other is the crye and voyce of men as it were in feare and trou- F ble. After he had ended the obsequies and funeralls for his father, he performed also his sacrifices vnto *Apollo*, which he had vowed the seuenth day of the moneth of October, on which they arriued at their returne into the citie of ATHENS. Euen so the custome which

Ariadne death with child in Cy-

The ceremonie of the sacrifice done to Ariadne in Cyprus.
Venus Ariadne.
Two Minoes and two Adriadnees.
Corcyna Ariadnes nurce.

Theseus returneth out of Creta into the Ile of Delos.

Theseus daunce called the Crane.

Palme a token of victory.

Theseus master of his shippe forgate to set out the white sayle.
AEgeus death.
Theseus arriueth safe with the tribute children in the hauen of Phalerus.

The Herauld bare a rodde in his hand.

The feast Oscophoria.

October called Pyanepsion, in the Attican tongue.

they vse at this day, to seeth all manner of pulse, commeth of this: that those which then returned with *Theseus*, did seeth in a great brasse potte all the remaine of their prouision, and therewith made good chere together. Euen in such sorte as this, came vp the custome to carie a braunch of olyue, wreathed about with wolle, which they call Iresione: bicause at that time they caried boughes of supplication, as we haue told ye before. About which they hang all sortes of fruites: for then barrennesse did cease, as the verses they sang afterwards did witnesse.

Herod. of Iresione in the life of Homer, and Suidas.

Bring him good bread, that is of savry tast,
vvith pleasaunt figges, and droppes of dulcet mell,
Then souvple oyle, his body for to bast,
and pure good vvine, to make him sleepe full vvell.

Howbeit there are some which will say, that these verses were made for the *Heraclides*, that is to say, those that descended from *Hercules*: which flying for their safety and succour vnto the ATHENIANS, were entertained & much made of by them for a time. But the most parte holde opinion, they were made vpon the occasion aforesaid. The vessell in which *Theseus* went and returned, was a galliot of thirtie owers, which the ATHENIANS kept vntill the time of *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, alwayes taking away the olde peeces of wodde that were rotten, and euer renewing them with new in their places. So that euer since, in the disputations of the Philosophers, touching things that increase, to wit, whether they remaine alwayes one, or else they be made others: this galliot was alwayes brought in for an example of doubt. For some mainteined, that it was still one vessell: others to the contrarie defended it was not so. And they holde opinion also, that the feast of boughes which is celebrated at ATHENS at this time, was then first of all instituted by *Theseus*. It is sayed moreouer, that he did not carye all the wenches vpon whome the lotts did fall, but chose two fayer young boyes, whose faces were swete and delicate as maydens be, that otherwise were hardie, and quicke sprighted. But he made them so oft bathe them selues in whotte bathes, and kepe them in from the heate of the sunne, and so many times to washe, anointe, and rubbe them selues with oyles which serue to supple and smoothe their skinnes, to keepe freshe and fayer their colour, to make yellowe and bright their heares: and withall did teache them so to counterfeate their speache, countenaunce and facion of young maydes, that they seemed to be like them, rather then young boyes. For there was no manner of difference to be perceiued outwardly, and he mingled them with the girles, without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a procession, in which both he and the other young boyes, were apparelled then as they be nowe, which carie boughes on the day of the feast in their handes. They carie them in the honor of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, following the fable that is tolde of them: or rather bicause they returned home iust, at the time and season, when they gather the fruite of those trees. There are women which they call *Deipnophores*, that is to say, supper caryers, which are assistantes to the sacrifice done that day, in representing the mothers of those, vpon whom the lottes did fall, bicause they in like sorte brought them both meate and drinke. There they tell tales, for so did their mothers tattle to their children, to comforte and encorage them. All these particularities were written by *Demon* the historiographer. There was moreouer a place chosen out to build him a tẽple in, and he him selfe ordained, that those houses which had payed tribute before vnto the king of CRETA, should nowe yearely thenceforth become contributories towardes the charges of a solemne sacrifice, which shoulde be done in the honor of him: and he did assigne the order and administration of the same, vnto the house of the *Phytalides*, in recompence of the curtesie which they showed him when he arriued. Furthermore, after the death of his father *AEgeus*, he vndertooke a maruelous great enterprise. For he brought all the inhabitantes of the whole prouince of ATTICA, to be within the citie of ATHENS, and made them all one corporation, which were before dispersed into diuerse villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be assembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any order concerning the cõmon state. Many times also they were at variance together, & by the eares, making warres one vpon an other. But *Theseus* tooke the paines to goe from village to village, and from family, to familie, to let them vnderstand the reasons why they should consent vnto it. So he found the poore people

Theseus went into Creta with the tribute children, in the galliot of 30. owers.
Disputation about increase.
The galliot alleaged for a doubt.

Theseus thankefullnes to the Phytalides who were the first that feasted him in their houses.
Theseus brought the inhabitants of the countrie of Attica into one city.

A people and priuate men, ready to obey and followe his will: but the riche, and ſuch as had authoritye in euery village, all againſt it. Neuertheles he wanne them, promiſing that it ſhould be a common wealth, and not ſubiect to the power of any ſole prince, but rather a populer ſtate. In which he woulde only reſerue to him ſelfe the charge of the warres, and the preſeruation of the lawes: for the reſt, he was content that euery citizen in all and for all ſhould beare a like ſwaye and authoritye. So there were ſome that willingly graunted thereto. Other who had no liking thereof, yelded notwithſtanding for feare of his diſpleaſure and power which then was very great. So they thought it better to conſent with good will, vnto that he required: then to tary his forcible compulſion. Then he cauſed all the places where iuſtice was miniſtred, and all their halles of aſſembly to be ouerthrowen and pulled downe. He remoued ſtraight all iudges

B and officers, and built a towne houſe, and a counſaill hall, in the place where the cittie now ſtandeth, which the ATHENIANS call ASTY, but he called the whole corporation of them, ATHENS. Afterwardes he inſtituted the greate feaſt and common ſacrifice for all of the countrye of ATTICA, which they call *Panathenæa*. Then he ordeined another feaſte alſo vpon the ſixtenth daye of the moneth of Iune, for all ſtrangers which ſhould come to dwell in ATHENS, which was called *Metæcia*, & is kept euen to this daye. That done, he gaue ouer his regall power according to his promiſe, and beganne to ſett vp an eſtate or policye of a common wealth, beginning firſt with the ſeruice of the goddes. To knowe the good ſucceſſe of his enterpriſe, he ſent at the very beginning to the oracle of *Apollo* in DELPHES, to enquire of the fortune of this cittye: from whence this aunſwer was brought vnto him.

Aſty, the towne houſe of the Athenians.

The feaſtes Panathenæa, and Metæcia.

[illegible] kingdome, & maketh Athes a common wealth.

C *O thou vvhich arte, the ſonne of AEgeus,*
begott by him, on Pitheus daughter deare.
The mightie Ioue, my father glorious,
by his decree, hath ſayed there ſhall appeare,
a fatall ende, of euery cittie here.
VVhich ende he vvill, ſhall alſo come adovvne,
VVithin the vvalles, of this thy ſtately tovvne.
Therefore shevve thou, a valliant conſtant minde,
and let no care, nor carke thy harte diſpleaſe.
For like vnto a bladder blovven vvith vvinde
thou ſhalt be toſt, vpon the ſurging ſeas.
Yet lett no dynte, of dolours the diſeaſe.
For vvhy? thou ſhalt, nor perishe nor decaye,
nor be orecome, nor yet be caſt avvaye.

The oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

It is founde written alſo that Sibylla afterwardes gaue out ſuche a like oracle ouer the cittye of ATHENS.

D *The bladder blovven maye flete vpon the fludde,*
but cannot ſynke, nor ſticke in filthie mudde.

Moreouer, bicauſe he woulde further yet augment his people, and enlarge his cittie, he entiſed many to come and dwell there, by offering them the ſelfe ſame freedome and priuiledges, which the naturall borne citizens had. So that many iudge, that theſe wordes which are in vſe at this daye in ATHENS, when any open proclamation is made, All people, Come ye hither: be the ſelfe ſame which *Theſeus* then cauſed to be proclaymed, when he in that ſorte dyd gather a people together of all nations. Yet for all that, he ſuffered not the great multitude that came thither tagge and ragge, to be without diſtinction of degrees & orders. For he firſt diuided the noble men, from huſbādmen and artificers, appointing the noblemen as iudges & magiſtrates to iudge vpon matters of Religiō, & touching the ſeruice of the godds: & of them alſo he dyd

E chuſe rulers, to beare ciuill office in the cōmon weale, to determine the lawe, and to tell all holy and diuine things. By this meanes he made the noble men and the two other eſtates equall in voyce. And as the noblemen dyd paſſe the other in honour: euen ſo the artificers exceeded them in number, & the huſbandmen them in profit. Nowe that *Theſeus* was the firſt who of all others yelded to haue a common weale or populer eſtate (as *Ariſtotle* ſayeth) and dyd geue ouer his regall power: *Homer* ſelf ſemeth to teſtifie it, in numbring the ſhippes which were in the Græcians armie before the cittie of TROIA. For amongeſt all the GRÆCIANS, he only calleth the ATHENIANS people. Moreouer *Theſeus* coyned money, which he marked with the ſtampe of an oxe, in memorye of the bulle of *Marathon*, or of *Taurus* the captaine of Minos, or els to prouoke his citizens to geue them ſelues to labour. They ſaye alſo that of this money

F they were ſince called *Hecatombœon*, & *Decabœon*, which ſignifieth worth a hundred oxen, and worth tenne oxen. Furthermore hauing ioyned all the territorie of the cittie of MEGARA, vnto

Theſeus maketh differēce of ſtates and degrees in his cōmon weale.

Theſeus the firſt that gaue ouer regall power, & framed a populer ſtate.

An oxe ſtamped in Theſeus coyne.

Hecatombœō, Decabœon.

the countrie of ATTICA, he caused that notable foure square piller to be sett vp for their confines within the straight of PELOPONNESVS, and engraued thereuppon this superscription, that declareth the separation of both the countries which confine there together. The superscription is this. A

VVhere Titan doth beginne, his beames for to displaye
euen that vvaye stands Ionia, in fertile vvise allvvaye:
And vvhere againe he goeth, adovvne to take his rest,
there stands Peloponnesus lande, for there I compt it vvest.

It was he also which made the games called *Isthmia*, after the imitation of *Hercules*, to the ende that as the GRECIANS dyd celebrate the feast of games called *Olympia*, in the honour of *Iupiter*, by *Hercules* ordinance: so, that they should also celebrate the games called *Isthmia*, by his order and institution, in the honour of *Neptune*. For those that were done in the straights in the honour of *Melicerta*, were done in the night, & had rather forme of sacrifice or of a mysterie, then of games & opē feast. Yet some will saye, that these games of *Isthmia* were instituted in the honour & memorie of *Sciron*, & that *Theseus* ordained them in satisfaction of his death: bicause he was his cosin germaine, being the sonne of *Canethus*, and of *Heniocha* the daughter of *Pitheus*. Other saye that it was *Sinnis* and not *Sciron*, and that for him *Theseus* made these games, and not for the memorie of the other. Howsoeuer it was, he specially willed the CORINTHIANS, that they should geue vnto those that came from ATHENS to see their games of *Isthmia*, so much place to sit downe before them (in the most honorable parte of the feast place) as the saile of their shippe should couer, in the which they came from ATHENS: thus doe *Hellanicus* & *Andron Halicarnasseus* write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the sea Maior, *Philochorus*, & some other holde opinion, that he went thither with *Hercules* against the AMAZONES: and that to honour his valiantnes, *Hercules* gaue him ANTIOPA the AMAZONE. But the more parte of the other Historiographers, namely *Hellanicus*, *Pherecides*, & *Herodotus*, doe write, that *Theseus* went thither alone, after *Hercules* voyage, & that he tooke this AMAZONE prisoner, which is likeliest to be true. For we doe not finde that any other who went this iorney with him, had taken any AMAZONE prisoner besides him selfe. *Bion* also the Historiographer, this notwithstanding sayeth, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the AMAZONES (sayeth he) naturally louing men, dyd not flie at all when they sawe them lāde in their countrye, but sent them presents, & that *Theseus* entised her to come into his shippe, who brought him a present: & so sone as she was aborde, he hoysed his sayle, & so caried her away. Another Historiographer *Menecrates*, who wrote the historie of the cittie of NICEA, in the countrye of BYTHINIA, sayeth: that *Theseus* hauing this AMAZONE ANTIOPA with him, remained a certaine time vpon those coasts, & that amongest other he had in his companie three younger brethern of ATHENS, *Euneus*, *Thoas*, and *Solois*. This last, *Solois*, was marueilously in loue with ANTIOPA, and neuer bewrayed it to any of his other companions, sauing vnto one with whom he was most familiar, and whom he trusted best: so that he reported this matter vnto ANTIOPA. But she vtterly reiected his sute, though otherwise she handled it wisely and curteously, and dyd not complaine to *Theseus* of him. Howbeit the younge man despairing to enioye his loue, tooke it so inwardly, that desperately he lept into the riuer, and drowned him selfe. Which when *Theseus* vnderstoode, and the cause also that brought him to this desperation and ende: he was very sorye, and angrie also. Whereupon he remembred a certeine oracle of *Pythia*, by whom he was commaunded to buyld a cittie in that place in a straunge countrye, where he should be most sorye, and that he should leaue some that were about him at that time, to gouerne the same. For this cause therefore he built a cittie in that place, which he named PYTHOPOLIS, bicause he had built it only by the commaundement of the *Nunne Pythia*. He called the riuer in the which the younge man was drowned, *Solois*, in memorye of him: and left his two brethern for his deputies and as gouernours of this newe cittie, with another gentleman of ATHENS, called *Hermus*. Hereof it commeth, that at this daye the PYTHOPOLITANS call a certen place of their cittie, *Hermus* house. But they fayle in the accent, by putting it vpon the last syllabe: for in pronouncing it so, *Hermus* signifieth *Mercurie*. By this meanes they doe transferre the honour due to the memorie of *Hermus*, vnto the god *Mercurie*.

Olympia.

Theseus erected the games Isthmia, in the honour of Neptune.

Theseus iornye into mare Maior.

Antiopa the Amazone rauished by Theseus.

Solois fell in loue with Antiopa.

Solois drowned him selfe for loue.

Pythopolis built by Theseus.

Solois fl.

Nowe

A Now heare what was the occaſion of the warres of the AMAZONES, which me thinckes was not a matter of ſmall moment, nor an enterpriſe of a woman. For they had not placed their campe within the very cittie of ATHENS, nor had not fought in the very place it ſelfe (called *Pnyce*) adioyning to the temple of the *Muſes*, if they had not firſt conquered or ſubdued all the countrye thereabouts: neither had they all comen at the firſt, ſo valiantly to aſſaile the cittie of ATHENS. Now, whether they came by lande from ſo farre a countrye, or that they paſſed ouer an arme of the ſea, which is called *Boſphorus Cimmericus*, being froſen as *Hellanicus* ſayeth: it is hardely to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very cittie it ſelfe, the names of the places which cõtinewe yet to this preſent daye doe witneſſe it, & the gráues alſo of the women which dyed there. But ſo it is, that both armies laye a great time one in the face
B of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length *Theſeus* hauing firſt made ſacrifice vnto Feare the goddeſſe, according to the counſaill of a prophecie he had receyued, he gaue them battell in the moneth of Auguſt, on the ſame daye, in the which the ATHENIANS doe euen at this preſent ſolemniſe the feaſt, which they call *Boedromia*. But *Clidemus* the Hiſtoriographer, deſirous particularly to write all the circumſtances of this encownter, ſayeth that the left poynte of their battell bent towards the place which they call AMAZONION: and that the right poynte marched by the ſide of CHRYSA, euen to the place which is called PNYCE, vpon which, the ATHENIANS cõming towards the temple of the *Muſes*, dyd firſt geue their charge. And for proofe that this is true, the graues of the women which dyed in this firſt encoũter, are founde yet in the great ſtreete, which goeth towards the gate Piraica, neere vnto the chappell
C of the litle god *Chalcodus*. And the ATHENIANS (ſayeth he) were in this place repulſed by the AMAZONES, euen to the place where the images of *Eumenides* are, that is to ſaye, of the furies. But on thother ſide alſo, the ATHENIANS cõming towards the quarters of *Palladium, Ardettus*, & *Lucium*, draue backe their right poynte euen to within their campe, & ſlewe a great number of them. Afterwards, at the ende of foure moneths, peace was taken betwene them by meanes of one of the women called *Hyppolita*. For this Hiſtoriographer calleth the AMAZONE which *Theſeus* maried, *Hyppolita*, and not *Antiopa*. Neuertheles, ſome ſaye that ſhe was ſlayne (fighting on *Theſeus* ſide) with a darte, by another called *Molpadia*. In memorie whereof, the piller which is ioyning to the temple of the *Olympian* ground, was ſet vp in her honour. We are not to maruell, if the hiſtorie of things ſo auncient, be founde ſo diuerſely written. For there are alſo that
D write, that Queene *Antiopa* ſent thoſe ſecretly which were hurte then into the cittie of CALCIDE, where ſome of them recouered, & were healed: and others alſo dyed, which were buried neere to the place called AMAZONION. Howſoeuer it was, it is moſt certain that this warre was ended by agreement. For a place adioyning to the temple of *Theſeus*, dothe beare recorde of it, being called *Orcomoſium*: bicauſe the peace was there by ſolemne othe concluded. And the ſacrifice alſo dothe truely verifie it, which they haue made to the AMAZONES, before the feaſt of *Theſeus*, long time out of minde. They of MEGARA alſo doe ſhewe a tumbe of the AMAZONES in their cittie, which is as they goe frõ the market place, to the place they call Rhus: where they finde an auncient tumbe, cut in facion & forme of a loſenge. They ſaye that there died other of the AMAZONES alſo, neere vnto the cittie of CHAERONEA, which were buried all alongeſt the
E litle broke paſſing by the ſame, which in the olde time, (in mine opinion) was called *Thermodon*, & is nowe named *Haemon*, as we haue in other places written in the life of *Demoſthenes*. And it ſemeth alſo, that they dyd not paſſe through THESSALIE, without fighting: for there are ſeene yet of their tũbes all about the cittie of SCOTVSA, hard by the rocks, which be called the doggs head. And this is that which is worthy memorie (in mine opinion) touching the warres of theſe AMAZONES. Howe the Poet telleth that the AMAZONES made warres with *Theſeus* to reuẽge the iniurie he dyd to their Queene *Antiopa*, refuſing her, to marye with *Phædra*: & as for the murder which he telleth that *Hercules* dyd, that me thinckes is altogether but deuiſe of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of *Antiopa*, *Theſeus* maried *Phædra*, hauing had before of *Antiopa* a ſonne called *Hippolytus*, or as the Poet *Pindarus* writeth, *Demophon*. And for that the Hiſtorio-
F graphers doe not in any thing ſpeake againſt the tragicall Poets, in that which concerneth the ill happe that chaunced to him, in the perſones of this his wife & of his ſonne: we muſt needes take it to be ſo, as we finde it written in the tragedies. And yet we finde many other reportes

The cauſe of the warres of the Amazones againſt the Athenãs.

Boſphorus Cimmericus, an arme of the ſea.

Theſeus fighteth a battell with the Amazones.

The order of the Amazones battell.

Peace concluded at foure moneths ende by meanes of Hyppolita.

Orcomoſion, the name of a place.

Auncient tũbes of loſenge facion.

Thermodon, nowe called Haemon ſt.

Hippolytus Theſeus ſonne by Antiopa.

Phædra Theſeus wife, and Minos daughter king of Creta.

Theſeus mariages.

touching the mariages of *Theſeus*, whoſe beginnings had no great good honeſt groũd, neither A
fell out their endes very fortunate: & yet for all that they haue made no tragedies of them, neither haue they bene played in the Theaters. For we reade that he tooke away *Anaxo* the TROEZENIAN, & that after he had killed *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, he tooke their daughters perforce: and that he dyd alſo marye *Peribæa*, the mother of *Aiax*, and afterwards *Phereba*, & *Ioppa* the daughter of *Iphicles*. And they blame him much alſo, for that he ſo lightly forſooke his wife *Ariadne*, for the loue of *AEgles* the daughter of *Panopæus*, as we haue recited before. Laſtely, he tooke awaye *Hellen*: which rauiſhement filled all the Realme of ATTICA with warres, & finally was the very occaſion that forced him to forſake his countrye, and brought him at the length to his ende, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other princes of GREECE had done many goodly and notable exploits in the warres, yet *Herodotus* is of opinion, that *Theſeus* was neuer B

Theſeus bat teis.

in any one of them: ſauing that he was at the battell of the *Lapithæ* againſt the *Centauri*. Others ſaye to the contrarie, that he was at the iorney of *Cholchide* with *Iaſon*, & that he dyd helpe *Meleager* to kill the wilde bore of *Calydonia*: from whence (as they ſaye) this prouerbe came: *Not vvithout Theſeus*. Meaning that ſuche a thing was not done without great helpe of another.

Prouerbe. Not without Theſeus.

Howbeit it is certaine that *Theſeus* ſelf dyd many famous actes, without ayde of any man, and that for his valiantnes this prouerbe came in vſe, which is ſpoken: *This is another Theſeus*. Alſo

Prouerbe. This is another Theſeus.

he dyd helpe *Adraſtus* king of the ARGIVES, to recouer the bodyes of thoſe that were ſlayne in the battell, before the cittie of THEBES. Howbeit it was not, as the poet *Euripides* ſayeth, by force of armes, after he had ouercome the THEBANS in battell: but it was by cõpoſition. And thus the greateſt number of the moſt auncient writers doe declare it. Furthermore, *Philochorus* C
writeth, that this was the firſt treatie that euer was made to recouer the dead bodyes ſlayne in battell: neuertheles we doe reade in the hiſtories and geſtes of *Hercules*, that he was the firſt that euer ſuffered his enemies to carye awaye their dead bodyes, after they had bene put to the ſword. But whoſoeuer he was, at this daye in the village of ELEVTHERES, they doe ſhowe the place where the people were buried, and where princes tumbes are ſeene about the cittie of ELEVSIN, which he made at the requeſt of *Adraſtus*. And for teſtimonie hereof, the tragedie *AEſchilus* made of the ELEVSINIANS, where he cauſeth it to be ſpoken euen thus to *Theſeus* him ſelf, dothe clerely ouerthrowe the petitioners in *Euripides*. Touching the friendſhippe betwixt *Pirithous* and him, it is ſayed it beganne thus. The renowne of his valliancy was maruelouſly blowen abroade through all GREECE, & *Pirithous* deſirous ro knowe it by experience, D

Theſeus valliantnes the cauſe of Pirithous friendſhippe with him.

went euen of purpoſe to inuade his countrye, and brought awaye a certaine bootie of oxen of his taken out of the countrye of MARATHON. *Theſeus* being aduertiſed therof, armed ſtraight, and went to the reſcue. *Pirithous* hearing of his comming, fled not at all, but returned backe ſodainly to mete him. And ſo ſone as they came to ſee one another, they both wondred at eche others beawtie and corage, and ſo had they no deſire to fight. But *Pirithous* reaching out his hande firſt to *Theſeus*, ſayed vnto him, I make your ſelfe iudge of the damage you haue ſuſteined by my inuaſion, and with all my harte I will make ſuche ſatisfaction, as it ſhall pleaſe you to aſſeſſe it at. *Theſeus* then dyd not only releaſe him, of all the damages he had done, but alſo requeſted him he would become his friend, and brother in armes. Hereupon they were preſentlye ſworne brethren in the fielde: after which othe betwixt them, *Pirithous* maried *Deidamia*, & E

Pirithous & Theſeus ſworne brethern in the field.

Pirithous maried Deidamia.

ſent to praye *Theſeus* to come to his mariage, to viſite his countrye, & to make merye with the *Lapithæ*. He had bidden alſo the *Centauri* to the feaſt: who being druncke, committed many lewde partes, euen to the forcing of women. Howbeit the *Lapithæ* chaſticed them ſo well, that they ſlewe ſome of them preſently in the place, & draue the reſt afterwards out of all the countrye by the helpe of *Theſeus*, who armed him ſelfe, and fought on their ſide. Yet *Herodotus* writeth the matter ſomewhat contrarie, ſaying that *Theſeus* went not at all vntill the warre was well begonne: and that it was the firſt time that he ſawe *Hercules*, & ſpake with him neere vnto the cittie of TRACHINA, when he was then quiet, hauing ended all his farre voyages, & greateſt troubles. They reporte that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnes, and honorable entertainement betwene them, and howe great curteſie was offred to eache o- F

The Lapithæ ouercomen the Centauri. Theſeus and Hercules met at Trachina.

ther. Neuertheles me thincks we ſhould geue better credit to thoſe writers that ſaye they mett many times together, and that *Hercules* was accepted and receyued into the brotherhed of

the

A the myſteries of ELEVSIN, by the meanes of the countenaunce and fauour which *Theſeus* ſhowed vnto him: and that his purification alſo was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged of neceſſitie of all his ill deedes and cruelties, before he could enter into the companie of thoſe holy myſteries. Furthermore, *Theſeus* was fiftie yeres olde when he tooke awaye *Hellen* and rauiſhed her, which was very younge, and not of age to be maried, as *Hellanicus* ſayeth. By reaſon whereof, ſome ſeeking to hyde the rauiſhement of her as a haynous facte, doe reporte it was not he, but one *Idas* and *Lynceus* that caryed her awaye, who left her in his cuſtodie and keeping: and that *Theſeus* would haue kept her from them, and would not haue deliuered her to her brethern *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which afterwardes dyd demaunde her againe of him. Others againe ſaye it was her owne father *Tyndarus*, who gaue her him to keepe, for that he was afB frayed of *Enarſphorus* the ſonne of *Hippotoon*, who would haue had her away by force. But that which commeth neareſt to the trothe in this caſe, and which in deede by many authors is teſtified, was in this ſorte. *Theſeus* & *Pirithous* went together to the cittie of LACEDÆMON, where they tooke awaye *Hellen* (being yet very younge) euen as ſhe was dauncing in the tẽple of *Diana* ſurnamed *Orthia*: & they fled for life. They of LACEDÆMON ſent after her, but thoſe that followed wẽt no further then the cittie of TEGEA. Now when they were eſcaped out of the countrye of PELOPONNESVS, they agreed to drawe lots together, which of them two ſhould haue her, with condition that whoſe lot it were to haue her, he ſhould take her to his wife, & ſhould be bound alſo to helpe his companion to get him another. It was *Theſeus* happe to light vpon her, who caryed her to the cittie of APHIDNES, bicauſe ſhe was yet to younge to be maried.

Theſeus fiftie yere olde whẽ he rauiſhed Hellen.

The manner of Hellens rauiſhement. Diana Orthia.

Theſeus lefte Hellen in the cittie of Aphidnes.

C Whether he cauſed his mother to come to bring her vp, & gaue his friend called *Aphidnus* the charge of them both, recõmending her to his good care, & to kepe it ſo ſecretly, that no bodye ſhould knowe what was become of her. Bicauſe he would doe the like for *Pirithous* (according to th'agremẽt made betwext thẽ) he went into EPIRVS with him to ſteale the daughter of *Aidoneus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, who had ſurnamed his wife *Proſerpina*, his daughter *Proſerpina*, & his dogg *Cerberus*: with whom he made them fight which came to aſke his daughter in mariage, promiſing to geue her to him that ſhould ouercome his *Cerberus*. But the King vnderſtãding that *Pirithous* was come, not to requeſt his daughter in mariage, but to ſteale her away, he tooke him priſoner with *Theſeus*: & as for *Pirithous*, he cauſed him preſẽtly to be torne in peces with his dogge, & ſhut *Theſeus* vp in cloſe priſon. In this meane time there was one at ATHENS

Theſeus went with Pirithous into Epirus, to ſteale Proſerpina Aidoneus daughter. Pirithous torne in peces with Cerberus. Theſeus cloſe

D called *Meneſtheus*, the ſonne of *Peteus*: which *Peteus* was the ſonne of *Orneus*, & *Orneus* was the ſonne of *Erictheus*. This *Meneſtheus* was the firſt that beganne to flatter the people, & did ſeeke to winne the fauour of the cõmunaltie, by ſweete entiſing words: by which deuiſe he ſtirred vp the chiefeſt of the cittie againſt *Theſeus* (who in deede long before begãne to be wearie of him) by declaring vnto them howe *Theſeus* had taken from them their royalties & ſigniories, & had ſhut them vp in ſuche ſorte within the walles of a cittie, that he might the better keepe them in ſubiection & obedience in all things, after his will. The poore inferiour ſorte of people, he dyd ſtirre vp alſo to rebellion, perſuading them that it was no other then a dreame of libertie which was promiſed them: & howe contrariwiſe they were clearely diſpoſſeſt & throwen out of their own houſes, of their tẽples, & from their naturall places where they were borne, to thend only,

E that in liewe of many good & louing lordes which they were wont to haue before, they ſhould now be compelled to ſerue one onely hedde, & a ſtraunge lorde. Euen as *Meneſtheus* was very hotte about this practiſe, the warre of the *Tyndarides* fell out at that inſtant, which greatly furthered his pretẽce. For theſe *Tyndarides* (to wit the children of *Tyndarus*) *Caſtor* & *Pollux*, came downe with a great armie, againſt the cittie of ATHENS: & ſome ſuſpect ſore that *Meneſtheus* was cauſe of their cõming thither. Howbeit at the firſt entrie they dyd no hurte at all in the countrye, but only demaunded reſtitution of their ſiſter. To whom the citizens made aunſwer, that they knewe not where ſhe was left: & then the brethern beganne to make ſpoyle, & offer warre in deede. Howbeit there was one called *Academus*, who hauing knowledge (I can not tell by what meane) that ſhe was ſecretly hidden in the cittie of APHIDNES, reuealed it vnto them.

The warre of the Tyndarides againſt the Athenians.

F By reaſon whereof the *Tyndarides* did alwayes honour him very much, ſo long as he liued, & afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS, hauing ofte burnt & deſtroyed the whole countrye of ATTICA throughout, they would yet neuer touch the Academy of ATHENS for *Academus* ſake.

Academia why so called. Yet *Dicearchus* sayeth, that in the armie of the *Tyndarides* there were two *Arcadians, Echedemus*, A
& *Marathus*, and howe of the name of one of them, it was then called the place of Echedemie, which sithence hath bene called Academia: & after the name of the other, there was a village called MARATHON, bicause he willingly offered him self to be sacrificed before the battell, as obeying the order & cõmandement of a prophecie. So they went & pitched their campe before the cittie of APHIDNES, & hauing wõne the battell, & taken the cittie by assault, they raced the place. They saye that *Alycus*, the sonne of *Sciron* was slaine at this field, who was in the hoaste of the *Tyndarides*, & that after his name, a certaine quarter of the territorie of MEGARA was called *Alycus*, in the which his bodye was buried. Howbeit *Hereas* writeth that *Theseus* self dyd kill him before *Aphidnes*: In witnes whereof he alledgeth certain verses which speake of *Alycus*.

Marathon.

Aphidnes wonne & raced by the Tyndarides.

Alycus Scirons sonne slayne, at the battell of Aphidnes.

While as he sought with all his might and mayne B
(in thy defence, fayer Hellen for to fight)
In Aphidnes, vpon the pleasaunt playne,
bold Theseus to cruell death him dight.

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that *Theseus* being there, the cittie of *Aphidnes*, & his mother also were taken. But when it was wonne, they of ATHENS beganne to quake for feare, and *Menestheus* counselled them to receyue the *Tyndarides* into the cittie, and to make them good chere, so they would make no warres but vpon *Theseus*, which was the first that had done them the wrõg & iniurie: & that to all other els they should showe fauour & good will. And so it fell out. For when the *Tyndarides* had all in their power to doe as they listed, they demaunded nothing els but that they might be receiued into their corporatiõ, & not to be reckoned for straungers, no more then *Hercules* was: the which was graũted the *Tyndarides*, & *Aphidnus* dyd adopt them for his childrẽ, as *Pylius* had adopted *Hercules*. Moreouer they dyd honour them as if they had bene godds, calling them *Anaces*. Either bicause they ceased the warres, or for that they ordered them selues so well, that their whole armie being lodged within the cittie, there was not any hurte or displeasure done to any persone: but as it became those that haue the charge of any thing, they did carefully watche to preserue the good quiet thereof. All which this Greke word *Anacos* doth signifie, wherof perchaunce it comes that they call the kings *Anactes*. There are others also who holde opinion that they were called *Anaces*, bicause of their starres which appeared in the ayer. For the *Attican* tongue sayeth, *Anacas*, & *Anecathen*: where the comon people saye *Ano*, & *Anothen*, that is to saye, aboue. Neuertheles *AEthra*, *Theseus* mother, was D
caried prisoner to LACEDÆMON, & from thence to TROIA with *Hellen*, as some saye: & as *Homer* him self doth witnesse in his verses, where he speaketh of the women that followed *Hellen*.

C

The Tyndarides honoured as godds, and called Anaces.

Cicer. de Nat. deor. lib. 3.

Kings called Anactes.

Anaces why so called.

AEthra takẽ prisoner, and caried to Lacedemon.

AEthra the daughter deare of Pitheus aged Syre,
and vvith her fayer Clymene she, vvhose eyes most men desire.

Diuers opinions of Homers verses.

Yet there are other who aswell reiect these two verses, & mainteine they are not *Homers*: as also they reproue all that is reported of *Munychus*. To wit, that *Laodice* being priuely cõceiued of him by *Demophon*, he was brought vp secretly by *AEthra* within TROIA. But *Hister* the historien in his thirteenth of his histories of ATTICA, maketh a recitall farre cõtrary to other, saying: that some hold opinion, that *Paris Alexander* was slayne in battell by *Achilles*, & *Patroclus* in the coũtrye of THESSALIE, neere to the riuer of *Sperchius*, & that his brother *Hector* tooke the cit- E
tie of TROEZEN, from whence he brought awaye *AEthra*: in which there is no manner of apparance or likelihodde. But *AEdoneus* king of the MOLOSSIANS, feasting *Hercules* one daye as he passed through his realme, descended by chaunce into talke of *Theseus* & of *Pirithous*, howe they came to steale away his daughter secretly: & after told how they were also punished. *Hercules* was marueilous sorye to vnderstand that one of them was now dead, & the other in daunger to dye, & thought with him self that to make his mone to *AEdoneus*, it would not helpe the matter: he besought him only that he would deliuer *Theseus* for his sake. And he graunted him. Thus *Theseus* being deliuered of this captiuitie, returned to ATHENS, where his friends were not altogether kept vnder by his enemies: & at his returne he dyd dedicate to *Hercules* all the temples, which the cittie had before caused to be built in his owne honour. And where first of F
all they were called *Thesea*, he did now surname thẽ all *Herculea*, excepting foure, as *Philochorus* writeth. Nowe when he was arriued at ATHENS, he would immediately haue cõmaunded and ordered

Sperchius fl.

Theseus deliuered out of prison by Hercules meanes.

A ordered things as he was wont to doe: but he found him ſelf troubled much with ſedition, bicauſe thoſe who had hated him of long time, had added alſo to their old canckered hate, a diſdain & contẽpt to feare him any more. And the comõ people now were become ſo ſtubborn, that where before they would haue done all that they were cõmanded, & haue ſpoken nothing to the contrarie: now they looked to be borne with, & flattered. Whereupon *Theſeus* thought at the firſt to haue vſed force, but he was forced by the faction & contẽtion of his enemies to let all alone, & in the end, deſpairing he ſhould euer bring his matters to paſſe to his deſire, he ſecretly ſent away his children into the Ile of EVBOEA, to *Elphenor* the ſonne of *Chalcodus*. And him ſelf, after he had made many wiſhes & curſes againſt the Athenians, in the village of Gargettus, in a place which for that cauſe to this daye is called *Araterion*: (that is to ſaye, the place

The Athenias diſdaine to obey Theſeus.

B of curſings) he did take the ſeas, & wẽt into the Ile of SCIROS, where he had goods, & thought alſo to haue founde friends. *Lycomedes* raigned at that time, & was king of the Ile, vnto whom *Theſeus* made requeſt for ſome lande, as intẽding to dwell there: albeit ſome ſaye that he required him to giue him ayde againſt the Atheniãs. *Lycomedes*, were it that he douted to entertaine ſo great a perſonage, or that he dyd it to gratifie *Meneſtheus*: caried him vp to the high rocks, faining as though he would from thence haue ſhewed him all his countrye round about. But when he had him there, he threw him downe hedlong from the toppe of the rocks to the bottome, & put him thus vnfortunately to death. Yet other write, that he fell down of him ſelf by an vnfortunate chaunce, walking one daye after ſupper as he was wont to doe. There was no mã at that time that dyd followe or purſue his death, but *Meneſtheus* quietly remained king of

Theſeus fled from Athens into the Ile of Sciros.

Theſeus cruelly ſlayne by Lycomedes.

C ATHENS: and the children of *Theſeus*, as priuate ſouldiers followed *Elphenor* in the warres of TROIA. But after the death of *Meneſtheus*, who died in the iorney to TROIE, *Theſeus* ſonnes returned vnto ATHENS, where they recouered their ſtate. Sithence there were many occaſiõs which moued the Athenians to reuerence & honour him as a demy god. For in the battell of Marathon, many thought they ſawe his ſhadow & image in armes, fighting againſt the barbarous people. And after the warres of the *Medes* (the yere wherein *Phædon* was gouernour of ATHENS) the nunne *Pithia* anſwered the Atheniãs, who had ſent to the oracle of *Apollo*: that they ſhould bring backe the bones of *Theſeus*, & putting them in ſome honorable place, they ſhould preſerue & honour them deuoutely. But it was a harde matter to finde his graue: & if they had founde it, yet had it bene a harder thing to haue brought his bones awaye, for the malice of

Meneſtheus king of Athens.

Theſeus ſonnes.

D thoſe barbarous people which inhabited that Ile: which were ſo wild & fierce, that none could trade or liue with them. Notwithſtanding *Cimon* hauing taken the Iland (as we haue written in his life) & ſeeking his graue: perceiued by good happe an eagle pecking with her beake, & ſcraping with her clawes in a place of ſome prety height. Straight it came into his minde (as by diuine inſpiration) to ſearche & digge the place: where was founde the tumbe of a great bodye, with the head of a ſpeare which was of braſſe, & a ſword with it. All which things were brought to ATHENS by *Cimon* in the admirall gallie. The Atheniãs receiued them with great ioye, with proceſſions & goodly ſacrifices, as if *Theſeus* him ſelf had bene a liue, & had returned into the cittie againe. At this daye all theſe relicks lye yet in the middeſt of the cittie, neere to the place

Cimon taketh the Ile of Sciros and bringeth Theſeus bones to Athens.

Theſeus tumbe.

E where the younge men doe vſe all their exerciſes of bodye. There is free libertie of acceſſe for all ſlaues & poore men, (that are afflicted & purſued, by any mightier then themſelues) to pray & ſacrifice in remembraunce of *Theſeus*: who while he liued was protectour of the oppreſſed, & dyd curteouſly receiue their requeſts & petitiõs that prayed to haue ayde of him. The greateſt & moſt ſolemne ſacrifice they doe vnto him, is on the eight daye of October, in which he returned from CRETA, with the other younge children of ATHENS. Howbeit they doe not leaue to honour him euery eight daye of all other moneths, either bicauſe he arriued frõ TROEZEN at ATHENS the eight daye of Iune, as *Diodorus* the Coſmographer writeth: or for that they thought that number to be meeteſt for him, bicauſe the bruite ranne he was begotten of *Neptune*. They doe ſacrifice alſo to *Neptune*, the eight daye of euery moneth, bicauſe the nũber of eight is the firſt cube made of euen number, & the double of the firſt ſquare: which dothe re-

Neptune why called Aſphalius and Gaiochus.

F preſent a ſtedfaſtnes immoueable, properly attributed to the might of *Neptune*, whom for this cauſe we ſurname *Aſphalius*, and *Gaiochus*, which by interpretation dothe ſignifie: the ſafe keeper, & the ſtayer of the earthe. *The ende of Theſeus life.*

THE LIFE OF *Romulus.*

Diuers opinions about the name of Rome.

THE Hiſtoriographers doe not agree in their writings, by whom, nor A
for what cauſe, the great name of the cittie of ROME (the glorie wherof is blowen abroad through all the worlde) was firſt geuen vnto it. For ſome thincke that the Pelaſgians, after they had ouercome the greateſt parte of the world, and had inhabited and ſubdued many nations, in the ende dyd ſtaye them ſelues in that place where it was newe buylded: and for their great ſtrength and power in armes, they gaue the name of ROME vnto the cittie, as ſignifying power in the Greeke tongue. Other ſaye, that after the taking and deſtruction of TROYA, there were certaine TROYANS which ſauing them ſelues from the ſworde, tooke ſuche veſſells as they founde at aduenture in the hauen, and were by winds put with the THVSCANE ſhore, B

Tybris fl.

where they anckred neere vnto the riuer of Tyber. There their wiues being ſo ſore ſea ſicke, that poſſibly they could not any more endure the boiſterous ſurges of the ſeas: it happened one of them among the reſt (the nobleſt and wiſeſt of the companie) called ROMA, to counſaill the other women of her cõpanions to ſet their ſhippes a fire, which they dyd accordingly. Wherewith their huſbands at the firſt were maruelouſly offended. But afterwards, being compelled of neceſſitie to plant them ſelues neere vnto the cittie of PALLANTIVM, they were appeaſed when they ſawe things proſper better then they hoped for, finding the ſoyle there fertile, and the people their neighbours ciuill and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore amongeſt other honours they dyd to requite this lady *Roma*, they called their cittie after her name, as from whom came the originall cauſe of the building and foundation thereof. They ſaye that from C

The beginning of kiſſing their kinſefolkes in the mouthe, came from the Troian women.

thence came this cuſtome continuing yet to this daye at ROME, that the women ſaluting their kinſefolkes and huſbands doe kiſſe them in the mouthe, for ſo dyd theſe TROYAN ladyes to pleaſe their huſbands, and to winne them againe, after they had loſt their fauours, and procured their diſpleaſures with burning of their ſhippes. Other ſaye that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus*, and of *Lucaria*, or els of *Telephus* the ſonne of *Hercules*, and of the wife of *AEneas*: other ſaye of *Aſcanius*, the ſonne of *AEneas*, who named the cittie after her name. Other holde opinion that it was *Romanus* (the ſonne of *Vlyſſes* and of *Circé*) that firſt founded ROME: other will ſaye that it was *Romus* the ſonne of [illegible], whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from TROYA. Other write that it was one *Romis* a tyranne [illegible] LATINES, who draue the THVSCANS out of thoſe

parts

A partes: which departing out of THESSALY went first of all into LYDIA, and afterwards from LYDIA into ITALIE. And furthermore, they who thincke that *Romulus* (as in deede it carieth beſt likelyhod) was he that gaue the name to the cittie, doe not agree about his aunceſters. For ſome of them write, that he was the ſonne of *AEneas* and of *Dexithea* the daughter of *Phorbas*, and that he was brought into ITALIE of a litle childe with his brother *Remus*: and that at that time the riuer of Tyber being ouerflowen, all other ſhippes were caſt awaye, ſauing the ſhippe in which the two litle boyes were, which by great good happe came to a ſtaye vpon a very plaine euen grounde on the bancke, and bicauſe the children beyond all hope were ſaued by this meanes, therefore the place was afterwardes called ROMA. Other ſaye that *Roma* the daughter of the firſt Troian ladye was maried vnto *Latinus* the ſonne of *Telemachus*, by B whom ſhe had *Romulus*. Other write, that it was *AEmilia*, the daughter of *AEneas* and of *Lauinia*, which was gotten with childe by the god *Mars*. Other tell a tale of *Romulus* birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is ſayed that there was ſometime a king of ALBA named *Tarchetius*, a very wicked and cruell man, in whoſe houſe through the permiſſion of the goddes appeared ſuch a like viſion: that there roſe vp in the harthe of his chymney the forme & facion of a mans priuie member, which continued there many dayes. And they ſaye, that at that time there was in THVSCANE an oracle of *Thetis*, from whom they brought vnto this wicked king *Tarchetius* ſuche an aunſwer: that he ſhould cauſe his daughter yet vnmaried to haue carnall companie with the ſtraunge thing, for ſhe ſhould beare a ſonne, that ſhould be famous for his valliancie, for ſtrength of bodye, and his happie ſucceſſe wherein he ſhould exceede all men C of his time. *Tarchetius* tolde this oracle vnto one of his daughters, and willed her to entertaine this ſtraunge thing: but ſhe diſdaining to doe it, ſent one of her waiting women to vndertake the entertainement. But *Tarchetius* was ſo mad at this, that he cauſed them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddeſſe *Veſta* appeared to him in his ſleepe in the night, and charged him he ſhould not doe it. Whereupon he dyd commaund them to make him a pece of clothe in the priſone, with promiſe that they ſhould be maried when they had finiſhed it. Theſe poore maydes toyled at it all the liue longe daye, but in the night there came other (by *Tarchetius* commaundement) that dyd vndoe all they had done the daye before. In the meane time, this waiting woman that was gott with childe by this ſtraunge thing, was deliuered of two goodly boyes or twynnes: whom *Tarchetius* gaue vnto one *Teratius*, with D expreſſe commaundement he ſhould caſt them awaye. This *Teratius* caryed them vnto the bancke of the riuer: thither came a ſhee woulfe and gaue them ſucke, and certaine byrdes that brought litle crommes and put them in their mouthes, vntill a ſwyneheard perceyuing them, and wondring at the ſight, dyd boldly goe to the children, and tooke them awaye with him. Theſe infantes being thus preſerued after they were come to mans ſtate, dyd ſet vpon *Tarchetius* and ſlewe him. One *Promathion* an Italian writer, deliuereth this ſtorie thus. But the reporte that carieth beſt credit of all, and is allowed of by many writers: commeth from Diocles *Peparethian*, (whome *Fabius Pictor* followeth in many thinges) who was the firſt that put forth this ſtorie among the GRECIANS, and ſpecially the chiefeſt poynts of it. Though this matter be ſomewhat diuerſely taken, yet in effect the ſtorie is thus. The E right line and bloude of the kings of ALBA deſcended from *AEneas*, by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, and the Kingdome fell in the ende betweene two brethern, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. They agreed by lotte to make diuiſion betweene them, whereof the one to haue the Kingdome, and the other all the golde, ſyluer, readye money, goodes, and iuells brought from TROIA. *Numitor* by his lotte choſe the Realme for his portion: *Amulius* hauing all the golde and treaſure in his handes, dyd finde him ſelfe thereby the ſtronger, and ſo dyd eaſely take his Realme from him. And fearing leaſt his brothers daughter might haue children which one day might thruſt him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddeſſe *Veſta*, there to paſſe her dayes in virginitie, & neuer to be maried: (ſome call her *Rhea*, other *Syluia*, and other *Ilia*) neuertheles not longe after ſhe was founde with childe, againſt the F rule and profeſſion of the *Veſtall Nunnes*. So nothing had ſaued her from preſent death, but the petition of *Antho* the daughter of king *Amulius*, who intreated her father for her life: yet notwithſtanding ſhe was ſtraightly locked vp, that no body could ſee her, nor ſpeake with her, leaſt

Fables of Romulus byrthe.

An oracle of Thetis in Thuſcane.

See the fragments of Fabius Pictor, and of Cato. See alſo Halicarnaſſeus, & T. Liuius.

Romulus kinred.

Romulus mother.

ſhe ſhould be brought a bedde without *Amulius* knowledge. In the ende ſhe was deliuered of A
two fayre boyes and marueilous great twynnes: which made *Amulius* more affrayed then be-
fore. So he commaunded one of his men to take the two children, and to throwe them awaye,
Fauſtulus. and deſtroye them. Some ſaye that this ſeruants name was *Fauſtulus*: other thincke it was he
that brought them vp. But whoſoeuer he was, he that had the charge to throwe them awaye,
put them in a troughe, and went towards the riuer with intention to throwe them in. Howbeit
he found it riſen ſo highe, and running ſo ſwiftely, that he durſt not come neere the waters ſide,
& ſo they being in the troughe, he layed them on the bancke. In the meane time the riuer ſwel-
ling ſtill, and ouerflowing the bancke, in ſuch ſorte that it came vnder the troughe: dyd gently
Cermanum. lifte vp the troughe, & caried it vnto a great playne, called at this preſent *Cermanum*, and in the
olde time *Germanum* (as I take it) bicauſe the Romaines called the brothers of father & mother, B
Germani. Nowe there was neere vnto this place a wilde figge tree which they called *Ruminalis*,
Ruminalis. of the name of Romulus as the moſt parte thought: or els bicauſe the beaſts feeding there were
wont to come vnder the ſame in the extreame heate of the daye, and there dyd Ruminare, that
is, chewe their cudde in the ſhadowe: or perhappes bicauſe that the two children dyd ſucke
the teate of the woulfe, which the auncient LATINES call RVMA, and they at this day doe yet
The goddeſſe Rumina. call the goddeſſe on whom they crye out to geue their children ſucke, RVMILIA. And in their
ſacrifices to her they vſe no wine, but offer vp milke and water mingled with honye. To theſe
two children lying there in this ſorte, they write, there came a ſhe woulfe & gaue them ſucke:
and a hitwaw alſo which dyd helpe to noriſhe and keepe them. Theſe two beaſtes are thought
to be cõſecrated to the god *Mars*, & the LATINES doe ſingularly honour & reuerence the hi- C
twaw. This dyd much helpe to geue credit to the wordes of the mother, who affirmed ſhe was
conceyued of thoſe two children, by the god *Mars*. Howbeit ſome thincke ſhe was deceyued
in her opinion: for *Amulius* that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce dyd
rauiſhe her. Other holde opinion that the name of the nurce which gaue the two children
ſucke with her breaſtes, gaue occaſion to cõmon reporte to erre much in this tale, by reaſon of
the double ſignification thereof. For the LATINES doe call with one ſelfe name ſhee woulfes
Lupas, & women that geue their bodyes to all cõmers: as this nurce the wife of *Fauſtulus* (that
Acca Laurentia Fauſtulus wife, that nurced the twynner. The Greeke ſayeth Larentia. brought theſe children home to her houſe) dyd vſe to doe. By her right name ſhe was called
Acca Laurentia, vnto whom the ROMAINES doe ſacrifice yet vnto this daye: and the prieſt of
Mars doth offer vnto her, in the moneth of Aprill, the ſheading of wine and milke accuſtomed D
at burialls, and the feaſt it ſelfe is called *Larentia*. It is true that they honour alſo another *La-*
rentia, for like occaſion. The clercke or ſexten of *Hercules* temple, not knowing one daye howe
to driue awaye the time as it ſhould ſeeme: of a certaine liuelines and boldnes, dyd deſire
Larẽtia feaſt. Laurentia a courtiſan the god *Hercules* to playe at dyce with him, with condition that if he dyd winne, *Hercules*
ſhould be bounde to ſend him ſome good fortune: and if it were his lucke to loſe, then he
promiſed *Hercules* he would prouide him a very good ſupper, and would beſides bring him a
fayer gentlewoman to lye with all. The conditions of the playe thus rehearſed, the ſexten firſt
caſt the dyce for *Hercules*, and afterwards for him ſelfe. It fell out that *Hercules* wanne, and the
ſexten meaning good fayth, and thincking it very mete to performe the bargaine that him
ſelfe had made, prepared a good ſupper, and hyered this *Laurentia* the courtiſan, which was E
very fayer, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Thus hauing feaſted her within the tẽple,
and prepared a bedde readye there, after ſupper he locked her into the temple, as if *Hercules*
ſhould haue comen in dede & layen with her. And it is ſaid for trothe, that *Hercules* came thi-
ther: & cõmaunded her in the morning ſhe ſhould goe into the market place, & ſalute the firſt
Tarrutius. man ſhe met, & kepe him euer for her friend. Which thing ſhe performed, & the firſt man ſhe
met was called *Tarrutius*, a man of great yeres, & one that had gathered together marueilous
wealth & riches. He had no children at all, neither was he euer maried. He fell acquainted with
this *Laurentia*, & loued her ſo dearely, that ſhortely after chaũcing to dye, he made her heire of
all he had: whereof ſhe diſpoſed afterwards by her laſt will and teſtament, the beſt and greateſt
Velabrum whereof Liuie deca. 3. lib. 7. parte vnto the people of Rome. Moreouer it is reported alſo, that ſhe now being growen to be F
famous & of great honour (as thought to be the lẽman of a god) dyd vaniſhe away ſodainely in
the ſelf ſame place, where the firſt *Laurentia* was buried. The place at this day is called Velabrũ:
bicauſe

A bicauſe the riuer being ouerflowen, they were oftentimes compelled to paſſe by bote to goe to the market place, and they called this manner of ferrying ouer, Velatura. Other ſaye, that thoſe tomblers & common players, which ſhewed ſundrye games and paſtimes to winne the fauour of the people, were wont to couer that paſſage ouer with canuas clothes and veyles, by which they goe from the market place to the lyſtes or ſhewe place where they ronne their horſes, beginning their race euen at the place: and they call a veyle in their tongue, Velum. This is the cauſe why the ſeconde *Laurentia* is honored at Rome. *Fauſtulus*, chief neateheard to *Amulius*, tooke vp the two children and no bodye knewe it, as ſome ſaye: or as other reporte, (and likeſt to be true) with the priuitie & knowledge of *Numitor*, *Amulius* brother, who ſecretly furniſhed them with money that brought vp the two young children. It is ſayed alſo they were both con-

B ueyed vnto the cittie of the GABIANS, where they were brought vp at ſchole, & taught all other honeſt things, which they vſe to teache the ſonnes & childrē of good & noble mē. Further they ſaye they were named *Remus* and *Romulus*, bicauſe they were founde ſucking on the teates of a woulfe. Nowe the beawtie of their bodyes dyd preſently ſhewe, beholding onely but their ſtature and manner of their countenaunces, of what nature and linadge they were: and as they grewe in yeres, their manly corage increaſed maruelouſly, ſo as they became ſtowte and hardy men, in ſo much as they were neuer troubled or aſtonied at any daunger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainely that *Romulus* had more wit & vnderſtanding then his brother *Remus*. For in all things wherein they were to deale with their neighbours, either cōcerning hunting, or the boundes and limites of their paſtures: it was eaſely diſcerned in him, that he was

Romulus and Remus education.

C borne to commaund, and not to obeye. For this cauſe they were both exceedingly beloued of their companions, and of thoſe which were their inferiours. As for the kings heardmen, they paſſed not muche for them, ſaying that they were euen like them ſelues, and ſo ſeemed not to care a Pynne for their anger or diſpleaſure, but wholy gaue them ſelues to all gentlemanly exerciſes and trades, thincking to liue idely & at eaſe without trauell, was neither comly nor conuenient: but to exerciſe and harden their bodyes with hunting, running, purſuing murderers and theeues, and to helpe thoſe which were oppreſſed with wronge and violence, ſhoulde be credit and commendation to them. By reaſon whereof, in very ſhorte time they grewe to great fame and renowne. And it fell out by chaunce there roſe ſome ſtryfe and variance betwene the heardmen of *Amulius*, and the heardmen of *Numitor*: in ſo muche as thoſe that were *Numi-*

D *tors*, caryed awaye by force ſome cattell of the others. Thother ſide would not beare that, but purſued faſt after, and beating them well fauoredly, they made them take their legges, and brought backe againe the greateſt parte of the cattell they had caried away with them. Wherat *Numitor* ſtormed marueilouſly, but yet his men ſeemed to make but litle accoumpt of it, and purpoſing reuenge, they gathered about them a good companie of vacabonds (that had neither home, nor reſting place) and certaine fugitiue bonde men which they intiſed ill fauoredly, incoraging them to ſteale awaye from their maſters. Thus one daye whileſt *Romulus* was buſie about ſome ſacrifice, (being a deuoute man and religious, and well geuen to ſerue the goddes, and to learne to diuine and tell before hande what things ſhould happen and come to paſſe) it happened the heard men of *Numitor* to meete *Remus* very ſlenderly accompanied: ſo they fell

Romulus a godly man.

E vpon him ſodainely, blowes were delt rowndely on bothe ſides, and men were hurte on either parte. Howbeit *Numitors* men in the ende proued the ſtronger parte, and dyd take *Remus* by force, and caryed him ſtraight before *Numitor*, alledging many complaintes and matters againſt him. *Numitor* durſt not puniſh him of his owne authoritie, bicauſe he feared his brother *Amulius*, who was ſomewhat terrible: but went vnto him, and earneſtly beſought him to doe him iuſtice, and not to ſuffer him being his owne brother, to receyue ſuch iniurye of his men. There was not a man in the cittie of ALBA, but dyd greatly miſlike the iniurie done to *Numitor*: and ſpake it openly, that he was no perſone to be offered ſuch a wronge. In ſo muche as *Amulius* moued herewith, dyd deliuer *Remus* into his handes, to puniſhe him as he thought good. Whereupon *Numitor* caried him home with him. But when he had him in his houſe, he

Remus taken of Numitors heardmen.

F beganne to conſider better of him, with admiration howe goodly a younge man he was, howe in height and ſtrength of bodye he paſſed all the reſt of his people: and perceyuing in his face an aſſured conſtancie, and bolde ſtedfaſt corage that yelded not, nor was abaſhed for any

daunger he ſawe toward him: and hearing alſo the reporte of his actes & manhod to be aunſwerable to that he ſawe: (being chiefly moued in mine opinion by ſome ſecret inſpiration of the goddes, which ordaine the depthe of great matters) beganne partely by coniecture, and partely by chaunce to take a conceit of him. So he aſked him what he was, & who was his father and mother: ſpeaking to him in a more gentle wiſe, and with a friendlier countenaunce then before, to make him the bolder to anſwer, & be of better hope. *Remus* boldly aunſwered him. Truely I will not hide the trothe from thee, for thou ſeemeſt to me more worthie to be King, then thy brother *Amulius*. For thou enquiereſt, and heareſt firſt before thou condemneſt: and he condemneth before he examine or heare the parties. Vntill nowe, we thought we had bene the children of two of the Kings ſeruants, to wit of *Fauſtulus* and of *Laurentia*: I ſaye we, bicauſe my brother and I are two twynnes. But ſeeing we are nowe falſely accuſed vnto thee, and by malicious ſurmiſed tales are wrongefully brought in daunger of our liues: we intend to diſcouer our ſelues, and to declare ſtraunge things vnto thee, whereof the preſent perill we ſtande nowe in, ſhall plainely proue the trothe. Men ſaye that we haue bene begotten miraculouſly, foſtered and geuen ſucke more ſtraungely, and in our tender yeres were fedd by birdes and wilde beaſts, to whom we were caſt out as a praye. For a woulfe gaue vs ſucke with her teates, and an hitwaw (they ſaye) brought vs litle crõmes, and put them in our mouthes, as we laye vpon the bancke by the riuer, where we were put in a troughe that at this daye remaineth whole, bounde about with plates of copper, vpon the which are ſome letters engrauen halfe worne out, which peraduenture one daye will ſerue for ſome tokens of knowledge (vnprofitable for our parents) when it ſhalbe to late, and after we are dead and gone. *Numitor* then comparing theſe wordes, with the age the younge man ſeemed to be of, and conſidering well his face: dyd not reiect the hope of his imagination that ſmiled on him, but handled the matter ſo, that he found meanes to ſpeake ſecretly with his daughter, notwithſtanding at that time ſhe was kept very ſtraightly. *Fauſtulus* in the meane time hearing that *Remus* was priſoner, and that the King had deliuered him already into the hands of his brother *Numitor* to doe iuſtice, went to praye *Romulus* to helpe him, and tolde him then whoſe children they were: for before he had neuer opened it to them but in darcke ſpeaches, and glawnſingwiſe, and ſo muche as ſufficed to put them in ſome hope. So *Fauſtulus* taking the troughe with him at that time, went vnto *Numitor* in great haſte, as marueilouſly affrayed for the preſent daunger he thought *Remus* in. The Kings ſouldiers which warded at the gates of the cittie, beganne to gather ſome ſuſpition of *Fauſtulus* manner of comming: and he made him ſelfe to be the more ſuſpected, being queſtioned with about the cauſe of his repaire thither, that he faltred in his wordes: beſides, they eſpied his troughe which he caried vnder his cloke. Nowe amongeſt the warders, there was by chaunce one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be caſt awaye, and was preſent when they were left on the bancke of the riuer to the mercie of fortune. This man knewe the troughe by & by, aſwell by the facion, as by the letters grauen vpon it: who miſtruſted ſtraight that which was true in deede. So he dyd not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led *Fauſtulus* with him to haue him confeſſe the trothe. *Fauſtulus* being in this perplexitie, could not kepe all cloſe vpon examination, but dyd vtter out ſomewhat of the matter, and yet he tolde not all. For he plainely iuſtified the children were aliue: yet he ſayed they were farre from the cittie of ALBA, where they kept beaſtes in the fields. And as for the troughe, he was going to carye it to *Ilia*, bicauſe ſhe had diuers times prayed him to let her ſee and feele it: to the ende ſhe might be the more aſſured of her hope, who promiſed her that one daye ſhe ſhould ſee her children againe. So it chaunced vnto *Amulius* at that time, as it commonly dothe vnto thoſe that are troubled, and doe any thing in feare or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to ſend one preſently (who in all other things was a very honeſt man, but a great friende of his brother *Numitors*) to aſke him if he had heard any thing that his daughters children were aliue. This perſone being come to *Numitors* houſe, founde him ready to embrace *Remus*, who fell to be witnes thereof, and of the good happe diſcouered vnto *Numitor*: whereupon he perſwaded him howe to ſet vpon his brother, and to diſpatche the matter with ſpede. So from that time forwards, he tooke their parte. On thother ſide alſo the matter gaue them no leiſure to deferre their enterpriſe, although they had bene willing:

Gods prouidence.

Remus oration, declaring the birth of him ſelf & his brother Romulus.

Numitors wiſdome.

Fauſtulus care to ſaue Remus.

Amulius perplexed in his minde.

A B C D E F

A willing: for the whole caſe was ſomewhat blowen abroade. So *Romulus* then got ſtraight a power, and drewe very neere the cittie, and many of the citizens of ALBA went out to ioyne with him, who either feared or hated *Amulius*. Nowe *Romulus* power which he brought (ouer and beſides thoſe citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were diuided by hundreds, and euery hundred had his captaine who marched before his bande, carying litle bundells of graſſe or of boughes tyed to the ende of their poles. The LATINES call theſe bundels Manipulos, whereof it commeth that yet at this daye in an armie of the *Romaines*, the ſouldiers which are all vnder one enſigne, are called Manipulares. So *Remus* ſturring vp thoſe that were within the cittie, and *Romulus* bringing in men from without, the tyranne *Amulius* fell in ſuche feare and agonie, that without prouiding any thing for his ſafety, they came vpon him ſodain-

Manipulares whereof ſo called.

B ly in his palace, and ſlewe him. Thus you heare howe neere *Fabius Pictor* and *Diocles Peparethian* doe agree in reciting the ſtorie, who was the firſt in mine opinion that wrote the foundation of the cittie of ROME: howbeit there are that thincke they are all but fables & tales deuiſed of pleaſure. But me thincks for all that, they are not altogether to be reiected or diſcredited, if we will conſider fortunes ſtraunge effects vpon times, and of the greatnes alſo of the Romaine empire: which had neuer atchieued to her preſent poſſeſſed power & authoritie, if the goddes had not frō the beginning bene workers of the ſame, & if there had not alſo bene ſome ſtraūge cauſe, and wonderfull foundation. *Amulius* being nowe ſlayne as before, & after that all things were appeaſed, and reduced to good order againe: *Remus* and *Romulus* would not dwell in the cittie of ALBA, being no lordes thereof, nor alſo would be lords of it, ſo long as their grandfa-

Amulius ſlayne.

C ther by the mothers ſide was aliue. Wherefore after they had reſtored him to his eſtate, and had done the honour and duety they ought vnto their mother: they purpoſed to goe & build a cittie in thoſe places where they had bene firſt brought vp, for this was the honeſteſt culler they could pretend for their departing from ALBA. Peraduenture they were enforced ſo to doe whether they would or not, for the great number of baniſhed men, and fugitiue ſlaues which were gathered together by them for their ſtrength, who had bene vtterly loſt and caſt away, if they had bene once diſcharged by them. Therfore it was of neceſſitie that they ſhould dwell by them ſelues, ſeparated in ſome place, to kepe this number together and in ſome order. For it is true that the inhabitants of the cittie of ALBA would not ſuffer ſuch baniſhed perſones and runnagates to be mingled amongeſt them, nor would receaue them into their

The building of Rome.

D cittie to be free among them. All which appeareth ſufficiently: firſt, bicauſe they tooke awaye women by force: and ſo not of inſolencie, but of neceſſitie, when they founde no man that would beſtow any of them. It is manifeſt alſo they dyd greately honour and make much of the women they had taken away before. Furthermore, when their cittie beganne a litle to be ſetled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitiues and afflicted perſones, which they called the temple of the god *Aſylæus*. Where there was ſanctuarie and ſafety for all ſortes of people that repaired thither, and could get into the temple, for whom it was alledged they could not deliuer any bonde man to his maſter, nor detter to his creditor, nor murtherer to the iuſtice that was fled thither for ſuccor, bicauſe the oracle of *Apollo* the *Delphian* had expreſſely enioyned them to graunte ſanctuary to all thoſe that would come thither for it. So by this meanes in

Aſylæus temple, a ſanctuarie for all baniſhed perſones and fugitiues.

E ſhorte ſpace their cittie floriſhed, & was repleaniſhed, where at the firſt foundation of it, they ſaye there was not aboue one thouſand houſes, as more at large hereafter ſhalbe declared. When they came nowe to the building of their cittie, *Romulus* & *Remus* the two brethern fell ſodainely at a ſtrife together about the place where the cittie ſhould be builded. For *Romulus* built ROME, which is called foure ſquare, and would needes it ſhould remaine in the place which he had choſen. *Remus* his brother choſe another place very ſtrong of ſituation, vpon mounte *Auentine*, which was called after his name *Remonium*, and nowe is called *Rignarium*. Notwithſtanding, in the ende they agreed betwene them ſelues this controuerſie ſhould be decided, by the flying of birds, which doe geue a happy diuination of things to come. So being ſett in diuers places by them ſelues to make obſeruation, ſome ſaye that there appeared vnto

Strife betwixt Romulus and Remus.

Remonium. Rignarium.

F *Remus* ſixe, and to *Romulus* twelue vulters. Other ſaye that *Remus* truely ſawe ſixe, and *Romulus* feigned from the beginning that he ſawe twiſe as many: but when *Remus* came to him, then there appeared twelue in deede vnto *Romulus*, and this is the cauſe why the Romaines at this

The Romains obſerue the flying of vulters.

daye in their diuinations and ſoothesayings of the flying of birds, doe marueloufly obſerue the flying of the vulters. It is true which the hiſtoriographer *Herodotus Ponticus* writeth: that *Hercules* reioyced much when there appeared a vulter to him, being readie to beginne any enterprife. For it is the foule of the worlde that dothe leaſt hurte, and neuer marreth nor deſtroyeth any thing that man dothe ſowe, plante, or ſet: conſidering that ſhe feedeth on carion only, and dothe neuer hurte nor kill any liuing thing. Alſo ſhe dothe not praye vpon dead fowle, for the likenes that is betwene them: where the eagles, the dukes and the ſakers doe murther, kill, and eate thoſe which are of their owne kynde. And yet as Æſchylus ſayeth,

Needes muſt that fovvle accompted be moſt vile,
Moſt rauening, and full of filthie minde,
VVhich doth him ſelf, continually defile,
by praying ſtill vpon his propre kinde.

Moreouer, other birdes are allwayes (as a man would ſaye) before our eyes, and doe daylie ſhewe them ſelues vnto vs: where the vulter is a very rare byrde, and hardely to be ſeene, and men doe not eaſely finde their ayeries. Which hathe geuen ſome occaſion to holde a falſe opinion, that the vulters are paſſagers, and come into theſe partes out of ſtraunge countryes. The prognoſticators alſo thincke, that ſuche things which are not ordinarie, and but ſeldome ſeene, be not naturall, but miraculouſly ſent by the goddes to prognoſticate ſomething. When *Remus* knewe howe his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when *Romulus* had caſt a dytche, as it were for the wall about his cittie, *Remus* dyd not only ſcorne it, but hindered alſo his worke, and in the ende for a mockerie lept ouer his wall. To conclude, he dyd ſo much, that at the laſt he was ſlayne there by *Romulus* owne handes as ſome ſaye: or as other holde opinion, by the handes of one of his men which was called *Celer*. In this fight they ſlewe *Fauſtulus*, and *Pliſtinus* alſo his brother, who had holpen him to bring vp *Romulus*. Howſoeuer the matter fell out, this *Celer* abſented him ſelfe from Rome, and went into the countrye of Thvscane. And they ſaye, that men which are quicke, and readye vpon a ſodaine, tooke their names euer after vpon him, and were called *Celeres*. As amongeſt other, *Quintus Metellus*, after the death of his father, hauing in very fewe dayes made the people of Rome to ſee a combate of fenſers (called *Gladiatores*) fighting at the ſharpe, they ſurnamed him *Celer*, for that the *Romaines* marueiled howe he could prepare his things in ſo ſhorte a time. Furthermore, *Romulus* hauing nowe buried his brother, and his other two bringers vp (called foſter fathers) in the place they call *Remonia*: beganne then to buyld and laye the foundation of his cittie, ſending for men out of Thvscane, who dydname and teache him particularly all the ceremonies he had to obſerue there, according to their lawes and ordinances as a great holy myſterie. And firſt of all they made a rounde dytche in the place called at this daye Comitium, into which they dyd caſt their chiefeſt and beſt things, which men vſe lawfully for good, and naturally as moſt neceſſarie. After that they dyd throwe alſo into it, a litle of the earthe, from whence euery man came, and mingled theſe all together. This dytche in their ceremonies is called the worlde, in Latine *Mundus*, euen the ſelfe ſame name the Latines call the *Vniuerſall*. About this dytche they dyd trace the compaſſe of the cittie they woulde buylde, euen as one would drawe a circle about a center. This done, the founder of the cittie taketh a plough, to which he faſtened a culter or ploughe ſhare of braſſe, and ſo yoked in the ploughe an oxe and a cowe, he him ſelfe holding the ploughe dyd make rounde about the compaſſe of the cittie a deepe furrowe. Thoſe which followed him, had the charge to throwe the turues of earthe inward into the cittie, which the ploughe ſhare raiſed vp, and not to leaue any of them turned outward. The furrowe thus caſt vp was the whole compaſſe of their walle, which they call in Latine *Pomœrium*, by ſhortning of the ſyllables, for *poſt murum*: to wit, after wall. But in the place where they determined to make a gate, they dyd take of the ploughe ſhare, and drawe the ploughe, with leauing a certain ſpace of earthe vnbroken vp: whereupon the *Romaines* thincke all the compaſſe of their walles holy and ſacred, except their gates. For if their gates had bene hallowed and ſanctified, they would haue had a conſcience through them to haue brought in, or caried out of the cittie, any things neceſſarie for the life of man, that had not bene pure and cleane. Nowe they beleeue

Remus ſlayne by Romulus or Celer.

Celeres wherfore ſo called. Q. Metellus Celer.

Romulus layeth the foundation of Rome.

The world.

Pomœrium why ſo called.

The walles holye.

A leeue certainely, that this ceremonie of the foundation of their cittie was made the one and twentie of Aprill: bicause the ROMAINES doe yet keepe that daye holy daye, and call it the feast of the natiuitie of their countrye. On which daye they dyd not in olde time sacrifice any thing that had life, as esteeming that daye (which was the natiuitie of their cittie) to be most mete to be kept cleane and pure from being polluted or defiled with any bloude. Notwithstanding before ROME was buylded, they had another feast called the sheapcheards or heardmens holy daye, which they dyd celebrate vpon the same daye, and called it *Palilia*. Nowe at this daye the beginnings of the moneths with the ROMAINES is cleane contrarie to the GRECIANS: yet for all this, they holde opinion for certaintie that the daye on which *Romulus* founded his cittie, was assuredly that which the GRECIANS call *Triacada*: that is to saye, the

The feast day of Romes foũdation the 21. Aprill.

The feast Palilia.

B thirtie daye. On which there was seene an eclypse of the moone, which they suppose was obserued by the Poet *Antimachus* (borne in the cittie of TEOS) in the thirteenth yere of the sixt *Olympiade*. Likewise in the time of *Marcus Varro* (as a man learned, and one that had redde as much of auncient stories as any ROMAINE) there was a friend of his called *Tarutius*, a great philosopher and mathematician. Who being geuen to the calculation of astronomie for the delight of speculation only, wherein he was thought most excellent: it dyd fall out that *Varro* gaue him this question, to searche out what hower and daye the natiuitie of *Romulus* was, who gathered it out by certaine accidents, as they doe in the resolutions of certaine geometricall questions. For they saye, that by the selfe same science, one maye tell before of things to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainely the hower of his natiuitie;

An eclypse of the moone at the laying of the foundatiõ of Rome.

Varro a philosopher.

Tarutius a mathematician.

The hower of a mans natiuitie maye be calculated by his accidents.

C and howe one maye tell also the hower of his natiuitie, when by accidents they knowe what hath happened to him all his life. *Tarutius* dyd the question that *Varro* gaue him. And hauing throughely considered the aduentures, dedes, and gestes of *Romulus*, howe long he liued, and howe he dyed: all which being gathered and conferred together, he dyd boldly iudge for a certaintie, that he was conceyued in his mothers wombe, in the first yere of the seconde *Olympiade*, the three and twentie daye of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call *Chœac*, and now is called December, about three of the clocke in the morning, in which hower there was a whole eclypse of the sunne: And that he was borne into the worlde, the one and twenteth of the moneth of *Thoth*, which is the moneth of September, about the rising of the sunne. And that ROME was begonne by him on the ninth daye of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS

Romulus natiuitie calculated by Tarutius.

An eclypse of the sunne when Romulus was conceiued in his mothers wombe.

D call *Pharmuthi*, and aunswereth now to the moneth of Aprill, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning. For they will saye that a cittie hathe his reuolution and his time of continuaunce appointed, as well as the life of a man: and that they knewe by the situation of the starres, the daye of her beginning and foundation. These things and suche other like, peraduenture will please the readers better, for their straungenes and curiositie, then offend or mislike them for their falsehood. Nowe after he had founded his cittie, he first and foremost dyd diuide in two cõpanies, all those that were of age to carie armour. In euery one of these companies there were three thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen: and they were called Legions, bicause they were sorted of the chosen men that were pyckt out amongest all the rest for to fight. The remaine after these was called *Populus*, which signifieth the people.

The Romaine legion.
3000 footemen.
300 horsemẽ.

E After this, he made a hundred counsellers of the best and honestest men of the cittie, which he called *Patricians*: and the whole company of them together he called Senatus, as one would saye, the counsell of the auncients. So they were called *Patricians*, as some will saye, the counsaill of the fathers lawfull children, which fewe of the first inhabitants could shewe. It maye be, some will saye this name was geuen them of *Patrocinium*, as growing of the protection they had by the sanctuarie of their cittie, which worde they vse at this daye in the selfe same signification: as one that followed *Euander* into ITALIE, was called *Patron*, bicause he was pitifull, and relieued the poore and litle children, and so got him selfe a name for his pitie and humanitie. But me thinckes it were more like the trothe to saye, that *Romulus* dyd call them so, bicause he thought the chiefest men should haue a fatherly care of the meaner sorte: consider-

Romulus instituteth a cõmon wealth. VVhat the Patricians & Senate were.

F ring also it was to teache the meaner sorte that they should not feare th'authoritie of the greater, nor enuie at their honours they had, but rather in all their causes should vse their fauour and good will, by taking them as their fathers. For euen at this present, straungers call

Patres Conscripti.

thoſe of the Senate, lordes or captaines: but the naturall ROMAINES call them, *Patres Conſcripti*, which is a name of fatherhed and dignitie without enuie. It is true that at the beginning they were only called *Patres*, but ſithence, bicauſe they were many ioyned vnto the firſt, they haue bene named *Patres Conſcripti*, as a man ſhould ſaye, fathers of recorde together: which is the honorableſt name he could haue deuiſed to make a difference betwext the *Senatours*, and the people. Furthermore, he made a difference betweene the chiefer cittizens, and the baſer people, by calling the better ſorte *Patroni*, as muche to ſaye, as defenders: and the meaner ſorte *Clientes*, as you would ſaye, followers, or men protected. This dyd breede a marueilous great loue and good wil among them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutuall curteſies and pleaſures: for the Patrons dyd helpe the clients to their right, defended their cauſes in iudgement, dyd geue vnto them counſaill, and dyd take all their matters in hande. The clients againe enterchaungeably humbled them ſelues to their patrons, not onely in outwarde honour and reuerence towardes them, but otherwiſe dyd helpe them with money to marrie and aduaunce their daughters, or els to paye their dettes and credit, if they were poore or decayed. There was no lawe nor magiſtrate that could compell the patron to be a witnes againſt his client: nor yet the client to witneſſe againſt his patron. So they increaſed, and continued, all other rights and offices of amitie and friendſhippe together, ſauing afterwards they thought it a great ſhame and reproache for the better, and richer, to take rewarde of the meaner and poorer. And thus of this matter we haue ſpoken ſufficiētly. Moreouer, foure moneths after the foundation of the cittie was layed, *Fabius* writeth, there was a great rauiſhement of women. There are ſome which laye it vpon *Romulus*, who being then of nature warlike, and geuen to prophecies and aunſwers of the goddes, foretolde that his cittie ſhould become very great and mightie, ſo as he rayſed it by warres, and increaſed it by armes: and he ſought out this culler to doe miſchief, and to make warre vpon the SABYNES. To proue this true, ſome ſaye he cauſed certaine of their maydes by force to be taken awaye, but not paſt thirtie in number, as one that rather ſought cauſe of warres, then dyd it for neede of mariages: which me thinckes was not likely to be true, but rather I iudge the contrarie. For ſeeing his cittie was incontinently repleaniſhed with people of all ſortes, whereof there were very fewe that had wiues, and that they were men gathered out of all countryes, and the moſt parte of them poore and needye, ſo as their neighbours diſdayned them much, and dyd not looke they would longe dwell together: *Romulus* hoping by this violent taking of their maydes and rauiſhing them, to haue an entrie into alliance with the SABYNES, and to entiſe them further to ioyne with them in mariage, if they dyd gently intreate theſe wiues they had gotten, enterpriſed this violent taking of their maydes, and rauiſhing of them in ſuche a ſorte. Firſt he made it to be commonly bruited abroade in euery place, that he had founde the altar of a god hidden in the grounde, and he called the name of the god, *Conſus*: either bicauſe he was a god of counſaill, wherupon the ROMAINES at this daye in their tongue call *Conſilium*, which we call counſell: and the chief magiſtrates of their cittie *Conſules*, as we ſaye counſellers. Other ſaye it was the altar of the god *Neptune*, ſurnamed the patron of horſes. For this altar is yet at this daye within the great liſtes of the cittie, and euer couered and hidden, but when they vſe the running games of their horſe race. Other ſaye bicauſe counſell euer muſt be kept cloſe and ſecret, they had good reaſon to kepe the altar of this god *Conſus* hidden in the grounde. Nowe other write when it was opened, *Romulus* made a ſacrifice of wonderfull ioye, and afterwardes proclaymed it openly in diuers places, that at ſuche a daye there ſhould be common playes in ROME, and a ſolemne feaſt kept of the god *Conſus*, where all that were diſpoſed to come ſhould be welcome. Great numbers of people repaired thither from all partes. He him ſelfe was ſet in the chiefeſt ſeate of the ſhowe place, apparelled fayer in purple, and accompanied with the chiefe of his cittie about him. And there hauing purpoſed this rauiſhement you haue heard of, he had geuen the ſigne before: that the ſame ſhould beginne, when he ſhould riſe vp and folde a playte of his gowne, and vnfolde the ſame againe. Hereupon his men ſtoode attending with their ſwordes: who ſo ſone as they perceyued the ſigne was geuen, with their ſwordes drawen in hande, and with great ſhowtes and cryes ranne violently on the maydes and daughters of the SABYNES to take them awaye and rauiſhe them, and ſuffered the men to ronne awaye,

Patroni, Clientes.

The ſhame of the Romaines to take giftes of poore men.

The rauiſhement of the Sabynes women.

Romulus craſie about the rauiſhement of the Sabynes daughters.

Conſus a god.

Neptune the god of horſemen.

The executiō of the rauiſhments.

A awaye, without doing them any hurte or violence. So some saye, there were but thirtie rauished, after whose names were called the thirtie linages of the people of ROME. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were fiue hundred and seuen and twentie: and *Iuba*, sixe hundred foure score and three. In the which is singularly to be noted for the commendation of *Romulus*, that he him selfe dyd take then but onely one of the maydes, named *Hersilia*: that afterwardes was the only cause & mediation of peace betwext the SABYNES and the ROMAINES. Which argueth plainely, that it was not to doe the SABYNES any hurte, nor to satisfie any disordinate lust, that they had so forcibly vndertaken this rauishement: but to ioyne two peoples together, with the straighteste bondes that could be betweene men. This *Hersilia* as some saye, was maried vnto one *Hostilius*, the noblest man at that time amongest the ROMAINES: or
B as others write, vnto *Romulus* him selfe, which had two children by her. The first was a daughter, and her name was *Prima*, bicause she was the first: the other was a sonne, whom he named *Aollius*, bicause of the multitude of people he had assembled together in his cittie, and afterwardes he was surnamed *Abillius*. Thus *Zenodotus* the TROEZENIAN writeth, wherein notwithstanding there be diuers that doe contrarie him. Among those which rauished then the daughters of the SABYNES, it is sayed there were founde certaine meane men carying away, a marueilous passing fayer one. These met by chaunce on the waye, certaine of the chief of the cittie, who would haue taken her by force from them, which they had done, but that they beganne to crye they caried her vnto *Talasius*, who was a younge man marueilously well beloued of euery bodye. Which when the others vnderstoode, they were exceeding glad, and
C they commended them: in so much as there were some which sodainely turned backe againe, and dyd accompanie them for *Talasius* sake, crying out a lowde, and often on his name. From whence the custome came, which to this daye the ROMAINES synge at their mariages, *Talasius*, like as the GRECIANS synge *Hymeneus*. For it is sayed he was compted very happie that he met with this woman. But *Sextius Sylla* a CARTHAGINIAN borne, a man very wise, and well learned, tolde me once it was the crye and signe which *Romulus* gaue to his men, to beginne the rauishement: whereupon those which caried them awaye, went crying this worde *Talasius*, and that from thence the custome hathe continued, that they synge it yet at their mariages. Neuertheles the most parte of authors, specially *Iuba*, thinckes it is a warning to remember the newe maried women of their worke, which is to spinne, which the GRE-
D CIANS call *Talasia*, the Italian words at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And if it be true the ROMAINES vsed this terme of *Talasia*, as we of GRECE doe vse: we might by coniecture yeld another reason for it, which should carie a better likelyhoode and proofe. For when the SABYNES after the battell had made peace with the ROMAINES, they put in an article in fauour of the women in the treatie, that they should not be bounde to serue their husbands in any other worke, but in spinning of wolle. Euer since this custome hathe growen, that those which geue their daughters in mariage, and those who leade the bryde, and such as are present at the wedding, speake in sporte to the newe maried wife, laughing, *Talasius*: in token that they doe not leade the bryde for any other worke or seruice, but to spinne wolle. Thereof this hathe bene the vse to this daye, that the bryde dothe not of her selfe come ouer
E the threshold of her husbands dore, but she is hoysed pretely into the house: bicause the SABYNE women at that time were so lift vp, & caried away by force. They saye also, that the manner of making the shed of the new wedded wiues heare, with the Irō head of a Iaueling, came vp then likewise: this storie being a manifest token that these first mariages were made by force of armes, and as it were at the swords poynte: as we haue written more at large in the booke, wherein we render and showe the causes of the ROMAINES facions and customes. This rauishement was put in execution about the eightenth daye of the moneth then called *Sextilis*, and nowe named August: on which daye they yet celebrate the feast they call *Consalia*. Nowe the SABYNES were good men of warre, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in villages, and not within incloſed walles: being a thing fit for their noble courages that dyd
F feare nothing, and as those who were descended from the LACEDÆMONIANS. Neuertheles, they seeing them selues bound & tyed to peace by pledges & hostages, that were very neere allyed vnto them, and fearing their daughters should be ill intreated: sent ambassadours

The number of the Sabyne women rauished.

Hersilia Romulus wife.

Romulus first daughter called Prima. His sonne was called Aollius. Abillius.

The cause why the Romaines doe synge the name of Talassius in mariages.

Talassia.

Marrimoniall ceremonie at Rome.

Sextilis, August. Plutar. in his proble. Consualia.

The Sabynes what they were.

to *Romulus*, by whom they made reasonable offers and persuasions, that their daughters might A
be deliuered vnto them againe, without any force or violence, and then afterwardes, that he
would cause them to be asked in mariage of their parents, as bothe reason and lawe would re-
quire. To thend that with good will and consent of all parties, both peoples might contract
amitie and alliance together. Whereunto *Romulus* made aunswer, he could not restore the
maydes which his people had taken awaye and maried: but most friendly he prayed the SA-
BYNES to be contented with their alliance. This aunswer being returned, and not liked, whilest
the princes and communaltie of the SABYNES were occupied in consultation, and about
Acron king of the Ceninenses maketh warre with Romulus. the arming of them selues: *Acron* king of the CENINENSES (a man exceeding couragious
and skilfull in the warres, and one that from the beginning mistrusted the ouer bolde & stowte
enterprises that *Romulus* was likely to attempt, cõsidering the late rauishment of the SABYNES B
daughters, and howe he was alreadye greatly dreaded of his neighbours, and somwhat vn-
tolerable, if he were not chasticed and brought lower) first beganne to inuade him with a
puissant armie, and to make hotte and violent warres vpon him. *Romulus* on th'other side pre-
pared also, and went forth to meete him. When they were come so neere together that they
might see one another, they sent defiance to eache other, & prayed that they two might fight
man to man amiddest their armies, & neither of theirs to sturre a foote. Bothe of them acce-
pted of it, and *Romulus* making his prayer vnto *Iupiter*, dyd promise, and made a vowe: that if he
dyd geue him the victorie to ouercome, he would offer vp to him the armour of his enemie,
Acron slaine in the field. which he dyd. For first he slew *Acron* in the field, & afterwards gaue battell to his men, & ouer-
threw them also. Lastely he tooke his cittie, where he did no hurte nor yet displeasure to any, C
sauing that he dyd commaũde them to pull downe their houses, & destroy them, and to goe
dwell with him at ROME: where they should haue the selfe same rightes & priuiledges which
the first inhabitants did enioye. There was nothing more enlarged the cittie of ROME, then this
manner of pollicie, to ioyne allwayes vnto it those she had ouercome & vancquished. *Romulus*
now to discharge his vowe, & in suche sorte that his offering might be acceptable to *Iupiter*,
and pleasaunt to his cittizens to beholde: did cut downe a goodly straight growen young oke,
which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his campe did lye. The same he trim-
med & dyd set forth after the manner of victorie, hanging and tying all about it in fayer order,
Romulus triumphe. the armour and weapons of king *Acron*. Then he girding his gowne to him, and putting vpon
his long bushe of heare, a garland of lawrell, layed the young oke vpon his right shoulder, and D
he first marched before towards his cittie, & songe a royall songe of victorie, all his armie fol-
lowing him in armes vnto the cittie in order of battell: where his cittizens receyued him in all
The beginning of triumphe. passing wise & triumphe. This noble & stately entrie euer since hath geuen them minds in such
sorte, & in statelier wise to make their triumphe. The offering of this triumphe was dedicated
Iupiter Feretrius. to *Iupiter* surnamed *Feretrian*: bicause the Latine worde *Ferire*, signifieth to hurt & kill: & the
prayer *Romulus* had made, was, he might hurt & kill his enemie. Such spoyles are called in La-
Spolia opima. tine, *Spolia opima*: therefore sayeth *Varro*, that *opes* signifie riches. Howbeit me thinckes it were
more likely to saye, that they were so named of this worde *Opus*, which betokeneth a dede, bi-
cause he must needes be the chief of the armie, that hath slayne with his owne hands the gene-
Three Romaines onely obteined spolia opima. rall of his enemies, & that must offer the spoyles called *Spolia opima*, as you would saye, his prin- E
cipal spoyles & dedes. This neuer happened yet but to three Romaine captaines onely: of the
Tarquinius Priscus the first that triumphed in chaires. which *Romulus* was the first, who slew *Acron*, king of the CENINENSES. *Cornelius Cossus* was the
second, who killed *Tolumnius*, the generall of the THVSCANS. *Clodius Marcellus* was the thirde,
who slewe *Britomartus*, king of the GAVLES, with his owne hands. And for the two last, *Cossus*
& *Marcellus*, they made their entrie into the cittie, carying their triumphes vpõ charets triũm-
Valerius Publicola phant: but *Romulus* dyd not so. Therefore in this poynt *Dionysius* the historiographer hath er-
red, writing that *Romulus* dyd enter into ROME vpon a charret triũphant. For it was *Tarquinius*
Priscus the sonne of *Demaratus*, who first dyd set out triumphes in so stately and magnificent
The cities of Fidena, Crustumerium, & of Amenna rose all against Romulus. showe. Other holde opinion it was *Valerius Publicola*, who was the first that euer entred vpon
triumphant charret. Concerning *Romulus*, his statues are yet to be seene in Rome, carying his F
triumphe a foote. After this ouerthrowe & taking of the CENINENSES, the inhabitants of the
cities of FIDENA, CRVSTVMERIVM, & ANTEMNA, rose alltogether against the ROMAINES,

whiles

A whiles the other SABYNES also were a preparing thē selues. So they fought a battell, in which they tooke the ouerthrowe: & left their cities to the spoyle of *Romulus*, their lands to be geuen where he thought good, and them selues to be caried to ROME. *Romulus* then dyd geue their lands among his cittizens, except those lands which did belong to the fathers of the maydens that they had taken away & rauished. For he was contēted that the fathers of them should kepe still their lāds. By & by the other SABYNES stomaking thereat, did chuse them a generall called *Tatius*, & so went with a puysant army toward the cittie of ROME, whereunto to approche at that time it was very harde, the castell or keepe of their cittie being seated, where at this day the Capitoll standeth, within which there was a great garrison, whereof *Tarpeius* was captaine, & not his daughter *Tarpeia*, as some will saye, who set out *Romulus* as a foole. But *Tarpeia* the ca-
B ptaines daughter, for the desire she had to haue all the golde bracelets which they dyd weare about their armes, solde the forte to the SABYNES, and asked for reward of her treason, all they did weare on their left armes. *Tatius* promised them vnto her: & she opened them a gate in the night, by the which she did let all the SABYNES into the castell. *Antigonus* then was not alone, who sayed, he loued those which did betraye, & hated thē that had betrayed: nor yet *Cæsar Augustus*, who told *Rymitalces* the THRACIAN, that he loued treason, but he hated traytors. And it is a comon affection which we beare to wicked persons, whileste we stand in neede of them: not vnlike for all the world to those which haue nede of the gall & poyson of venemous beasts. For when they finde it, they are glad, & take it to serue their turne: but after their turne is serued, & they haue that they sought, they hate the crueltie of such beasts. So played *Tatius* at that time.

The Sabynes led by Tatius, went to besiege the cittie of Rome.

Tarpeia betrayeth the castell, and letteth in the Sabynes.

Antigonus & Augustus Cæsars words of traytours.

A fit similitude.

C For when he was gotten into the castell, he cōmanded the SABYNES (for performance of his promise he had made to *Tarpeia*) they should not sticke to geue her all they weare on their left armes, & to doe as he did: who taking from his owne arme first, the bracelet which he ware, did cast it to her, and his target after. And so did all the rest in like sorte, in so much as being borne downe to the ground by the weight of bracelets & targets, she dyed as pressed to deathe vnder her burden. Neuertheles *Tarpeius* self was atteinted, & condēned also of treason, by *Romulus* order, as *Iuba* sayeth, it is set forth by *Sulpitius Galba*. They that write nowe otherwise of *Tarpeia*, saying she was the daughter of *Tatius*, generall of the SABYNES, & was forced by *Romulus* to lie with him, & how she was punished in this sorte by her own father after her said treason cōmitted: those I saye, amōgest whom *Antigonus* is one, are not to be credited. And the poet *Simylus*
D also dothe dote most, who sayeth *Tarpeia* solde the Capitoll not to the SABYNES, but to the king of GAVLES, with whom she was in loue: as in these verses dothe appeare.

Note the reward of treason.

Tarpeia pressed to deathe.

Tarpeia, that mayde of foolishe mynde,
vvhich nere vnto the Capitoll did dvvell
(In feruent flames, of beastly loue beblynde,
vvherevvith the king of Gaules did make her svvell)
Caus'd stately ROME *surpriséd for to be*
by enemies, as euery man maye see.
And so throughe hope of his fidelitie
betrayed her syre, vvith all his familie.

E And a litle after, in speaking of the manner of her deathe, he sayeth also:

Yet lo: the Gaules, those vvorthie men of might
threvv her not dovvne, into the vvaues of Po,
But from their armes, vvherevvith they vvonte to fight
they cast their shields vpon her body so,
That she surprest vvith such an heauy vvaight,
(Ah vvoefull mayde) to death vvas smoothred straight.

This mayden therefore being buried in the same place, the whole hill was called afterwardes *Tarpeius* after her name, which continued vntill *Tarquinius* the King dyd dedicate all the place to *Iupiter*: for then they caryed her bones into some other place, and so it lost her name. Onles
F it be that rocke of the Capitoll, which at this present time they call *Rupes Tarpeia*, from the toppe whereof they were wonte in olde time to throwe downe hedlong all wicked offenders. When the SABYNES now had gotten this holde, *Romulus* being exceeding wrathe, sent them

a defiaunce, and bad them battell if they durſt. *Tatius* ſtraight refuſed not, cõſidering if by miſ- A
chaunce they were diſtreſſed, they had a ſure refuge to retire vnto. The place betweene the
two armies where the fight ſhould be, was all round about enuirõned with litle hilles. So as it
The place of the fight betweene Romulus & Tatius. was playne, the fight could not be but ſharpe and daungerous, for the diſcõmodiouſnes of the
place, were was neither grounde for any to flye, nor yet any ſpace for any longe chaſe, it was
of ſo ſmall a compaſſe. Nowe it fortuned by chaunce, the riuer of Tyber had ouerflowen the
banckes a fewe dayes before, and there remained in it a deeper mudde then men would haue
iudged, bicauſe the grounde was ſo plaine, and was euen where the great market place of
Rome ſtandeth at this daye. They could diſcerne nothing thereof by the eye, bicauſe the vpper
parte of it was cruſted, whereby it was the more readye for them to venter vpon, and the
Curtius the Sabyne. worſe to get out, for that it dyd ſyncke vnderneathe. So the Sabynes had gone vpon it, had B
not *Curtius* daunger bene, which by good fortune ſtayed them. He was one of the nobleſt and
vallianteſt men of the Sabynes, who being mounted vpon a courſer, went on a good waye
before the armie. This courſer entring vpon the cruſted mudde, and ſincking with all, beganne
to plonge and ſtruggle in the myer: whereat *Curtius* proued a while with the ſpurre to ſturre
him, and get him out, but in the ende ſeeing it would not be, he left his backe, and ſaued him
Curtius lake. ſelfe. The ſame very place to this daye is called after his name, *Lacus Curtius*. The Sabynes
The Sabynes geue battell to Romulus. Hoſtilius ſlayne. then ſcaping thus this daunger, beganne the battell. The fight dyd growe very cruell, and en-
dured ſo a great while, the victorie leaning no more to the one ſide then to the other. There
dyed in a ſmall ſpace a great number of men, amongeſt whom *Hoſtilius* was one, who as
they ſaye was the husband of *Herſilia*, and grandfather to *Hoſtilius* that was king of Romai- C
nes after *Numa Pompilius*. Afterwardes there were (as we maye thincke) many other en-
counters and battells betweene them: howbeit they make mention of the laſt aboue all the
Romulus his on the head with a ſtone. reſt, wherein *Romulus* had ſo ſore a blowe on his head with a ſtone, that he was almoſt felled
to the grounde, in ſo much as he was driuen to retire a litle out of the battell. Vpon which
occaſion the Romaines gaue backe alſo, and drue towardes mount Palatine, being driuen
out of the playne by force. *Romulus* beganne nowe to recouer of the blowe he had receyued,
and ſo returned to geue a newe onſet, and cryed out all he might to his ſouldiers to tarye,
and ſhewe their face againe to their enemie. But for all his lowde crying, they left no flying
ſtill for life, and there was not one that durſt returne againe. Whereupon *Romulus* lyfting vp
his handes ſtraight to heauen, dyd moſt feruently praye vnto *Iupiter*, that it would pleaſe him D
to ſtaye the flying of his people, and not ſuffer the Romaines glorie thus to fall to their
vtter deſtruction, but to repaire it by his fauour againe. He had no ſoner ended this prayer,
but diuers of his men that fled, beganne to be aſhamed to flye before their King, and a ſo-
daine boldnes came vpon them, and their feare therewithall vaniſhed awaye. The place they
Iupiter Stator. firſt ſtayed in was, where as nowe is the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, which is as much to ſaye, as
Iupiter the ſtayer. Afterwardes gathering them ſelues together againe, they repulſed the Sa-
bynes euen to the place they call nowe *Regia*, and vnto the temple of the goddeſſe *Veſta*:
where bothe the battels being prepared to geue a newe charge, there dyd fall out before
A wonderfull boldnes of women. them, a ſtraunge and an vncredible thing to ſee, which ſtayed them they fought not. For of
the Sabyne women whom the Romaines had rauiſhed, ſome ranne of the one ſide, other E
of the other ſide of the battels, with lamentations, cryes, and ſhowtes, ſtepping betweene their
weapons, and among the ſlayne bodyes on the grounde, in ſuche ſorte that they ſeemed out
of their wittes, and caried as it were with ſome ſpirites. In this manner they went to finde out
their fathers and their husbands, ſome carying their ſucking babes in their armes, other ha-
uing their heare loſe about their eyes, and all of them calling, nowe vpon the Sabynes,
nowe vpon the Romaines, with the genteleſt names that could be deuiſed: which dyd melt
the hartes of bothe parties in ſuche ſorte, that they gaue backe a litle, and made them place
betweene bothe the battells. Then were the cryes and lamentations of euery one playnely
hearde. There was not a man there but it pittied him, aſwell to ſee them in that pittiefull
caſe, as to heare the lamentable wordes they ſpake: adding to their moſt humble peti- F
tions and requeſtes that could be any waye imagined, paſſing wiſe perſuaſions and reaſons to
induce them to a peace. For what offence (ſayed they) or what diſpleaſure haue we done to
you,

A you, that we ſhould deſerue ſuche an heape of euills, as we haue already ſuffered, and yet you make vs beare? we were as you knowe violently (and againſt all lawe) rauiſhed by thoſe, whoſe nowe we remaine. But oure fathers, oure brethern, oure mothers and friends haue left vs with them ſo long, that proceſſe of time, and the ſtraighteſt bonds of the worlde, haue tyed vs nowe ſo faſt to them, whom mortally before we hated: that we are conſtrayned nowe to be flighted thus, to ſee them fight, yea and to lament & dye with them, who before vniuſtly tooke vs from you. For then you came not to oure reſcue when we were virgines vntouched, nor to recouer vs from them when they wickedly aſſaulted vs, poore ſowles: but nowe ye come to take the wiues from their husbands, & the mothers from their litle children. So as the helpe ye thincke to geue vs nowe dothe grieue vs more, then the forſaking of vs was ſorowfull to vs then.

The wordes of Herſilia and other Sabyne women vnto both armies.

B Suche is the loue they haue borne vnto vs, and ſuche is the kyndenes we beare againe to them. Nowe, if ye dyd fight for any other cauſe then for vs, yet were it reaſon ye ſhould let fall your armes for oure ſakes (by whom you are made grandfathers and fathers in lawe, coſins & brothers in lawe) euen from thoſe againſt whom you now bend your force. But if all this warre beganne for vs, we hartely beſeeche you then that you will receyue vs with your ſonnes in lawe, and your ſonnes by them, and that you will reſtore vnto vs oure fathers, oure brethern, oure kinſefolkes and friends, without ſpoyling vs of oure husbands, of our children, and of our ioyes, and thereby make vs woefull captiues and priſoners in oure mindes. Theſe requeſtes and perſuaſions by *Herſilia*, and other the SABYNE women being heard, bothe the armies ſtayed, and helde euerie bodie his hand, and ſtraight the two generalles imparled together. During which

Romulus and Tatius imparle together.

C parle they brought their husbands and their children, to their fathers and their brethern. They brought meate and drincke for them that would eate. They dreſſed vp the woundes of thoſe that were hurte. They caried them home with them to their houſes. They ſhewed them howe they were miſtreſſes there with their husbands. They made them ſee howe greately they were accompted of and eſteemed: yea howe with a wedlocke loue and reputation they were honored. So in the end peace was concluded betwene them, wherein it was articled, that the SABYNE women which would remaine with their husbands ſhould tarye ſtill, and be exempted from all worke or ſeruice (as aboue recited) ſaue only ſpinning of wolle. And that the SABYNES & ROMAINES ſhould dwell together in the cittie, which ſhould be called ROMA, after *Romulus* name: & the inhabitants ſhould be called *Quirites*, after the name of the cittie of *Tatius* king of

Peace betwene the Romaines and Sabynes.

Quirites why ſo called.

D the SABYNES, & that they ſhould reigne & gouerne together by a comon conſent. The place where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this daye Comitium: bicauſe that *Coire*, in the Latine tongue ſignifieth to aſſemble. So the cittie being augmented by the one halfe, they dyd chooſe of the SABYNES another hundred new PATRICIANS, vnto the firſt hundred of the ROMAINES that were choſen before. Then were the Legions made of ſixe thouſand footemen, & ſix hundred horſemen. After they diuided their inhabitāts into three Tribes, wherof thoſe that came of *Romulus*, were called *Ramnenſes* after his name: thoſe that came of *Tatius* were called *Tatienſes* after his name: and thoſe that were of the third ſtocke, were called *Lucerenſes*, as from the Latine word *Lucus*, called with vs a groue in Engliſh, bicauſe thither great number of people of all ſortes dyd gather, which afterwards were made citizens of ROME. The very worde of

Comitium.

The Romaine legion. 6000. footemen, 600 horſemē.

The Romaine tribes.

E *Tribus* (which ſignifieth bands, wards, or hundreds) dothe witneſſe this beginning of ROME from wards, or hundreds. For hereupon the ROMAINES call thoſe at this daye, their *Tribunes*, which are the chiefe heades of the people. But euery one of theſe principall wardes had afterwards ten other particular wards vnder them, which ſome thincke were called after the names of the thirtie SABYNE women that were rauiſhed: but that ſemeth falſe, bicauſe many of them cary the names of the places they came frō. Howbeit at that time many things were ſtabliſhed & ordeined in honour of women: as to geue them place, the vpper hande in meeting them, the vpper hand in ſtreets: to ſpeake no fowle or diſhoneſt word before them, no man to vnraye himſelfe, or ſhew naked before them: that they ſhould not be called before criminall iudges ſitting vpō homicides & murderers: that their children ſhould weare about their necks a kind of a

Honours geuē to women.

F Iuell called *Bulla*, facioned in māner like theſe water bubbles that riſe vpō the water when it beginneth to raine: & that their gownes ſhould be garded with purple. Now the two Kings dyd not ſtraight cōferre together ſo ſone as any occaſion of buſines was offered them, but either of

them dyd firſt counſell alone with his hundred Senatours, and afterwards they dyd all aſſemble together. *Tatius* dwelt in the place where nowe is the temple of *Iuno Moneta*: *Romulus* in the place called at this preſent, the ſtayers of the fayer bäcke, then the deſcét of mount Palatine, as they goe to the ſhowe place or great liſtes, where they ſaye was ſomtime the holy cornell tree, whereof they make ſo great accompt. *Romulus* one daye deſirous to proue his ſtrength, threwe (as it is ſayed) a darte from mount Auentine toward mount Palatine. The ſtaffe whereof was of a cornell tree: & the Iron of it entred ſo deepe into the ground being a luſtye fatte ſoyle, that no man could pul it out, although many proued it, and did the beſt they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth trees, did ſo nouriſhe the ende of this ſtaffe, that it tooke roote, and beganne to ſpread braunches: ſo that in time it became a fayer great cornell tree, which the ſucceſſours of *Romulus* dyd incloſe with a walle, & dyd kepe and worſhippe it as a very holy thing. If by chaunce any went to ſee it, and found it looked not freſhe and grene, but like a tree withered and dryed awaye for lacke of moyſture: he went awaye ſtraight as one affrayed, crying to all he met (& they with him went crying ſtill) in euery place, water, water, as it had bene to haue quenched a fyre. Then ranne they thither out of all quarters with veſſels of water, to water and moyſte the tree. In the time of *Caius Cæſar*, who cauſed the ſtayers about it to be repayred: they ſaye the labourers rayſing the place, and digging about this cornell tree, dyd by negligence hurte the rootes of the ſame in ſuche ſorte, as afterwardes it dryed vp altogether.

Tatius and Romulus palaces.
The holy cornell tree.

Nowe the SABYNES receyued the moneths after the manner of the Romaines, whereof we haue written ſufficiently in the life of *Numa*. *Romulus* againe vſed the SABYNES ſheldes: and both he and his people chaunged the facion of their armour and weapons they vſed. For the ROMAINES before dyd carye litle ſheldes after the facion of the ARGIVES. As for either of their holy dayes and ſacrifices, they kept them bothe together, and dyd not take awaye any of them, which either the one or the other people obſerued before, but they added thereunto ſome other newe. As that which they call *Matronalia*, which was inſtituted in honour of the women, bicauſe by their meanes peace was cõcluded. And that alſo of *Carmentalia*, in the honour of *Carmenta*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to be the goddeſſe of fate or deſtinie, bicauſe ſhe hathe rule & power ouer the natiuities of men, by reaſon whereof, the mothers call vpon her often, & reuerence her very much. Other ſaye ſhe was the wife of *Euander* the *Arcadian*, who being a propheteſſe inſpired by the god *Phœbus*, gaue the oracles in verſe, wherupõ ſhe was ſurnamed *Carmenta*, bicauſe that *Carmina* in Latine ſignifie verſes: for it is of certaintie that her proper name was *Nicoſtrata*. Howbeit there are ſome which geue another manner of deriuation and interpretation of this worde *Carmenta*, which is the liklier to be true: as if they would ſaye, *Carens mente*: which ſignifieth wanting wit, for the very furie that taketh them when they are inſpired with the propheticall ſpirite. For in Latine *Carere*, betokeneth to lacke: and *Mens*, ſignifieth wit. As for the feaſt of *Palilia*, we haue tolde of it before: but the feaſt of *Lupercalia*, conſidering the time of celebrating thereof, it ſeemeth it is ordeined for a purification. For it is celebrated on the vnfortunate dayes of the moneth of Februarie, which are called the purging dayes. The dayes in the olde time on which they did celebrate the ſame, were called Februata. But the proper name of the feaſt, is as much to ſaye, as the feaſt of woulues. Wherefore it ſeemeth to be a feaſt of great antiquitie, and inſtituted by the ARCADIANS which came in with *Euãder*: albeit the name of woulues is as comon to the females, as the males, & ſo it might perhappes be called, by reaſon of the woulfe that brought vp *Romulus*. For we ſee thoſe which ronne vp & down the cittie that daye, & they call *Luperci*, doe beginne their courſe in the very place where they ſaye *Romulus* was caſt out. Howbeit many things are done, whereof the originall cauſe were hard now to be coniectured. For goates about a certaine time of the yere are killed, then they bring two young boyes, noble mens ſonnes, whoſe foreheads they touch with the knife bebloudied with the bloude of the goates that are ſacrificed. By & by they drye their forheads with wolle dipped in milke. Thẽ the yong boyes muſt laughe immediately after they haue dried their forheads. That done they cut the goates ſkinnes, & make thongs of thẽ, which they take in their hands, & ronne with them all about the cittie ſtarck naked (ſauing they haue a clothe before their ſecrets) and ſo they ſtrike with theſe thonges all they mete in their waye. The yonge wiues doe neuer ſhonne them at all, but are well contẽted to be ſtriken with them, beleeuing

The Sabynes vſed the Romaines moneths.

Feaſts, Matronalia, Carmentalia, Carmenta.

Lupercalia.

A beleeuing it helpeth them to be with childe, and alſo to be eaſely deliuered. There is another thing yet in this feaſt, that theſe LVPERCIANS which ronne about the cittie, doe alſo ſacrifice a dogge. Cõcerning this feaſt, the Poet named *Butas* dothe write ſomewhat in his elegies, where ſhewing the occaſion of the fond cuſtomes and ceremonies of the Romaines, he dothe ſaye that *Romulus* after he had ſlayne *Amulius*, did runne ſtraight with great ioye to the very place where the wolfe gaue him & his brother ſucke, in memory of which rũning, he ſayeth this feaſt of Lupercalia was celebrated: & that the noble mens younger ſonnes doe runne through the cittie, ſtriking & laying on them which they meete in their way with their goate thongs, in token that *Remus* and *Romulus* ranne from ALBA vnto that place, with their drawen ſwordes in their hãds. And that the touching of their foreehead with a bloudy knife, is in remẽbrance of the

The Lupercians doe ſacrifice a dogge.

VVhy the Lupercians rõne through the cittie naked.

B daunger they ſtoode in at that time to haue bene ſlaine. Laſt of all, the drying of their foreheads with wolle dipped in milke, is in memorie of the milke they ſucked of the woulfes. But *Caius Acilius* writeth, that *Remus* and *Romulus* before *Rome* was built, did happen to loſe their beaſts on a daye, & after they had made certaine prayers vnto *Faunus* for the finding of them, they ranne here & there ſtarcke naked as they went a ſeeking of thẽ, for feare they ſhould haue bene troubled with ouermuch heate & ſweatĩg. And this is the cauſe he ſayeth, why the LVPERCIANS doe at this daye ronne about naked. And if it be true they make this ſacrifice for a purging, a man might ſaye they might offer vp a dogge for that purpoſe, like as the Græcians in their ſacrifices of purgatiõ doe vſe to carie out all their doggs. And in many places they doe obſerue this ceremonie, to driue out the doggs, which they call *Periſcylaciſmes*. Otherwiſe, if it be of a thanck-

C fullnes to the woulfe that gaue *Romulus* ſucke, & ſaued him from periſhing, that the Romaines doe ſolemniſe this feaſt: it is not impartinẽt they ſacrifice a dogge, bicauſe he is enemie to the woulues. Onles a man would ſaye it was to puniſhe this beaſt, which troubleth and letteth the LVPERCIANS when they runne. Some ſaye alſo it was *Romulus*, who firſt inſtituted it a religion to kepe holy fire, & that firſt ordeined holie virgines, which are called *Veſtales*: other doe aſcribe it to *Numa Pompilius*. Notwithſtanding it is moſt certaine otherwiſe, that *Romulus* was a very deuoute man, & greatly ſkilfull in telling of things to come by the flying of birds: for which cauſe he did ordinarilie carie the augurs crooked ſtaffe, called in Latin *Lituus*. It is a rodde crooked at the end, wherewith the augurs or ſoothſayers when they ſit down to behold the flying of birds, doe poynte out & marke the quarters of the heauen. They carefully kept it within the pallace:

The Veſtall Nunnes and holy fire inſtituted by Romulus. Lituus.

D howbeit it was loſt in the time of warres with the GAVLES, when the cittie of ROME was taken. Afterwards when theſe barbarous people were chaſed and driuen out, it was founde againe (as it is ſayed) all whole, within a great hill or heape of aſhes, hauing no mãner of hurte, where all things els about it had bene conſumed and marred with the fire. He is ſayd to haue made certaine lawes, among which there is one that ſeemeth ſomewhat harde, which is: that the man is ſuffered to put awaye his wife, and in ſome caſe to geue her nothing: and like libertie is not gẽuen to the wife to put awaye her husband. As if ſhe maye be proued to haue conſented to the poyſoning of her children, or to haue counterfaited her husbands keyes, or to haue committed adulterie. But if he put her awaye for any other cauſe, then the one halfe of the goodes is adiuged to the wife, and the other moytie to the goddeſſe *Ceres*: and he that putteth away his wife

Romulus lawes.

E after this ſorte, is commanded further, to ſacrifice to the goddes of the earth. This alſo was notable in *Romulus*, who hauing ordeined no payne nor puniſhement for parricides (that is for thoſe that kill their parents) called yet all murder parricide, to ſhewe how deteſtable that murder was, and as for parricides, he thought it vnpoſſible. And it ſeemed a great while, he had reaſon to thincke ſo, that ſuch wickednes would neuer happen in the worlde. For in fixe hundred yeres together it was not knowen that any man in ROME committed ſuche an offence: and the firſt parricide with them was *Lucius Oſtius*, after the warres of *Hannibal*. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the firſt yere of the reigne of *Tatius*, ſome of his kynſemen and friendes met by chaunce on the waye certeine ambaſſadours, comming from the cittie of LAVRENTVM vnto ROME, whom they ſet vpon, and ment to haue robbed them.

Parricides.

No parricide knowen in Rome fixe hũdred yeres together.

Lucius Oſtius the firſt man that ſlewe his owne father at Rome.

F The ambaſſadours reſiſting them, and not willing to deliuer their money, they made no more a doe, but ſlewe them. This haynous deede being thus committed, *Romulus* was of opinion they ſhoulde be executed openly in the highe waye for example. But *Tatius*

Ambaſſadours ſlaine comming to Rome.

deferred it ſtill from daye to daye, and dyd allwayes excuſe the matter vnto him, which was the only cauſe, they fell out one with the other. For in all things els, they caried them ſelues as honeſtly as might be the one to the other, ruling and gouerning together, with a common conſent and good accorde. But the parents & kynſefolkes of thoſe who were murdered, when they ſawe they could haue no iuſtice bicauſe of *Tatius*: watched him one daye as he ſacrificed with *Romulus*, in the cittie of Lauinium, and ſtabbed him in, without offering *Romulus* any violence, but rather prayſed him for a good and righteous prince. *Romulus* cauſed the bodye of *Tatius* to be ſtraight taken vp, and buried him very honorably in mount Auentine, about the place nowe called Armiluſtrium. Further he neuer ſhewed any countenaunce to reuenge his death. There are ſome Hiſtoriographers that write, that thoſe of the cittie of Laurentum being afeard at this murder, dyd deliuer forthwith to *Romulus* the murderers of the ambaſſadours. He notwithſtanding dyd ſet them goe againe, ſaying: one murder was requited by another. This gaue ſome occaſion of ſpeache to thincke, he was glad he was rydde of his companion: yet the Sabynes neither ſturred nor rebelled for all this, but ſome of them were affrayed of him for the great loue they bare him, other for his power he was of, & other for the honour they gaue him as a god, continuing ſtill in duetie & obedience towards him. Diuers ſtraũgers alſo had *Romulus* valiancie in great honour: as amongeſt other, thoſe who then were called the auncient Latines, which ſent ambaſſadours to him to make league and amitie with him. He deuiſed to take the cittie of Fidena which was nere neighbour to Rome. Some ſaye he tooke it vpon a ſodaine, hauing ſent before certen horſe men to breake downe the hookes & hingewes with force, which the gates hang by: & him ſelf came after with the reſt of his armie, and ſtale vpon them, before the cittie miſtruſted any thing. Other write that the Fidenates firſt inuaded his coũtrye, and foraged vnto the very ſuburbes of Rome, where they did great harme: and howe Romulus layed an ambuſhe in their waye as they returned home, and ſlewe a great number of them. When he tooke their cittie, he did not raſe it, but made a colonye of it, (as a place to ſend the ouerincreaſe of Rome vnto) whether he ſent afterwards two thouſand fiue hundred Romains to inhabite there: & it was on the thirteenth daye of Aprill, which the Romaines call the Ides of the ſame moneth. Not long after there roſe ſuche a great plague in Rome, that men died ſodainely, and were not ſicke: the earth brought forth no fruite: bruite beaſts deliuered no increaſe of their kynde: there rayned alſo droppes of bloude in Rome, as they ſaye. In ſo much as beſides the euills men felt in this extremitie, they fell in a marueilous feare of the wrathe of the goddes. Afterwards perceiuing the like happened to the inhabitants of Laurẽtum, then euery man iudged it was the very vengeance and heauie hand of the goddes, who plagued and puniſhed theſe two citties for the murder committed vpon *Tatius*, and the ambaſſadours that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both ſides were apprehended, and executed: and theſe plagues by and by ceaſed both in the one and in the other cittie. Romulus beſides, did purifie the cities with certaine ſacrifices that he deuiſed, which they keepe ſtill at this daye, at the gate called Ferentina. But before the plague ceaſed, the Camerines came to aſſaulte the Romaines, & had ouercomen all the countrie, ſuppoſing they ſhould not be able to withſtand them, bicauſe they had bene ſo ſore troubled with the plague. Yet notwithſtãding, Romulus ſet vp on them with his army, & wanne the field of them, in which conflict there were ſlaine about ſixe thouſand men. After the battell done, he tooke their cittie, & conueyed to Rome the one half of the inhabitans that remained. After this, he ſent twiſe as many Romaines as there were naturall Cameriãs left at Camerine, to dwell there among them. This was done the firſt daye of Auguſt: ſo great was the multitude of the inhabitãts of Rome that had increaſed in ſixteene yeres from the firſt foundation of the cittie. Emong other ſpoyles he got there, he caried away a charret of braſſe with foure horſes, which he cauſed to be ſet vp in the temple of *Vulcan*, and his owne ſtatue vpon it, and victorie crowning him with a garland triũphant. His power being growen thus great, his weake neighbours did ſubmit themſelues vnto him, being contented to liue in peace by him. His ſtronger neighbours were affrayed of him, and enuied much his greatnes, and dyd take it no good policie to ſuffer him thus to riſe in the face of the world, and thought it meete ſpedilie to dawnte his glorie, and clippe his winges. The firſt of the Thuſcans that bent their power againſt him, were the Veians, who had a great countrie, & dwelled in a ſtronge and mightie cittie. To picke

The death of Tatius in Lauinium.

Armiluſtriũ

The Sabines obedience to Romulus.

Romulus tooke the cittie of Fidena.

Plague at Rome.

It rained bloude at Rome.

Camerines taken of Romulus.

a quarrell

A a quarrell to him, they ſent to haue redeliuered to thē the cittie of FIDENA, which they ſayed belōged vnto them. This was thought not only vnreaſonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, cōſidering that all the while the FIDENATES were in warre, & daunger, the THVSCANS neuer came to their ayde, but had ſuffered them to be ſlayne, and then came to demaunde their lands and tenements, when other had poſſeſſion of them. Therefore *Romulus* hauing geuen them an aunſwer full of mockerie, and deriſion, they diuided their power into two armies, and ſent the one againſt them of FIDENA, and with the other they marched towards ROME. That which went againſt the cittie of FIDENA, preuayled, and killed there two thouſand ROMAINES: the other was ouerthrowen and diſcomfited by *Romulus*, in which there dyed eight thouſand VEIANS. Afterwards, they met againe ſomewhat neere the cittie of the FIDENATES, where

B they fought a battell: and all dyd confeſſe, the chiefeſt exployte was done by *Romulus* owne hands that daye, who ſhewed all the skill and valliantnes that was to be looked for in a worthy captaine. It ſeemed that daye, he farre exceeded the cōmon ſorte of men, in ſtrength of bodye & feates of armes. Neuertheles that which ſome ſaye, is hardely to be credited: & to be plaine, is out of all compaſſe of beliefe and poſſibilitie. For they write, there were fourteene thouſand men ſlayne at that battell, & that more then halfe of them were ſlayne by *Romulus* own hands: & the rather, for that euery man iudgeth it a vaine bragge and oſtentation which the MESSENIANS reporte of *Ariſtomenes*, who offered in ſacrifice to the goddes three hundred beaſtes of victorie, as for ſo many LACEDÆMONIANS him ſelf had ſlayne in the battell. Their armie being thus broken, *Romulus* ſuffered them to flye who by ſwiftnes could ſaue them ſelues, and

The incredible valiātnes of Romulus.

C marched with all his power in good arraye towards their cittie. The cittizens then conſidering their late great loſſe and ouerthrowe, would not hazard the daunger of withſtanding him, but went out all together, & made their humble petition & ſute for peace. All was graunted them for a hundred yeres, ſaue they ſhould forgoe their territorie called *Septemagium*, that was the ſeuenth parte of their countrye: & yeld to the ROMAINES all their ſalt houſes by the riuers ſide, and deliuer fiftie of their chiefeſt cittizens for their pledges. *Romulus* made his entrie and triumphe into ROME for them, the daye of the Ides of October, which is the fifteenth daye of the ſame moneth, leading in his triumphe many priſoners taken in thoſe warres: & among other, the generall of the VEIANS, a very auncient man who fondly behaued him ſelfe in his charge, and ſhewed by his doings, that his experience was farre ſhorte for his yeres in the warres. And

Romulus maketh peace with the Veians.

D from thence it commeth, when they offer to the goddes to geue thanckes for this victorie, that euen at this daye, they bring to the capitoll throughe the market place an old man apparelled in a purple robe, & with a Iuell called *Bulla* about his necke, which the gentlemens young children weare about their neckes: & a herauld goeth harde by him, crying, who buyeth who, the SARDIANIANS, bicauſe they holde opinion the THVSCANS are come of the SARDIANIANS, and the very cittie of VEIES ſtandeth in the countrie of THVSCANE. This was the laſte warre that *Romulus* had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wonte to happen almoſt to all thoſe, who by ſodaine proſperitie, and fortunes ſpeciall fauour, are raiſed to highe and great eſtate. For truſting to proſperitie and good ſucceſſe of his actes, he beganne to growe more ſtraunge and ſtately, and to carie a ſowerer countenaunce then he was wonte to

Proſperitie, increaſe of pryde and ſtomake.

E doe before: leauing to be after his olde manner, a curteous and gracious prince, and gaue him ſelfe in facions to be ſomwhat like a tyrant, both for his apparell, and ſtately porte and maieſtie that he caried. For he ware euer a coate of purple in graine, and vpon that, a longe robe of purple culler: and gaue audience, ſitting in a wyde chayer of eſtate, hauing euer about him young men called *Celeres*, as we would ſaye, flights for their ſwiftnes & ſpeede in executing of his commaundements. Other there were that went before him, who caried as it were tipſtaues in their hands, to make the people geue roome, and had leather thongs about their middle to binde faſt ſtreight, all the prince ſhould commaunde. Nowe in olde time the Latines ſayed, *Ligare* was to binde: but at this preſent they ſaye *Alligare*, from whence it commeth that the vſhers and ſergeants are called *Lictores*. Howbeit me thincks it were more likely to ſaye, they had put to a.c.

Celeres, Romulus garde.

Lictores, wherefore ſo called.

F & that before they were called *Litores*, without a.c. For they be the very ſame which the GRECIANS call *Liturgos*, and be in Engliſhe, miniſters or officers: and at this daye, *Leitos*, or *Leos*, in the GREKE tongue ſignifieth the people. *Romulus* now after his grandfather *Numitor* was dead

at the cittie of ALBA, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to winne the fauour of A
the people there, turned the Kingdome to a Comon weale, and euery yere dyd chuſe a newe
magiſtrate to miniſter iuſtice to the SABYNES. This preſident taught the noble men of ROME
to ſeeke and deſire to haue a free eſtate, where no ſubiect ſhould be at the commaundement of
a King alone, and where euery man ſhould commaund & obey as ſhould be his courſe. Thoſe
which were called *Patricians* in ROME, dyd medle with nothing, but had onely an honorable
name and robe, and were called to counſaill rather for a facion, then to haue their aduiſe or
counſaile. For when they were aſſembled togither, they dyd onely heare the Kings pleaſure
and commaundement, but they might not ſpeake one word, and ſo departed: hauing no other
preheminence ouer the Cōmon wealthe, ſauing they were the firſt that dyd knowe what was
done. All other things thereby dyd greue them leſſe. But when of his owne mere authoritie, & B
as it were of him ſelf, he would as pleaſed him, beſtowe the conquered lands of his enemies to
his ſouldiers, and reſtore againe to the VEIANS their hoſtages as he dyd: therein plainely ap-
peared, how great iniurie he dyd to the Senate. Whereupon the Senatours were ſuſpected af-
terwards that they killed him, when with in fewe dayes after it was ſayed, he vaniſhed awaye ſo
ſtraungely, that no man euer knewe what became of him. This was on the ſeuenth daye of the
moneth nowe called Iuly, which then was named *Quintilis*, leauing no manner of certaintie els
of his deathe that is knowen, ſaue only of the daye and the time when he vaniſhed, as we haue
ſayed before. For on that daye, the ROMAINES doe at this preſent many things, in remem-
brance of the miſfortune which happened to them then. It is no maruell, the certaintie of his
deathe was not knowen: ſeeing *Scipio Africanus* was founde after ſupper dead in his houſe, C
and no man could tell, nor yet dyd know how he dyed. For ſome ſaye that he fainted, and dyed
ſodainely being of weake complexion. Other ſaye he poyſoned him ſelf: other thincke his ene-
mies dyd get ſecretly in the night into his houſe, & ſmoothred him in his bed. Yet they founde
his body layed on the ground, that euery body might at leyſure conſider, if they could finde or
coniecture the manner of his death. Howbeit *Romulus* vaniſhed away ſodainely, there was nei-
ther ſeene pece of his garments, nor yet was there found any parte of his body. Therfore ſome
haue thought that the whole Senatours fell vpon him together in the temple of *Vulcan*, and
how after they had cut him in peces, euery one caried awaye a pece of him, folded cloſe in the
skyrte of his robe. Other thincke alſo, this vaniſhing away was not in the temple of *Vulcan*, nor
in the preſence of the Senatours only: but they ſaye that *Romulus* was at that time without the D
cittie, neere the place called the goates marſhe, where he made an oration to the people, and
that ſodainely the weather chaunged, and ouercaſt ſo terribly, as it is not to be tolde nor credi-
ted. For firſt, the ſunne was darckned as if it had bene very night: this darcknes was not in a
calme or ſtill, but there fell horrible thunders, boyſterous windes, and flaſhing lightnings on
euery ſide, which made the people ronne awaye, and ſcatter here and there, but the Senatours
kept ſtill cloſe together. Afterwardes when the lightning was paſt and gone, the daye cleared
vp, & the element waxed fayer as before. Then the people gathered together againe, & ſought
for the King: asking what was become of him. But the noble men would not ſuffer them to en-
quire any further after him, but counſelled them to honour and reuerence him as one taken vp
into heauen: and that thenceforth in ſteade of a good King, he would be vnto them a mercifull E
& gratious god. The meaner ſorte of people (for the moſt parte of them) tooke it well, & were
very glad to heare thereof: & went their waye worſhipping *Romulus* in their hartes, with good
hope they ſhould proſper by him. Howbeit ſome ſeeking out the trothe more egerly did cōber
ſore, and troubled the Patricians: accuſing them, that they abuſed the common people with
vaine & fonde perſuaſions, whileſt them ſelues in the meane time had murdered the King with
their owne hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, ſome ſaye there was one *Iulius Pro-
culus*, the nobleſt of all the Patricians, being eſteemed for a maruelous honeſt man, & knowen
to haue bene very familier with *Romulus*, & came with him from the cittie of ALBA: that ſtep-
ped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greateſt and holyeſt othes a man might
ſweare) that he had met *Romulus* on the waye, farre greater and fayerer, then he had ſeene him F
euer before, and armed all in white armour, ſhyning bright like fire: whereat being affrayed in
that ſorte to ſee him, he asked him yet: O King, why haſt thou thus left and forſaken vs, that are

ſo falſely

Romulus conuerteth the kingdome of Alba to a comon weale.

Romulus vaniſhed awaye no man knew howe.

The 17. daye of Iuly an vnfortunate daye to the Romaines.

The death of Scipio Africanus.

Diuers opinions of Romulus death.

The goate marſhe.

Iulius Proculus met with Romulus after his vaniſhing.

A so falsely accused and charged to our vtter discredit and shame, by thy vanishing. To whom *Romulus* gaue this aunswer. *Proculus*, it hathe pleased the goddes from whom I came, that I should remaine amongest men so long as I dyd: and nowe hauing built a cittie, which in glorie and greatnes of empire shalbe the chiefest of the worlde, that I should returne againe to dwell with them, as before, in heauen. Therefore be of good comforte, & tell the ROMAINES, that they exercising prowesse and temperancie, shalbe the mightiest and greatest people of the worlde. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protectour, and patron, and they shall call me *Quirinus*. These wordes seemed credible to the ROMAINES, aswell for the honesty of the man that spake them, as for the solemne othes he made before them all. Yet I wote not how, some celestiall motion, or diuine inspiration helped it much: for no man sayed a word

Romulus oracle vnto Proculus.

B against it. And so all suspition and accusation layed aside, euery man began to call vpon *Quirinus*, to praye vnto him, and to worshippe him. Truely this tale is much like the tales that the GRECIANS tell of *Aristeas* the proconnesian, & of *Cleomedes* the Astypalæian. For they saye, that *Aristeas* dyed in a fullers worke house, & his friends comming to carie awaye his bodye, it fell out they could not tell what became of it: & at that instant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake with him, and how he kept his waye towards the cittie of CROTONA. It is sayed also that *Cleomedes* was more then a man naturally strong and great, and therewithall madde, and furious hastie. For after many desperate partes he had played, he came at the last on a daye into a schoole house full of litle children, the roofe wherof was borne with one piller, which he dyd hit with so terrible a blowe of his fiste, that he brake

Romulus called Quirinus, and honored as a god.

Aristeas a Proconnesian taken out of mens sight after he was dead.

C it in the middest, so as the whole roofe fell and dashed the poore children in peces. The people ranne straight after him to take him. But he threwe him selfe forthwith into a chest, and pulled the lyd vpon him. He helde it so fast downe, that many striuing together all they could to open it, they were not able once to styrre it. Whereupon they brake the chest all in peces, but they found the man neither quicke nor dead. Whereat they were marueilously amazed, and sent to *Apollo Pythias*, where the propheteesse aunswered them in this verse:

Cleomedes Astypalēsis vanished straūgely out of mens sights; being fast locked in a chest.

Cleomedes the last of the demy goddes.

The reporte goeth also that *Alcmenes* corse dyd vanishe awaye, as they caried it to buriall, and howe in steade thereof they founde a stone layed in the beere. To conclude, men tell many other suche wonders, that are farre from any apparance of trothe: only bicause they would

Alcmenes bodye vanished out of the beere.

D make men to be as goddes, and equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reproue and denie diuine power, it were a lewde and wicked parte: euen so to compare earthe and heauen together, it were a mere follie. Therefore we must let suche fables goe, being most certaine that as *Pindarus* sayeth it is true.

Eche liuing corps, must yelde at last to deathe,
and euery life must leese his vitall breathe:
The soule of man, that onely liues on hie,
and is an image of eternitie.

The soule eternall.

For from heauen it came, and thither againe it dothe returne, not with the bodye, but then soonest, when the sowle is furthest of and separated from the bodye, and that she is kept holy,

E & is no more defiled with the flesh. It is that the philosopher *Heraclitus* ment, when he sayed. The drye light, is the best soule which flyeth out of the bodye, as lightning dothe out of the clowde: but that which is ioyned with the bodye being full of corporall passions, is a grosse vapour, darke and massie, & cannot flame, ryse or shoote out like lightning. We must not beleeue therefore, that the bodyes of noble and vertuous men, doe goe vp together with their soules into heauen, against the order of nature. But this we are certainely to beleeue, that by the vertues of their soules (according to diuine nature and iustice) they doe of men become saincts, and of saincts halfe goddes, and of halfe goddes, entier and perfect goddes: after that they are perfectly (as it were by sacrifices of purgation) made cleane and pure, being deliuered from all paine & mortalitie, & not by any ciuill ordinance, but in trothe & reason, they receaue

Heraclitus saying of the soule.

F a most happie and glorious ende. Now touching *Romulus* surname, which afterwards was called *Quirinus*: some saye that it signifieth as much as warlike: other thinke he was so called bicause the ROMAINES them selues were called *Quirites*. Other write, that men in old time did

Why Romulus was called Quirinus.

call the poynte of a ſpeare,on the darte it ſelf,*Quiris*: by reaſon whereof the image of *Iuno* ſurnamed *Quirtides*,was ſet vp with an iron ſpeare,and the ſpeare which was conſecrated in the Kings pallace, was called *Mars*. Furthermore it is an vſe amongeſt men, to honour them with a ſpeare or darte,which haue ſhewed them ſelues valiant in the warres: and that for this cauſe *Romulus* was ſurnamed *Quirinus*,as who would ſaye,god of the ſpeares and warres. There was ſince buylt a temple vnto him,in the hill called *Quirinus*, and ſo named of him. The daye whereon he vaniſhed,is called the flying of the people,or otherwiſe the Nones of the goates. For on that daye,they goe out of the cittie to doe ſacrifice in the place called the Fenne,or the goates marſhe: and the ROMAINES call a goate, *Capra*. As they goe thus together, they call with lowde ſhowtes and cryes vpon diuers Romaines names, as *Marcus*, *Cneus*, and *Gaius*, in token of the flying that was then: and that they called one another backe againe,as they ranne awaye in great feare and diſorder. Howbeit other ſaye, that it is not done to ſhewe the ronning awaye,but to ſhewe their ſpede and diligence,and referre it to the ſtorie. Nowe after the GAVLES that had taken ROME were expulſed by *Camillus*, the cittie was ſo weakned,that they could ſcante recouer their force and ſtrength againe: wherfore many of the LATINES ioyning together, went with a great mightie armie, vnder the conducte of *Liuius Poſthumius*, to warre againſt the ROMAINES. This *Poſthumius* brought his campe as neere the cittie of ROME as he could,& ſent to the ROMAINES by a trumpet to let them vnderſtand, how the LATINES were deſirous by newe mariages, to reſtore their olde auncient amitie and kinred that was neere hand decayed betweene them: and therefore if the ROMAINES would ſend them a conuenient number of their daughters and young widowes to marie with them, they ſhould haue peace, as they had before time with the SABYNES, vpon the like occaſion. The ROMAINES hereat were ſore troubled,thincking that to deliuer their women in ſuch ſorte was no better, then to yelde and ſubmit them ſelues to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a wayting mayde called *Philotis* (or as other call her, *Tutola*) gaue them counſell to doe neither the one nor the other, but to vſe a pollicy with them, by meanes whereof they ſhould ſcape the daunger of the warres,and ſhould alſo not be tyed nor bounde by any pledges. The deuiſe was,they ſhould ſend to the LATINES her ſelfe,and a certaine number of their fayreſt bonde maydes, trimmed vp like gentlewomen and the beſt cittizens daughters,and that in the night ſhe would lifte them vp a burning torche in the ayer, at which ſigne they ſhould come armed, and ſet vpon their enemies as they laye a ſleepe. This was brought to paſſe: and the LATINES thought verely they had bene the ROMAINES daughters. *Philotis* fayled not in the night to lyft vp her ſigne,and to ſhewe them a burning torche in the toppe of a wilde figge tree: and dyd hange certaine couerlets and clothes behinde it,that the enemies might not ſee the light,and the ROMAINES contrariwiſe might decerne it the better. Thereupon ſo ſone as the ROMAINES ſawe it,they ranne with all ſpede,calling one another by their names, and iſſued out of the gates of the cittie with great haſte: and ſo tooke their enemies vpon a ſodaine, and ſlewe them. In memorie of which victorie,they doe yet ſolemniſe the feaſte called the Nones of the goates, bicauſe of the wilde figge tree called in Latine *Caprificus*. And they doe feaſt the women without the cittie,vnder ſhadowes made of the boughe of figge trees. The wayting maydes,they ronne vp and downe,and playe here and there together. Afterwards they ſeeme to fight,and throwe ſtones one at another, as then they dyd when they holpe the ROMAINES in their fight. But fewe writers doe auowe this tale, bicauſe it is on the daye time that they call ſo eche other by their names,and that they goe to the place which they call the goates marſhe, as vnto a ſacrifice. It ſeemeth this agreeth better with the firſt hiſtorie when they called one another by their names in the night, going againſt the LATINES: onles peraduenture theſe two thinges after many yeres happened vpon one daye.

The hill Quirinus. None Capratine.

The warre of the Latines. Liuius Poſthumius generall.

Philotis a wayting maydes ſodaine deuiſe.

Furthermore, they ſaye *Romulus* was taken out of the worlde, when he was foure and fiftie yeres of age, and had raigned eight and thirtie yeres by accompt.

Romulus age and raigne.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF
Theſeus with Romulus.

A THVS haue we declared all things of *Theſeus* and *Romulus* worthy memorie. But to compare the one with the other, it appeareth firſt that *Theſeus* of his owne voluntarie will, without compulſion of any (when he might with ſafety haue reigned in the cittie of TROEZEN, and ſucceeded his grandfather in no ſmall kingdome) dyd deſire of him ſelfe, and rather ſought meanes to aſpire to great things: and that *Romulus* on the other ſide, to deliuer him ſelf from bondage and ſeruitude that laye ſore vpon him, and to eſcape the threatned puniſhment which ſtill dyd hange ouer his head, was certainely compelled (as *Plato* ſayeth) to ſhewe him ſelfe hardie for feare: who ſeeing howe extremely he was like to be handled, B was of very force conſtrained to ſeeke aduenture, and hazarde the enterpriſe of atteining highe and great things. Moreouer the chiefeſt acte that euer he dyd was, when he ſlewe one onely tyranne of the cittie of ALBA called *Amulius*: where *Theſeus* in his iorney only, as he trauelled, gaue his minde to greater enterpriſes, and ſlewe *Sciron*, *Sinnis*, *Procruſtes*, and *Corynetes*. And by ridding them out of the worlde, he deliuered GRECE of all thoſe cruell tyrannes, before any of thoſe knewe him whom he had deliuered from them. Furthermore, he might haue gone to ATHENS by ſea, and neuer needed to haue trauelled, or put him ſelfe in daunger with theſe robbers, conſidering he neuer receyued hurte by any of them: where as *Romulus* could not be in ſafetie whileſt *Amulius* liued. Hereupon it maye be alledged, that *Theſeus* vnprouoked by any priuate wronge or hurte receyued, dyd ſet vpon theſe deteſtable C theues and robbers: *Remus* and *Romulus* contrariwiſe, ſo longe as the tyranne dyd them no harme, dyd ſuffer him to oppreſſe and wronge all other. And if they alledge theſe were noble dedes, and worthy memorie: that *Romulus* was hurte fighting againſt the SABYNES, and that he ſlewe king *Acron* with his owne handes, and that he had ouercome and ſubdued many of his enemies. Then for *Theſeus* on thother ſide may be obiected, the battell of the CENTAVRI, the warres of the AMAZONES, the tribute due to the king of CRETA: and howe he ventered to goe him ſelfe thither with the other young boyes and wenches of ATHENS, as willingly offering him ſelfe to be deuowred by a cruell beaſte, or els to be ſlayne and ſacrificed vpon the tumbe of *Androgeus*, or to become bondſlaue & tyed in captiuitie to the vile ſeruice of cruell men and enemies, if by his corage and manhodde he could not deliuer him ſelf. This was ſuch D an acte of magnanimitie, iuſtice & glorie, & briefly of ſo great vertue, that it is vnpoſſible truely to be ſet out. Surely me thinckes the philoſophers dyd not ill define loue, when they ſayd ſhe was a ſeruitour of the goddes, to ſaue younge folkes, whom they thought meete to be preſerued. For, the loue of *Ariadne* was in mine opinion the worke of ſome god, and a meane purpoſely prepared for *Theſeus* ſafety. Therefore the woman is not to be reproached nor blamed

By what meanes men are prouoked to great enterpriſes.

Plato in Theodome.

Loue the miniſter of the goddes.

for the loue she bare *Theseus*, but rather it is muche to be wondred at, that euery man and woman in like wise dyd not loue him. And if of her selfe she fell in loue with him, I saye (and not without cause) she afterwards deserued to be beloued of a god, as one that of her owne nature loued valiantnes and honour, and entertained men of singuler value. But both *Theseus* and *Romulus* being naturally geuen to rule and raigne, neither the one nor the other kept the true forme of a King, but bothe of them dyd degenerate alike: the one chaunging him self into a popular man, the other to a very tyranne. So that by sundrie humours, they both fell into one mischief and errour. For a prince aboue all things must keepe his estate: which is no lesse preserued by doing nothing vncomely, as by doing all things honorably. But he that is more seuere or remisse then he should be, remaineth now no more a King or a prince, but becommeth a people pleaser, or a cruell tyrante: and so causeth his subiects to despise or hate him. Yet me thinckes the one is an errour of to muche pittie and basenes: and the other of to muche pryde and crueltie. But if we maye not charge fortune with all mischaunces happening vnto men, but that we ought to consider in them the diuersities of manners and passions, seeing anger is vnreasonable, and wrathe rashe and passionate: then can we not clere the one, nor excuse the other of extreme rage and passion, in the facte committed by the one against his brother, and by the other against his naturall sonne. Howbeit the occasion and beginning of anger doth muche excuse *Theseus*, who moued with the greatest cause that might be, was put into suche choller and passion. But if *Romulus* variaunce with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counsell, or cause of the common weales: there is none so simple to thincke, that his wisdome would so sodainely haue set vpon him. Where as *Theseus* in contrarie manner killed his sonne, prouoked by those passions that fewe men can auoyde: to wit, loue, ielousie, and false reporte of his wife. Moreouer *Romulus* anger went to the effect, whereof the issue fell out very lamentable: *Theseus* anger stretched no further, then to roughe wordes, and olde folkes curses in their heate. For it seemeth, cursed fortune, and nought els, was the cause of his sonnes only mishappe, as forespoken and wished for somewhat by his father. These be the speciall things maye be alledged for *Theseus*. But for *Romulus* this was a noble thing in him. First his beginning being very lowe and meane, and his brother and he taken for bonde men, and the children of hoggeheards, before they were them selues all free, they set at libertie in manner all the LATINES, winning at one instant many titles of glorie and honour: as distroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, Kings of nations, founders of newe citties, and no ouerthrowers of the olde, where as *Theseus* of many habitations and houses made onely one, and dyd ouerthrowe and plucke downe diuers states, bearing the names of auncient Kings, princes, and halfe goddes of ATTICA. All these also dyd *Romulus* afterwards, and compelled his enemies whom he had ouercome, to distroye their owne houses, and to come and dwell with their conquerours. And in the beginning, he neuer chaunged nor increased any cittie that was buylt before, but buylt him selfe a newe cittie out of the grounde, getting all together, land, countrie, kingdome, kinred and mariages, without losing or killing any man: and to the contrarie, rather he dyd good to many poore vacabonds, who had neither countrie, lands, nor houses, and desired nothing els but to make a people amongest them, and to become cittizens of some cittie. Also *Romulus* bent not him selfe to follow theeues and robbers, but subdued by force of armes many mightie and puissant people: he tooke citties, and triumphed ouer Kings and Princes which he had vanquished in battell. And touching the murder of *Remus*, it is not certainely knowen of whose hands he dyed. The most parte of authors doe charge other with the death of him. But it is certaine that *Romulus* deliuered his mother from apparant death, and restored his grandfather to the royall throne of *Æneas*, who before was deposed and brought from a King to seruill obedience, without any regarde of honour or dignitie: to whom he dyd many moe great pleasures and seruices. Besides he neuer offended him willingly, no not so muche as ignorantly. Contrarylie I thincke of *Theseus*, who fayling by negligence to put out his white sayle at his returne, cannot be cleared of parricide, howe eloquent an oration soeuer could be made for his excuse: yea though it were before the most fauorable iudges that could be. Wherefore an ATHENIAN very well perceyuing that it was an harde thing to excuse and defend so fowle a faulte, dothe fayne that the good olde man *Ægeus* hauing

The office of a prince.

Wherein Romulus was to be preferred before Theseus.

Romulus loue to his kynne.

Theseus detected for oblivion.

A hauing newes brought him that his ſonnes ſhippe was at hand, dyd ronne in ſo great haſte to his caſtell, to ſee his ſonne arriue a farre of, that as he ranne, his foote hit againſt ſome thing, and ouerthrewe him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that neuer a man ſeeing him ronne ſo haſtely to the ſea ſide, dyd make haſte to attende and wayte vpon him. Furthermore, *Theſeus* faults touching women and rauiſhements, of the twaine, had the leſſe ſhadowe and culler of honeſtie. Bicauſe *Theſeus* dyd attempt it very often: for he ſtale awaye *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, and *Anaxo* the Troezenian. Againe being ſtepped in yeres, and at later age, and paſt mariage: he ſtale awaye *Helen* in her minoritie, being nothing neere to conſent to marye. Then his taking of the daughters of the TROEZENIANS, of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and the AMAZONES (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birthe and

Theſeus detected for his rauiſhements of women.

B linadge of his owne countrie which were at ATHENS, and deſcended of the noble race and progenie of *Erichtheus*, and of *Cecrops*) dyd geue men occaſion to ſuſpect that his womanniſhenes was rather to ſatisfie luſt, then of any great loue. *Romulus* nowe in a contrarie manner, when his people had taken eight hundred, or thereabouts, of the Sabyne women to rauiſhe them: kept but onely one for him ſelfe that was called *Herſilia*, as they ſaye, and deliuered the reſte to his beſt and moſt honeſt cittizens. Afterwardes by the honour, loue, and good entertainment that he cauſed them to haue & receyue of their husbands, he chaunged this violent force of rauiſhement, into a moſt perfect bonde and league of amitie: which dyd ſo knyt and ioyne in one theſe two nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutuall loue which grewe afterwards betwext thoſe two people, and conſequently of the ioyning of their powers

Romulus rauiſhement of women excuſed.

C together. Furthermore, time hath geuen a good teſtimonie of the loue, reuerence, conſtancie, kyndenes, and all matrimoniall offices that he eſtabliſhed by that meanes, betwext man and wife. For in two hundred and thirtie yeres afterwards, there was neuer man that durſt forſake or put awaye his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the GRECIANS, the beſt learned men, and moſt curious obſeruers of antiquities doe knowe his name, that was the firſt murderer of his father or mother: euen ſo all the ROMAINES knewe what he was, which firſt durſt put away his wife. It was one called *Spurius Caruilius*, bicauſe his wife was barren and had no children. The effects alſo doe agree with the teſtimonie of the time. For the Realme was common vnto Kings of both nations, and through the alliance of theſe mariages that beganne firſt of rauiſhements, both nations liued peaciblie, and in equalitie, vnder one ciuill po-

No diuorce made in Rome for 230. yeres ſpace. Val. Max. ſayeth 520. The firſt wife put awaye in Rome.

D licie, and well gouerned common weale. The ATHENIANS contrariewiſe, by *Theſeus* mariages, dyd get neither loue nor kynred of any one perſone, but rather they procured warres, enmities, & the ſlaughter of their cittizens, with the loſſe in the ende of the cittie of APHIDNES: and yet very hardely, and by the mercie of their enemies (whom they honored as godds) they eſcaped for him, the daunger which the TROIANS ſuffered afterwards, for the ſelf acte done by *Alexander Paris*. So it fell out at the laſt, that his mother was not only in daunger, but euen feelingly ſuffered like miſerie and captiuitie, which *Hecuba* dyd afterwards, when ſhe was forſaken of her ſonne: onles peraduenture thoſe things that they write of the impriſonment and captiuitie of *Æthra*, be founde falſe, and but fables, as for the fame and memorie of *Theſeus* were behouefull, that both it, and many other things alſo, were of no more trothe nor

Theſeus mariages cauſe of warres and troubles.

E likelyhood. That which they write of *Romulus* diuinements, maketh great difference betwene him and *Theſeus*. For *Romulus* in his birthe was preſerued by the marueluous fauour of the goddes: *Theſeus* to the contrarie, was begotten againſt the goddes will, as appeared plainely by the aunſwer of the oracle to *Ægeus*, that he ſhould not medle with any woman in ſtraunge and foraine countrie.

Romulus more acceptable to the godds then Theſeus.

The ende of Romulus life.

THE LIFE OF *Lycurgus.*

A MAN cannot ſpeake any thing at all of *Lycurgus*, who made the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but he ſhall finde great contrarietie of him amongeſt the hiſtoriographers. For, of his parentage & trauaill out of his countrie, of his deathe and making of lawes, of his forme and gouernment, and order of executing the ſame, they haue written diuerſely. And yet aboue all things, concerning him, they agree worſt about the time he liued in. For ſome of them (and *Ariſtotle* is of that number) ill needes haue him to haue bene in the time of *Iphytus*, and that he dyd helpe him to ſtabliſh the ordinaunce that all warres ſhould ceaſe during the feaſt of the games olympicall: for a teſtimonie whereof, they alledge the copper coyte which was vſed to be throwen in thoſe games, and had founde grauen vpon it, the name of *Lycurgus*. Other compting the dayes and time of the ſucceſſion of the kings of LACEDÆMON (as *Eratoſthenes*, and *Apollodorus*) ſaye he was many yeres before the firſt Olympiades. *Timæus* alſo thincketh there were two of this name, and in diuers times: howbeit the one hauing more eſtimation then the other, men gaue this *Lycurgus* the glorie of both their doings. Some ſaye the eldeſt of the twaine, was not longe after *Homer*: and ſome write they ſawe him. *Xenophon* ſheweth vs plainely he was of great antiquitie: ſaying he was in the time of the *Heraclides*, who were neereſt of bloude by deſcent to *Hercules*. For it is likely *Xenophon* ment not thoſe *Heraclides*, which deſcended from *Hercules* ſelf: for the laſt kings of SPARTA were of *Hercules* progenie, aſwell as the firſt. Therefore he meaneth thoſe *Heraclides*, which doubtles were the firſt and neareſt before *Hercules* time. Neuertheles though the hiſtoriographers haue written diuerſely of him, yet we will not leaue to collect that which we finde written of him in auncient hiſtories, and is leaſt to be denied, and by beſt teſtimonies moſt to be prooued. And firſt of all, the poet *Simonides* ſayeth, his father was called *Prytanis* and not *Eunomus*: and the moſt parte doe write the pettigree otherwiſe, aſwell of *Lycurgus* ſelf, as of *Eunomus*. For they ſaye, that *Patrocles* the ſonne of *Ariſtodemus* begate *Sous*, and *Sous* begate *Eurytion*, and *Eurytion* begate *Prytanis*, and *Prytanis* begat *Eunomus*, and *Eunomus* begat *Polydectes* of his firſt wife, and *Lycurgus* of the ſecond wife, called *Dianaſſa*: yet *Euthychidas* an other writer, maketh *Lycurgus* the ſixte of deſcent in the right line from *Polydectes*, and the eleuenth after *Hercules*. But of all his auncеſters, the nobleſt was *Sous*, in whoſe time the cittie of SPARTA ſubdued the Ilotes,

A

B

C

Xenophon in Lib. de Lacedæmon. Rep.

Of the Heraclides, Pauſanias, Diodorus, and Cleme. Strom. lib. 1.

Lycurgus kinred.

A Ilotes, and made them ſlaues, and dyd enlarge and increaſe their dominion, with the lands and poſſeſſions they had got by conqueſt of the *Arcadians*. And it is ſayed that *Sous* him ſelf being on a time ſtraightly beſieged by the CLITORIANS, in a hard drye grounde, where no water could be founde: offered them thereupon to reſtore all their lands againe that he had gotten from them, if he and all his companie dyd drincke of a fountaine that was there not farre of. The CLITORIANS dyd graunte vnto it, and peace alſo was ſworne betweene them. Then he called all his ſouldiers before him, and tolde them if there were any one amongeſt them that would refrayne from drincking, he would reſigne his kingdome to him: howbeit there was not one in all his companie that could (or would) forbeare to drincke, they were ſo ſore a thirſt. So they all drancke hartely except him ſelf, who being the laſt that came downe, dyd no more but
B a litle moyſte his mowthe without, and ſo refreſhed him ſelf, the enemies ſelues ſtanding by, and drancke not a droppe. By reaſon whereof, he refuſed afterwards to reſtore their lands he had promiſed, alledging they had not all droncke. But that notwithſtanding, he was greately eſteemed for his actes, and yet his houſe was not named after his owne name: but after his ſonnes name *Eurytion*, they of his houſe were called *Eurytionides*. The reaſon was, bicauſe his ſonne *Eurytion* to pleaſe the people, dyd firſt let fall and geue ouer, the ſole and abſolute power of a King. Whereupon there followed afterwardes marueilous diſorder and diſſolution, which continued a great time in the cittie of SPARTA. For the people finding them ſelues at libertie, became very bolde and diſobedient: and ſome of the Kinges that ſucceeded, were hated euen to deathe, bicauſe they woulde perforce vſe their auncient authoritie
C ouer the people. Other, either to winne the loue and goodwilles of the people, or bicauſe they ſawe they were not ſtronge enough to rule them, dyd geue them ſelues to diſſemble. And this dyd ſo muche increaſe the peoples loſe and rebellious mindes, that *Lycurgus* owne father being Kinge, was ſlayne among them. For one daye, as he was parting a fraye betweene two that were fighting, he had ſuche a wounde with a kytchin knyfe, that he dyed: and left his Realme to his eldeſt ſonne *Polydectes*, who dyed alſo ſone after, and without heyre of his bodye as was ſuppoſed. In ſo muche as euery man thought *Lycurgus* ſhould be Kinge: and ſo he tooke it vpon him, vntill it was vnderſtoode that his brothers wife was younge with childe. Which thing ſo ſoone as he perceyued, he publiſhed openly, that the Realme belonged to the childe that ſhould be borne, if it were a ſonne. After this he gouerned the Realme,
D but as the Kings lieutenante and regent. The LACEDÆMONIANS call the regents of their Kinges that are left within age, *Prodicos*. *Lycurgus* brothers widowe dyd ſend, and let him ſecretly vnderſtande, that if he would promiſe to marye her when he ſhould be King, that ſhe would come before her time, and either miſcarye, or deſtroye that ſhe went with. *Lycurgus* deteſtably abhorring this brutiſhe and ſauage vnnaturallnes of the woman, dyd not reiect her offer made him, but ſeemed rather to be very glad, then to diſlike of it. Neuertheles he ſent her worde againe, ſhe ſhould not neede to trye maſteryes, with drinckes and medicines to make her come before her time: for ſo doing, ſhe might bring her ſelfe in daunger, and be caſt awaye for euer. Howbeit he aduiſed her to goe her full time, and to be brought a bed in good order, and then he would finde meanes enough to make awaye the childe that
E ſhould be borne. And ſo with ſuche perſuaſions he drewe on this woman to her full time of deliuerie. But ſo ſoone as he perceyued ſhe was neere her time, he ſent certaine to keepe her, and to be preſent at her laboure, commaunding them that if ſhe were brought a bed of a daughter, they ſhould leaue her with the woman: and if it were a ſonne, they ſhould forthwith bring it to him, in what place ſoeuer he was, and what buſines ſoeuer he had in hand. It chaunced that ſhe came euen about ſupper time, and was deliuered of a ſonne. As he was ſitting at the table with the other magiſtrates of the cittie, his ſeruants entred the halle, and preſented to him the litle babe, which he tenderly tooke in his armes, and ſayed openly to them that were preſent: beholde my lordes of SPARTA, here is a Kinge borne vnto vs. And ſpeaking theſe wordes, he layed him downe in the Kinges place, and na-
F med him *Charilaus*, as muche to ſaye, as the ioye of the people. Thus he ſawe all the lookers on reioycing muche, and might heare them prayſe and extoll his ſynceritie, iuſtice, and vertue. By this meanes he raigned only as King, but eight moneths. From thenceforth

A ſubtill promiſe.

Prodicos, Regentes, or protectours of yong Kings in minoritie.

Charilaus, king of the Lacedæmonians, Herod. lib. 1. Dionyſius Halic. lib. 2.

he was taken and esteemed so iust and syncere a man among the cittizens, that there were moe A
that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, then for that he was the Kings regent, or that he had
the gouernment of the whole Realme in his hands. Notwithstãding there were some that bare
him displeasure and malice, who sought to hinder & disgrace his credit, and chiefly the friends
and kinred of the Kings mother: whose power and honour were thought much impayred by
Lycurgus authoritie. In so much, as a brother of hers called *Leonidas*, entring boldly into great
words with him on a daye, dyd not sticke to say to his face. I knowe for a certaintie one of these
dayes thou wilt be King: meaning thereby to bring him in suspition with the cittizens. Which
thing though *Lycurgus* neuer ment, yet of a subtill and craftie wit *Leonidas* thought by geuing
out such words, that if the young King happened to dye in his minoritie naturally, it would be
mistrusted that *Lycurgus* had secretly made him awaye. The Kings mother also gaue out such B
like speaches, which in the end dyd so trouble him, with the feare he had, what euẽt might fall
out thereof: that he determined to departe his countrie, and by his absence to auoyde the sus-
Lycurgus trauelled countryes. pition that therein might growe vpon him any waye. So he trauelled abroade in the worlde as
a straunger, vntill his nephew had begotten a sonne who was to succeede him in his kingdome.
He hauing with this determination taken his iorney, went first of all into CRETA, where he di-
ligently obserued and considered the manner of their liuing, the order of the gouernment of
their Cõmon weale, and euer kept company with the best, and euer was conferring with the
most learned. There he founde very good lawes in his iudgement, which he noted of purpose
to carie home to his countrie, to serue when time should come. He founde there other lawes
also, but of them he made no reckoning. Nowe there was one man that aboue the rest was re- C
puted wise and skilfull in matters of state & gouernment, who was called *Thales*: with whom
Lycurgus dyd so much by intreatie, and for familier friendshippe, that he persuaded him to goe
Thales a poet harper. with him vnto SPARTA. This *Thales* was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that title
and name: but in effect he sange all that the best and sufficientest gouernours of the worlde
could deuise. For all his songes were goodly ditties, wherein he dyd exhorte and persuade the
people to liue vnder obedience of the law, in peace & concorde one with the other. His words
were set out with such tunes, countenance, & accents, that were so full of swetenes, harmony,
and pearsing: that inwardly it melted mens heartes, and drue the hearers of a loue to like the
most honest things, and to leaue all hatred, enmitie, sedition, and diuision, which at that time
reigned sore amõg them. So as it maye be sayed, he it was that prepared the waye for *Lycurgus*, D
whereby he afterwards reformed and brought the LACEDÆMONIANS vnto reason. At his de-
Lycurgus iorney into Asia. parting out of CRETA, he went into ASIA, with intent (as it is sayed) to compare the mãner of
life and pollicie of those of CRETA (being then very straight and seuere) with the superfluities
and vanities of IONIA: and thereupon to consider the difference betwene their two manners
& gouernments, as the physitian doth, who to knowe the hole & healthfull the better, doth vse
to compare them with the sicke & diseased. It is very likely it was there, where he first sawe *Ho-*
mers works, in the hands of the heires & successours of *Cleophylus*: & finding in the same, aswell
many rules of pollicie, as the great pleasure of Poets faining, he diligently coppied it out, and
The praise of Homers workes. made a volume thereof to carie into GRECE. It is true there was much fame abroad of *Homers*
poesies among the GRECIANS, howbeit there were fewe of them brought together, but were E
Homers poemes vnknowẽ to the Grecians, brought to light by Lycurgus. scattered here & there in diuers mens hands, in pampflets & peces vnsowed & without any or-
der: but the first that brought them most to light amõg men, was *Lycurgus*. The ÆGYPTIANS
saye, that he was in their countrie also, & that hauing founde there one notable ordinaunce a-
mong other, that their souldiers aad men of warre were separated from the rest of the people,
he brought the practise of it into SPARTA: where setting the marchants, artificers, & labourers
euery one a parte by them selues, he did establish a noble Cõmon wealth. So the ÆGYPTIAN
historiographers, and some others also of GRECE doe write. He was also in AFRICKE, and
in SPAYNE, & as farre as INDIA, to conferre with the wise men there, that were called the phi-
losophers of INDIA. I knowe no man that hathe written it, sauing *Aristocrates*, that was *Hip-*
parchus sonne. The LACEDÆMONIANS wished for him often when he was gone, and sent F
diuers and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and
title of Kings, and not the vertue or maiestie of a prince, whereby they dyd excell the common
people.

A people. But as for *Lycurgus*, they thought of him thus: that he was a man borne to rule, to cõmaund, and to geue order, as hauing in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to drawe men willingly to obeye him. Moreouer the Kings them selues were not vnwilling to haue him to returne home, bicause they hoped that his presence would somwhat brydle, & restrayne the people from their insolencie & disobediẽce towards them. Whereupon *Lycurgus* returning home in this opinion and affection of men, it fell out that he was no sooner arriued, but he beganne to deuise howe to alter the whole gouernment of the common weale, & throughout to chaunge the whole course and order of the state: thincking that to make only certaine particular lawes were to no purpose, but much like, as one should geue some easie medicine, to purge an ouerthrowen bodye with all humours and disseases. Therefore he thought first that all grosse & su-

Lycurgus returneth and chaungeth all the comon wealth.

B perfluous humours, were meete to be dissolued & purged, and then afterwardes to geue them a new forme and order of gouernment. When he had thus determined with him self, before he would take in hãd to doe any thing, he went to the citty of DELPHES: where after he had sacrificed to *Apollo*, he cõsulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glorious title by the oracle of *Pythia*: ô beloued of the goddes, and rather god then man. Where when he craued grace of *Apollo* to establishe good lawes in his countrie, it was aunswered him: that *Apollo* graunted his petition, and that he should ordaine the best and perfectest manner of a Common wealth, that euer had or should be in the worlde. This aunswer dyd comforte him very much, & so he beganne to breake his purpose to certen of the chief of the cittie, & secretly to praye & exhorte them to helpe him, going first to those he knew to be his friends, & after

Lycurgus counselleth with the oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

C by litle & litle he wanne others to him, who ioyned with him in his enterprise. So when he saw the time fit for the matter, he caused thirtie of the chiefest men of the cittie in a morning to come into the market place well appointed & furnished, to suppresse those that would attẽpt to hinder their purpose. *Hermippus* the historiographer rehearseth twentie of the chiefest: but he that aboue all others dyd most assist him in his doings, & was the greatest ayde vnto the stablishing of his lawes, was called *Arithmiadas*. The king *Charilaus* hearing of this assembly, dyd feare there had bene some conspiracie or insurrection against his person, & for his safety he fled into the temple of *Iuno*, called *Chalceæcos*, as much to saye, as *Iunos* brasen tẽple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the trothe, he waxed bolde, & came out of the temple againe, & he him self fauored the enterprise, being a prince of a noble minde, howbeit very soft by nature, as wit-

Chalceæcos, Iunos brasen temple.

D nesseth *Archelaus* (that was then the other king of LACEDÆMON) by telling how *Charilaus* aunswered one that praised him to his face, in saying he was a good man. And how should I not (q he) be good, when I cannot be euill to the euill? In this chaũge of the state, many things were altered by *Lycurgus*, but his chiefest alteration was, his lawe of the erection of a Senate, which he made to haue a regall power & equall authoritie with the Kings in matters of weight & importance, & was (as *Plato* sayeth) to be the healthfull counterpease of the whole bodye of the Cõmon weale. The other state before was euer wauering, somtime inclining to tyrãnie, when the Kings were to mightie: & somtime to cõfusion, when the people would vsurpe authoritie. *Lycurgus* therfore placed betwene the Kings & the people, a counsaill of Senatours, which was as a stronge beame, that helde bothe these extreames in an euen ballance, & gaue sure footing

Lycurgus instituteth a Senate of the Lacedæmonians. Plato de leg. 3.

E & ground to either parte, to make strong the state of the comon weale. For the eight & twenty Senatours (which made the whole bodye of the Senate) tooke somtime the Kings parte, when it was nedefull to pull downe the furie of the people: and contrarilie, they held sometimes with the people against the Kings, to bridle their tyrannicall gouernment. *Aristotle* sayeth, he ordeined the number of Senatours to be but eight and twenty, bicause two of thirtie that ioyned with him as a fore, dyd for feare forsake him at his enterprise. Howbeit *Sphærus* writeth, that from the beginning, he neuer purposed to haue more then eight and twenty to be the Senate. And perhappes he had great regard to make it a perfect number, considering it is compounded of the number of seuen, multiplied by foure: and is the first perfect number next to sixe, being equall to all partes gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he chose this num-

28. were the number of the Senatours.

F ber rather then any other, bicause he ment the whole bodye of the counsaill should be but thirtie persones, adding to that number, the two Kinges. *Lycurgus* tooke so great care to establishe well this counsell, that he brought an oracle for it, from *Apolloes* temple in

Retra of Lycurgus.

DELPHES. This oracle is called vnto this daye *Retra*, as who would saye, the statute oracle: whereof the aunswer was. When thou hast built a temple vnto *Iupiter* the *Syllanian*, and to *Minerua* the *Syllanian*, and deuided the people into lineages, thou shalt stablishe a Senate of thirtie counsellers, with the two Kings: & shalt assemble the people at times conuenient, in the place betweene the bridge and the riuer Cnacion. There the Senatours shall propound all matters, and breake vp after their assemblies: and it shall not be lawfull for the people to speake one worde. In those dayes the people were euer assembled betweene two riuers, for there was no hall to assemble a counsaill at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For *Lycurgus* thought no buylded place meete for men to geue good counsaill in, or to determine causes, but rather a hinderance: bicause in such places men be drawen to muse on vaine things, and their mindes be caried awaye with beholding the images, tables, and pictures, comonly set vp for ornamēt in such open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and sportes be made, they thincke more of them, then any counsaill. Againe, if it be in a great hall, then of the fayer embowed or vawted roofes, or of the fretised seelings curiously wrought, and sumptuously set forth, and tend not still their busines they come for. When the people were assembled in counsaill, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counsell to be determined, neither might any of them deliuer his opinion what he thought of any thinge: but the people had onely authoritie to geue their assent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senatours, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwardes, the two Kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, bicause the people dyd many times crosse and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding some thing to it, they dyd adde these wordes to the oracle aforesaid. That if the people would not assent to any ordinaunce of the Senate, then should it be lawfull for the Kings and Senate to breake vp the counsell, and to frustrate all things done in the same: the wise aduise of the Senate being encountered thus, & their meaning to the best, so peruerted to the worse. These two Kings persuaded the people, that at the very first, this addition came with the oracle of *Apollo*: as the poet *Tyrtaus* maketh mention in the place, where he sayeth:

Cnacion fl.

The open fields appoinsted for place of Counsaill.

From Delphos Ile, this oracle is brought
of Pythia: into their country soyle.
The Kings (euen they to vvhom of right there ought
a louing care in princely breasts to boyle,
the Spartane vvealthe, to garde from euery spoyle:)
Shalbe the chief, graue causes to decyde
vvith Senatours: vvhose sounde aduise is tride.
And next to them, the people shall fulfill
asmuche as seemes, to please their princes vvill.

Lycurgus now hauing thus tempered the forme of his comon weale, it seemed notwithstanding to those that came after him, that this small number of thirtie persones that made the Senate, was yet to mightie, & of to great authoritie. Wherefore to bridle them in a litle, they gaue them (as *Plato* sayeth) a bytte in their mouths, & that was the authoritie of the Ephores, which signifie as much as comptrollers: and were erected about a hundred and thirtie yeres after the death of *Lycurgus*. The first which was chosen of these, was *Elatus*, and it was in the time of king *Theopompus*, whose wife on a daye in her anger sayed: howe throughe his negligence he would leaue lesse to his successours, then he had receyued of his predecessours. To whom he aunswered againe, not lesse but more, for that it shall continue lenger, and with a more suertie. For, in losing thus their too absolute power, that wrought them great enuie & hatred amōg their cittizens, they dyd escape the daūger & mischief that their neighbours the ARGIVES, and MESSENIANS dyd feele: who would not geue ouer the soueraine authoritie which they had gotten once. This example maketh *Lycurgus* great wisdome and foresight manifestly knowen: who so will deeply consider the seditions & ill gouernements of the ARGIVES, & MESSENIANS (their neere neighbours and kinsemen) aswell from the people, as from the Kings. Who from the beginning had all things alike to the SPARTANS: & in deuiding of their lands a farre better order then theirs. This notwithstanding, they dyd not prosper longe: but through the pryde of their Kings,

The institution of the Ephores.

Lycurgus wisdome.

A Kings,and the disobedience of their people,they entred into ciuill warres one against another, shewing by their disorders & misfortunes the speciall grace the godds dyd beare to SPARTA, to geue them such a reformer,as dyd so wisely temper the state of their common weale, as we will shewe hereafter. The second lawe that *Lycurgus* made,and the boldest and hardest he euer tooke in hande,was the making of a newe diuision of their lands.For he sawe so great a disorder & vnequality among the inhabitants,aswell of the countrie,as of the citie LACEDÆMON,by reason some (and the greatest number of them) were so poore,that they had not a handfull of grounde,and other some being least in number were very riche, that had all: he thought with him self to banishe out of the cittie all insolencie,enuie,couetousnes, & deliciousnes,and also all riches and pouertie,which he tooke the greatest,and the most continuall plagues of a cittie,

Lycurgus maketh equall diuision of landes vnto the cittizens.

B or common weale. For this purpose, he imagined there was none so ready and necessarie a meane,as to persuade his cittizens to suffer all the landes, possessions, and inheritance of their countrie,to ronne in common together: and that they should make a newe diuision equally in partition amongest them selues, to liue from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, so that no one were richer thē another,& none should seeke to go before eache other, any other waye then in vertue only: thincking there should be no difference or vnequalitie among inhabitants of one cittie,but the reproaches of dishonestie,& the prayses of vertue.Thus *Lycurgus* following his determination, dyd out of hande make a lawe of the diuision of their lands. For first he dyd deuide all the countrie of LACONIA,into thirtie thousand equall partes,the which he dyd set out for those that inhabited about SPARTA: and of those landes that ioyned next

All the lands throughe the countrie of Laconia, deuided into 30000. parts.

C to the cittie of SPARTA, that was the chief metropolitan cittie of LACONIA, he made other nine thousand partes,which he deuided to the naturall cittizens of SPARTA,who be those that are properly called Spartans.Howbeit some will saye,he made but sixe thousand parts,& that king *Polydorus* afterwards dyd adde to other three thousand partes.Other saye also, that *Lycurgus* of these nine thousand partes made but the halfe onely, & *Polydorus* the rest. Euery one of these partes was such, as might yelde vnto the owner yerely, three score and tenne bushels of barley for a man,and twelue bushels for the woman,and of wine &other liquide fruites, much like in proportion: which quantitie *Lycurgus* iudged to be sufficiēt,to kepe the bodye of a man in health, & to make him stronge & lustie, without any further allowance.They saye after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields,and came ouer the lands where wheate had bene

All the lands about Sparta into 9000 partes.

What barley euery parte did yelde.

D reaped not longe before,and sawe the number of sheaues lying in euery shocke together,& no one shocke bigger then another: he fell a laughing,& told them that were with him,me thinks all LACONIA is as it were an inheritance of many brethern, who had newly made partition together.He gaue an attempt to haue deuided also moueables, & to haue made a common partition betwene them,to thend he would haue vtterly taken away all vnequalitie.But finding the cittizens tooke it very impatiently,that openly that which they had,should be taken awaye: he went about to doe it more secretly,and in a conninger wise to take away that couetousnes.For first of all,he dyd forbid all coyne of golde and syluer to be currant: & then he dyd set out certaine coynes of iron which he commaunded only to be currant, whereof a great weight and quantitie was but litle worthe. So as to laye vp therof the value of tenne Minas, it would

Lycurgus chaungeth all golde & siluer into iron coyne.

E haue occupied a whole celler in a house, besides it would haue neded a yoke of oxen to carie it any where.Nowe golde & siluer being thus banished out of the countrie,many lewde partes & faultes must needes cease thereby.For who would robbe,steale,picke,take awaye,hyde,procure,or whorde vp any thing,that he had no great occasion to desire,nor any profit to possesse, nor would be any pleasure to vse or employe. For, the iron they occupied for their coyne, they cast vineger vpon it while it was redde hotte out of the fire, to kill the strength & working of it to any other vse: for thereby it was so eger & brickle,that it would byde no hammer,nor could be made,beaten,or forged to any other facion.By this meanes he banished also,all superfluous & vnprofitable sciences,which he knew he should not neede to doe by any proclamation: bicause they would fall awaye(or the most parte of them) euen of them selues,when the basenes

Lycurgus made all sciences & crafftes of no valne.

F of the money they should take for their worke,should vndoe them.For their iron moneys were not currant els where in the cities of GREECE, but euery bodye made a ieste of it there. By this occasion,the LACEDÆMONIANS could buye no forrein wares nor marchandises, neither

came there any ſhippe into their hauen to trafficke with them, neither any fine curious Rethorician dyd repaire into their countrie to teache them eloquence, & the cunning caſt of lying: nor yet came there to them any wyſard to tell them their fortune, nor any Pander to keepe any brothell houſe, nor yet goldſmithe or iueller, to make or ſell any toyes or trifles of golde or ſiluer to ſet forth women: conſidering all theſe things are vſed to be made to get money, and to hourd vp that they had not. After this ſorte, delicatenes that wanted many things that entertained it, beganne by litle and litle to vaniſhe awaye, & laſtely, to fall of from them ſelues: when the moſt riche men had no more occaſion then the pooreſt, and riches hauing no meane to ſhewe her ſelfe openly in the worlde, was fayne to remaine ſhut at home idely, as not able to doe her maſter any ſeruice. Thereupon moueables and houſeholde ſtuffe (which a man cannot be without, and muſt be daylie occupied) as bedſteades, tables, chayers, and ſuche like neceſſaries for houſe, were excellently well made: and men dyd greatly prayſe the facion of the LACONIAN cuppe which they called Cothon, and ſpecially for a ſouldier in the warres, as *Critias* was wont to ſaye. For it was made after ſuch a facion, that the culler of it dyd let the eye to diſcerne the fowle & vnwholſome water, which men are driuen oftetimes to drinke in a campe, and goeth many times againſt ones ſtomake to ſee it: and if by chaunce there was any filth or mudde in the bottome, it would cleaue and ſticke faſt vpon the ribbes of the bellie, and nothing came through the necke, but cleane water to his mouth that drancke it. The reformer of their ſtate was the cauſe of all this: bicauſe their artificers tending now no ſuperfluous works, were occupied about the making of their moſt neceſſary things. Further, nowe to driue awaye all ſuperfluitie and deliciouſnes, and to roote out vtterly deſire to get and gather: he made another thirde lawe for eating and drincking, and againſt feaſtes and banckets. Firſt he willed and commaunded the cittizens, that they ſhould eate together all of one meate, and chiefly of thoſe he had permitted by his ordinance. Then he dyd expreſſely forbid them to eate alone, or a parte, or ſecretly by them ſelues, vpon riche tables and ſumptuous beddes, abuſing the labour of excellent worcke men, and the deuiſes of likerous cookes to cramme them ſelues in corners, as they doe fatte vp beaſtes and poultrie, which doth not only breede ill conditions in the minde, but dothe marre the complexions of men, and the good ſtates of their bodie, when they giue them ſelues ouer to ſuch ſenſualitie and gluttonie. Whereof it followeth in the ende that men muſt needes ſleepe muche, to helpe to diſgeſt the exceſſe of meates they haue taken, and then muſt they goe to the whotte houſes to bathe them ſelues, and ſpend long time about the ordinarie attendance of their ſickely bodyes. This was a marueilous thing for him to bring to paſſe, but much more, to make riches not to be ſtolen, and leaſt of all to be coueted, as *Theophraſtus* ſayd of him: which by this meanes of making them eate together with all ſobriety at their ordinarie dyet, was brought to paſſe. For there was no more meane to the riche, then to the poore, to vſe to playe, or ſhewe riches, ſithe both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: ſo as that which is commonly ſpoken, that *Pluto* the god of riches is blinde, was truely verified only in the cittie of SPARTA, aboue all other places of the worlde. For there riches was layed on the grounde like a corſe without a ſoule, that moueth no whit at all: conſidering it was not lawfull for any man to eate at home ſecretly in his houſe, before he came to their open halles, nor might not come thither for a countenance only to his meales, being already fedde and full fraight. For euery mans eye was vpon thoſe ſpecially which did not eate & drincke with a good ſtomake amongeſt them: & it was the vſe to reproche them as gluttons, and dayntie mouthed men, which refuſed to eate as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they ſaye, that grieued moſt the riche aboue all that *Lycurgus* made, and whereat they were moſt madde and angrie with him: in ſo muche, as on a daye, they all ſetting vpon him to alter it, he was compelled to ronne out of the market place, and getting grounde of them, he recouered the liberties of a churche, before any could ouertake him: ſauing one young man called *Alcander*, who otherwiſe had no ill nature in him, but that he was ſomewhat quicke of his hande, and cholericke with all. Who following *Lycurgus* nerer then any other, dyd geue him a blowe ouerthwart the face with a ſtaffe, and ſtrake out one of his eyes, as *Lycurgus* turned toward him. Yet for all this, *Lycurgus* neuer baſhed or made worde at the matter, but dyd lifte vp his head to thoſe that followed him, and ſhewed

Cothon a ſtraũge kinde of cuppe of the Lacedæmonian ſouldiers.

Lycurgus appointeth order for dyet vnto the Lacedæmonians.

Alcander ſtrooke out Lycurgus eye.

A ſhewed them his face all a gore bloude, and his eye put out cleane: whereof they were all ſo ſore aſhamed, that there was not a man that durſt once open his mouth againſt him, but to the contrarie, they ſeemed to pittie him, and dyd deliuer *Alcander* into his handes that had done the dede, to puniſhe him as him ſelfe pleaſed. And ſo they all brought him to his houſe, and ſhewed they were right hartely ſorie for his hurte. *Lycurgus* thancking them, returned them all backe againe, ſaue that he made *Alcander* to goe with him into his houſe, where he neuer hurte him, nor gaue him fowle worde: but commaunded him onely to waite vpon him, and made his other ordinarie ſeruaunts to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now beganne to ſpye his owne faulte, dyd moſt willingly attend vpon him, and neuer ſpake worde to the contrarie. When he had ſerued him a certaine time, being very nere continually about

Lycurgus patience and gentlenes.

B him, he beganne to feele and taſte of his naturall liberalitie, and ſawe of what affection and intention *Lycurgus* was moued to doe all he dyd: he perceyued what was the ſeueritie of his ordinary life, and what his conſtancy was to endure labour without wearines. *Alcander* then beganne to loue and honour *Lycurgus* from his harte, and tolde his parents and friends, howe he was no ſuche ſeuere man as he ſeemed, but was of ſo kynde and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I praye you howe *Alcander* was transformed by *Lycurgus*, and his puniſhement alſo, which he ſhould haue receyued: for of a fierce, raſhe, and a lewde conditioned youth he was before, he became nowe a very graue and wiſe man. But for memorie of this his misfortune, *Lycurgus* built a temple to *Minerua*, which he ſurnamed *Optiletide*, bicauſe the

Minerua optiletide.

DORIANS which dwell in thoſe partes of PELOPONNESVS, doe call the eyes, *optiles*. There

C are other writers (as *Dioſcorides* for one) which ſaye *Lycurgus* had a blowe with a ſtaffe, but he had not his eye ſtriken out with it: and how contrariwiſe, he founded this temple to *Minerua*, to giue her thanckes for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that euer ſince the SPARTANS haue bene reſtrayned to carie ſtaues in any aſſembly of counſell. But to returne to their common repaſtes, which the CRETANS called *Andria*, and the LACEDÆMONIANS *Phiditia*,

Andria and Phiditia meales why ſo called.

either bicauſe they were places wherein they learned to liue ſoberly and ſtraightly (for in the GREKE tongue *Phido*, is to ſaue and ſpare) or els bicauſe their amitie and friendſhippe grewe there towards one another, as if they would haue called them *Philitia*, feaſts of loue, by chaunging.d. into. L: It maye be alſo they added the firſt letter as ſuperfluous, and ment to call the places *Editia*, bicauſe they dyd eate and drincke there. They ſat in their halles by fifteene in a

D companie, litle more or leſſe, and at the beginning of euery moneth euery one brought a buſhell of meale, eight gallons of wine, fiue pound of cheeſe, and two pound and a halfe of figges for a man, beſides ſome litle portion of their monye to buye certaine freſhe acates. And ouer and aboue all this, euery man when he dyd ſacrifice in his houſe, was bounde to ſend the beſt and chiefeſt things of his ſacrifice to the halles to be eaten. Likewiſe if any man went an hunting, and killed any veniſon: it was an order, he ſhould ſend a pece of the fleſhe thither. Hauing theſe two lawfull cauſes, they might eate and drinke by them ſelues at home, either when they ſacrificed any beaſt to the goddes, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwiſe they were bounde of neceſſitie to meete in their halles at meales, if they would eate any thing. This order they kept very ſtraightly a great time: in ſo muche as king *Agis* on a daye,

E returning from the warres, where he had ouerthrowen the ATHENIANS, and being deſirous to ſuppe at home priuately with the Queene his wife, he ſent to the halles for his portion. But the *Polemarchi*, that be certaine officers aſſiſting the Kings in the warres, dyd denye him. The next daye *Agis* left of for ſpight, to doe the accuſtomed ſacrifice they were wont to celebrate in the ende of euery warre: whereupon they ſet a fine on his head, and condemned him to paye it. The young children alſo went to theſe repaſts, euen as they ſhould goe to

Children were brought to theſe meales.

ſchooles to learne grauity and temperaunce, where they heard wiſe and graue diſcourſes touching the gouernment of a common weale, but not of maſters that were as hierlinges. There they learned pretylie to playe vpon wordes, and pleaſauntly to ſporte one with another, without any broade ſpeaches, or vncomely Ieſtes, and at others handes to beare the

F ſame againe, without choller or anger. For this propertie haue the LACEDÆMONIANS aboue all other, to take and geue a mocke without any offence: neuertheles, if any mans nature could not beare it, he neded but praye the partie to forbeare his ieſting, and ſo he lefte it ſtraight.

The propertie of a Lacedæmonian.

And it was euer an ordinarie among them, that the eldeſt of the companie tolde the reſt that A
were come into the hall to meale, with ſhewing them of the dore: Sirs, remember, there goeth
not a worde here out of this dore. Euen ſo he that would be receyued to meale there in their
The order of receiuing any man into their company at meales. companie, muſt firſt of neceſſitie be allowed and receyued in this ſorte, by all the reſt. Euery one
of them tooke a litle balle of branne or dowe to waſhe their handes with, and without euer a
word ſpeaking, they threwe it into a baſen, which the ſeruant that waited on them at the table
dyd carie vpon his head: he that was contented the other ſhould be receyued in companie,
dyd caſt in his balle as he dyd receyue it, but if he miſliked him, then he preſſed it flat betwene
his fingers, and threwe it in. This ball of branne thus preſſed flat, was aſmuch as a beane bored
thorough, and was to them a ſigne of condemnation. If any one balle were found of this ſorte,
the ſuter was reiected: for they would not haue any enter into their companie, that was not B
liked of all the reſt. He that thus was reiected, they ſaye he was diſcadded: for the baſin where-
in the litle balles were caried, was called *Caddos*. The beſt diſhe they ſerued at theſe meales,
The blacke broth. was that they call their blacke brothe: ſo that when they had that, the olde men dyd eate no
fleſhe, but lefte it all to the younge men, and they by them ſelues dyd eate the brothe. There
was a king of PONTVS, that being deſirous to taſte of this blacke broth, dyd buye of purpoſe a
LACEDÆMONIAN cooke: but after he had once taſted thereof, he was very angry ſtraight. The
Cicero calleth this King, Dionyſius the tyran. Tuſc. 5. cooke then ſayed vnto him: and it pleaſe your grace, ere one ſhall finde this brothe good, he
muſt be waſhed firſt in the riuer of Eurotas. After they had eate and druncke thus ſoberly to-
gether, euery one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawfull for them to goe thi-
ther, nor any where els with light, bicauſe they ſhould accuſtome them ſelues boldely to goe C
vp and downe the darcke, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their
meales. But here is ſpecially to be noted, that *Lycurgus* would in no wiſe haue any of his lawes
Lycurgus would not haue his lawes written otherwiſe then in mens myndes. put in writing. For it is expreſſely ſet downe in his lawes they call *Retra*, that none of his lawes
ſhould be written. For he thought that which ſhould chiefly make a cittie happie, and ver-
tuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in mens heartes and manners, as to haue
continuaunce for euer: which he tooke to be loue and good will, as a farre ſtronger knot to tye
men with, then any other compulſary lawe. Which when men by vſe and cuſtome through
good education doe take in their childhoode, it maketh euery man to be a lawe to him ſelfe.
Furthermore, concerning buying and barganing one with another, which are but trifles, and
ſometime are chaunged in one ſorte, and ſometime in another, as occaſion ſerueth: he thought D
it beſt not to conſtrayne them to doe it by writing, nor to eſtabliſhe cuſtomes that might not
be altered, but rather to leaue them to the libertie and diſcretion of men which had bene
brought vp in the ſame, bothe to take awaye, and to adde therein, as the caſe and time ſhould
require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefeſt pointe of a good lawe maker or reformer of
the common weale was, to cauſe men to be well brought vp and inſtructed. One of his ordi-
naunces therefore was expreſſely, that not one of his lawes ſhould be written. Another of his
Retra, for exceſſe or ryot. deuiſes was, againſt ſuperfluous charges and expences: which to auoyde, he made a lawe that
all rooſes of houſes ſhould be made only with the axe, and all gates and doores with the ſawe,
and that without any other toole of occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as af-
terwards *Epaminondas* had, when he ſayed, ſpeaking of his table: Such a borde neuer receyueth E
Epaminondas ſaying. any treaſon. Euen ſo thought *Lycurgus*, that ſuch a buylt houſe would neuer receyue curio-
ſitie or daintines. For no man is ſo maddely diſpoſed or ſimple witted, as to bring into ſo poore
and meane houſes, bedſteades with ſiluer feete, imbrodered couerlettes, or counterpoyntes of
purple ſilke, neither yet plate of golde nor of ſiluer, nor ſuche other like coſtly furniture and
finenes, as thoſe things require to wayte vpon them: bicauſe the beddes muſt be aunſwerable
to the meanenes of the houſe, the furnitures of the beddes muſt be ſutelike to the ſame, and
all other houſeholde ſtuffe, dyet, meate, and drincke agreable to the reſt. Hereof proceeded
that, which *Leontychidas* the firſt King of that name, ſayed once: who ſupping on a time in
the cittie of CORINTHE, and ſeeing the rooſe of the hall where he ſatte, ſumptuouſly em-
King Leontychidas ſaying. Retra for warres. bowed and carued, he asked ſtraight if the trees dyd growe carued ſo in that countrie. The F
third lawe was, he dyd forbyd them to make warre often with one enemie, leſt the enemie
forced to take often armes in hande, might in the ende growe experter and vallianter then
they.

A they. For this cauſe king *Ageſilaus* was greatly blamed, who was a longe time after. For by making often warres with the countrie of BOEOTIA, he made the THEBANS in the ende as expert and valliant ſouldiers, as the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereupon *Antalcidas* ſeeing him hurte one daye, ſayed vnto him: The THEBANS haue nobely rewarded thee for their learning, ſith thou haſt made them expert ſoldiers vnwilling to learne the diſcipline of warre. *Antalcidas ſaying.*
These be the lawes *Lycurgus* ſelfe called *Retra*, and ſignifie as muche as Oracles, that the god *Apollo* had diſcouered to him. Nowe the education of children, he eſteemed the chiefeſt and greateſt matter, that a reformer of lawes ſhould eſtabliſhe. Therefore beginning a farre of, he firſt conſidered the ſtate of mariage, and the generation of children. For *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, that *Lycurgus* dyd attempt to reforme women, and dyd ſoone geue it ouer
B againe: bicauſe he could doe no good therein, by reaſon of the great libertie they had taken by the abſence of their husbands in the warres, compelled often ſo to be abroade, and that they dyd leaue them miſtreſſes of their houſe, and at their returne dyd honour them ſo muche, and make of them ſo beyonde meaſure, with calling them ladyes and miſtreſſes. Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, aſwell as he had of mens: and ſo reaſon dyd require. Firſt of all, he willed that the maydens ſhould harden their bodyes with exerciſe of running, wreſtling, throwe the barre, and caſting the darte, to the ende that the fruite wherewith they might be afterwardes conceyued, taking noriſhement of a ſtronge and luſtie bodye, ſhould ſhoote out and ſpread the better: and that they by gathering ſtrength thus by exerciſes, ſhould more eaſely awaye with the paynes *The diſcipline of womē amongeſt the Lacedæmonians. Ariſt. polit. lib. 7. cap. 17.*
C of childe bearing. And to take awaye from them their womaniſhe dayntines, and fines, he brought vp a cuſtome, for young maydes and boyes to goe as it were a preceſſion, and to daunce naked at ſolemne feaſtes and ſacrifices, and to ſinge certaine ſonges of their owne making, in the preſence and ſight of young men. To whom by the waye they gaue many times prety mockes of purpoſe, as pleaſauntly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their dueties: and ſometimes alſo in their ſonge for their vertues, wittes, or manners, they prayſed them which had deſerued it. By this meanes, they dyd ſet young mens hartes a fire, to ſtriue to winne moſt prayſe and honour. For who ſo was prayſed of them for a valliant man, or whoſe worthy actes were ſonge by them, he thereby was incoraged to doe the better another time: and the pretie girdes and quippes they gaue to others, *The exerciſes and diſcipline of maydes.*
D was of no leſſe force, then the ſharpeſt wordes and admonitions that otherwiſe could be geuen them. This tooke place the rather, bicauſe it was done in the preſence of the Kings, the Senatours, & all the reſt of the cittizens which came thither to ſee theſe ſportes. And though the maydes dyd ſhewe them ſelues thus naked openly, yet was there no diſhoneſty ſeene nor offred, but all this ſporte was full of playe and toyes, without any youthfull parte or wantonnes: and rather caried a ſhewe of demurenes, and a deſire to haue their beſt made bodyes ſeene and ſpyed. Moreouer, it ſomewhat lifted vp their hartes, and made them noblier minded, by geuing them to vnderſtand, that it was no leſſe comely for them, in their kynde and exerciſes to carie the bell, then it was for men in their games and exerciſes to carie the price. Hereof it came, that the women of LACEDÆMON were ſo bolde to ſaye, and thincke of them ſelues
E that, which *Gorgona* the wife of king *Leonidas* one daye aunſwered: being in talke with a ſtraunge woman that ſayed to her. There be no women in the worlde that commaund their husbands, but you wiues of LACEDÆMON. Whereto the Queene ſtraight replyed: ſo be there no women but we, which bringe forth men. Furthermore, theſe playes, ſportes, and daunſes, the maydes dyd naked before younge men, were prouocations to drawe and allure the young men to marye: not as perſuaded by geometricall reaſons, as ſayeth *Plato*, but brought to it by liking, and of very loue. Thoſe which would not marye, he made infamous by lawe. For it was not lawfull for ſuche to be preſent, where theſe open games and paſtimes were ſhewed naked. Furthermore, the officers of the cittie compelled ſuche as would not marye, euen in the hardeſt time of the winter, to enuironne the place of theſe ſportes, and *The ſaying of a Laconian woman.* *Men that would not marye, Lycurgus reputed infamous by lawe.*
F to goe vp and downe ſtarcke naked, and to ſinge a certaine ſonge made for the purpoſe againſt them, which was: that iuſtely were they puniſhed, bicauſe that lawe they diſobeyed. Moreouer, when ſuche were olde, they had not the honour and reuerence done them, which

old maried men vſually receiued. Therefore there was no man that miſliked, or reproued that, A
which was ſpoken to *Dereillidas*: albeit otherwiſe he was a noble captaine. For, comming into
a preſence, there was a young man which would not vouchesafe to riſe & doe him reuerence,
nor to geue him place for to ſit downe: & worthely, q he, bicauſe thou haſt not gotten a ſonne,
Matrimoniall ceremonies in Lacedamon. who maye doe ſo muche for me in time to come. Thoſe which were deſirous to marie any,
were driuen to take them awaye by force whom they would marie, not litle younge wenches
I meane, which were not of age to be maried: but luſtie & ſtrong maides of age to beare chil-
dren. And when one of them was ſtolen awaye in this ſorte, ſhe that was priuie thereto, and
meane to make the mariage, came and ſhaued the heares of her head that was maried: then
ſhe put her into mans apparell, & gaue her all things ſute like to the ſame, and layed her vpon
a mattereſſe all alone, without light or candell. After this was done, the bridegroome, being B
neither droncke nor finelier apparrelled then he was wonte to be, but hauing ſupped ſoberly
at his ordinarie, came home ſecretly to the houſe where the bride was: and there vntied his
wiues girdell, tooke her in his armes, layed her vpon a bed, and talked together a while, and
afterwards fayer & ſoftely ſtole awaye to the place, where he was wonte to ſleepe with other
young men. And ſo from thenceforth, he continued allwayes to doe the like, being all the daye
time, and ſleeping moſt of the night, with his companions, onles he ſometime ſtale to ſee his
wife, being affrayed, and aſhamed euer to be ſeene, by any of the houſe where ſhe was. And
hereunto his younge wife did helpe for her parte, to ſpye meanes and occaſions howe they
might mete together, and not be ſeene. This manner endured a great while, and vntill ſomme
of them had children, before they boldely met together, and ſawe eache other on the daye C
time. This ſecret meeting in this ſorte did ſerue to good purpoſes, not only bicauſe it was
ſome meane of continencie and ſhamefaſtnes, but alſo it kept their bodies in ſtrength and
Holſome rules for maried couples. better ſtate, to bring forth children. It continued alſo in both parties, a ſtill burning loue, and
a newe deſire of the one to the other, not as it were luke warme, nor wearie, as theirs com-
monly be which haue their bellies full of loue, and as muche as they luſt: but they euer
parted with an appetite one from another, keeping ſtill a longing deſire to deuiſe howe to
mete againe. Nowe when he had ſtabliſhed ſuche a continencie, and ſo kynde a framed
honeſtie in mariage, he tooke no leſſe care to driue awaye all fooliſhe iealouſie therein, thin-
Lycurgus regard to auoyd iealouſie in the common wealth. king it very good reaſon to beware there ſhould be no violence, nor confuſion in mariage:
and yet as reaſon would, they ſhould ſuffer thoſe which were worthie to get children as it D
were in common, laughing at the mad follie of them which reuenge ſuch things with warre
and bloudſhed, as though in that caſe men in no wiſe ſhould haue no fellowſhippe together.
Therefore a man was not to be blamed, being ſtepped in yeres, and hauing a young wife, if
ſeeing a fayer young man that liked him, and knowen with all to be of a gentle nature, he
brought him home to get his wife with childe, and afterwardes would auowe it for his, as
if him ſelfe had gotten it. It was lawfull alſo for an honeſt man that loued another mans wife,
for that he ſawe her wife, ſhamefaſt, and bringing forth goodly children, to intreate her huſ-
band to ſuffer him to lye with her, and that he might alſo plowe in that luſtie grounde, and caſt
abroade the ſeede of well fauored children: which by this meanes came to be common in
bloude and parentage, with the moſt honorable and honeſteſt perſones. For firſt of all, *Lycur-* E
gus did not like that children ſhould be priuate to any men, but that they ſhould be common
to the common weale: by which reaſon he would alſo, that ſuch as ſhould become cittizens,
ſhould not be begotten of euery man, but of the moſt honeſteſt men only. So *Lycurgus*
thought alſo there were many fooliſhe vaine toyes and fanſies, in the lawes and orders of other
nations, touching mariage: ſeeing they cauſed their bitches and mares to be limed and coue-
red with the fayreſt dogges and goodlieſt ſtalons that might be gotten, praying or paying the
maſters and owners of the ſame: and kept their wiues notwithſtanding ſhut vp ſafe vnder
locke and key, for feare leaſt other then them ſelues might get them with childe, although
they were ſickely, feeble brayned, and extreme olde. As if it were not firſt of all, and chiefly a
diſcommoditie to the fathers and mothers, and likewiſe to thoſe that bring them vp, to haue F
vnperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of drie and withered men: and then
to the contrarie, what pleaſure and benefit is it to thoſe that haue fayer and good children,

borne,

A borne, as gotten of like ſeede and men. Theſe things were done then by naturall and ciuill reaſon, neuertheles they ſaye women were ſo farre of then from intreatie, as euer they were before: ſo as in olde time, in SPARTA, men knew not what adulterie ment. For proofe whereof, the aunſwer made by *Geradas* (one of the firſt auncient SPARTANS) vnto a ſtraunger, maye be alledged: that asked him, what puniſhement they had for adulterers. My friend, q͛ he, there be none here. But if there were? replied the ſtraunger againe. Marye ſayed he, then he muſt paye as great a bull, as ſtanding vpon the toppe of the mountaine Taygetus, maye drincke in the riuer of Eurotas. Yea marye: but howe is it poſſible (q͛ the ſtraunger) to finde ſuch a bull? *Geradas* laughing, aunſwered him againe. And howe were it poſſible alſo to finde an adulterer in SPARTA? And this is that which is found of *Lycurgus* lawes touching mariages. Fur-

No adultrie ſhowen in Sparta.

B thermore, after the birthe of euery boye, the father was no more maſter of him, to cocker and bring him vp after his will: but he him ſelfe caried him to a certaine place called Leſché, where the eldeſt men of his kinred being ſet, did viewe the childe. And if they founde him fayer, and well proportioned of all his limmes, and ſtronge: they gaue order he ſhould be brought vp, and appointed him one of the nine thouſand partes of inheritaunce for his education. Contrariwiſe, if they founde him deformed, miſhapen, or leane, or pale, they ſent him to be throwen in a deepe pyt of water, which they commonly called Apothetes, and as a man would ſaye, the common houſe of office: holding opinion it was neither good for the childe, nor yet for the common weale, that it ſhould liue, conſidering from his birthe he was not well made, nor geuen to be ſtronge, healthfull, nor luſtie of bodie all his life longe. For this cauſe

The education of children with the Lacedæmonians.

Leſche.

Apothetes.

C therefore, the nurce after their birthe did not waſhe them with water ſimply (as they doe euery where at that time) but with water mingled with wine: and thereby did they prooue, whether the complexion or temperature of their bodies were good or ill. For they ſuppoſe, that children which are geuen to haue the falling ſicknes, or otherwiſe to be full of rewmes & ſickneſſes, cannot abide waſhing with wine, but rather drye and pyne awaye: as contrarilie the other which are healthfull, become thereby the ſtronger and the luſtier. The nurces alſo of SPARTA vſe a certaine manner to bring vp their children, without ſwadling, or binding them vp in clothes with ſwadling bandes, or hauing on their heades any croſſe clothes: ſo as they made them nimbler of their limmes, better ſhaped and goodlier of bodie. Beſides that, they acquainted their children to all kinde of meates, and brought them vp without muche ten-

Young babes waſhed with wine.

The Spartan nurces.

D daunce, ſo as they were neither fine nor licorous, nor fearefull to be lefte alone in the darcke, neither were they criers, wrallers, or vnhappy children, which be all tokens of baſe and cowardly natures. So that there were ſtraungers, that of purpoſe bought nources out of LACONIA, to bring vp their children: as they ſaye *Amycla* was one of them, which nourced *Alcibiades*. But *Pericles* his tutor, gaue him afterwardes a bonde man called *Zopyrus*, to be his maſter and gouernour: who had no better propertie in him, then other common ſlaues. This did not *Lycurgus*. For he did not put the education and gouernment of the children of SPARTA, into the handes of hyered maſters or ſlaues bought with money: neither was it lawfull for the father him ſelfe to bring vp his owne childe after his owne manner and liking. For ſo ſoone as they came to ſeuen yeres of age, he tooke and diuided them by compa-

Pluto. of the firſt Alcibiades.

Howe the Lacedæmonians children were brought vp.

E nies, to make them to be brought vp together, and to accuſtome them to playe, to learne, and to ſtudie one with another. Then he choſe out of euery company one, whom he thought to haue the beſt wit, and had moſt courage in him to fight: to whom he gaue the charge and ouerſight of his owne companie. The reſte had their eyes waiting allwayes on him, they did obey his commaundementes willingly, they did abide paciently all corrections he gaue them, they did ſuche taskes and worckes as he appointed them: ſo that all their ſtudie was moſt to learne to obey. Furthermore, the olde graye headed men were preſent many times to ſee them playe, and for the moſt parte they gaue them occaſions to fall out, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better knowe and diſcerne the naturall diſpoſition of euery one of them, and whether they gaue any ſignes or

F tokens in time to come, to become cowardes or valliant men. Touching learning, they had as muche as ſerued their turne: for the reſte of their time they ſpent in learning howe to obey, to awaye with payne, to indure labour, to ouercome ſtill in fight. According to their

groweth and yeres, they dyd chaunge the exerciſes of their bodyes: they dyd ſhaue their A
heads, they went barelegged, they were conſtrained to playe naked together the moſt parte of
their time. After they were paſt twelue yeres of age, they ware no lenger coates: and they gaue
them yerely but one ſeely gowne. This was the cauſe they were alwayes ſo naſty & fluttiſhe, &
they neuer vſed to bathe or noynte them ſelues, ſauing only at certaine dayes in the yere, when
they were ſuffered to taſt of this refreſhing. They laye and ſlept together vpon beddes of ſtraw,
which they them ſelues dyd make, of the toppes of reedes or canes that grewe in the riuer of
Eurotas: which they were forced to goe gather and breake them ſelues with their handes,
It is a kinde of thiſtle in the Meſſenia tongue: reade Heſychius. without any toole or iron at all. In the winter, they dyd mingle thiſtle downe with theſe, which
is called *Lycophonas*, bicauſe that ſtuffe ſeemeth ſomewhat warme of it ſelfe. About this time,
the fauorers and likers of this prety youthe, which were commonly the luſtieſt and beſt diſpo- B
ſed youthes of the cittie, beganne to be ofter in their companie: and then the olde men tooke
the better regarde vnto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daylie exer-
ciſes, & where their vſe was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one ſhould
mocke another. This dyd their olde men, not by waye of paſtime only, but with ſuche care and
harty loue towards them, as if they had bene altogether their fathers, maſters, & gouernours,
while they were boyes: in ſo much as there was neuer time nor place, where they had not all-
wayes ſome to admoniſhe, reproue, or correct them, if they dyd a faulte. Notwithſtanding all
this, there was euer one of the honeſteſt men of the cittie, who had expreſſely the charge and
gouernaunce of theſe boyes. He dyd diuide them in companies, and afterwards gaue the ouer-
ſight of them, to ſuche a one of the boyes as was diſcreeteſt, the manlieſt, the moſt hardie, and C
of the beſt corage amongeſt them. They called the children that were paſt infancie two yeres,
Irenes: and the greateſt boyes *Melirenes*: as who would ſaye, ready to goe out of boyerie. This
Irenes. *Melirenes.* boye who was made ouerſeer of them, was commonly twenty yeres of age. He was their cap-
taine when they fought, and did commaunde them as his ſeruaunts when they were in the
houſe: and willed them which were ſtrongeſt, and the moſt growen, to carie wodde when
they ſhould prepare dinner or ſupper, and thoſe which were leaſt and weakeſt, to goe gather
erbes, which they muſt ſteale or lacke them. So they went out to ſteale ſome in gardens, ſome
The theeuerie of the Lacedæmonians. at the markets, other in the halles where the feaſtes were kept, and men did eate together, in-
to the which they conueyed them ſelues as cloſely and cunningly as they could deuiſe: for if
they were taken with the manner, they were ſcourged terriblie, bicauſe they were ſo groſſe and D
necligent, and not fine and cunning in their facultie. They ſtole alſo all other kinde of meate,
whatſoeuer they could get or laye hands on. They pried and ſought all occaſions howe to take
and ſteale meate handſomely, bothe when men were a ſleepe, or els that they were careles, or
did not geue good hede vnto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment
roundely, and was puniſhed with faſting beſides: for they had but a ſlender pittaunce, bicauſe
neceſſity ſhould driue them to venter boldely, and wit ſhould finde out all the deuiſes to ſteale
finely. This was the chiefeſt cauſe, why they gaue them ſo ſmall a diet. The ſeconde cauſe
Straight dyet cauſeth growth and height. was, that their bodies might growe vp higher in height. For the vitall ſpirites not being occu-
pied to concoct and diſgeſt much meate, nor yet kept downe, or ſpread abroade by the quanti-
tie or ouerburden thereof, doe enlarge them ſelues into lengthe, and ſhoote vp for their light- E
nes: and for this reaſon they thought the bodie did growe in height and lengthe, hauing no-
thing to let, or hinder the riſing of the ſame. It ſeemeth, that the ſame ſelfe cauſe made them
fayerer alſo. For the bodies that are leane and ſlender, doe better and more eaſely yeld to na-
ture, which bringeth a better proportion and forme to euery member: and contrariwiſe it
ſeemeth theſe groſſe, corpulent, and ouerfedde bodies doe encounter nature, and be not ſo
nimble and pliant to her, by reaſon of their heauy ſubſtaunce. As we ſee it by experience, the
children which women bring a litle before their time, and be ſomwhat caſt before they ſhould
haue bene borne, be ſmaller and fayerer alſo, and more pure commonly then other that goe
their time: bicauſe the matter whereof the bodie is formed, being more ſupple and pliant, is
the eaſelier welded by nature, which geueth them their ſhape and forme. Touching the na- F
turall cauſe of this effect, let vs geue place to other to diſpute it that will, without our further
deciding of the ſame. But to returne to the matter of the LACEDÆMONIANS children.

They

A They dyd robbe with ſo great care, and feare to be diſcouered: that they tell of one, which hauing ſtolen a litle foxe, dyd hyde him vnder his cloke, and ſuffered him with his teethe and clawes to teare out all his bellie, and neuer cryed, for feare he ſhould haue bene betrayed, vntill he fell downe dead in the place where he ſtoode. This is not vncredible, by that we ſee younge boyes doe abide at this daye: for we haue ſeene diuers, which haue bidden whipping euen to death, vpon the altar of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Orthia*. Nowe this vnder maſter, who had the charge of euery companie of theſe boyes, vſed after ſupper (ſitting yet at the table) to byd one of them ſinge a ſonge: to another he put forth a queſtion, who was to be well aduiſed of his aunſwer, as for example: Who is the honeſteſt man in the cittie? or howe thinckeſt thou by that ſuch a one dyd? By this exerciſe they were enured from boyes ſtate, to iudge of things
B well or ill done, and to vnderſtand the life and gouernment of their cittizens. For which of them dyd not aunſwer quickly and directly to theſe queſtions, who is a good man, who is an honeſt cittizen, and who not: they thought it was a ſigne of a dulle wit, and careles nature, not geuen to any vertue, for deſire of honour and eſtimation. Furthermore this vnder maſter was euer to waite for his aunſwer, and to ſee it ſhould be brief and well knyt vp in wordes: otherwiſe his puniſhement that aunſwered croſſely, or to litle purpoſe, was that his maſter byt him by the thumbe. This he dyd many times in the preſence of the olde men and magiſtrates of the cittie, that they might ſee whether he puniſhed them with reaſon or not, and according to their deſeruing. And though he dyd hurte him, they dyd not by and by reproue him, but when the children were gone awaye, then was he him ſelfe rebuked and puniſhed, if he had
C corrected them to ſore, or contrarylie had fauored them to muche. Moreouer they dyd aſcribe the good or ill opinion conceaued of the children, vnto euery of their fauorers, and louers, which dyd affect and entertaine them: in aſmuch as they ſaye, a young boye vpon a time fighting with another, and a crye ſcaping out of his mouthe, which his fainte cowardly harte dyd yelde, his fauorer & louer was ſtraight condemned by the officers of the cittie to a fine. Albeit this loue was a thing euen incorporated into them, that the moſt honeſt and vertuouſeſt women loued the young maydes thus alſo: yet was there no iealouſie nor ſuſpition that grewe hereof, but rather to the contrarie, there grewe a maruelous mutuall loue and kyndnes betweene them, which loued in one ſelfe place. For either of them by all the meanes they could, dyd deuiſe howe to make the childe they loued in common, the wiſeſt, the gentleſt, and the
D beſt conditioned aboue all other. They taught theſe children to ſpeake in ſuche ſorte, that their ſpeache had euer in it a pleaſaunt grace, and in fewe wordes comprehended much matter. For *Lycurgus* ordained, a great maſſe and weight of iron money, ſhould be but litle worthe, and of a ſmall value, as we haue tolde you before: and contrarilie, that ſpeache in fewe wordes, without any affectation, ſhould holde much deepe and graue matter, wherewith the children being acquainted, after long ſilence, ſhould be brief and pitthie in their aunſwers. For as the ſeede of incontinent men which are to buſie with euery ragge and colman hedge, can take no roote to bringe forth fruite: euen ſo immoderate ſpeache, full of wordes and buſie tattle, bringeth forth as litle ſenſe. Hereof it commeth, that the aunſwers of the LACONIANS were ſo ſhorte & witty. As they ſaye, king *Agis* aunſwered on a daye an ATHENIAN, who ieſting at the ſwords
E the LACEDÆMONIANS dyd were, ſayed they were ſo ſhorte, that theſe tumblers, and iugglers dyd ſwallowe them downe in the ſight of all the world: and yet ſayed *Agis*, we hurte our enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the LACONIANS manner of ſpeaking: which is not to ſpeake much, but when they ſpeake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers vnderſtand them. I thincke alſo, that *Lycurgus* ſelfe, was ſhorte and quicke in his talke. For ſo a man maye coniecture by his aunſwers which are written: as that which he made to one who earneſtly prayed him to ſtabliſhe a popular ſtate in LACEDÆMON, that the baſeſt might haue as great authoritie as the higheſt. Beginne (ꝙ he) to doe it firſt in thine owne houſe. And as that alſo which he aunſwered another who asked him, why he had appointed ſo ſmall things, and ſo little of value to be offered to the goddes? Bicauſe (ꝙ
F he) we ſhould neuer ceaſe to honour them. And as that which he ſpake another time, touching fightes and frayes, which was: that he dyd neuer forbid his cittizens any of them, but thoſe wherein they vſe to geue their hande, as you would ſaye to yeld. Men finde alſo ſuche like

Childrens exerciſe after their ſupper.

The Lacedæmoniãs manner of louing.

Short ſpeache taught among the Lacedæmonians.

Lycurgus wiſe aunſwers.

Lycurgus loue to god.

To geue a hãd, is to confeſſe him ſelf ouercome.

aunſwers,in ſome of his letters written to his cittizens,as when they asked him. Howe can we A
defende our ſelues againſt our enemies? He aunſwered: If ye be poore, and one doe couet no
more then another. And in another letter that was ſent,where he diſcourſeth,whether it were
requiſite to incloſe the cittie with walles: he ſayeth,can that cittie be without walles,which is
enuironned with men, though it be vncompaſſed with ſtone? Neuertheles it is harde to re-
ſolue,whether thoſe letters, and other ſuche like that are ſhewed, be to be beleeued, or diſcre-
dited to be his. But that long ſpeache was much diſliked,and reproued among the LACEDÆ-
Shorte ſentences of certaine Laconians. MONIANS,it is manifeſtly to be ſeene by the words, which ſomme amõgeſt them haue hereto-
fore aunſwered. As king *Leonidas* ſayed one daye, to one that diſcourſed with him many good
things,but out of ſeaſon: friend, thou ſpeakeſt many good wordes, but to litle purpoſe. And
Charilaus, nephew to *Lycurgus*, being asked why his vncle made ſo fewe lawes: bicauſe ſayed B
he,to men of fewe wordes, fewe lawes will ſerue. And *Archidamidas* ſayed thus to ſomme,
which reproued *Hecataeus* the Orator,for that being bidden to ſupper at one of their feaſts he
ſpake not a worde all ſupper time. He who can ſpeake well,knoweth alſo when to ſpeake. And
where I haue tolde before,that in their feate and quicke aunſwers, commonly there was ſome
prety grace, it maye be well ſeene and knowen by theſe that followe. *Demaratus* aunſwered a
buſie fellowe who troubled him to much with vaine importunate queſtions, asking him ſtill:
Sharpe ſentences of the Laconians. who was the honeſteſt man of LACEDÆMON? euen he that is leaſt like thy ſelfe. And *Agis*
ſayed to ſomme which highely prayſed the ELIANS for their vpright iudgement,& iuſt dea-
ling in the games Olympicall. What wonder make ye of it (q he) if in fiue yeres ſpace the E-
LIANS one daye doe good iuſtice? And *Theopompus* likewiſe to a ſtraunger, who as deſirous C
to ſhew his affection he bare the LACEDÆMONIANS,told him how euery bodye called him
Philolacon (as to ſaye) a louer of LACEDÆMON. It were more honeſtie for thee (ſayed he)
to be named *Philopolites*, a louer of her cittizens. And *Pliſtonax* the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, when
an Orator of ATHENS ſayed the LACEDÆMONIANS were vnlearned, and ignorant: thou
ſayeſt true q he, for we only of all the GRECIANS haue learned none of your ill conditions.
Archidamidas. And *Archidamidas*, to one that demaunded of him, what number of fighting men there
might be of the SPARTANS: Enowe ſayd he, to driue awaye the wicked. We maye coniec-
ture alſo their manner of ſpeaking, by their wordes in mirthe, which they ſpake ſometimes
playing wiſe: for they dyd neuer vſe to ſpeake vaine wordes at randone, but it had alwayes
ſome ſecret meaning in it,which required anothers good obſeruation that would finde it. As D
In the life of Ageſilaus. he which was deſired to goe heare the nightingall counterfeated naturally: I haue (ſayed he)
heard the nightingall it ſelfe. And another which hauing redde this inſcription vpon a tumbe.

When as they had,vvell quenched tyrannie
throughout their lande,by vvorthie vvarlike povver,
Their happe vvas yet in vvretched vviſe to dye,
by ſcaling Selynuntaes ſtrongeſt tovver.

They well deſerued death,ſayed he, that dyd but quenche tyrannie: they ſhould haue quite
conſumed it with fire. And one younger boye to another,promiſing to geue him ſuche hardie
cockes of the game, as ſhould dye in the place where they fought. O geue me not thoſe (ſaid
he) which will dye, but thoſe which with fighting will kill others. Another ſeeing men ſit- E
ting in coches and litters as they went: god forbid (ſaid he) that I ſhould euer ſit in a chayer,
where I could not riſe to my elders. Suche were their aunſwers & encounters. So that ſomme
had reaſon which ſayed heretofore, to ſpeake LACONIAN like, was to be philoſopher like: as
you would ſaye,more to exerciſe the minde,then the bodye. Beſides all this,they dyd ſtudie to
The Lacedæmonians ſonges. ſinge well,and to make goodly ditties and ſonges. Then they ſpake moſt properly and feately.
There was in their ſongs alſo a certaine motion,I wote not what,which ſtirred vp the hearers
hartes,and dyd kindle deſire in them to doe notable feates. Their tongue was plaine, without
affectation: their matter graue and morall, conteining for the moſt parte the prayſe of thoſe,
which were ſlayne in battell for the defence of their countrie,as being happy men: & a ſhame
to thoſe that liue, which for fainte hartes refuſed ſo to dye, to leade a miſerable and vnfortu- F
nate life. Or els they ſange howe they were the patternes for time to come, or the right glorie
of the worlde, and the true repreſentation of vertuous men: as the ſonge would beſt become

their

A their ages which dyd ſinge. It ſhall not be impartinent for the better vnderſtanding hereof, to bring you here an exãple. For in their open feaſts, there were alwayes three daũces, according to the difference of the three ages. The daunce of the olde men, thus beganne firſt for to ſinge. *Three daunces among the Lacedæmonians.*

VVe haue bene young and ſtrong, yea valliant heretofore,
till crooked age did holde vs backe, and bad vs doe no more.

The young men followed after, ſinging:

VVe yet are young, bolde, ſtrong, and ready to maintaine
that quarell ſtill, againſt all men that doe on earthe remaine.

The third was of children that came after and ſayed:

And vve doe hope aſvvell, to paſſe you all at laſt,
B *and that the vvorlde ſhall vvitnes be, ere many yeres be paſt.*

To conclude, who nerely will conſider the worcks and makings of the LACON poets (wherof ſome are yet extant) and will marke alſo the notes and tunes of the pipe, after the ſound and meaſure whereof they marched in arraye, going to charge the enemie: he ſhall finde, that *Terpander*, and *Pindarus*, had reaſon to ioyne hardynes with muſicke. For *Terpander* ſpeaking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſayeth in a place: *Terpander of the Lacedæmonians.*

This is that lande vvhere deedes of cheualrie,
did florishe moſt, in many a martiall feate:
VVhere muſicke made, her choiſe of harmonie,
and iuſtice kept her ſtately royall ſeate.

C And *Pindarus* ſpeaking of them alſo ſayeth: *Pyndarus of the Lacedæmonians.*

There: graue aduiſe, is founde in aged braynes:
there: gallant youthes, are luſty ladds in dede.
VVhich can both ſinge, and daunce, in courtlike traines:
yet dant their foes, vvith many a doughty dede.

By which teſtimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and deſcribeth them to haue loued muſicke, and the warres together. For as another LACON poet ſayeth,

It ſitteth vvell, and is a ſemely thinge,
for ſuch as ſpend their time in feats of vvarre:
To haue the skyll, ſvvete ſonets for to ſinge,
D *and touche the harpe vvithouten iangling iarre.*

For this cauſe therefore in all their warres, when they ſhould geue battell, the King dyd firſt ſacrifice to the Muſes, to put his ſouldiers in minde (as it ſhould ſeeme) of the diſcipline & wiſdome of the Muſes that they had bene brought vp in, to the end that when his ſouldiers were in the moſt extreme daunger, the Muſes ſhould preſent them ſelues before the ſouldiers eyes, to pricke them forward to doe ſome noble actes of worthy memorie. In their time of warre, they dyd tollerate their young men a litle of their hard & old accuſtomed life, & ſuffered them then to trime their heares, to haue braue armour, to weare gay apparell, & tooke as great delight therein, to ſee them gallant, & luſtie, as to behold young neying & ſnorting horſe, deſirous for to fight. And althoughe from the beginning of their youthe, they dyd vſe to weare longe E heares: yet were they neuer ſo carefull to combe & bruſhe their heades, as when they ſhould to the battell. For when they dyd nointe them ſelues with ſweete oyles, & dyd ſhed their heare, remembring *Lycurgus* ſaying: who was wont to tell them, that heares to them which were fayer, dyd make them more fayer, & to them that were fowle, they made them more ougly & dredfull. The exerciſes alſo of their bodies, were more eaſie & gentle, & not ſo hard & ſtraight in their warres, as they were in a peace: & generally, their whole manner of life was not then ſo ſtraightly viewed, nor yet controlled. So as they only were the men of the world, to whom warres were made a reſt from labour, which men ordinarylie doe endure, to make them the fitter for the warres. Afterwardes when their armie was ſet in battell raye, euen in the face of the enemie, the King dyd ſtraight ſacrifice a goate vnto the goddes, & forthwith commaunded F all his ſouldiers to put their garlands of flowers on their heades, & willed that the pipes ſhould ſownd the ſonge of *Caſtor*: at the noyſe & tune whereof, he him ſelfe beganne firſt to marche

The longe buſhes and heare of the Laconians.

How the Laconians beganne battell. The Laconiãs ſonge when they marched. Euſt. Ilia. 15.

forward. So that it was a maruelous pleasure, & likewise a dredfull sight, to see the whole battell A
marche together in order, at the sound of the pipes, and neuer to breake their pace, nor confounde their ranckes, nor to be dismayde nor amazed themselues, but to goe on quietly & ioyfully at the sounde of these pipes, to hazard themselues euen to death. For it is likely, that such corages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet ouercome with much furie: but rather they haue an assured constancie & valliantnes in good hope, as those which are backed with the assisting fauour of the goddes. The King marching in this order, had allwayes some about him, which had before time wonne the prises in games and iustes. And they saye there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great some of money at the games Olympicall, not to present him selfe at them: but he refused it, liking better with great payne to winne the prise, then for muche money to lose his honour. Whereupon one sayed vnto him, LACONIAN: & what B
hast thou gotten nowe, to carie away the prise with so much swet? The LACONIAN aunswered him laughing: I shall fight in the battell, sayeth he, before the King. When they had once broken into their enemies, they dyd still fiercely and fiercelier set vpon them, and dyd neuer cease, vntill their enemies gaue waye and fled: and then they chased and followed them still, vntill
How farre the Lacedemonians dyd pursue their enemies. such time as their ouerthrowe and flight had assured them of the victorie. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their campe, iudging it to be no manhod, neither the parte of a noble minde, or of so wor hye a nation as the GRECIANS were, to kill and hewe in peeces, men so scattered and out of order, hauing forsaken all the hope of victorie. This fell out not only honorable, but also very profitable for them. For they which were in battell against them, knowing they killed none but suche as resisted stowtely, and howe they dyd let other goe C
which fled before them: they found it was more their benefit to flye, then to tarie and abide
Lycurgus a very good captaine. Oulames. the strokes. *Hippias* the sophister sayeth, that *Lycurgus* him selfe was a very good captaine, & a great souldier, as he that had bene in many foughten fieldes: & *Philostephanus* ascribeth to him the deuise to put horsemen in troupes & companies, which they called *Oulames*, whereof fiftie men at armes was a troupe, whose manner was to put them selues in squadrõs. But *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* writeth otherwise, that *Lycurgus* was neuer at the warres, & that he made all his lawes and gouernment in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of warres during the playes Olympicall, which they saye he deuised, doeth shew in apparaunce that he was a gentle natured man, & one that loued quietnes and peace. Some notwithstanding (amongest whom *Hermippus* was one) saye, he was not with *Iphitus* at the first beginning when he ordeined the D
playes Olympicall, but that by chaunce he happened to come thither, passing by in his iorney only, & that he stayed there to see the games: where he thought he heard the voyce of a man behinde him, saying, he maruelled much why he dyd not perswade his cittizens also to be parteners of this newe deuise: and turning backe to see who it was that spake to him, he sawe no bodye. Whereupon he tooke a conceit that it was a speache from the goddes: & went therefore presently to seeke out *Iphitus*, with whom he made all the statutes and orders of the feast, which afterwardes were farre more famous, better ordered, & more stately then before. But to returne againe to the LACEDÆMONIANS: their discipline & order of life continued still, after they were full growen men. For it was not lawfull for any man to liue as he listed, but they were within their cittie, as if they had bene in a campe, where euery man knoweth what allowance E
The Laconiãs opinion, to serue their countrie. he hath to liue withall, & what busines he hath els to doe in his calling. To be shorte, they were all of this minde, that they were not borne to serue them selues, but to serue their countrie. Therfore if they were cõmaunded nothing els, they went continually to see what the children dyd, and to teache them somewhat which might profit the common weale, or els they went to learne of those which were their elders. For one of the best and happiest things which *Lycurgus* euer brought into his cittie, was the great rest and leysure which he made his cittizens
The rest and leysure of the Lacedemonians. to haue, only forbidding them that they should not professe any vile or base occupation: and they needed not also to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where goodes were nothing profitable nor esteemed. For the Ilotes, which were made bonde men by the warres, dyd till their groundes, and yeelded them a certaine reuenue euery yere. And as touching this matter, F
Idle liuers punished at Athens. they tell of a LACEDÆMONIAN, who being on a daye at ATHENS where the lawe was pleaded, dyd vnderstand that a cittizen there was condemned for Idlenes, and howe he went home

to

A to his house very sorowfully, accompanied with his friends which were sorie for him, & greatly lamented his ill happe. The LACEDÆMONIAN then prayed those which were about him, to shewe him the man condemned for liuing nobly, and like a gentleman. I haue alledged this, to shew how he thought it a vile & seruill thing to exercise any handy craft, or to worke any thing by hande to get money. For sutes in lawe, a man maye be well assured they were banished with the golde & siluer from LACEDÆMON, considering now there was no more auarice nor couetousnes there, nor yet pouertie nor lacke, but equalitie with aboundaunce, & quiet life with sobrietie. All other times but when they had warres, they followed daunsing, feastes, playes, bankets, hunting, or other exercises of bodye, & meetinges to passe the time away. For the younge men vntill they came to thirtie yeres of age, neuer went into the market to buye any prouision
B or things for the house, but dyd their fathers or their friends busines: naye it was a shame for the oldest men, to hawnte the market too often. As to the contrary, it was honorable for them to be present at the shewe place the most parte of the daye, where they diuersely exercised their bodyes, & likewise to be at the places of assembly, there to spend time with talking together, & discoursing honestly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, traffike, or money. For all their talke (for the most parte) was about the praysing of some honest thing, or sportingwise to reproue some dishonestie, which alwayes caried with it some gentle lesson or monition by the waye. For *Lycurgus* was not such a sower man, as they neuer sawe him laughe: but as *Sosibius* writeth, it was he that first sacrificed to the litle god of laughture, which is at LACEDÆMON, bicause he would mingle their feastes and assemblies with mirthe, as a pleasaunt
C sawce to ease the trouble of their strickt and harde life. To be brief, he did accustome his cittizens so, that they neither would nor could liue alone, but were in manner as men incorporated one with another, and were allwayes in company together, as the bees be about their master bee: still in a continuall loue to serue their countrie, to winne honour, & to aduaunce the common weale. Which affection of theirs is playne & easely seene to be imprinted in them by certen of their aunswers, as in that which *Pædaretus* sayed on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his house mery and iocond as might be, sayed: It did him good to see there were three hundred founde better in the cittie than him selfe. *Pisistratidas* also being sent ambassadour with certen other to the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, the PERSIAN lordes asked him, if they came of their owne desire, or
D whether they were sent from the whole state: if we obtaine, sayed he, it is from the state: if we be denied, then we come of our selues. And *Argileonida* the mother of *Brasidas*, asked some that went to visite her after they were returned home to LACEDÆMON from their iorney to AMPHIPOLIS, if her sonne died like a man, and a worthy SPARTAN. And they straight did commend him highely, saying: there was not left in all LACEDÆMON suche a valliant man. She replied vnto them. Saye not so, my friends, I praye you: for *Brasidas* was in dede a valliant man, but the country of LACONIA hath many moe yet vallianter than he was. Now touching their Senate: *Lycurgus* was the first that erected it among them. The first that were thereof, were *Lycurgus* chief ayders & assisters of that erection, as we haue declared before: but afterwards he ordeined, that when any of those first should happen to dye, they should choose in his
E place the most honest reported man in the cittie, so he were three score yere olde and aboue. This was the noblest glorie that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and prise, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest amongest the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the reward of his vertue, as for libertie to speake, soueraine authoritie to gouerne, and princely power ouer the common weale, the honour, the life, and the goodes of the whole cittizens: howbeit the election was made after this sorte. The people first assembled in the market place, where there were some appointed and shut vp thereabout in a house, from whēce they could neither see, nor be seene of those that were assembled, but onely they might heare the noyse which they made there. For the people by their crye and showte, did declare whom they did choose, and whom they did refuse of the competitours, as they vsed
F to shewe their liking by the like crye in other things. The competitours were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, passed through the middest of the assemblie of the people, and sayed neuer a worde.

Sutes in lawe went awaye with golde & siluer that was banished.

How they spēt the time in Sparta.

The Lacedæmonians lined not priuately to themselues in the commō weale.

Pædaretus saying.

The manner of choosing the Senate in Sparta.

The people ſtraight that liked, made a crye or ſhowte alowde. The men appointed which were locked vp, had bookes or tables in which they wrote and noted the greatnes of the crye, and ſhowte the people made, as euery competitour paſſed by, not knowing nor ſeing who he was. Theſe hidden men did onely ſet downe in their bookes, the firſt, the ſecond, the thirde, and ſo many more, as by ſhowtes and cryes they perceyued dyd paſſe thus through the aſſemblie. They noted alſo in their ſaid bookes, which of theſe had the greateſt crye and ſhowte of people at their paſſing thorough: and him they came and declared to be Senatour choſen. Then he wearing a garland of flowers on his head, went to all the temples of the goddes in the cittie to geue thankes, hauing a great traine of young men following, and prayſing of his vertues. There went alſo with him a maruelous company of women ſinging ſonges of his prayſe, and howe bleſſed he was, that he had liued ſo vertuouſly. Then euery one of his kinne prepared a bancket for him at home at their houſes, and as he entred the houſe, they ſayed vnto him: *The cittie honoreth thee vvith this bancket.* That done, he repayred afterwards to the ordinarie place of their eating, where he dyd in all things as he was accuſtomed, ſauing he was ſerued nowe at his table with a double allowaunce, whereof he reſerued the one. After ſupper, all his kinſewomen ſtoode in the entrie of the hall where they had eaten: ſo he called her whom he loued beſt, and gaue her his allowaunce he had ſaued, and ſayed to her: This was geuen me in token I was this daye rewarded for my vertue: and euen ſo I geue it thee for a like token of rewarde for thy vertue. Then was ſhe brought home by all the women there to her houſe, euen in like ſorte as he was by the men. Touching burialles, *Lycurgus* made a wiſe order: For firſt of all, to cut of all ſuperſtition of burying places, he commaunded they ſhould burie their dead within the cittie, & that their graues ſhould be round about their temples, that young perſones might haue them allwayes in their eyes, & not be affrayed to ſee a dead bodye, as if to touche a corſe, or to paſſe by their graues, it ſhould defile a man. Then did he forbid them to burie any thing with the corſe, and willed they ſhould only lappe it vp in a redde clothe, with oliue leaues. It was not lawfull to graue the name of any dead bodye vpon his graue, but only of ſuche a man as died in the warres, or of ſome holy woman profeſſed into their temples. Furthermore, the time appointed to mourne in, was very ſhorte. For it laſted not but a eleuen dayes, and on the twelft daye, they muſt doe ſacrifice to *Proſerpina*, and ſo leaue of their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or vnworking in his cittizens: for to all neceſſarie things which men can not lacke, *Lycurgus* ioyned euer a certaine emulation of men. As to deſire vertue, and to contemne vice: and furniſhed his cittie with many good preceptes and examples, emong which his cittizens being ſtill borne and bred vp, and hauing the ſame in euery place before their eyes where they went, they came to paſſe in time to be framed after the very patterne and moulde of vertue it ſelfe. For this cauſe he did not ſuffer any to trauell out of the countrie, or to goe abroad as he would, without ſpeciall licence, for feare leaſt thoſe which trauelled abroad for their pleaſure, ſhould bring home ſtraunge facions and manners, and a corrupt diſordered life, which by litle and litle might get waye, and bring an alteration and chaunge of the whole ſtate. Furthermore, he kept out of SPARTA all ſtraungers, except thoſe which had neceſſarie buſines there, or were come thither for ſome profit to the countrie: not that he was affrayed they ſhould learne ſome thing whereby to loue vertue, or that they ſhould deſire to followe his facion and manner of gouernment as *Thucydides* was: but rather fearing they ſhould teache his cittizens ſome naughty manners, or ſome ill fauored vice. For it muſt needes be, that ſtraungers bring euer ſtraunge and newe deuiſes with them: which newe deuiſes bring with them alſo newe opinions: and newe opinions beget newe affections and mindes, that many times are repugnant to the lawe, and to the forme of the common weale eſtabliſhed before, as diſcordes doe many times in an harmonie of muſicke, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he iudged it a thing moſt neceſſarie, to keepe his cittie free and ſafe from coũterfeating of any ſtraungers manners or facions, that were cõmonly as perſones infected with ſome contagious ſicknes. Nowe in all we haue ſpoken before, euen to this place, there is no manner of token or ſhewe of iniuſtice, or lacke of equitie, wherewith ſome ſeme to burden *Lycurgus* in his lawes: by ſaying they were well made, to make men warlicke and valliant, but not to be iuſte or righteous. But cõcerning the lawe they call *Cryptia*, as much to ſaye, as their ſecret: if it were of *Lycurgus*

What was done the Senatour being choſen.

The manner of buriall with the Lacedæmonians.

The time of mourning.

None allowed to trauell into other coũtries without licence.

No ſtraungers ſuffered to dwell in Sparta.

Cryptia with the Lacedæmonians.

A *curgus* inſtitution, as *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, it might haue caried *Plato* into the like opinion that *Lycurgus* had of his common weale. This was the lawe: The gouernours which had the charge and ouerſight of the young men, at certaine appointed times, dyd chuſe out thoſe they thought to haue the beſt diſcretion, and ſent them abroade into the countrie, ſome one waye, ſome another waye, who caried with them daggers, and ſome prouiſion to feede them. Theſe young men being thus diſperſed abroade in the countrie, did hide them ſelues all the daye cloſe in ſecret places, and there they laye and tooke their reſt: afterwardes when night was come, they went to ſeeke out the high wayes, and killed the firſt of the ILOTES that they met. Sometimes euen in the broade daye, they went into the countrie to kill the ſtrongeſt and ſtowteſt of them: as *Thucydides* telleth in his hiſtory of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, where he ſayeth. *The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians againſt the Iloses.*

B That a certaine conuenient number of the ILOTES were crowned, by a publicke proclamation of the SPARTANS: and being infrancheſed, for their good ſeruices they had done the common weale, they were caried to all the temples of the goddes for an honour. Within a while after, no man knewe what was become of them, being about two thouſand in number: ſo that neuer man heard tell neither then nor ſince, howe they came to their deathes. Howbeit *Ariſtotle* aboue all others ſayeth, that the *Ephores*, ſo ſoone as they were placed in their offices, made warres with the ILOTES, bicauſe they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardely. For they forced them ſomtimes to drincke wine without water out of meaſure, till they had made them ſtarke drunke. Then they brought them all into their common halles where they did eate, to make their children to beholde

C them, and to ſee what beaſtlines it was for a man to be drunke. Likewiſe they made them ſinge ſonges, and daunce daunces, vnfit for honeſt men, and ſuche as were full of deriſion and mockerie, and did forbid them expreſſely to ſinge any honeſt ſonges. So it is reported, that in the iorney the THEBANS made to LACONIA, many of the ILOTES were taken priſoners thereat, and when they were commaunded to ſinge the verſes of *Terpander*, or of *Alcman*, or of *Spendon* the Laconian, they would not doe it: ſaying, they durſt not ſinge them for their maſters. *Diodorus lib. 2.*

Wherefore he that firſt ſayed in the countrie of LACEDÆMONIA, he that is free is more free, and he that is bonde, is more bonde then in other places: knewe very well the diuerſitie betweene the libertie and bondage there, and the libertie and bondage of other countries. But in my opinion, the LACEDÆMONIANS beganne to vſe theſe great outrages and cruelties, long

D time after the death of *Lycurgus*, and ſpecially ſince the great earthquake that happened at SPARTA, at which time the ILOTES roſe againſt them with the MESSENIANS, and did great miſchief through the countrie, and put the cittie to the greateſt diſtreſſe and daunger that euer it had. For I cannot be perſuaded, that euer *Lycurgus* inuented, or inſtituted, ſo wicked and miſchieuous an acte, as that kynde of ordinaunce was: bicauſe I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemencie and iuſtice wee ſee he vſed in all his other doings, and was witneſſed beſides by open oracle from the goddes, for a iuſt and wiſe man. Furthermore, they ſaye of him, that when he ſawe the chiefeſt pointes of his gouernment had taken deepe roote, and that the forme of his common weale went on, and was ſtrong enough to mainteine and keepe it ſelfe a foote, like as *Plato* ſayeth, that God reioyced greately after he had made the worlde,

E and ſawe the ſame turne and moue his firſt mouing: euen ſo *Lycurgus* taking ſingular pleaſure and delight in his minde, to ſee his notable lawes put in vre, and ſo well ſtabliſhed and liked of by experience, ſought yet to make them immortall, as neere as he could poſſible, by any forecaſt of man, that no after time whatſoeuer, might chaunge or put them downe. To bring this to paſſe, he cauſed all the people to aſſemble, and tolde them he thought his ciuill pollicie and ſtate of common weale was already ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, for vertuous and happy life: yet there was one matter behinde of greater importaunce than all the reſt, which he could not yet declare vnto them, vntill he had firſt asked counſell of the oracle of *Apollo*. And therefore in the meane time they ſhould keepe and obſerue his lawes and ordinaunces inuiolablie, without chaunging, remouing, or ſtaying any matter therein, vntill he were returned from the cittie of *Plato in Timæo.*

F DELPHES, and then they ſhould doe that other thing behinde, if the God then ſo counſelled him. They all promiſed him to doe it, and prayed him to make haſt to goe on his iorney. But before he departed, he made the Kings and Senatours ſweare firſt, and conſequently all the peo- *Lycurgus wonderfull counſell in ſtabliſhing his lawes.*

ple after, that they would keepe his lawes and ordinaunces without chaunging or altering any A
thing, vntill he did returne againe. This done, he went to the cittie of DELPHES, where so sone
as he arriued, he sacrificed in the temple to *Apollo*, and asked him: If the lawes he had made
were good to make a man an happy life. *Apollo* made him aunswer, his lawes were very good,
and that his cittie keping them, should be the most renowmed of the worlde. *Lycurgus* caused
this oracle to be written, which he sent to SPARTA. After he sacrificed to *Apollo* againe: and
then taking leaue of his friendes, and of his sonne, he determined to dye, bicause his cittizens
should neuer be released of the othe they had made betweene his handes. When he had this
determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hathe strength enough to liue lenger:
Lycurgus death. and yet was olde enough also to dye if he would. Wherefore finding him selfe happy to haue
obteined his desire, he willingly pyned him selfe to death, by abstinence, and lacke of meate. For B
he thought it meete, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit euer to the
common weale, and that the ende of their life should be no more idle, or vnprofitable, then the
rest of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their most meritorious actes, to haue their
death extolled for worthines. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and
crowne of his felicitie, after he had made and ordeined so many good and notable lawes, for
the honour and benefit of his countrie: and should be as a seale of confirmation of his lawe,
and the continuall preseruitour of his cittie, considering all his cittizens had sworne to keepe
them all inuiolably, vntill he were returned. He was not deceaued of his hope, for his cittie was
the chiefest of the worlde, in glorie and honour of gouernment, by the space of fiue hundred
Sparta florished fiue hundred yeres. yeres. For so long his cittie kept his lawes without any chaunge or alteration by any of the C
Kings successours, vntill king *Agis*, the sonne of *Archidamus* beganne to reigne. For the crea-
tion of the *Ephores*, did not breake, nor discontinewe any of the lawes of *Lycurgus*, but reduced
Lycurgus lawes were broke in king Agis time, by Lysanders meanes. them rather to a more straight and strickt order: although it seemed at the first that the *Ephores*
were ordeined, for the maintenaunce & defence of the libertie of the people, whereas in deede
they did also strengthen the authoritie of the Kings and Senate. Nowe in the raigne of king
Agis, gold and siluer beganne first to creepe in againe to the cittie of SPARTA, by meanes of
Money corrupteth Lycurgus lawes. *Lysander*. With money there came in straight couetousnes, and gredines to get and gather.
And although *Lysander* was not desirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money: yet
See more in Lysanders life. he brought riches and couetousnes into the countrie, and filled the same with all finenes, by
Lysander brought in riches againe into Sparta. bringing in great store of golde and siluer from the warres, directly against the lawes and ordi- D
naunces of *Lycurgus*. The which so long as they were in force and vse, it appered that the go-
uernment of SPARTA seemed not to be a pollicy or common weale, but rather a certaine holy
place & order of religion. And euen as the Poets fayne, that *Hercules* went through the world
with his clubbe, and lyons skynne, punishing cruell robbers and vnnaturall tyrannes: so in like
case with a litle scrowe of parchement, and a poore cape, did the SPARTANS commaund and
geue lawes, to all the rest of GREECE, euen with their good liking and consent. And they cha-
sed the tyrannes awaye, which vsurped tyrannicall power ouer any of their citties, and did de-
cide all controuersies, and oftentimes pacified their seditions, without sending out one soul-
dier, but only a simple poore ambassadour. At whose commaundement, the people presently
assembled like the bees, which gather together about their King, so soone as they spye him: E
they did then so greatly reuerence the good gouernment & iustice of the SPARTANS. There-
fore I can but wonder much at those which saye, the cittie of LACEDÆMON could obey well,
but not commaunde: and for proofe they alleage wordes of king *Theopompus*, who aunswered
Theopompus wordes of obeying and commaũding. one which sayd, that SPARTA was mainteined, bicause the Kings could commaund well. Naye
the rather (sayd he) bicause the cittizens can obey well. For men commonly disdaine to obey
those, which are not wise in commaunding. So that the faithfull obedience of the subiectes, de-
pendeth much vpon the sufficient commaundement of the wise prince. For he that directeth
Good gouernmẽt breedeth due obediẽce. well, must needes be well obeyed. For like as the arte of a good rider, is to make his horse
gentle, and ready at commaundement: euen so the chiefest pointe belonging to a prince, is
to teach his subiects to obey. Wherefore the LACEDÆMONIANS procured, that not onely F
other people did willingly obey them, but also desired to be ruled, and commaunded by them.
For they asked them, neither shippes nor money, nor yet did send them any number of men

of

A of warre to compell them, but onely they ſent one cittizen of SPARTA to gouerne them, to whom all the other people ſubmitted them ſelues, and were holpen by him in their neceſſitie, as fearing and reuerencing him. In this wiſe the SICILIANS were holpen by *Gyſippus*, the CHALCIDIANS by *Braſidas*, and all the GRECIANS inhabiting ASIA, by *Lyſander*, *Callicratidas*, and by *Ageſilaus*, who were called the reformers and directers of princes, peoples, and Kings, vnto whom they were ſent here and there: but euer they had their eye vpon the cittie of SPARTA, as vpon the moſt perfect patterne to order mans life by, and to gouerne a common weale after. To this effect tended the mery worde ſpoken in ieſt by *Stratonicus*: Who ſaid he did order the ATHENIANS to tend their ſacrifices, and the ELIANS to tende their games: and if they made any faulte therein, the LACEDÆMONIANS ſhould be well whipped. That

B was merely ſpoken, and in a ieſting manner. But *Antiſthenes* (the philoſopher and one of *Socrates* ſcholers) ſeeing the THEBANS growen very hawtie & glorious, after that they had conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS in the iorney of LEVCTRES: me thinketh ſayed he, theſe THEBANS here doe like the ſchoole boyes, which bragge and reioyce when they haue a litle beaten their maſter. But this was not *Lycurgus* meaning, to haue his cittie to commaunde many. But he thought the felicitie of a cittie, as of a priuate man, conſiſted chiefly in the exerciſe of vertue, and in the vnitie of the inhabitants thereof. He framed his common wealth to this ende, that his cittizens ſhould be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might mainteine and keepe them ſelues long in ſafetie. The ſelf ſame intention had *Plato*, *Diogenes*, and *Zenon*, in ſetting forth their bookes, which they wrote

C of the gouernment of common weales: and ſo had likewiſe many other great and learned men which haue written of the ſame matter. Howbeit they only left behinde them, wordes, and written bookes: but *Lycurgus* contrariwiſe, left no written bookes nor pamplets, but ſtabliſhed and left behinde him, a royall forme of gouernment, which no man euer before had inuented, nor neuer after could be followed. He hath made them plainely ſee, a whole cittie liue together, and gouerne it ſelfe philoſophically, according to the true rules and preceptes of perfect wiſdome: which imagined, that true wiſedome was a thing hanging in the ayer, and could not viſiblie be ſeene in the worlde. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glorie all thoſe, which euer tooke vpon them to write or ſtabliſhe the gouernment of a common weale. And therefore ſayeth *Ariſtotle*, that after his death they did him leſſe honour in LACEDÆMONIA,

D then he had deſerued: albeit they did him all the honour they poſſibly could deuiſe. And yet they buylt a temple for him, and made ſolemne ſacrifice to him euery yere, as vnto a god. More, they ſaye, that when the aſhes of his bodie were brought to SPARTA, there fell ſtraight lightning vpon his tumbe where they were put: which they had not often ſeene to happen, to other men of name after their deceaſe, ſauing only to the poet *Euripides*, who dying in MACEDONIA, was buried neere the cittie of ARETHVSA. The which is ſome manifeſt argument, for ſuche as loue the Poet, to laye againſt thoſe which ſomewhat depraue him, ſeing this ſigne came to him after his death, which had happened before to a moſt well beloued man of the goddes. Some ſaye *Lycurgus* died in the cittie of CIRRHA. But *Apollothemis* ſayeth, he died in ELIDA. *Timæus* and *Ariſtoxenus* write, he ended his dayes in CRETA. And *Ariſtoxenus*

E ſayeth further, that thoſe of the Ile of CRETA doe ſhewe his graue in the place which they call *Pergamia*, by the broade highe wayes ſide. He left one onely begotten ſonne named *Antiorus*, who died without iſſue, ſo that his houſe and name fayled with him. But his neere kinſemen and familler friendes, did ſet vp a company or brotherhood in memorie of him, which continued a long time: and the dayes wherein they aſſembled, were called the *Lycurgides*. There is another *Ariſtocrates* (the ſonne of *Hipparchus*) who ſayeth, that he being dead in CRETA, his friendes burned his bodie, and afterwardes threwe his aſhes into the ſea, according as he had prayed and requeſted them. For he feared, that if any parte of him ſhould at any time haue bene brought to SPARTA, the inhabitans would haue ſayed he was returned againe, and thereby would haue thought them ſelues diſcharged of their othe, and might haue

F lawfully altered the lawes which he had appointed. And this is the diſcourſe and ende of *Lycurgus* life.

The ende of Lycurgus life.

Antiſthenes, Socrates ſcholers wordes.

The foundation of a common weale.

Diuine honours to Lycurgus after his death.

Antiorus Lycurgus ſonne.

THE LIFE OF *Numa Pompilius.*

In what time Numa was
Cicero de Or. 2. & Tusc. nl. 4.
Liu Halic. lib. 2.

THE Historiographers differ maruelously of the time, in which *Numa Pompilius* raigned King, albeit some will deriue from him many noble houses descēded in ROME. For one *Clodius*, who wrote the booke intituled the table of time, affirmeth that the auncient registers of the cittie of ROME were lost when it was taken and sacked by the GAVLES: and that those which are extant at this daye be not true, but were only made by men desirous to gratifie some, which haue thrust in auncient houses and families of the first ROMAINES, that concerne nothing them whom they ment to represent. On the other side, although the common opinion be, that *Numa* was a familier friend and scholler of *Pythagoras* the philosopher, yet some saye he was neuer learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greeke tongue. A B

Whether Pythagoras had any conuersation with Numa.

And yet mainteining that it is possible enough, that he was so well borne, and had suche perfection in all kind of vertue, that he neuer neded any master: & though he had neded, they had rather attribute the honour of the instructing of this King vnto some other foreane person, that was more excellent then *Pythagoras*. Other saye, that *Pythagoras* the philosopher was long time after the raigne of *Numa*, & well nighe fiue ages after him. Howbeit other saye, there was another *Pythagoras* borne in SPARTA (who hauing wonne the pryse of running at the games Olympicall, in the sixtenth Olympiade, & the third yere of *Numaes* raigne) did come into ITALIE, where he kept much about *Numa*, & did assist & helpe him in the gouerning & ordering of his Realme. By meanes whereof there be many customes yet of the LACONIANS, mingled with the ROMAINES, which this second *Pythagoras* was sayed to haue taught him. Neuertheles it is not confessed that *Numa* was borne of the SABYNES, which they saye are descended from the LACEDÆMONIANS. So it falleth out very hard to agree certainly of the time when *Numa* was, and chiefly for suche as will followe the rolle or table of those, which from Olympiades to Olympiades haue wonne the pryses of games Olympicall: considering the rolle or table that they haue at this present, was very lately published by one *Hippias* an *Elian*, who deliuereth no reason or argument of necessitie, why it should be taken for an vndoubted trothe, which he in that sorte hath gathered. Yet we will not leaue to put in writing those things worthie C

Pythagoras the seconde, a Spartan borne, taught Numa, at Rome.

thie

A thie of memorie, which we could gather by any meanes of king *Numa*, beginning at that place which we thought to be meeteſt. It was nowe ſithence ROME was buylt, ſeuen and thirtie yeres (for ſo long time raigned *Romulus*) when *Romulus* the fifte of the moneth of Iuly (which they call the Nones of the goates) made a ſolemne ſacrifice without the cittie, neere to a certaine place commonly called, the goate marſhe. As all the whole Senate, with the moſt parte of the people were preſent at this ſacrifice, ſodainely there roſe in the ayer a very great tempeſt, and a maruelous darcke thicke clowde, which fell on the earthe with ſuche boyſterous windes, ſtormes, lightnings, and thunder: that the poore common people being affrayed of ſo ſore a tempeſt, diſperſed them ſelues ſodainely, running here and there for ſuccour, and therewithall king *Romulus* vaniſhed awaye in ſuche ſorte, that he was neuer after ſeene aliue nor B dead. This brought the Senatours, and noble men whom they called *Patricians*, into great ſuſpition. And there ranne a fowle tale among the common people, howe they had a long time borne very impaciently to be ſubiects to a King, bicauſe them ſelues would haue had and taken vpon them ſome ſoueraine authoritie, and that for this cauſe they had killed king *Romulus*. Adding ſomewhat more vnto it, howe a litle before he had vſed them more roughely, and commaũded them more ſtraightly then he was wont or accuſtomed. Neuertheles they found the meanes to quenche all theſe bruites and murmurings, by doing diuine honour and ſacrifice vnto him, as one not dead, but paſſed to a better life. To confirme this, one of the nobleſt men among them called *Proclus* came in, and by othe affirmed before all the people, that he ſawe *Romulus* aſcending vp into heauen, armed at all peces, and that he heard a voyce ſaye: C from thenceforth call him *Quirinus*. This being thus appeaſed, there ſprange vp another trouble, to knowe whom they ſhould chooſe in his place. For the ſtraungers which were come then from other places to dwell in ROME, were not yet throughly ioyned to the naturall borne ROMAINES: in ſo muche, as the common people dyd not only wauer, and ſtagger vp and down in opinion, but the Senatours alſo (that were many & of diuers nations) did enter into a ſuſpition one of another. Theſe things notwithſtãding they all agreed in this, that of neceſſitie they muſt chooſe a King: howbeit in the reſt they differed much, not only whom they ſhould chooſe, but alſo of what nation he ſhould be. For thoſe which were the firſt founders and buylders of the cittie of ROME with *Romulus*, could in no wiſe abide, nor ſuffer, that the SABYNES (to whom they had diuided parte of their landes, and a moytie of their cittie) ſhould attempt D and preſume to commaund them, whom they dyd receyue and aſſociate into their company and ſelowſhippe. The SABYNES alledged on thother ſide for them, a good reaſon, and ſuch as caried great probabilitie. Which was, that neuer ſence the death of their king *Tatius*, they neither had in any thing diſobeyed nor diſquieted king *Romulus*, but had ſuffered him to raigne peaceably: and therefore *Romulus* being nowe deceaſed, reaſon would that the newe King ſhould be choſen of their nation. And that albeit the ROMAINES had receyued them into their cittie, they could not ſay therefore, that in time of this aſſociation, they were leſſe to be reckoned of in any thing, than them ſelues. Further they added, that in ioyning with them, the ROMAINES had doubly increaſed their might and power, and had made a bodie of a people, which deſerued the honour and title of a cittie. Theſe were the cauſes of their contention. But E to preuent that of this contention there might growe no confuſion in the cittie, if it ſhould remaine without an head to commaund: the Senatours which were a hundred and fiftie in number, gaue counſell that euery one of them by turnes, one after another, ſhould carie the royall ſtate of the King, and all the ſhowes and ornaments of his maieſtie, and ſhould doe the ordinarie ſacrifices of the King, and diſpatche all cauſes ſixe howers in the daye, and ſixe howers in the night, as the King before had vſed. Thus they thought it beſt to deuide the rule, that one might haue aſmuch power as the other, aſwell in reſpect of them ſelues, as alſo for regarde of the people. For they imagined, that the chaunging and remouing thus of this regall dignitie, and paſſing it from man to man, would clene take awaye enuie among them, and make euery of them to rule temperately, and vprightly ſee, that in one, and the ſelfe ſame daye F and night, euery of them ſhould be a King and priuate perſone alſo. The ROMAINES call this manner of regiment in vacation, *Interregnum*: as you would ſaye, rule for the time. Nowe albeit their gouernment was very modeſt and ciuill, yet they could not for all that

The death of Romulus.

In the life of Romulus he is named Proculus. f.

Diſſention at Rome about chooſing of their King.

Liuie ſayeth but a hundred. Dionyſius 200.

Plutarch in the life of Romulus agreeth with Dionyſius.

Interregnum.

keepe themſelues from falling into the ſuſpition, and ſlaunder of the people: who gaue it A
out ſtraight, that this was a fine deuiſe of theirs, to chaunge by this meanes the rule of the
Realme into a fewe noble mens handes, to the ende that the whole authoritie and gouern-
ment of all publicke cauſes, ſhould remaine ſtill in them ſelues, bicauſe it grieued them to be
ſubiect to a King. And in the ende, the two partes of the cittie came to this agreement: that
the one parte ſhould chooſe one of the bodie of the other, to be the King. This courſe they li-
ked very well, aſwell for the pacification of preſent ſturre and diſſention amongeſt them ſel-
ues, as for procuring equalitie of affection, and ſturring vp a likenes of goodwill in the King
that thus indifferently ſhould be choſen: whereby he ſhould loue the one parte for that they
had choſen him, and likewiſe the other parte for that he was of their nation. The SABYNES
were the firſt, which referred the election to the ROMAINES choyſe: and the ROMAINES B
thought it better to chuſe one of the nation of the SABYNES, then to haue a ROMAINE cho-
ſen by the SABYNES. After they had conſulted, they determined amongeſt them ſelues: and
Numa choſen King. did chooſe *Numa Pompilius* one of the bodye of the SABYNES to be King, who was none of
the number of them which came to dwell at ROME, howbeit he was a man ſo famous for his
vertue, that the SABYNES ſo ſoone as they named him, did receyue him more willingly, then
they who had choſen him. After they had thus publiſhed their election, the firſt and chiefeſt
perſones of the one & the other ſide, were choſen out to goe vnto him. Now *Numa Pompilius*
Numa borne in the cittie of Cures. was borne in one of the chiefeſt and beſt citties which the SABYNES had, called *Cures*, where-
Quirites why ſo called. upon the ROMAINES, and their fellowes the SABYNES, were called afterwardes *Quirites*, and
he was the ſonne of *Pomponius* a noble man, the youngeſt of foure brethern: being by the ſe- C
cret worcking of the goddes, borne on the very daye, on the which ROME was firſt founded
by *Romulus*, which was the one and twenty daye of Aprill. This man being naturally geuen
and inclined vnto all vertue, did yet increaſe the ſame, by ſtudie, and all kynde of good diſci-
The life and manners of Numa before his raigne. pline: and by the exerciſe thereof, and of true pacience, and right philoſophie, he did mar-
uelouſly adorne him ſelfe and his manners. For he did not only clere his ſoule, and minde, of
all paſſions and vices commonly vſed in the worlde: but he conquered in him ſelfe all heates,
violence, & couetouſnes. And would neither ſeeke nor vſurpe, that which was an other mans,
a thing at that time honoured among the moſt barbarous people: but thought that to be the
true, and right victorie in man, firſt to conquer and commaund him ſelfe by iudgement & rea-
ſon, & then to ſubdue all couetouſnes & greedines. Hauing therfore this opinion, he would in D
no wiſe haue in his houſe any ſuperfluity or finenes. He became to euery man that would em-
ploye him (aſwell ſtraunger as his owne countrie man) a wiſe coũſaillour, & an vpright iudge.
He beſtowed his leyſure, not to followe his owne delight, or to gather goods together: but to
ſerue the goddes, & to behold their celeſtiall nature and power, as much as mans reaſon & vn-
derſtãding could cõprehend. Thereby he got ſo great a name & reputation, that *Tatius* (which
Tatia the wife of Numa. was king of ROME with *Romulus*) hauing but one onely daughter called *Tatia*, made him his
ſonne in law. Howbeit this mariage put him in no ſuch iolity, that he would dwel at ROME with
his father in lawe, but rather kept at home at his own houſe in the countrie of the SABYNES,
there to ſerue & cheriſhe his olde father with his wife *Tatia*: who for her parte alſo liked better,
to liue quietly with her husbãd being a priuate mã, then to goe to ROME where ſhe might haue E
liued in much honour and glorie, by meanes of the King her father. She died as it is reported,
13. yeres after ſhe was maried. After her deathe, *Numa* leauing to dwell in the cittie, was better
contẽted to liue in the country alone, & ſolitarie, & gaue him ſelf to walke much in the fields &
woddes conſecrated to the godds, as one deſirous to leade alone life, farre from the cõpanie of
men. Wherupon was raiſed (in my opiniõ) that which is ſpoken of him, & of the goddeſſe *Ege-*
ria. That it was not for any ſtraungenes, or melancholines of nature, that *Numa* withdrew him
ſelf from the cõuerſation & cõpany of men, but bicauſe he had found another more honorable
Numa conuerſant with the goddeſſe Egeria. & holy ſociety of the *Nymphe*, & goddeſſe *Egeria*, who had done him, as they ſaye, that honour,
as to make him her husbãd: with whõ as his beloued darling it is ſayed he enioyed happy dayes,
& by dayly frequenting of her company, he was inſpired with the loue & knowledge of all ce- F
leſtiall things. Surely, theſe deuiſes are much like vnto certain old fables of the *Phrygiãs*, which
they hauing learned from the father to the ſonne, doe loue to tell of one *Atis*: of the *Bithynians*,

of one

A of one *Herodotus*: of the ARCADIANS, of one *Endymion*: and of many other ſuch like men, who in their liues were taken for ſayntes, and beloued of the goddes. Notwithſtanding, it is likely, that the goddes loue neither birdes, nor horſe, but men, and haue ſometimes a liking to be familliar with perfect good men, and doe not diſdaine ſometime the conuerſation of ſuche as be holye, religious, and deuoute. But to beleeue the goddes haue carnall knowledge, and doe delight in the outward beawtie of creatures, that ſeemeth to carie a very harde beliefe. Yet the wiſe EGYPTIANS thincke it probable enough and likely, that the ſpirite of the goddes hath geuen originall of generation to women, and doe beget fruite of their bodies: howbeit they holde that a man can haue no corporall companie with any diuine nature. Wherein they doe not cõſider, that euery thing that ioyneth together, doth deliuer againe a like ſubſtaũce, to that
B wherewith it was ioyned. This notwithſtanding, it is mete we ſhould beleeue the godds beare good will to men, and that of it doth ſpring their loue, whereby men ſaye the goddes loue thoſe whoſe manners they purifie, and inſpire with vertue. And they doe not offende, which fayne that *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus*, were ſometimes the louers of *Apollo*, and alſo *Hippolytus* the SICYONIAN: of whom they reporte, that euer when he paſſed ouer the arme of the ſea which lieth betweene the citties of SICYONA, and of CIRRHA, the god which knewe he came, reioyced, and cauſed *Pythia* the propheteſſe to pronounce theſe heroycall verſes,

Goddes familiar with men.

I knowue full vvell, my deare Hippolytus,
returnes by ſea, my minde diuineth thus.

VVho are beloued of the goddes.

It is ſayd alſo that *Pan* was in loue with *Pindarus* and his verſes, and that the goddes honored
C the poets *Heſiodus*, & *Archilocus*, after their death by the *Muſes*. They ſaye moreouer, that *Æſculapius* laye with *Sophocles* in his life time, and at this daye they doe yet ſhowe many tokens thereof: and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honorably buried. Nowe if they graunte, that ſuch things maye be true: how can we refuſe to beleeue, that ſome goddes haue bene familliar with *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaſtres*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and ſuch other like perſonages, which haue gouerned kingdomes, & ſtabliſhed common weales? and it is not vnlike that the goddes in deede dyd company with them, to inſpire and teache them many notable things, and that they did drawe neere vnto theſe Poets, & players of the harpe, that made and played many dolefull and ioy full ditties, at the leaſt for their ſporte and pleaſure onely, if euer they came neere them. Neuertheles if any man be of other opinion, the waye is open and
D large as *Bacchylides* ſayed, to thincke and ſaye as he luſt. For my ſelfe I doe finde, that which is written of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other ſuche perſones, not to be without likelyhood and probabilitie: who hauing to gouerne rude, churliſhe, & ſtiffe necked people, and purpoſing to bring in ſtraunge nouelties into the gouernments of their countries, did fayne wiſely to haue conference with the godds, conſidering this fayning fell to be profitable & beneficiall to thoſe them ſelues, whom they made to beleeue the ſame. But to returne to our hiſtorie. *Numa* was fourty yeres olde, when the ambaſſadours of ROME were ſent to preſent the Kingdome vnto him, & to intreate him to accept thereof. *Proclus*, and *Veleſus*, were the ambaſſadours that were ſent. One
E of the which the people looked ſhould haue bene choſen for King, bicauſe thoſe of *Romulus* ſide, did fauour muche *Proclus*: and thoſe of *Tatius* parte fauored *Veleſus*. Nowe they vſed no long ſpeache vnto him, bicauſe they thought he would haue bene glad of ſuche a great good fortune. But contrarely it was in deede a very hard thing, & required great perſuaſions, & much intreatie, to moue a man which had allwayes liued quietly, & at eaſe, to accept the regiment of a cittie, which as a man would ſaye, had bene rayſed vp and growen by warres, and martiall dedes. Wherfore he aunſwered them in the preſence of his father, and one other of his kinſemen called *Martius* in this ſorte. Chaunge & alteration of mans life is euer daungerous: but for him that lacketh nothing neceſſarie, nor hath cauſe to cõplaine of his preſent ſtate, it is a great follie to leaue his olde acquainted trade of life, & to enter into another newe and vnknowen, if there were no other but this only reſpect: that he leaueth a certaintie, to venter vpon an vncertainty. Howbeit there is further matter in this, that the daũgers & perills of this kingdom which
F they offer me, are not altogether vncertain, if we wil looke backe what happened vnto *Romulus*. Who was not vnſuſpected to haue layed waite, to haue had *Tatius* his fellow & cõpanion murdered: & now after *Romulus* death, the Senatours ſelues are miſtruſted to haue killed him on the

Proclus and Veleſus ambaſſadours to offer Numa the kingdom.

The oration of Numa to the abaſſadours refuſing to be King.

other ſide by treaſon. And yet they ſaye it, and ſinge it euery where: that *Romulus* was the ſonne A
of a god, that at his birthe he was miraculouſly preſerued, and afterwardes he was as incredi-
blie brought vp. Whereas for my owne parte, I doe confeſſe, I was begotten by a mortall man,
and was foſtered, brought vp, and taught by men as you know: and theſe fewe qualities which
they prayſe & commend in me, are conditions farre vnmete for a man that is to raigne. I euer
loued a ſolitarie life, quiet and ſtudie, and did exempt my ſelfe from worldly cauſes. All my life
time I haue ſought and loued peace aboue all things, and neuer had to doe with any warres.
My conuerſation hath bene to companie with men, which meete only to ſerue & honour the
goddes, or to laughe and be merie one with another, or els to ſpende their time in their priuate
affayers, or otherwiſe ſometime to attend their paſtures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas
Romulus (my ROMAINE lordes) hath left you many warres begonne, which peraduenture you B
could be contented to ſpare: yet now to mainteine the ſame, your citie had neede of a martiall
King, actiue, & ſtrong of bodye. Your people moreouer, through long cuſtome, and the great
increaſe they are geuen vnto by feates of armes, deſire nought els perhappes but warres: and
it is plainely ſeene, they ſeeke ſtill to growe, and commaund their neighbours. So that if there
were no other conſideration in it, yet were it a mere mockerie for me, to goe to teache a cittie
at this preſent to ſerue the goddes, to loue iuſtice, to hate warres, and to flye violence: when
it rather hath neede of a conquering captaine, then of a peaceable King. Theſe and ſuche other
like reaſons and perſuaſions *Numa* alleaged, to diſcharge him ſelfe of the Kingdome which they
offred him. Howbeit the ambaſſadours of the ROMAINES moſt humbly beſought and prayed
him with all inſtance poſſible, that he would not be the cauſe of another newe ſturre, and com- C
motion among them, ſeeing both partes in the cittie haue geuen their conſent and liking to
him alone, and none other to be their King. Moreouer, when the ambaſſadours had left him
vpon this ſute, his father, and *Martius* his kinſeman, beganne alſo priuately to perſwade him,
that he ſhould not refuſe ſo good and godly an offer. And albeit he was contented with his
preſent ſtate, and deſired to be no richer than he was, nor coueted no princely honour nor
glorie, bicauſe he ſought only moſt famous vertue: yet he muſt needes thincke, that to rule
well, was to doe the goddes good ſeruice, whoſe will it was to employe the iuſtice they knewe
in him, and not to ſuffer it to be idle. Refuſe not therefore (q; they) this royall dignitie, which to
a graue and wiſe man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable workes and fruites.
There you maye doe noble ſeruice to the godds, to humble the heartes of theſe martiall peo- D
ple, and to bring them to be holy and religious: for they readely turne, and eaſely conforme
them ſelues vnto the nature of their prince. They dearely loued *Tatius*, although he was a
ſtraunger: they haue conſecrated a memorie to *Romulus* with diuine honours, which they
make vnto him at this daye. And it maye be, that the people ſeeing them ſelues conquerers,
will be full enough of warres: and the ROMAINES being nowe full of ſpoyles & triumphes,
will be glad to haue a gentle prince, and one that loueth iuſtice, that they maye thenceforth
liue in peace, vnder good and holy lawes. And yet if it be otherwiſe, that their hartes be ſtill
full of heate and furie to fight: is it not better to turne this their deſire to make warres ſome
other waye, when a man hathe the bridle in his owne handes to doe it, and to be a meane in
the meane time to ioyne the countrie, and all the nation of the SABYNES, in perpetuall loue E
and amitie, with ſo mighty and floriſhing a cittie? beſides all theſe perſuaſions and reaſons,
there were many ſignes alſo (as they ſaye) which promiſed him good lucke, together with
the earneſt affection and liking of his owne countrie cittizens. Who, ſo ſoone as they vnder-
ſtoode the coming, and commiſſion of the ambaſſadours of ROME, they importunately deſired
him to goe thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdome: that he might more ſtraight-
ly vnite and incorporate them together with the ROMAINES. Whereupon, *Numa* accepted
the Kingdome. Then after he had done ſacrifice to the goddes, he ſet forwardes on his iour-
ney towardes ROME: where the people and Senate went out to meete him, with a wonder-
full deſire to ſee him. The women at his entrie, went bleſſing of him, and ſinging of his
prayſes. They dyd ſacrifice for him, in all the temples of the goddes. There was neither F
man nor woman but ſeemed to be as ioyfull and glad: as if a newe Realme, and not a newe
Kinge, had bene come to the cittie of ROME. Thus was he brought with this open ioye,

Numa beginneth his kingdome with ſeruice of the goddes.

and

A and reioycing, vnto the market place, where one of the Senatours, which at that time was regent, called *Spurius Vettius*, made them pronounce his open election: and so by one consent he was chosen King, with all the voyces of the people. Then were brought vnto him the tokens of honour and dignitie of the King. But he him selfe commaunded they should be stayed a while, saying: He must first be confirmed King by the goddes. Then he tooke the wise men & priests, with whom he went vp into the Capitoll, which that time was yet called mounte *Tarpeian*. And there, the chiefest of the soothesayers called *Augures*, turned him towardes the southe, hauing his face couered with a veyle, and stoode behinde him, laying his right hande vpon his heade, and praying to the goddes that it would please them to declare their willes by flying of birdes, or some other token concerning this election: and so the soothesayer cast his eyes all

Numa was consecrated by the Augures.

B about, as farre as he could possiblie discerne. During all this time there was a maruelous silence in the market place, although then an infinite number of people were assembled there together, attending with great deuotion what the issue of this diuination would be: vntill there appeared vnto them on the right hande, good and lucky birdes, which did confirme the election. Then *Numa* putting on his regall robes, came downe from mounte *Tarpeian*, into the market place, where all the people receyued him with wonderfull showtes of ioye, as a man the most holy, and best beloued of the goddes that they could haue chosen. So hauing taken the royall seate of the Kingdome, his first acte was this. That he discharged the garde of the three hundred souldiers, which *Romulus* had allwayes about his persone, called *Celeres*: saying,

The garde of Celeres discharged by Numa.

he would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be King ouer people, which

C should mistrust him. His second acte was, that he did adde to the two priests of *Iupiter* & *Mars*, a thirde, in the honour of *Romulus*, who was called *Flamen Quirinalis*. For the auncient ROMAINES also called their priests, instituted in the olde time, *Flamines*, by reason of certaine litle narrowe hattes which they did weare on their heades, as if they had called them *Pilamines*: for *Pilos* in Greeke signifieth a hatte. And at that time (as they saye) there were many moe Greeke wordes mingled with the Latine, then there are at this daye. For they called the mantells the Kings did weare *Lænas*. And *Iuba* sayeth that it is the very same which the GRECIANS call *Chlænas*, and that the younge boye which was a seruaunte in the temple of *Iupiter*, was called *Camillus*, as some of the GRECIANS doe yet call the god *Mercurie*, bicause he is seruaunt of the godds. Now *Numa* hauing done these things at his first entrie into his Kingdome, still to winne

Flamen Quirinalis instituted of Numa.

D further fauour and goodwill of the people: beganne immediately to frame his cittizens to a certaine ciuilitie, being as iron wrought to softenes, and brought them from their violent and warlike desires, to temperate and ciuill manners. For out of doubt, ROME was properly that, which *Plato* ascribeth to a cittie full of trouble and pryde. For, first it was founded by the most coragious and warlike men of the worlde, which from all partes were gathered there together, in a most desperate boldnes: and afterwards it increased, and grewe strong, by armes and continuall warres, like as pyles driuen into the grounde, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and sticke the faster. Wherefore *Numa* iudging it no small nor light enterprise, to plucke downe the hawty stomacks of so fierce and violent a people, and to frame them vnto a sobre and quiet life: dyd seeme to worcke it by meanes of the goddes, with drawing

Numa inducth ciuill & quiet life. Plato de Rep. lib. 2.

E them on thereto by litle and litle, and pacifying of their whotte and fierce corages to fight, with sacrifices, feastes, dauncings, and common processions, wherein he celebrated euer him selfe. In the which together with their deuotion, there was mingled nowe and then, pastime and pleasure: and sometimes he layed the terrour and feare of the goddes before their eyes, making them beleeue that he had seene straunge visions, or that he had heard voyces, by which the goddes dyd threaten them with some great troubles and plagues, allwayes to pull downe and humble their heartes, vnto the feare of the goddes. This was the cause why they thought afterwardes that he had learned his wisdome of *Pythagoras* the philosopher: bicause the greatest parte of the philosophie of the one, and of the gouernment of the other, consisted in suche ceremonies, and diuine studies. They reporte also that *Numa* dyd put on

Numa and Pythagoras institutions muche a like.

F the outwarde showe and semblaunce of *Pythagoras* holines, as following his intention and example. For *Pythagoras* as they saye, made an eagle so tame and gentle, that she would stoupe, and come downe to him by certaine voyces, as she flewe in the ayer ouer his head. And that

passing through the assembly of the games Olympicall, he shewed her thighe of golde, and many other prety feates and deedes they tell of, which seemed to be wonderfull, and for which *Timon Phliasian* hath written these verses of him: A

Pythagoras vvhich loued to dvvell in dignitie,
and had an harte to glorie bent, and past in pollecie,
Muche like a man vvhich sought, by charming to enchaunte,
did vse this arte, to vvinne mens mindes, vvhich vnto him did haunte.
His graue and pleasaunt tongue, in sugred speache did flovvve,
vvhereby he drevve most mindes of men, to bent of his ovvne bovvve.

Euen so the fayned fable of *Numa*, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the loue of a goddesse, or some *Nymphe* of the mountaine: with whom he seemed to haue certaine secret B meetings and talke, whereof we haue spoken before. And it is sayed he muche frequented the Muses in the woddes. For he would saye, he had the most parte of his reuelations of the Muses, and he taught the ROMAINES to reuerence one of them aboue all the rest, who was called *Tacita*, as ye would saye, ladye silence. It seemeth he inuented this, after the example of *Pythagoras*, who did so specially commaund, and recomend silence vnto his schollers. Againe, if we consider what *Numa* ordeined concerning images, and the representation of the goddes, it is alltogether agreable vnto the doctrine of *Pythagoras*: who thought that god was neither sensible, nor mortall, but inuisible, incorruptible, and only intelligible. And *Numa* dyd forbid the ROMAINES also to beleeue, that god had euer forme, or likenes of beast or man. So that in those former times, there was in ROME no image of god, either painted or grauen: and it was C from the beginning a hundred three score & tenne yeres, that they had buylt temples & chappels vnto the godds in ROME, and yet there was neither picture nor image of god within them. For they tooke it at the first for a sacriledge, to present heauenly things by earthely formes: seeing we cannot possibly any waye attaine to the knowledge of god, but in minde and vnderstanding. The very sacrifices which *Numa* ordeined, were altogether agreable, & like vnto the manner of seruing of the goddes, which the *Pythagorians* vsed. For in their sacrifices they spilt not the bloude, but they did theirs commonly, with a litle meale, a litle sheading of wine and milke, and with suche other light things. Suche as affirme that those two men did much company and were familliar together, doe laye further proofes & arguments for the same. The first D is this: That the ROMAINES did make *Pythagoras* a free man of the cittie of ROME, as *Epicharmus* the Comicall poet an auncient writer (and sometimes one of *Pythagoras* schollers) sayeth in a booke he wrote & dedicated vnto *Antenor*. The other proofe is: That *Numa* hauing had foure children, called one of them *Mamercus*, after *Pythagoras* sonnes name, from whom they saye is discended, the house of the *Æmylians*, which is the nobleste of the *Patricians*: for the King gaue him the surname of *Æmylius*, bicause of his sweete tongue and pleasaunt voyce. Furthermore, I my self haue heard saye many times in ROME, that the ROMAINES hauing receyued an oracle, which commaunded them to set vp images in their cittie, to the wisest and valliantest man that euer was amongest the GRECIANS: caused two statues of brasse to be set vp in their market place, the one of *Pythagoras*, and the other of *Alcibiades*. Howbeit to striue about this matter any further, seeing there are so many doubtes: me thincketh it were but vaine. Moreo- E uer, they attribute to *Numa*, the first erection of the colledge pontificall: and saye he him selfe was the first *Pontifex* that euer was. But touching the name of *Pontifex*, some will saye they were so called, bicause they chiefly were ordeined & appointed for the seruice of the almightie: for this worde *Potens* in the ROMAINE tongue, betokeneth mightie. Other thincke this name was geuen to them by their founders, as to exempt persones out of the worlde: who enioyned them to doe all the seruice and sacrifices to the goddes they could possibly, & yet notwithstanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most parte doe bring out another deriuation of this name, wherein me thinckes there is litle reason. As that they should be called *Pontifices*, bicause they had the charge of maintenaunce of the bridge. For that which the GRE- F CIANS call *Gephyran*, the LATINES call *Pontem*: that is, a bridge. And to saye truely, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the bishoppes: aswell as the keeping of the most holy

Numa worshipped Tacita one of the Muses.

Pythagoras taught his schollers to kepe silence.

Pythagoras opinion of God.

Numa forbad images of God.

Proofes for the conuersation of Numa and Pythagoras.

Numa instituteth Bishoppes.

Pontifices why so called.

and

A and vnchaungeable ceremonies. For the ROMAINES thought it not only a thing vnlawfull, but tooke it for a moſt damnable & wicked acte, to deſtroye or breake the bridge of wodde, which was only ioyned together (as they ſaye) with pinnes of wodde, & without any iron at all, by the commaundement of an olde oracle. But the ſtone bridge was buylt long time after the raigne of *Numa*, and in the time of the raigne of his nephewe *Martius*. Nowe the firſt and chiefeſt of theſe biſhoppes, which they call the great *Pontifex*, hath the place, authoritie, and dignitie of the highe prieſte and maſter, of their pontificall lawe: who ſhould be carefull, not only about all publicke ſacrifices and ceremonies, but alſo about ſuche as were priuate, and to ſee that no man priuately ſhould breake the auncient ceremonies, nor bring in any newe thing into religion, but rather euery man ſhould be taught by him, how, and after what ſorte he ſhould ſerue
B and honour the goddes. He alſo hath the keping of the holy virgines which they call *Veſtales*. For they doe geue *Numa* the firſt foundation and conſecrating of them, and the inſtitution alſo of keeping the immortall fire with honour and reuerence, which theſe virgines haue the charge of. Either for that he thought it meete to commit the ſubſtaunce of fire (being pure and cleane) vnto the cuſtodie of cleane and vncorrupt maydes: or els bicauſe he thought the nature of fire (which is barren, and bringeth forth nothing) was fitteſt, and moſt proper vnto virgines. For in GREECE, where they kept continuall fire likewiſe (as in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, and at ATHENS) the maydens doe not keepe the ſame, but olde women which are paſt mariage. And if this fire chaunce to faile, as they ſaye in ATHENS the holy lampe was put out in the time of the tyrannie of *Ariſtion*: and in the cittie of DELPHES it was put out,
C when the temple of *Apollo* was burnt by the MEDES: and at ROME alſo, in the time of the warres that the ROMAINES had againſt king *Mithridates*: and in the time of the ciuill warres, when altar, fire, and all were burnt and conſumed together: they ſaye that it muſt not be lighted againe with other common fire, but muſt be made a newe, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the ſunne, and that they doe in this manner. They haue a hollowe veſſell made of a pece of a triangle, hauing a corner right, and two ſides a like: ſo that from all partes of his compaſſe and circumference, it falleth into one pointe. Then they ſet this veſſell right againſt the beames of the ſunne, ſo that the bright ſunne beames come to aſſemble and gather together in the center of this veſſell, where they doe pearce the ayer ſo ſtrongely, that they ſet it a fire: & when they put to it any drye matter or ſubſtaunce, the fire taketh it ſtraight,
D bicauſe the beame of the ſunne, by meanes of the reuerberation, putteth that drye matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thincke that theſe *Veſtall* virgines keepe no other thing, but this fire, which neuer goeth out. Other ſaye, there are other holy thinges alſo, which no bodie maye lawfully ſee but they: whereof we haue written more largely in the life of *Camillus*, at the leaſt ſo much as maye be learned and tolde. The firſt maydens which were vowed and put into this order of religion by *Numa*, were (as they ſaye) *Gegania*, and *Verenia*: and after them, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*. Afterwardes king *Seruius* increaſed the number with two other, and that number of foure continueth vntill this daye. Their rule and order ſet downe by king *Numa* was this: that they ſhould vowe chaſtitie for the ſpace of thirtie yeres. In the firſt tenne yeres they learne what they haue to doe: the next tenne yeres following, they doe that which they haue
E learned: & the laſt tenne yeres, they teache young nouices. After they haue paſſed their thirtie yeres, they maye lawfully marie if they be diſpoſed, and take them to another manner of life, and leaue their religion. But as it is reported, there haue bene very fewe of them which haue taken this libertie, and fewer alſo which haue ioyed after they were profeſſed, but rather haue repented them ſelues, and liued euer after a very grieuous and ſorowfull life. This did ſo fraye the other *Veſtalls*, that they were better contented with their vowed chaſtitie: and ſo remained virgines, vntill they were olde, or els died. He gaue them alſo great priuiledges, and prerogatiues. As: to make their will and teſtament, in their fathers life time. To doe all things without any gardian or ouerſeer, as women which haue three children at a birth. When they goe abroade, they carie maces before them to honour them. And if by chaunce they meete
F any offendour in their waye, going to execution, they ſaue his life: howbeit the profeſſed *Veſtall* muſt affirme by othe, that ſhe met him vnwares, & not of ſet purpoſe. If any man preſume vnder their chayer, whereupō they are caried through the cittie, he ſhall die for it. Alſo when

The wodden bridge at Rome.

The highe biſhoppe.

The inſtitution of the Veſtall Nunnes.

The holy and immortal fire.

How the holy fire is drawen from the pure flame of the ſunne.

See the life of Camillus touching the Veſtall Nunnes.

The order appointed the Veſtalls by Numa.

The Veſtalls prerogatiues.

The punishment of the Vestall Nunnes.

they them selues doe any faulte, they are corrected by the great byshoppe, who somtimes doth A whippe them naked (according to the nature and qualitie of their offence) in a darcke place, & vnder a curtē. But she that hath deflowred her virginity, is buried quicke by one of the gates of the cittie, which they call *Collina* gate: where within the cittie there is a mount of earth of a good length, & with the LATINES is sayed to be raised. Vnder this forced mount, they make a litle hollowe vawte, and leaue a hole open, whereby one maye goe downe: and with in it there is set a litle bed, a burning lampe, and some vitells to susteine life withall. As a litle bread, a litle water, a litle milke, and a litle oyle, and that for honours sake: to the ende they would not be thought to famishe a bodie to deathe, which had bene consecrated by the most holy and deuoute ceremonies of the worlde. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter, which they couer strongely, and close it vp with thicke leather in suche sorte, that no bodie B canne so much as heare her voyce, & so they carie her thus shut vp through the market place. Euery one draweth backe, when they see this litter a farre of, and doe geue it place to passe by: & then follow it mourningly, with heauy lookes, & speake neuer a word. They doe nothing in the citie more fearefull to behold, then this: neither is there any daye wherein the people are more sorowful, then on such a daye. Then after she is come to the place of this vawte, the sergeants straight vnlose these fast bounde couerings: and the chiefe byshoppe after he hath made certen secret prayers vnto the godds, and lift his handes vp to heauen, taketh out of the litter, the condemned *Vestall* muffled vp close, and so putteth her vpon the ladder, which conueyeth her downe into the vawte. That done, he withdraweth, and all the priestes with him: and when the seely offendour is gone downe, they straight plucke vp the ladder, & cast aboun- C daunce of earthe in at the open hole, so that they fill it vp to the very toppe of the arche. And this is the punishment of the *Vestalls* which defile their virginitie. They thincke also it was *Numa* that buylt the round temple of the goddesse *Vesta*, in which is kept the euerlasting fire: meaning to represent not the forme of the earth, which they saye is *Vesta*, but the figure of the whole world, in the middest whereof (according to the *Pythagorians* opinion) remaineth the proper seate and abiding place of fire, which they call *Vesta*, and name it the vnitie. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is vnmoueable, not yet that it is set in the middest of the world, neither that the heauen goeth about it: but saye to the contratie, that the earth hanged in the ayer about the fire, as about the center thereof. Neither will they graunte, that the earth is one of the first and chiefest partes of the world: as *Plato* helde opinion in that age, that the D earthe was in another place then in the very middest, and that the center of the world, as the most honorablest place, did apperteine to some other of more worthy substaunce than the earthe. Furthermore, the byshoppes office was to show those that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and customes of buriall: whom *Numa* taught not to beleeue that there was any corruption or dishonesty in burialles, but rather it was to worshippe & honour the godds of the earthe, with vsuall and honorable ceremonies, as those which after their death receyue the chiefest seruice of vs that they canne. But aboue all other in burialles, they did specially honour the goddesse called *Libitina*, that is sayed, the chiefe gouernour and preseruer of the rites of the dead: or be it *Proserpina*, or *Venus*, as the most learned men among the ROMAINES doe iudge, who not without cause doe attribute the order of the beginning and ende E of mans life, to one self god, & power diuine. *Numa* ordained also, how long time euery bodie should mourne in blackes. And for a childe from three yeres to tenne yeres of age, that died: he ordeined they should mourne no more monethes then it had liued yeres, and not to adde a daye more. For he commaunded, that the longest time of mourning should be but then moneths onely, and so long time at the least he willed women should remaine widdowes, after the decease of their husbands: or els she that would marie within that time, was bounde by his order to sacrifice a whole bullocke. *Numa* also erected many other orders of priestes: of two sortes whereof I will only make mention. The one shalbe the order of the SALII, and the other of the FECIALES: for me thinckes, both the one and the other doth manifestly showe the great holines, and singular deuotion which he had in him. The FECIALES are F properly those, which the GRECIANS call IRENOPHYLACES, as who would saye, peacekeepers. And in my iudgement, they had their right name according to their office, bicause they

The temple of Vesta representeth the figure of the worlde. Where the fire abideth.

The manner of buriall.

Libitina honored at funeralls.

The time of mourning.

Salii, Fecialer. Pluta. Probl. 62. Gell. lib. 16. c. 4.

Fecialer called Irenophylaces.

dyd

A did pacifie quarells with reaſon by waye of order, and did not ſuffer (as much as in them laye) that any matter ſhould be tried by violence, vntill they were paſt all hope of any peace. For the GRECIANS call it properly *Irenen*, when both parties agree, and decide their controuerſie with reaſon, and not with ſworde. Euen ſo thoſe which the ROMAINES called the *Fecziales*, went many times in perſone to thoſe that dyd the ROMAINES iniurie, and ſought to perſuade them with good reaſon, to keepe promiſe with the ROMAINES, and to offer them no wrong. But if they would not yeld to reaſon, whom they ſought to perſuade: then they called the goddes to the witnes thereof, and prayed them, that if they dyd not moſt earneſtly incenſe the ROMAINES, to purſue that moſt iuſtely apperteined vnto their right, that all euills and miſchieues of the warres might fall vpon them ſelues, and on their countrie. This done, they dyd

Irenen: a quarell pacified with reaſon, without the ſword.

B threaten open warres againſt ſuch enemies. And if the FECIALES would not cõſent to open warres, and dyd happen to ſpeake againſt them: it was not lawfull in that caſe, neither for priuate perſone, nor for the King him ſelfe to make any warres. But like a iuſt prince, he muſt haue leaue by their ſufferance to make the warres. Then dyd he cõſider, & conſult, by what meanes he might beſt procure, & proſecute the ſame. Concerning this matter, they iudge that the ill happe which came to the ROMAINES, when the cittie of ROME was taken and ſacked by the GAVLES, chaunced iuſtely for breaking of this holy inſtitution. For at that time, the barbarous people beſieged the cittie of the CLVSINIANS: and *Fabius Ambuſtus* was ſent ambaſſadour vnto them, to ſee if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gaue him an ill aunſwer: whereupon *Fabius* thincking his embaſie had bene ended, and being ſom-

C what whotte, and raſhe in defence of the CLVSINIANS, gaue defiaunce to the valliantеſt GAVLE there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune fauored him in this chalẽge: for he ſlew the GAVLE, and ſtripped him in the fielde. The GAVLES ſeeing their man ſlayne, ſent immediately an heraulde to ROME, to accuſe *Fabius*, howe againſt all right and reaſon, he beganne warres with them, without any open proclamation made before. The FECIALES being then conſulted with thereabout, did declare, he ought to be deliuered into the handes of the GAVLES, as one that had broken the lawe of armes, & had deſerued it: but he made friends to the people which fauored him very much, & by their meanes eſcaped his deliuerie, and puniſhment. Neuerthles, the GAVLES within ſhorte time after, came before ROME with all their po-

Rome taken by the Gaules. See Camillus life.

wer: which they tooke, ſacked, and burnt euery whit, ſauing the Capitoll, as we haue written

D more amplie in the life of *Camillus*. Now concerning the Prieſtes that were called *Salij*, they ſaye he dyd inſtitute them vpon this occaſion. In the eight yere of his reigne, there came a peſtilent diſeaſe through all ITALIE, and at the length it crept alſo into ROME. Whereat euery man being greatly affrayed, and diſcoraged, they ſaye there fell from heauen a target of copper, which lighted betweene the handes of *Numa*. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which the King him ſelfe affirmed he heard, of the *Nymphe Egeria*, and the *Muſes*. To wit, that this target was ſent from heauen, for the health and preſeruation of the cittie: and therefore he ſhould keepe it carefully, and cauſe eleuen other to be caſt and made, all like vnto the ſame in facion and greatnes, to the ende, that if any would enterpriſe to ſteale it, he ſhould not tell which of them to take for the right target. Moreouer he ſaid, he was commaunded to conſe-

The inſtitution of the Salij.

A target from heauen.

E crate the place to the *Muſes* (in the which he dyd oftentimes companie with them) and alſo the fieldes which were neere thereabouts: and likewiſe to geue the fountaine that ſprange in that place, vnto the *Veſtalls* profeſſed, that euery daye they might drawe water at that well, to waſhe the ſanctuarie of their temple. The ſucceſſe hereof proued his words true, for the ſicknes ceaſed incontinently. So he aſſembled all the chief craftes men then in ROME, to proue which of them would take vpõ him to make one like vnto that. Euery man deſpayred to performe it. Howbeit one called *Veturius Mamurius* (the excellenteſt workeman that was in thoſe dayes) dyd make them all ſo ſute like, that *Numa* him ſelfe dyd not knowe the firſt target, when they were all layed together. So he ordeined theſe prieſts *Salij*, to haue the cuſtodie of theſe targets, to ſee them ſafe kept. They were called *Salij*, not after the name of a SALIAN borne in SAMO-

Whereof they were called Salij.

F THRACIA, or in MANTINEA, as ſome haue vntruely alleaged, who firſt inuẽted the manner of dauncing all armed: but they were ſo called, of their facion and manner of dauncing, and leaping. For in the moneth of Marche, they goe skipping and leaping vp and downe the cittie,

with thoſe targetes on their armes, apparelled in red caſſockes without ſleues, and girded about with broade leather ſworde girdells, ſtudded with copper, hauing helmets of copper on their heads, & ſtriking vpon their targets with ſhorte daggers, which they carie in their hands. Moreouer, all their dauncing conſiſteth in mouing of their feete: for they handle them finely, making tornes aboue ground and beneath, with a ſodaine meaſure, & a maruelous force of agilitie. They call theſe targets *Ancylia*, bicauſe of their facion, which is not altogether compaſſe: for they are not all round as other cõmon targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the endes bowing in many foldes, and one ſo neere another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the GRECIANS call *Ancylon*. Or els they are ſo called, bicauſe *Ancon* ſignifieth an elbow, vpon which they carie them. All theſe deriuations are written in the hiſtorie of *Iuba*, who in any caſe will haue this word *Ancylia* to be drawen out of the Greeke tongue. And it maye be alſo they were ſo called, bicauſe the firſt came from aboue, which the GRECIANS call *Anecathen*: or els for healing the ſicke, which is called *Aceſis*. Or els for ceaſing of the drines, which in Greke is called, *Anchmon Lyſis*. Or for the ending of all diſeaſes and euills, for which cauſe the ATHENIANS call *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Anactas*: if they luſt to geue this word his deriuation from the Greeke tongue. Now the reward which *Mamurius* the goldſmithe had for the making of theſe targets was, that the *Sali* vnto this daye doe make mention of him, in their ſonge, which they ſinge going through the cittie, & dauncing of their daunce all armed. Howbeit ſome thincke they ſaye not *Veturius Mamurius*, but *veterem memoriam*, auncient memorie. But *Numa* after he had ordeined and inſtituted theſe orders of prieſts, built his palace neere vnto the temple of *Veſta*, which holdeth his name *Regia* at this daye, to ſaye, the Kings palace. In which he remained moſt part of his life, ſtudying either to ſacrifice to the goddes, or to teache the Prieſtes what they ſhould doe, or howe with them he ſhould beſt contẽplate all heauenly things. It is true that he had another houſe on the hill, which they call at this daye, *Quirinall*, the place whereof is yet to be ſeene. But in all theſe ſacrifices, ceremonies, and proceſſions of the Prieſtes, there were allwayes huſſhers that went before, crying to the people, kepe ſilence, and tend vpon diuine ſeruice. For they ſaye the *Pythagorians* thought it good, that men ſhould not worſhippe the godds, nor make prayers to them in paſſing by, or doing any other thing: but they thought it mete, that men ſhould of purpoſe goe out of their houſes, to ſerue & praye vnto them. Euen ſo king *Numa* thought it not meete, that his ſubiects ſhould come to ſee, and heare diuine ſeruice negligently, as it were for a facion, and only to be ryd of it, as heeding an other thing: but he would haue them ſet a ſide all other buſines, and employ their thoughts & harts only vpon the principall ſeruice of religion, & deuotion towards the godds. So that during ſeruice time, he would not haue heard any noiſe, any knocking, bouſing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in all artificers ſhoppes of occupation, whereof at this daye yet they ſee ſome ſignes, and tokens, remaining in their ſacrifices at ROME. For all the time the *Augure* beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any ſacrifice, the vergers crie alowde: *Hoc age*, which meaneth, tend this. And it is a warning to thoſe that are preſent, to call their wittes home, & to thincke on that which is in hand. Alſo there are many of his orders like the preceptes of the *Pythagorians*. For as they dyd warne men, not to ſit vpon a litle buſihell, not to cut fire with a ſword, not to looke behinde them when they goe abroade: to ſacrifice to the celeſtiall godds in an odde number, and to the goddes of the earth in an euen number, of which precepts, they would not haue the common people to haue any knowledge or vnderſtãding. Euen ſo there are many inſtitutions of *Numa*, the reaſons whereof are hidden and kept ſecret: as not to offer wine to the godds of the vine neuer cut, & not to ſacrifice vnto them without meale: & to turne a turne about when they doe reuerence to the godds, & to ſit down after they haue worſhipped them. And as touching the two firſt ordinances, it ſeemeth that by them he did recõmend clemẽcy, & humanity, as being a parte of the deuotion towards the godds. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make, that worſhippe the goddes: they ſaye it repreſenteth the turning which the element maketh by his mouing. But me thincketh it ſhould rather come of this: for that the tẽples being ſet to the eaſt, he that worſhippeth entring into the tẽple, ſheweth his backe to the Weſt, & for this cauſe turneth towardes that parte, & afterwards returneth againe towards god: doing the whole turne, & ending the conſummation

Ancylia, whereof ſo called.

Regia, the Kings palace.

The manner of the Romaines worſhipping of the goddes.

The Pythagorians opinion touching prayer.

Hoc age, a watcheword to tend diuine ſeruice.

The ſimilitude of Numa and Pythagoras preceps.

A ſummation of his prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before & behinde. Onles peraduenture that he ment ſecretly to ſignifie, & geue them to vnderſtande by this turning & chaũging of their looke, that which the EGYPTIANS figured by their wheels: in ſhowing therby, that theſe worldly things were neuer conſtant & in one ſtate. And therfore, that we ſhould take it thankfully, & paciẽtly beare it, in what ſorte ſoeuer it pleaſed god to chaunge or alter our life. And where he cõmaunded that they ſhould ſit after they had worſhipped god: they ſayed it was a token of a good hope vnto them that prayed, that their prayers ſhould be exalted, and that their goods ſhould remaine ſafe, & ſticke by thẽ. Other ſaye, that this eaſe & ſitting, is a ſeparating thẽ frõ doing: & therfore he would they ſhould ſit in the tẽples of the godds, to ſhew they had done that which they had in hãd before, to the end to take of the godds the beginning
B of another. And it maye well be alſo, that it was referred to the thing we ſpake of a litle before. That *Numa* would accuſtome his people, not to ſerue the godds, nor to ſpeake to them at all, as they paſſed by, or did any other thing, or were in haſte: but would haue them praye vnto the godds when they had time & leyſure, & all other buſines at that time ſet a parte. By this good inſtruction & training them vnto religion, the cittie of ROME by litle & litle came to be ſo tractable, & had the great power of king *Numa* in ſuch admiratiõ: that they tooke all to be as true as the goſpell that he ſpake, though it had no more likelyhood of trothe, then tales deuiſed of pleaſure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or vnpoſſible to him, if he would haue it. And for proofe hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he hauing bidden a great company of the cittizens of ROME to come & ſuppe with him, cauſed them to be ſerued with plaine groſſe
C meate, & in very poore & homely veſſell. And when they were ſet, and beganne to fall to their meate, he caſt out words ſodainely vnto them, how the goddeſſe with whom he accõpanied, was come to ſee him euen at that inſtant, & that ſodainely the hall was richely furniſhed, & the tables couered with all ſortes of excellent fine & delicate meates. Howbeit this farre paſſed all the vanity of lying, which is foũd written of him, about his ſpeaking with *Iupiter*. The hill Auẽtine was not at that time inhabited, nor incloſed within the walles of ROME, but was full of ſprings & ſhadowed groues, whether cõmonly repaired to ſolace them ſelues, the two godds, *Picus* & *Faunus*, which otherwiſe might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the *Titaniãs*: ſauing it is ſayed, that they went through all ITALIE, doing the like miracles & wõders in phiſycke, charmes & arte magike, which they reporte of thoſe the GRECIANS call *Idæes Dactyles*.
D There they ſaye that *Numa* tooke them both, hauing put into the ſpring both wine & honnie, where they vſed to drinke. Whẽ they ſaw that they were taken, they trãsformed thẽ ſelues into diuers forms, diſguiſing & disfiguring their naturall ſhape, into many terrible & feareful ſights to behold. Neuertheles in the end, pceiuing they were ſo faſt, as to eſcape there was no reckoning: they reuealed vnto him many things to come, & taught him the purifying againſt lightning & thunder, which they make yet at this daye with oniõs, heare, & pilchers. Other ſaye, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched *Iupiter* out of heauen, with their coniuring & magicke: whereat *Iupiter* being offended, aunſwered in choller, that he ſhould make it with heads. But *Numa* added ſtraight, of oniõs: *Iupiter* replied, of men. Then *Numa* asked him againe, to take a litle away the cruelty of the cõmaundement: What heares? *Iupiter* aunſwered, quicke
E hears. And *Numa* put to pilchers alſo. And it is reported that this was the goddeſſe *Egeria*, that taught *Numa* this ſubtiltie. This done, *Iupiter* returned appeaſed: by reaſon whereof the place was called *Ilicium*. For *Ileos* in the Greeke tongue ſignifieth appeaſed, & fauorable: & this purifying was afterwards made in that ſorte. Theſe tales not onely vayne, but full of mockerie alſo, doe ſhow vs yet plainely the zeale & deuotion men had in thoſe times towards the godds: vnto which *Numa* through cuſtome had wõne them. And as for *Numa* him ſelf, they ſaye that he ſo firmely put all his hope & confidẽce in the helpe of the godds: that one daye when he was told his enemies were in armes againſt him, he did but laugh at it, & aũſwered. And I doe ſacrifice. It is he (as ſome ſaye) that firſt built a temple to *Faith* & *Terme*: & which made the ROMAINES vnderſtand, that the moſt holy & greateſt othe they could make, was to ſweare by their faith,
F which they kepe yet at this daye. But *Terme*, which ſignifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or borders: vnto whom they doe ſacrifice, both publickly & priuately, vpon the limites of inheritaunces, & now they ſacrifice vnto him liue beaſts. Howbeit in old time they did ſacrifice vnto

By what means Numa made the Romaines quiet and gentle.

The wonders of Numa.

Numaes ſpeaking with Iupiter.

Picus. Faunus.

The purifying of thunder.

Ilicium, the name of the place.

Numa buylded temples to Faythe and Terme.

him without any bloude, through the wise institution of *Numa*: who declared & preached vnto A
them, that this god of bounds was syncere, & vpright, without bloud or murther, as he that is a
witnes of iustice, & a keper of peace. It was he, which in my opiniō, did first limit out the boūds
Numa made the bounds of the territorie of Rome. of the territorie of Rome: which *Romulus* would neuer doe, for feare least in bounding out his
owne, he should confesse that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding & mearing, to
him that will keepe it iustely: is a bond that brideleth power & desire. But to him that forceth
not to kepe it: it is a proofe to shew his iniustice. To saye truely, the territories of Rome had no
great bounds at the first beginning, & *Romulus* had got by cōquest the greatest parte of it, & *Numa*
did wholy deuide it vnto the nedie inhabitās to releue thē, & to bring them out of pouerty:
Numa aduaunceth tillage. (which carieth men hedlōg into mischief, & discourageth them to labour) to the end that plo-
wing vp the said lande, they should also plowe vp the weedes of their own barrēnes, to become B
ciuill & gentle. For there is no exercise nor occupation in the world, which so sodainely brin-
geth a man, to loue & desire quietnes, as doth husbādrie & tillage: & yet to defend a mans own,
there is in it corage & hardines to fight. But greedy desire, violētly to take from others, & vniu-
stely to occupie that is none of theirs, is neuer in right husbādmen. And therfore *Numa* hauing
brought in husbandrie amōgest his subiects, as a medecine & meane to make them loue quiet-
nes: was desirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble & gētle of
condition, then to increase them in riches. He deuided all the territorie of Rome into certen
parts which he called *Pagos*: as much to saye, as villages. And in euery one of them he ordeined
controllers & visiters, which should suruey all about: & he him self somtimes went abroade in
persone, cōiecturing by their labour the māners & nature of euery man. Such as he found di- C
ligent, he aduaunced them vnto honour, & gaue them countenaūce & authoritie: other which
he sawe slowthfull & negligent, by rebuking & reprouing of them, he made them amend. But
amongest all his ordinaunces which he made, one aboue all the rest caried the praise: and that
Numa deuided his people into sundrie occupatiōs. was, that he deuided his people into sundrie occupatiōs. For the cittie of Rome seemed yet to
be made of two nations, as we haue sayed before: and to speake more properly, it was made of
two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one: being altogether im-
possible to take away all factions, & to make there should be no quarrells nor contentions be-
twene both parts. Wherefore he considered, that when one will mingle two bodies or simples
together, which for their hardnes & cōtrarie natures cannot well suffer mixture: then he breaks
& beates them together, as small as may be. For, so being brought into a smaller & lesser pow- D
der, they would incorporate and agree the better. Euen so he thought it was best to deuide the
people also into many small partes: by meanes whereof they should be put into many parties,
which would more easely take away the first & the greatest parte, when it should be deuided &
separated thus into sundrie sorts. And this diuision he made by arts & occupatiōs: as minstrells,
goldsmiths, carpinters, diers, shoemakers, tawers, tāners, bell foūders, & pot makers, & so forth
through other craftes & occupations. So that he brought euery one of these into one bodie, &
cōpanie by it self: & ordeined vnto euery particular mysterie or crafte, their feasts, assemblies, &
seruices, which they should make vnto the godds, according to the dignitie & worthines of e-
Numa tooke away the factions of Romulus and Tatius. uery occupatiō. And by this meanes, he first tooke away all faction: that neither side sayed, nor
thought any more, those are Sabynes, these are Romaines, these are of *Tatius*, these are of *Ro-* E
mulus. Insomuch as this diuision was an incorporating, & an vniting of the whole together. A-
mong other his ordinaūces, they did much cōmend his reforming of the law, that gaue libertie
vnto fathers to sell their childrē. For he did except childrē already maried, so they were maried
with their fathers consent & goodwill: iudging it to be to cruell & ouer hard a thing, that a wo-
man who thought she had maried a free man, should finde her self to be the wife of a bond mā.
The ordinaunce of the moneths of Numaes institution. He begāne also to mende a litle the calender, not so exactly as he should haue done, nor yet al-
together ignorātly. For during the raigne of *Romulus*, they vsed the moneths cōfusedly, without
any order or reason, making some of them twenty dayes & lesse, and others fiue & thirtie dayes
& more, without knowing the differēce betwene the course of the sunne & the moone: & only
they obserued this rule, that there was three hūdred & three score dayes in the yere. But *Numa* F
Macrob. 1. Satyr. 13. considering the inequality stoode vpon eleuen dayes, for that the 12. reuolutiōs of the moone
are ronne in 300. fiftie & foure dayes, & the reuolution of the sunne, in 365. dayes, he doubled
the

A the 11. dayes, wherof he made a moneth: which he placed frō 2. yeres to 2. yeres, after the moneth of February, & the ROMAINES called this moneth put betwene, *Mercidinum*, which had 22. dayes. And this is the correctiō that *Numa* made, which since hath had a farre better amēdment. He did also chaunge the order of the moneths. For Marche which before was the first, he made it now the third: & Ianuary the first, which vnder *Romulus* was the 11. & February the 12. & last. Yet many are of opinion, that *Numa* added these two, Ianuary & February. For the ROMAINES at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere: as some of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their yere. And the ARCADIANS amongest the GRECIANS haue but foure moneths for their yere. The ACARNANIANS haue sixe to the yere. And the EGYPTIANS had first but one moneth to their yere: & afterwards they made foure moneths for their

The yere diuersely counted.

B yere. And this is the cause why they seeme (albeit they inhabite in a new coūtrie) to be neuertheles the auncientest people of the world: for that in their chronicles they reckon vp such infinite nūber of yeres, as those which counte the moneths for the yeres. And to proue this true, that the ROMAINES at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere, and not twelue: it is easely to be iudged by the name of the last, which they call at this daye Decēber. And that the moneth of Marche was also the first, maye be coniectured by this: for the fift moneth after that, is yet called *Quintilis*: the *6. Sextilis*, & so the other in order following the nūbers. For if Ianuary & February had then bene the first, of necessitie the moneth of Iuly, which they call *Quintilis*, must haue bene named Septēber: considering also that it is very likely, that the moneth which *Romulus* had dedicated vnto Mars, was also by him ordeined to be the first. The second was A-

C prill: so called of the name *Aphrodite*, that is to saye *Venus*, vnto whom they make open sacrifice in this moneth. And on the first daye of the same, women doe washe them selues, hauing a garland of myrtle vpon their heades. Howbeit some other saye, that it was not called after the name of *Aphrodite*, but it was only called *Aprilis*, bicause then is the chiefest force & strength of the spring, at which season the earth doth open, and the seedes of plants and erbes beginne to bud & showe forth, which the word it selfe doth signifie. The moneth following next after that, is called Maye: after the name of *Maia*, the mother of *Mercurie*, vnto whom the moneth is cōsecrated. The moneth of Iune is so called also, bicause of the qualitie of that season, which is as the youthe of the yere. Although some will saye, that the moneth of Maye was named of this word *Maiores*, which signifieth as much as the elders: and the moneth of Iune, of *Iuniores*,

Proaduētyre [illegible] in the Greke (ἀπὸ τῆς ἥβης) which is to saye, of the name of Iuno.

D which signifies the younger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *Octōber*, *Nouember*, & *December*. But *Quintilis*, was afterward called *Iulius*, of the name of *Iulius Cæsar*, who slew *Pompeius*. And *Sextilis* was named *Augustus*, *Octauius Cæsars* succession in the empire, who was also surnamed *Augustus*. It is true also that *Domitian* would they should call the two moneths following (which are *September* and *Octōber*) the one *Germanicus*, and the other *Domitianus*. But that helde not longe: for so soone as *Domitian* was killed, the moneths recouered their auncient names againe. The two last moneths only, haue euer cōtinued their names, without chaūging or altering. But of the two which *Numa* added, or at the least trāslated: the moneth of February doth signifie as much as purging, or at the least the deriuation of the word sowndeth neere it.

E In this moneth, they doe sacrifice of plantes, and doe celebrate the feast of the Lupercales, in which there are many things agreable, and like to the sacrifices made for purification. And the first, which is Ianuary, was called after the name of *Ianus*. Wherefore me thinckes that *Numa* tooke away the moneth of Marche frō the first place, & gaue it vnto Ianuary: bicause he would haue peace preferred before warre, & ciuill things before marshall. For this *Ianus* (were he King, or demigod) in the former age was counted very ciuill & polliticke. For he chaunged the life of mē, which before his time was rude, cruell, & wild: & brought it to be honest, gētle, & ciuill. For this cause they doe painte his image at this daye with two faces, the one before, and the other behinde, for thus chaunging the liues of men. And there is in ROME a temple dedicated vnto him, which hath two doores, that be called the doores of warre: for the cu-

Some olde Grecian copies saye in this place. φθιτῶν, as much to saye, as for the deade.

Why Ianus is painted with two faces.

F stome is to open them, when the ROMAINES haue any warres in any place, and to shut them when they be at peace. To haue them shut, it was a rare thinge to see, and happened very seldome: by reason of the greatnes of their empire, which of all sides was enuironned

At what time the temple of Ianus is shut in Rome. Liu. lib. 1.

with barbarous nations, whom they were cõpelled to keepe vnder with force of armes. Notwithstanding it was once shut vp in the time of Augustus, after he had slaine *Antonie*: & once before also in the yere when *Marcus Attilius* & *Titus Manlius* were Cõsuls. But that cõtinued not long, for it was opened again incontinẽtly, by reason of warres that came vpõ them sone after. Howbeit during the raigne of *Numa*, it was neuer one day opened, but remained shut cõtinually by the space of three & forty yeres together. For all occasiõs of warres, were then vtterly dead & forgotten: bicause at Rome the people were not only through thexãple of iustice, clemẽcie, & the goodnes of the King brought to be quiet, & to loue peace: but in the cities thereabouts, there beganne a maruelous chaunge of manners & alteration of life, as if some gentle ayer had breathed on them, by some gratious & healthfull wind, blowẽ from Rome to refresh them. And thereby bred in mens mindes such a harty desire to liue in peace, to till the ground, to bring vp their children, & to serue the goddes truely: that almost through all Italie, there was nothing but feastes, playes, sacrifices, & bankets. The people did traffike & frequent together, without feare or daũger, & visited one another, making great cheere: as if out of the springing fountaine of *Numaes* wisedom many pretie brookes & streames of good & honest life had rõne ouer all Italie, & had watered it: & that the mildnes of his wisdom had frõ hand to hand bene disparsed through the whole world. Insomuch, as the ouer excessiue speaches the Poets accustomably doe vse, were not sufficiẽt enough to expresse the peaceable raigne of that time.

The Romains had no warres in al Numaes time.

There: spiders vveaue their cobvvebbes daye and night
in harnesses, vvhich vvont to serue for vvarre:
there: cancred rust doth fret the steele full bright
of trenchant blades, vvell vvhet in many a Iarre.
There: mighty speares for lacke of vse are eaten,
vvith rotten vvormes: and in that countrie there,
the braying trompe dothe neuer seeme to threaten,
their quiet eares, vvith blasts of bloudy feare.
There: in that lande, no drovvsie sleepe is broken,
vvith hotte alarmes, vvhich terrours doe betoken.

For during all king *Numaes* raigne, it was neuer heard that euer there were any warres, ciuil dissention, or innouation of gouernment attempted against him, nor yet any secret enmitie or malice borne him, neither any cõspiracie once thought on to reigne in his place. And whether it was for feare of displeasing the godds (which visibly seemed to take him into their protectiõ) or for the reuerent regarde they had vnto his vertue, or for his prosperous & good successe all the time he raigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he sought to keepe men still pure, & honest, from all wickednes, & layed most open before the eyes of the whole world, a very exãple of that which *Plato* long time after did affirme, & saye, concerning true gouernmẽt: which was. That the only meane of true quietnes, & remedy from all euill (which euer troubleth men) was: when by some diuine ordinaunce from aboue there meteth in one person, the right maiestie of a King, & the minde of a wise philosopher, to make vertue gouernesse & ruler ouer vice. For in deede happie is such a wise man, & more happy are they, which maye heare the graue counsaill, & good lessons of such a mouthe. And there me thincks needeth no force, no cõpulsion, no threates, nor extremitie to bridle the people. For men seeing the true image of vertue in their visible prince, & in the example of his life, doe willingly growe to be wise, & of them selues doe fall into loue liking, and friendshippe together, and doe vse all temperaunce, iust dealing, and good order one toward another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other: which is the chiefe pointe of felicitie, and the most happie good that can light vnto men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a King, who through his wisdome and vertue, can graffe in mens manners such a good disposition: and this, *Numa* aboue all other, seemed best to knowe and vnderstand. Furthermore, touching his wiues and children, there are great contrarieties amõg the historiographers. For some of them saye, he neuer maried other wife then *Tatia*, and that he neuer had any children, but one only daughter, and she was called *Pompilia*. Other write to the contrarie, that he had foure sonnes, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus*, and *Mamercus*: of euery one of the which (by succession from the father to the sonne) haue descended the noblest

Platoes saying concerning the felicitie of a cõmon weale.

Numaes wiues and posteritie. Pompilia, Numaes daughter.

A noblest races, and most auncient houses of the ROMAINES. As the house of the *Pomponians*, of *Pompo*: the house of the *Pinarians*, of *Pinus*: the house of the *Calphurnians*, of *Calpus*: & the house of the *Mamercias*, of *Mamercus*. All which families by reason of their first progenitor haue kept the surname of *Reges*, Kings. There are three other writers, which doe reproue the two first: saying that they dyd write to gratifie the families, making them falsely to descend of the noble race of king *Numa*. Moreouer it is sayed, he had his daughter *Pompilia*, not by *Tatia*, but by his other wife called *Lucretia*, whom he maried after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter *Pompilia* was maried vnto one *Martius*, the sonne of the same *Martius*, which persuaded him to accept the kingdome of ROME. For he went with him to ROME, to remaine there: where they dyd him the honour to receyue him into the number of the Se-

B natours. After the death of *Numa*, *Martius* the father stoode against *Tullus Hostilius* for the succession of the Realme, and being ouercome, he killed him selfe for sorowe. But his sonne *Martius*, who maried *Pompilia*, continued still at ROME, where he begotte *Ancus Martius*, who was king of ROME after *Tullus Hostilius*, and was but fiue yere olde when *Numa* dyed. Whose death was not sodaine. For he dyed consuming by litle and litle, aswell through age, as also through a lingring disease that waited on him to his ende, as *Piso* hath written: and *Numa* at his death was litle more, then foure score yere old. But the pompe and honour done vnto him at his funeralles, made his life yet more happie and glorious. For all the people his neighbours, friendes, kinsemen, and allies of the ROMAINES came thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publicke contributions to honour his obsequies. The noble men selues

C of the cittie (which were called *Patricians*) caried on their shoulders the very bedd, on which the course laye, to be conueyed to his graue. The Priestes attended also on his bodie, and so dyd all the rest of the people, women and children in like case, which followed him to his tumbe, all bewaling and lamenting his death, with teares, sighes, and mournings. Not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their deerest kinseman, and nearest friende that had dyed before he was olde. They burnt not his bodie, bicause (as some saye) he commaunded the contrarie by his will and testament: but they made two coffines of stone, which they buried at the foote of the hill called *Ianiculum*. In the one they layed his bodie, & in the other the holy bookes which he had written him selfe, much like vnto those,

D which they that made the lawes among the GRECIANS dyd write in tables. But bicause in his life time he had taught the priestes, the substaunce of the whole conteined in the same: he willed the holy tables which he had written, should be buried with his bodie. For he thought it not reasonable that so holy matters should be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens manners & exercises. And he followed herein they saye, the *Pythagorians*, who would not put their worckes in writing, but dyd printe the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew to be worthy men, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of persone the hidden rules and secretes of Geometrie, which had not bene worthy of them: then they sayed the goddes by manifest tokens would threaten, to reuenge such sacriledge and impietie, with some great destruction and miserie. Therefore, seeing so many things agreable, and altogether like betweene *Numa* and *Pythagoras*, I easely pardone those which

E mainteine their opinion, that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* were familiarly acquainted, and conuersant together. *Valerius Antias* the historian writeth, there were twelue bookes written concerning the office of Priestes, and twelue other conteining the philosophie of the GRECIANS. And that foure hundred yeres after (in the same yere when *Publius Cornelius*, and *Marcus Bebius* were consuls) there fell a great rage of waters and raine, which opened the earthe, and discouered these coffines: and the liddes and couers thereof being caried awaye, they founde the one altogether voyde, hauing no manner of likelyhoode, or token of a bodie that had layen in it: and in the other they founde these bookes, which were deliuered vnto one named *Petilius* (at that time *Prætor*) who had the charge to reade them ouer, and to make the reporte of them. But he hauing perused them ouer, declared to the Senate, that he

F thought it not conuenient the matters conteined in them should be published vnto the simple people: and for that cause they were caried into the market place, and there were openly burnte. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth vnto all good and iust men, that

Pompilia maried to Caius Martius Coriolanus.

Martius the Sabyne, made Senatour at Rome.

Ancus Martius, the sonne of Caius Martius Coriolanus.

The death of Numa.

Numaes bookes.

Why the Pythagorias left nothing in writing.

12. bookes of priesthood.

12. bookes of philosophie.

Good men prayſed after their death. The misfortunes of Numaes ſucceſſours. Hoſtilius.

they are farre more prayſed and eſteemed after their death, then before: bicauſe that enuie doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithſtanding, the misfortunes which chaunced afterwardes vnto the fiue Kings which raigned at ROME after *Numa*, haue made his honour ſhine, with much more noble glorie then before. For the laſt of them was driuen out of his Kingdome, and died in exile, after he was very olde. And of the other foure, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treaſon. And *Tullus Hoſtilius* which raigned after *Numa*, deriding, & contemning the moſt parte of his good and holy inſtitutions, and chiefly his deuotion towardes the goddes, as a thing which made men lowly and fainte harted: dyd aſſone as euer he came to be King, turne all his ſubiects hartes to the warres. But this mad humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a ſtraunge, & moſt grieuous diſeaſe that followed him, which brought him to chaunge his minde, and dyd farre otherwiſe turne his contempt of Religion, into an ouerfearfull ſuperſtition, which dyd nothing yet reſemble the true Religion & deuotion of *Numa*: & beſides, he infected others with his contagious errour, through the inconuenience which happened vnto him at his death. For he was ſtriken and burnt with lightning.

THE COMPARISON OF *Lycurgus with Numa.*

The vertues of Numa and Lycurgus were alike, but their deeds diuers.

THVS hauing written the liues of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, the matter requireth, though it be ſomewhat harde to doe, that we comparing the one with the other, ſhould ſet out the difference betweene them. For in thoſe things wherein they were like of condition, their deedes doe ſhewe it ſufficiently. As in their temperaunce, their deuotion to the goddes, their wiſdome in gouerning, and their diſcreete handling of their people, by making them beleeue that the goddes had reuealed the lawes vnto them, which they eſtabliſhed. And nowe to come vnto their qualities, which are diuerſely, & ſeuerally commended in either of them. Their firſt qualitie is, that *Numa* accepted the Kingdome, and *Lycurgus* gaue it vp. The one receyued it, not ſeeking for it: and the other hauing it in his handes, did reſtore it againe. The one being a ſtraunger, and a priuate man: was by ſtraungers elected & choſen, their lorde & King. The other being in poſſeſſion a King, made him ſelfe againe a priuate perſone. Suer it is a goodly thing to obtaine a Realme by iuſtice: but it is a goodlier thing to eſteeme iuſtice aboue a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in ſuch reputatiō, that he was iudged worthy to be choſen a King: and vertue bred ſo noble a minde in the other, that he eſteemed not to be a King. Their ſecond qualitie is, that like as in an inſtrumēt of muſicke, the one of them did tune and wreſt vp the ſlacke ſtringes which were in SPARTA: ſo the other ſlackened, and ſet them lower,

A lower, which were to highe mounted in ROME. Wherein *Lycurgus* difficulty was the greater. For he did not perſuade his cittizens, to plucke of their armour & curates, nor to laye by their ſwordes: but only to leaue their golde & ſiluer, to forſake their ſofte beddes, their fine wrought tables, and other curious riche furniture, and not to leaue of the trauell of warres, to geue them ſelues only vnto feaſtes, ſacrifices, and playes. But to the contrarie, to geue vp bancketing and feaſting, & continually to take paynes in the warres, yelding their bodies to all kinde of paynes. By which meanes, the one for the loue and reuerence they did beare him, eaſely perſuaded all that he would: and the other, by putting him ſelfe in daunger, and being hurte alſo, obtained not without great trauell and aduenture, the end of his intended purpoſe and deſire. *Numa* his muſe was ſo gentle, louing, and curteous, that the manners of his cittizens, which before were
B furious and violent, were now ſo tractable and ciuill, that he taught them to loue peace and iuſtice. And to the contrarie, if they will compell me to number amongeſt the lawes and ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*, that which we haue written touching the ILOTES, which was a barbarous cruell thing: I muſt of force confeſſe that *Numa* was muche wiſer, more gentle, and ciuill in his lawes, conſidering that euen vnto thoſe which in deede were borne ſlaues, he gaue ſome litle taſt of honour, & ſweetnes of libertie, hauing ordained, that in the feaſtes of *Saturne*, they ſhould ſit downe at meate, at their maſters owne table. Some holde opinion, that this cuſtome was brought in by king *Numa*: who willed that thoſe, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruite, ſhould haue ſome pleaſure thereof to make good cheere with the firſt fruites of the ſame. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembraunce of the equalitie,
C which was emõgeſt men in the world in *Saturnes* time, when there was neither maſter nor ſeruaunte, but all men were a like equall, as brethern or hinſemen. To conclude, it ſeemeth either of them tooke a direct courſe, thought beſt to them ſelues, to frame their people vnto temperaunce, and to be contented with their owne. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loued warre beſt, and the other iuſtice: onles it were that men would ſaye, that for the diuerſitie of the nature or cuſtome of their people (which were almoſt contrarie in manners) they were both compelled to vſe alſo contrary and diuers meanes from other. For it was not of a fainte harte, that *Numa* tooke from his people the vſe of armes, and deſire to be in warres: but it was to the ende they ſhould not doe any wrong to others. Neither did *Lycurgus* alſo ſtudie to make his people ſouldiers and warlike, to hurte others: but for feare rather that others
D ſhould hurte them. And ſo, to cut of the exceſſe in the one, and to ſupply the defect of the other: they were both enforced to bring in a ſtraunge manner of gouernment. Furthermore, touching their ſeuerall kinde of gouernment, & diuiding of their people into ſtates and companies: that of *Numa* was maruelous meane and baſe, and framed to the liking of the meaneſt people, making a bodie of a cittie, and a people compounded together of all ſortes, as golde-ſmithes, minſtrells, founders, ſhoemakers, and of all ſortes of craftes men & occupations together. But that of *Lycurgus*, was directly contrarie: for his was more ſeuere and tyrannicall, in gouerning of the nobility, caſting all craftes and baſe occupations vpon bondemen & ſtraungers, and putting into the handes of his cittizens the ſhield and launce, ſuffering them to exerciſe no other arte or ſcience, but the arte and diſcipline of warres, as the true miniſters of Mars:
E which all their life time neuer knewe other ſcience, but only learned to obey their captaines, and to commaund their enemies. For to haue any occupation, to buye and ſell, or to trafficke, free men were expreſſely forbidden: bicauſe they ſhould wholy & abſolutely be free. And all ſciences to get money was lawfull for ſlaues, and the ILOTES: being counted for as vile an occupation, as to dreſſe meate, and to be a ſcullian of a kitchin. *Numa* put not this difference amõgeſt his people, but only tooke away couetous deſire to be riche by warres: but otherwiſe, he did not forbid them to get goodes by any other lawfull meanes, neither tooke any regarde to bring all to equalitie, and to be a like wealthy, but ſuffered euery man to get what he could, taking no order to preuẽt pouertie, which crept in, & ſpred farre in his cittie. Which he ſhould haue looked vnto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an vnequalitie
F amongeſt them, and that his cittizens for ſubſtaunce were in manner equall one with another: for then was the time whẽ he ſhould haue made head againſt auarice, to haue ſtopped the miſchieues & inconueniences, which fell out afterwards, & they were not litle. For that only was

What things were borne to Lycurgus.

Slaues ſat with their maſters at Saturnes feaſts. Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1.

Diuers cauſes of the diuerſitie of inſtitutions of Numa and Lycurgus.

Deſcription of their people.

the fountaine and roote, of the moſt parte of the greateſt euills & miſchieues, which happened afterwardes in ROME. And as touching the diuiſion of goodes: neither ought *Lycurgus* to be blamed for doing it, nor *Numa* for that he did it not. For this equality vnto the one, was a groũd & foundation of his common wealth, which he afterwards inſtituted: and vnto other, it could not be. For this diuiſion being made not long before the time of his predeceſſour, there was no great neede to chaunge the firſt, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection. As touching mariages, & their children to be in common, both the one & the other wiſely ſought to take awaye all occaſion of iealouſie: but yet they tooke not both one courſe. For the ROMAINE husband, hauing children enough to his contentation: if another that lacked children came vnto him, to praye him to lende him his wife, he might graunte her vnto him, and it was in him to geue her altogether, or to lende her for a time, & to take her afterwardes againe. But the LACONIAN, keeping his wife in his houſe, & the mariage remaining whole & vnbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to haue children by her: naye furthermore, many (as we haue told you before) did them ſelues intreat men, by whom they thought to haue a trimme broode of children, & layed them with their wiues. What difference, I praye you was betwene theſe two cuſtomes? ſauing that the cuſtome of the LACONIANS ſhewed, that the husbãds were nothing angrie, nor grieued with their wiues for thoſe things, which for ſorrowe and iealouſie doth rent the hartes of moſt maried men in the world. And that of the ROMAINES was a ſimplicitie ſomwhat more ſhamefaſt, which to couer it, was ſhadowed yet with the cloke of matrimonie, and contract of mariage: confeſſing that to vſe wife & children by halfes together, was a thing moſt intollerable for him. Furthermore, the keeping of maidẽs to be maried by *Numaes* order, was much ſtraighter & more honorable for womanhed: & *Lycurgus* order hauing to much ſcope and libertie, gaue Poets occaſion to ſpeake, and to geue them ſurnames not very honeſt. As *Ibycus* called them *Phænomeridas*: to ſaye, thighe ſhowers: and *Andromanes*: to ſaye manhood. And *Euripides* ſayeth alſo of them.

Reaſon for mariages.

Numaes order for maydens the better.

Good nutbrovvne girles vvhich left their fathers houſe at large,
and ſought for young mens companie, & tooke their vvare in charge:
And ſhevved their thighes all bare, the taylour did them vvrong,
on eche ſide open vvere their cotes, the ſlytts vvere all to long.

And in deede to ſaye truely, the ſides of their petticotes were not ſowed beneath: ſo that as they went, they ſhewed their thighes naked and bare. The which *Sophocles* doth eaſely declare by theſe verſes:

The ſonge vvhich you ſhall ſinge, ſhalbe the ſonnet ſayde,
by Hermione luſty laſſe, that ſtrong and ſturdy mayde:
VVhich truſt her petticote, about her midle ſhorte,
and ſet to ſhevve her naked hippes, in francke and frendly ſorte.

And therefore it is ſayed, the LACON wiues were bolde, manly, & ſtowte againſt their husbands, namely the firſt. For they were wholy miſtreſſes in the houſe, and abroade: yea they had law on their ſide alſo, to vtter their mindes franckly cõcerning the chiefeſt matters. But *Numa* euer reſerued the honour and dignitie vnto the women, which was left them by *Romulus* in his time, when their husbands, after they had taken them awaye perforce, diſpoſed them ſelues to vſe them as gentely as poſſibly they could: neuertheles, he added othetwiſe thereto, great honeſty, and tooke away all curioſitie from them, and taught them ſobrietie, & did inure them to ſpeake litle. For he did vtterly forbid them wine, and did prohibite them to ſpeake, although it were for things neceſſarie, onles it were in the preſence of their husbands. In ſo much as it is reported, that a woman chauncing one daye to pleade her cauſe in perſone, openly before the iudges: the Senate hearing of it, did ſend immediately vnto the oracle of *Apollo*, to know what that did prognoſticate to the cittie. And therfore *Numa* thought the memorie of the naughty women, would much commend the great humilitie, gentlenes, & obedience of the good. For like as our GRECIAN hiſtoriographers doe note thoſe which were the firſt that killed any of their cittizẽs, or haue fought with their brethern, or haue killed their fathers or mothers: euen ſo the ROMAINES doe note that *Spurius Caruilius* was the firſt which forſooke his wife, two hundred & thirtie yeres after the firſt foundation of ROME, which was neuer done by any before.

The Laconians were to manly.

The Romaine women very modeſt.

The firſt diuorce at Rome.

A fore. And that the wife of one *Pinarius*, called *Thalea*, was the firſt which euer brawled or quarrelled with her mother in lawe called *Gegania*, in the time when *Tarquine* ſurnamed the prowde raigned: ſo well and honeſtly were the orders of *Numa* deuiſed concerning mariage. Moreouer, the age and time of marying of maydes, which both the one and the other ordeined: doth agree with the reſt of their education. For *Lycurgus* would not that they ſhould be maried, till they were of good yeres, and women growen: to the ende that they knowing the company of man at ſuch time as nature requireth, it ſhould be a beginning of their pleaſure and loue, and not of griefe and hate, when ſhe ſhould be compelled vnto it before time agreable by nature, and bicauſe their bodies alſo ſhould be more ſtronge and able to beare children, and to indure the mothers painefull throwes and trauell in childe bearing, conſidering they are maried to no
B other ende, but to beare children. But the ROMAINES to the contrarie, doe marye them at twelue yeres of age, and vnder: ſaying, that by this meanes their bodies & manners be wholy theirs, which doe marye them, being aſſured that no body els could touch them. By this reaſon it is manifeſt, that the one is more naturall, to make them ſtrong to beare children: & the other more morall, to geue them the forme & manner of conditiõs, which a man would haue them to kepe all their life time. Moreouer touching orders for educatiõ of childrẽ, that they ſhould be brought vp, inſtructed, & taught, vnder the ſelfe ſame maſters & gouernours, which ſhould haue an eye to make them drincke, eate, playe, and exerciſe them ſelues honeſtly, and orderly together: *Numa* made no more prouiſion for the ſame, then the leaſt maker of lawes that euer was, and nothing in compariſon of *Lycurgus*. For *Numa* left the parents at libertie, to vſe their
C diſcretion (according vnto their couetouſnes or neceſſitie) to cauſe their children to be brought vp as they thought good: whether they would put them to be labourers, carpinters, founders, or minſtrells. As if they ſhould not frame the manners of children, and facion them from their cradell all to one ende: but ſhould be as it were like paſſengers in one ſhippe, which being there, ſome for one buſines, other for another purpoſe, but all to diuers endes, doe neuer medle one with another, but in a rough ſtorme or tempeſt, when euery man is affrayed of his owne life. For otherwiſe, no man careth but for him ſelfe. And other makers of lawes alſo, are to be borne withall, if any thing hath ſcaped them through ignoraunce, or ſome time through lacke of ſufficient power and authoritie. But a wiſe philoſopher, hauing receyued a realme of people newly gathered together, which dyd contrary him in nothing: whereto ſhould he
D moſt plye his ſtudie and indeuour, but to cauſe children to be well brought vp, and to make young men exerciſe them ſelues, to the ende they ſhould not differ in manners, nor that they ſhould be troubleſome, by their diuers manner of bringing vp, but that they ſhould all agree together, for that they had bene trained from their childhood vnto one ſelfe trade, and facioned vnder one ſelfe patterne of vertue? That good education, beſides other commodities, dyd alſo ſerue to preſerue *Lycurgus* lawes. For the feare of their othe which they had made, had
E bene of ſmall effect, if he had not through inſtitution, and education (as it were) dyed in wolle the manners of children, and had not made them from their nources breſtes in manner, ſucke the Iuice and loue of his lawes, and ciuill ordinaunces. And this was of ſuche force, that for the ſpace of fiue hundred yeres & more, *Lycurgus* chief lawes and ordinaunces remained in full perfection, as a deepe woded dye, which went to the bottome, and pearced into the tender wolle. Contrariwiſe, that which was *Numaes* chief ende and purpoſe, to continew ROME in peace and amitie, dyed by and by with him. For he was no ſoner dead, but they opened both
F the gates of the temple of *Ianus*, which he ſo carefully had kept ſhut all his reigne, as if in deede he had kept in warres there, vnder locke and keye, and they filled all ITALIE with murder and bloude: & this his godly, holy, and iuſt gouernment which his Realme enioyed all his time, did not laſt long after, bicauſe it had not the bonde of education, and the diſcipline of children which ſhould mainteine it. Why, maye a man ſaye to me here: hath not ROME excelled ſtill, and preuailed more & more in cheualrie? This queſtion requireth a long aunſwer, and ſpecially vnto ſuch men, as place felicitie in riches, in poſſeſſions, & in the greatnes of empire, rather then in the quiet ſafety, peace, & concorde of a common weale: and in clemency and iuſtice, ioyned with contentation. Neuertheles, howſoeuer it was, that maketh for *Lycurgus* alſo, that the ROMAINES, after they had chaũged the ſtate which they had of *Numa*, dyd

Howe much education and diſcipline is worthe. Ariſt. polit. 8.

How Lycurgus lawes were ſtabliſhed.

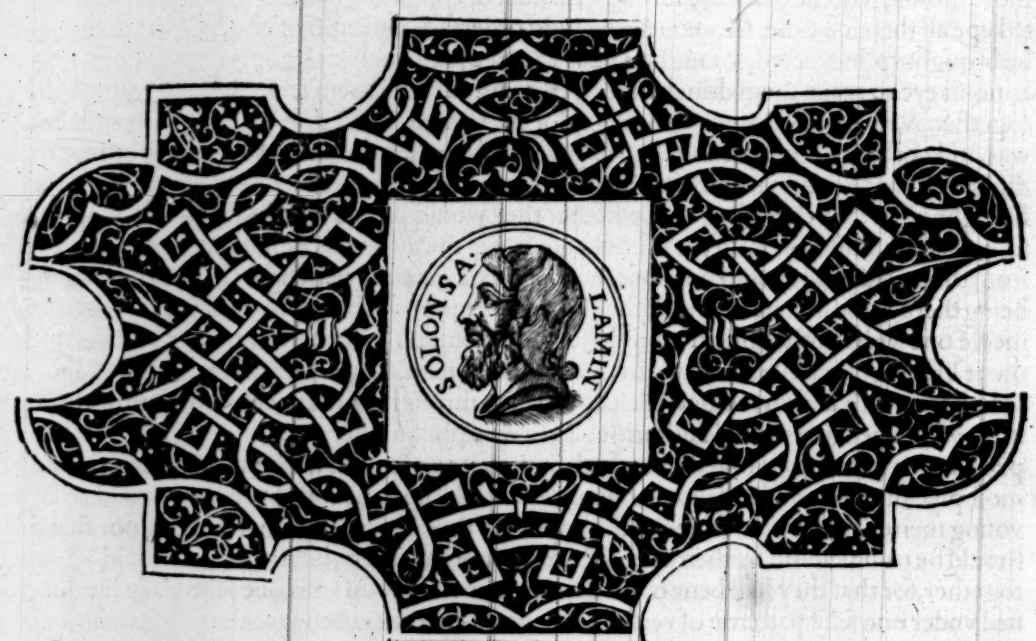
Why Numaes orders dyed.

ſo maruelouſly increaſe & growe mightie: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS to the contrarie, ſo ſoone as they beganne to breake *Lycurgus* lawes, being of great authoritie and ſwaye, fell afterwards to be of ſmall accompt. So that hauing loſt the ſoueraintie & commaundemẽt ouer GRECE, they ſtoode in great hazarde alſo to be ouerthrowen for euer. But in trothe it was ſome diuine thing in *Numa*, that he being a meere ſtraunger, the ROMAINES dyd ſeeke him, to make him King, and that he could ſo chaunge all, and rule a whole cittie as he liſted (not yet ioyned together) without neede of any force or violence: as it was in *Lycurgus*, to be aſſiſted with the beſt of the citty, in reſiſting the cõmons of LACEDÆMON, but he could neuer otherwiſe haue kept them in peace, & made them loue together, but by his only wiſdom & iuſtice.

Why Numa is to be preferred before Lycurgus.

The ende of Numa Pompilius life.

THE LIFE OF *Solon.*



DIDYMVS the Grammarian, in a litle booke that he wrote & dedicated vnto *Aſclepiades*, touching the tables of the lawes of *Solon*, alleageth the wordes of one *Philocles*, in which he ſpeaketh againſt the common opinion of thoſe that haue written, that *Solons* father was called *Euphorion*. For all other writers agree, that he was the ſonne of *Execeſtides*, a man but reaſonably to liue, although otherwiſe he was of the nobleſt and moſt auncient houſe of the cittie of ATHENS. For of his fathers ſide, he was deſcended of king *Codrus*: and for his mother, *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth, ſhe was coſin germaine vnto *Piſiſtratus* mother. For this cauſe euen from the beginning there was great friendſhippe betwene them, partely for their kinred, and partely alſo for the curteſie, and beawtie of *Piſiſtratus*, with whom it is reported *Solon* on a time was in loue. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at iarre one with the other, about matter of ſtate and gouernment: yet this ſquare bred no violent inconuenience betwene them, but they reſerued in their hartes ſtill their auncient amitie, which continued the memorie of their loue, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That *Solon* was no ſtayed man to withſtand beawtie, nor any great doer to preuaile in loue, it is manifeſt to all, aſwell by other poeticall writings that he hath made, as by a lawe of his owne: wherein he dyd forbid

Solons linage.

Great friendſhipp betwixt Solon & Piſiſtratus.

A forbid bondmen to perfume them ſelues, or to be louers of children. Who placed this lawe among honeſt matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better ſorte, and forbidding it to the baſeſt. They ſaye alſo that *Piſiſtratus* ſelfe was in loue with *Charmus*, and that he dyd ſet vp the litle image of loue, which is in Academia, where they were wont to light the holy candell. But *Solons* father (as *Hermippus* writeth) hauing ſpent his goodes in liberalitie, and deedes of curteſie, though he might eaſely haue bene relieued at diuers mens handes with money, he was yet aſhamed to take any, bicauſe he came of a houſe which was wont rather to geue and relieue others, then to take them ſelues: ſo being yet a young man, he deuiſed to trade marchandiſe. Howbeit other ſaye, that *Solon* trauelled countries, rather to ſee the worlde, and to learne: then to trafficke, or gayne. For ſure he was very deſirous of knowledge, as appeareth
B manifeſtly: for that being nowe olde, he commonly vſed to ſaye this verſe:

Igrovve olde, learning ſtill.

A ſtatute for bondmen.

Solon gaue him ſelfe in youth to trade marchãdiſe.

Alſo he was not couetouſly bent, nor loued riches to much: for he ſayd in one place:

VVho ſo hath goodes, and golde enough at call,
great heards of beaſtes, and flocks in many a folde,
both horſe and mule, yea ſtore of corne and all,
that maye content eche man aboue the movvlde:
no richer is, for all thoſe heapes and hoordes,
then he vvhich hathe, ſufficiently to feede,
and clothe his corpes, vvith ſuch as god afoordes.
C *But if is ioye, and chefe delight doe breede,*
for to beholde the fayer and heauenly face,
of ſome ſvvete vvife, vvhich is adornde vvith grace:
or els ſome childe, of beavvty fayre and bright,
then hath he cauſe (in deede) of deepe delight.

Solons iudgmẽt of riches.

And in another place alſo he ſayeth:

In deede I doe deſire, ſome vvealthe to haue at vvill:
but not vnles the ſame be got, by faithfull dealing ſtill.
For ſuer vvhoſo deſires by vvickednes to thriue:
ſhall finde that iuſtice from ſuch goodes, vvill iuſtly him depriue.

D There is no law forbiddeth an honeſt man, or gẽtleman, greedily to ſcrape goods together, & more then may ſuffice: & likewiſe to get ſufficient to mainteine one withall, & to defraye all needefull charges. In thoſe dayes no ſtate was diſcommended, as ſayeth *Heſiodus*, nor any arte or ſcience made any difference betwene men: but marchaundiſe they thought an honorable ſtate, as that which deliuered meanes, to traffike into ſtraunge & farre coũtries, to get acquaintaũce with ſtates, to procure the loue of princes, & chiefly to gather the experiẽce of the world. So that there haue bene marchaũts, which heretofore haue bene foũders of great citties: as he which firſt buylt MASSILIA, after he had obteined the friẽdſhippe of the GAVLES, dwelling by the riuer of Rhoſne. And they ſaye alſo, that *Thales Mileſius* the wiſe, did traffike marchaũdiſe, & that *Hippocrates* the mathematike did euẽ ſo: & likewiſe that *Plato* trauelling into Egipt,
E did beare the whole charges of his iorney, with the gaines he made of the ſale of oile he caried thither. They remember alſo, that *Solon* learned to be lauiſh in expence, to fare delicately, & to ſpeake wantonly of pleaſures in his Poemes, ſomwhat more licẽtiouſly then became the grauity of a Philoſopher: only bicauſe he was brought vp in the trade of marchaũdiſe, wherein for that men are maruelous ſubiect to great loſſes & daũgers, they ſeeke otherwiles good chere to driue theſe cares awaye, and libertie to make much of them ſelues. Yet it appeareth by theſe verſes, that *Solon* accompted him ſelfe rather in the number of the poore, than of the riche.

The commodities of marchaundiſe.

A marchaunt builded Maſſilia.

Thales.

Hippocrates.

Plato. all marchaunts.

Riche men (oftimes) in levvdeſt liues doe range,
and often ſeene, that vertuous men be poore:
Yet vvould the good, their goodnes neuer chaunge
F *vvith levvd eſtate, although their vvealthe be more.*
For vertue ſtands allvvayes, both firme and ſtable:
VVhen riches roue, and ſeldome are durable.

Pouerty with vertue better than riches.

This Poetry at the beginning he vſed but for pleaſure, and when he had leyſure, writing no matter of importaunce in his verſes. Afterwards he dyd ſet out many graue matters of philoſophie, and the moſt parte of ſuch things as he had deuiſed before, in the gouernment of a common weale, which he dyd not for hiſtorie or memories ſake, but only of a pleaſure to diſcourſe: for he ſheweth the reaſons of that he dyd, and in ſome places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproueth the ATHENIANS. And ſome affirme alſo he went about to write his lawes and ordinaunces in verſe, and doe recite his preface, which was this:

How Solon vſed his poetrie.

Vouchesaue ô mighty Ioue, of heauen and earth highe King:
to graunt good fortune to my lavves, and heasts in euerie thing.
And that their glorie grovve, in ſuch triumphaunt vviſe,
as maye remaine in fame for aye, vvhich liues and neuer dies.

Solon delited in morall, but not in naturall philoſophie.

He chiefly delited in morall philoſophie, which treated of gouernment & common weales: as the moſt parte of the wiſe men dyd of thoſe times. But for naturall philoſophie, he was very groſſe and ſimple, as appeareth by theſe verſes.

The clattering hayle, and ſoftly falling ſnovve
doe breede in ayer, and fall from cloudes on hye.
The dreadfull clappes, vvhich thunderbolts doe throvve,
doe come from heauen, and lightninges bright in skye.
The ſea it ſelfe by boyſterous blaſtes do the rore
vvhich (vvere it not prouoked ſo full ſore)
VVould be both calme and quiet for to paſſe,
as any element that euer vvas.

So in effect there was none but *Thales* alone of all the ſeuen wiſe men of GREECE, who ſearched further the contemplation of things in common vſe among men, than he. For ſetting him a parte, all the others got the name of wiſdome, only for their vnderſtanding in matters of ſtate and gouernment. It is reported that they met on a daye all ſeuen together in the cittie of DELPHES, and another time in the cittie of CORINTHE, where *Periander* got them together at a feaſt that he made to the other ſixe. But that which moſt increaſed their glorie, and made their fame moſt ſpoken of, was the ſending backe againe of the three footed ſtoole when they all had refuſed it, and turned it ouer one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, howe certaine fiſher men of the Ile of CO, caſt their nettes into the ſea, and certaine ſtraungers paſſing by, that came from the cittie of MILETVM, did buye their draught of fiſhe at aduenture, before the net was drawen. And when they drue it vp, there came vp in the net a three footed ſtoole of maſſy gold, which men ſaye, *Hellen* (as ſhe dyd returne from TROYE) had throwen in in that place, in memory of an auncīēt oracle ſhe called then vnto her minde. Thereupon the ſtraungers & fiſher men firſt fell at ſtrife about this three footed ſtoole, who ſhould haue it: but afterwardes the two citties tooke parte of both ſides, on their cittizens behalfe. In ſo much as warres had like to haue followed betwene them, had not the propheteſſe *Pythia* geuen a like oracle vnto them both. That they ſhould geue this three footed ſtoole vnto the wiſeſt man. Whereupon the men of CO, ſent it firſt to *Thales* in the cittie of MILETVM, as being willing to graunte that vnto a priuate perſone, for which they had made warres with all the MILESIANS before. *Thales* ſayed, he thought *Bias* a wiſer man than him ſelfe: and ſo it was ſent vnto him. He likewiſe ſent it againe vnto another, as to a wiſer man. And that other, ſent it alſo vnto another. So that being thus poſted from man to man, and through diuers handes, in the ende it was brought backe againe vnto the cittie of MILETVM, and deliuered into the handes of *Thales* the ſeconde time: and laſt of all was caried vnto THEBES, and offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo Iſmenian*. How beit *Theophraſtus* writeth, that firſt it was ſent to the cittie of PRIENA, vnto *Bias*: and then vnto *Thales*, in the cittie of MILETVM, by *Bias* conſent. And after that it had paſſed through all their handes, it was brought againe vnto *Bias*: and laſtely it was ſent to the cittie of DELPHES. And thus much haue the beſt and moſt auncient writers written: ſauing that ſome ſaye in ſteade of a three footed ſtoole, it was a cuppe that king *Cræſus* ſent vnto the cittie of DELPHES. Other ſaye, it was a pece of

Hellens three footed ſtoole of gold drawē vp in a drag net.

The rare modeſty of the wiſe men.

plate

A plate which *Bathycles* left there. They make mention alſo of another priuate meeting betwext *Anacharſis* and *Solon*, and of another betweene him and *Thales*, where they recite, that they had this talke. *Anacharſis* being arriued at ATHENS, went to knocke at *Solons* gate, ſaying that he was a ſtraunger which came of purpoſe to ſee him, and to deſire his acquaintaunce and friēdſhippe. *Solon* aunſwered him, that it was better to ſeeke friēdſhippe in his owne countrie. *Anacharſis* replied againe: thou then that arte at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to ſhew me friendſhippe. Then *Solon* wondering at his bolde ready wit, enterteined him very curteouſly: and kept him a certaine time in his houſe, and made him very good cheere, at the ſelfe ſame time wherein he was moſt buſie in gouerning the common weale, & making lawes for the ſtate thereof. Which when *Anacharſis* vnderſtoode, he laughed at it, to ſee that *Solon* B imagined with written lawes, to bridell mens couetouſnes and iniuſtice. For ſuch lawes, ſayed he, doe rightly reſemble the ſpyders cobwebbes: bicauſe they take holde of litle flies and gnattes which fall into them, but the riche and mightie will breake and ronne through them at their will. *Solon* anſwered him, that men doe iuſtly keepe all couenants and bargaines which one make with another, bicauſe it is to the hinderāce of either partie to breake them: & euen ſo, he dyd ſo temper his lawes, that he made his cittizens knowe, it was more for their profit to obey lawe & iuſtice, then to breake it. Neuertheles afterwardes, matters proued rather according to *Anacharſis* compariſon, then agreable to the hope that *Solon* had conceyued. *Anacharſis* being by happe one daye in a common aſſembly of the people at ATHENS, ſayed that he maruelled much, why in the conſultations & meetings of the GRECIANS, wiſe men C propounded matters, and fooles dyd decide them. It is ſayed moreouer, that *Solon* was ſomtime in the cittie of MILETVM at *Thales* houſe, where he ſayed that he could not but maruell at *Thales*, that he would neuer marie to haue children. *Thales* gaue him neuer a worde at that preſent: but within fewe dayes after he ſuborned a ſtraunger, which ſayed that he came but newly home from ATHENS, departing from thence but tenne dayes before. *Solon* asked him immediately, What newes there? This ſtraunger whom *Thales* had ſchooled before, aunſwered: none other there, ſauing that they caried a young man to buriall, whom all the cittie followed, for that he was one of the greateſt mens ſonnes of the cittie, and the honeſteſt man withall, who at that preſent was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they ſayed) abroade. O poore vnfortunate father, then ſayed *Solon*: and what was his name? I haue heard D him named, ſayed the ſtraunger, but I haue forgotten him nowe: ſauing that they all ſayed, he was a worthy wiſe man. So *Solon* ſtill trembling more and more for feare, at euery aunſwer of this ſtraunger: in the ende he could holde no longer, being full of trouble, but tolde his name him ſelfe vnto the ſtraunger, and asked him againe, if he were not the ſonne of *Solon* which was buried. The very ſame, ſayed the ſtraunger. *Solon* with that, like a mad man ſtraight beganne to beat his head, and to ſaye, and doe, like men impacient in affliction, and ouercome with ſorowe. But *Thales* laughing to ſee this pageant, ſtayed him, and ſayed. Loe, *Solon*, this is it that keepeth me from marying, and getting of children: which is of ſuch a violence, that thou ſeeſt it hath nowe ouercome thee, although otherwiſe thou arte ſtronge, and able to wreſtle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath ſaied vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it E is but a tale, and nothing ſo. *Hermippus* writeth, that *Patæcus* (he which ſayed he had *Eſops* ſowle) reciteth this ſtory thus. Neuertheles it lacketh iudgement, and the corage of a man alſo, to be afrayed to get things neceſſarie, fearing the loſſe of them: for by this reckoning, he ſhould neither eſteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to loſe them. For we ſee that vertue it ſelfe, which is the greateſt and ſweeteſt riches a man can haue, decayeth oftimes through ſicknes, or els by phiſicke, and potions. Furthermore *Thales* ſelfe, although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, onles he would confeſſe that he neither loued friends, kynſemen, nor countrie: howbeit *Thales* had an adopted ſonne, called *Cybiſtus*, which was his ſiſters ſonne. For our ſoule hauing in it a naturall inclination to loue, and being borne aſwell to loue, as to feele, to reaſon, or vnderſtand, and to remember: F hauing nothing of her owne whereupon ſhe might beſtowe that naturall loue, boroweth of other. As where there is a houſe or inheritaunce without lawfull heires, many times ſtraungers, and baſe borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they

Anacharſis and Solons meeting.

Anacharſis ſaying of Solons written lawes.

Solons talke with Thales at Miletum, about mariage, for hauing of children.

VVe ſhould not let to get things neceſſarie, fearing to loſe them.

Cybiſtus Thales adopted ſonne.

The inflinct of naturall loue.

haue once wonne & possessed his loue, they make him euer after to be kynde and tender ouer them. So that ye shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that moue them to marie, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwardes are ready to dye for feare & sorowe, when they see their bastardes (that they haue gotten of their slaues or concubines) fall sicke or dye, and doe vtter wordes farre vnmeete for men of noble corage. And some such there be, that for the death of a dogge, or their horse, are so out of harte, and take such thought, that they are ready to goe into the grounde, they looke so pittiefully. Other some are cleane contrarie, who though they haue lost their children, forgone their friendes, or some gentleman deare vnto them, yet no sorowfull worde hath commen from them, neither haue they done any vnseemely thing: but haue passed the rest of their life like wise, constant, and vertuous men. For it is not loue but weaknes, which breedeth these extreme sorowes, and exceeding feare, in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they loue and desire, by reason of the continuall trouble, feare and griefe they feele, by thincking howe in time they maye be depriued of it. Nowe we must not arme our selues with pouertie, against the griefe of losse of goodes: neither with lacke of affection, against the losse of our friendes: neither with wante of mariage, against the death of children: but we must be armed with reason against misfortunes. Thus haue we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The ATHENIANS hauing nowe susteined a long and troublesome warre against the MEGARIANS, for the possession of the Ile of SALAMINA: were in the ende wearie of it, and made proclamation straightly commaunding vpon payne of death, that no man should presume to preferre any more to the counsaill of the cittie, the title or question of the possession of the Ile of SALAMINA. *Solon* could not beare this open shame, and seeing the most parte of the lustiest youthes desirous still of warre though their tongues were tyed for feare of the proclamation: he fayned him selfe to be out of his wittes, and caused it to be geuen out that *Solon* was become a foole, and secretly he had made certaine lamentable verses, which he had cunned without booke, to singe abroade the cittie. So one daye he ranne sodainly out of his house with a garland on his head, and gotte him to the market place, where the people straight swarmed like bees about him: and getting him vp vpon the stone where all proclamations are vsually made, out he singeth these Elegies he had made, which beganne after this sorte.

Proclamation vpon paine of death no man to moue the counsell for the title of Salamina.

Solon fained madnes to recouer Salamina.

I here present my selfe (an Heraulde) in this case,
vvhich come from Salamina lande, that noble vvorthy place.
My minde in pelting prose, shall neuer be expreste,
But songe in verse Heroycall, for so I thincke it beste.

Solons Elegies of the Salaminians.

This Elegie is intituled SALAMINA, and conteineth a hundred verses, which are excellently well written. And these being songe openly by *Solon* at that time, his friendes incontinently praysed them beyond measure, and specially *Pisistratus*: and they went about persuading the people that were present, to credit that he spake. Hereupon the matter was so handled amongest them, that by and by the proclamation was reuoked, and they beganne to followe the warres with greater furie then before, appointing *Solon* to be generall in the same. But the common tale and reporte is, that he went by sea with *Pisistratus* vnto the temple of *Venus*, surnamed *Coliade*: where he founde all the women at a solemne feast and sacrifice, which they made of custome to the goddesse. He taking occasion thereby, sent from thence a trusty man of his owne vnto the MEGARIANS, which then had SALAMINA: whom he instructed to fayne him selfe a reuolted traytour, & that he came of purpose to tell them, that if they would but goe with him, they might take all the chief ladyes and gentlewomen of ATHENS on a sodaine. The MEGARIANS easely beleeued him, and shipped forthwith certaine souldiers to goe with him. But when *Solon* perceyued the shippe vnder sayle comming from SALAMINA, he commaunded the women to departe, and in steade of them he put lusty beardles springalles into their apparell, and gaue them litle shorte daggers to conuey vnder their clothes, commaunding them to playe & daunce together vpon the sea side, vntill their enemies were landed, and their shippe at anker: and so it came to passe. For the MEGARIANS being deceyued by that they sawe a farre of, as soone as euer they came to the shore side, dyd lande in heapes,

Of the temple of Venus Coliade. Strab. lib. 4. & Paus. of the Athenians.

Solons stratageame.

A heapes, one in anothers necke, euen for greedines to take these women: but not a man of them escaped, for they were slayne euery mothers sonne. This stratageame being finely handled, & to good effect, the ATHENIANS tooke sea straight, and costed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA: which they tooke vpon the sodaine, and wanne it without much resistaunce. Other saye that it was not taken after this sorte: but that *Apollo Delphicus* gaue *Solon* first such an oracle. *Solon wanne Salamina.*

Thou shalt first vvinne by vovves and sacrifice, of vvhose dead bones, the dust engraued lies,
the helpe of lordes and demy goddes full bright: in vvesterne soyle, Asopia that hight.

By order of this oracle, he one night passed ouer to SALAMINA, & dyd sacrifice to *Peripemus*, & to *Cichris*, demy goddes of the countrie. Which done, the ATHENIANS deliuered him fiue hundred men, who willingly offered them selues: & the cittie made an accorde with them,
B that if they tooke the Ile of SALAMINA, they should beare greatest authoritie in the common weale. *Solon* imbarked his souldiers into diuers fisher botes, and appointed a galliot of thirtie owers to come after him, & he ankred hard by the cittie of SALAMINA, vnder the pointe which looketh towards the Ile of NEGREPONT. The MEGARIANS which were within SALAMINA, hauing by chaunce heard some inckling of it, but yet knew nothing of certaintie: ranne presently in hurly burley to arme them, and manned out a shippe to descrie what it was. But they fondly comming within daunger, were taken by *Solon*, who clapped the MEGARIANS vnder hatches fast bounde, and in their roomes put aborde in their shippe the choycest souldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commaunding them to set their course direct vpon the cittie, and to keepe them selues as close out of sight as could be. And he him self with all the rest of his soul-
C diers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the MEGARIANS, which were come out into the fielde. Now whilest they were fighting together, *Solons* men whom he had sent in the MEGARIANS shippe, entred the hauen, & wanne the towne. This is certainly true, & testified by that which is shewed yet at this daye. For to keepe a memoriall hereof, a shippe of ATHENS arriueth quietly at the first, & by & by those that are in the shippe make a great showte, and a man armed leaping out of the shippe, ronneth showting towardes the rocke called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firme lande: and hard by the same is the temple of *Mars*, which *Solon* built there after he had ouercome the MEGARIANS in battell, from whence he sent backe againe those prisoners that he had taken (which were saued from the slaughter of the battell) without any ransome paying. Neuertheles, the MEGARIANS were sharpely bent
D still, to recouer SALAMINA again. Much hurte being done & suffered on both sides: both parts in the ende made the LACEDÆMONIANS iudges of the quarrell. But vpon iudgement geuen, common reporte is, that *Homers* authoritie dyd *Solon* good seruice, bicause he did adde these verses to the number of shippes, which are in the Iliades of *Homer*, which he rehearsed before the iudges, as if they had bene in deede written by *Homer*. *Great stryfe betwext the Megarians & Athenians for Salamina. Iliad. lib. 2.*

Aiax that champion stovvte, did leade vvith him in charge,
twvelue shippes from Salamina soyle, vvhich he had left at large,
and euen those selfe same shippes, in battell did he cast
and place in order for to fight, vvith enmies force at last.
In that same very place, vvhereas it seemed then
E *the captaines vvhich from Athens came, imbattelled had their men.*

Howbeit the ATHENIANS selues thinke, it was but a tale of pleasure: and saye that *Solon* made it appeare to the iudges, that *Philæus*, and *Eurysaces* (both *Aiax* sonnes) were made free denizens of ATHENS. Whereupon they gaue the Ile of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, & one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the country of ATTICA: and the other in a towne called MELITVM. And for due proofe thereof, they saye there is yet a certen canton or quarter of the countrie of ATTICA, which is called the canton of the *Philæides*, after the name of this *Philæus*, where *Pisistratus* was borne. And it is sayed moreouer, that *Solon* (bicause he would throughly conuince the MEGARIANS) did alleage that the SALAMINIANS buried not the dead after the MEGARIANS manner, but after the ATHENIANS manner. For in ME-
F GARA they burie the dead with their faces to the East: and in ATHENS their faces are towards the West. Yet *Hereas* the *Megarian* denieth it, saying that the MEGARIANS dyd burie them

...manner ... with ... Megarias & the Athenians.

also with their faces towards the West: alleaging moreouer, that at ATHENS euerie corse had A
his owne beere or coffin by it selfe, & that at MEGARA they dyd put three or foure corses to-
gether. They saye also there were certaine oracles of *Apollo Pythias*, which dyd greatly helpe
Solon, by which the god called SALAMINA, IONIA. Their strife was iudged by fiue Arbitra-
tors, all SPARTANS borne: that is to saye, *Critolaidas*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilas*, &
Cleomenes. *Solon* vndoutedly wonne great glory & honour by this exployte, yet was he much
more honoured & esteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the tẽple of *Apollo*, in the
cittie of DELPHES: declaring that it was not meete to be suffered, that the CYRRHÆIANS
should at their pleasure abuse the sanctuarie of the oracle, & that they should ayde the DEL-
PHIANS in honour and reuerence of *Apollo*. Whereupon the counsell of the *Amphictyons*,
being moued with his words and persuasions, proclaimed warres against the CYRRHÆIANS: B
as diuers other doe witnesse, and specially *Aristotle*, in the storie he wrote of those that wanne
the *Pythian* games, where he ascribeth vnto *Solon* the honour of that determination. Neuer-
theles *Hermippus* sayeth, *Solon* was not made generall of their armie, as *Euanthes* Samian
hath written. For *Æschines* the Orator wrote no such thing of him: & in the chronicles of the
DELPHIANS they finde, that one *Alcmæon*, & not *Solon*, was the generall of the ATHENIANS.
Now the cittie of ATHENS had a long time bene vexed and troubled through *Cylons* heynous
offence, euer sence the yere that *Megacles* (gouernour of the cittie of ATHENS) dyd with fayer
words handle so the confederates of the rebellion of *Cylon*, which had taken sanctuarie within
the liberties of the temple of *Minerua*: that he persuaded them to be wise, and to present them
selues before the iudges, holding by a threede, which they should tye about the base of the C
image of the goddesse where she stoode, bicause they should not lose their libertie. But when
they were come to the place of the honorable goddesses so called (which be the images of the
furies) comming downe to present them selues before the iudges, the threede brake of it self.
Then *Megacles*, and other officers his cõpanions, layed holde on them presently, saying that it
was a manifest signe that the goddesse *Minerua* refused to saue thẽ. So those they tooke, & all
they could laye hands of, were immediately stoned to death without the cittie: the rest which
tooke the altars for refuge, were slaine there also. And none were saued, but such as had made
meanes to the gouernours wiues of the citie, to intreate for them: which from that time forth
were euer hated of the people, and commonly called the abiects and excommunicates. Who
being the issues of the rebelles that rose with *Cylon*, chaunced to rise again in credit, & growing D
to great authoritie, they neuer left quarrelling & fighting continually with th'offspring of *Me-
gacles*. These factions were greatest & highest in *Solons* time: who being of authoritie, & seeing
the people thus diuided in two partes, he stepped in betweene them, with the chiefest men of
ATHENS, & did so persuade & intreate those whom they called the abiects & excõmunicates,
that they were contented to be iudged. So three hundred of the chiefest cittizens were chosen
iudges to heare this matter. The accuser was *Myron Phlyeian*. This matter was heard and
pleaded, & by sentẽce of the iudges, the excommunicates were condẽned. Those that were a-
liue, to perpetuall exile: & the bones of them that were dead, to be digged vp, & throwen out
of the confines of the territorie of ATHENS. But whilest the cittie of ATHENS was occupied
with these vprores, the MEGARIANS wisely caught holde of the occasion deliuered, and set E
vpon the ATHENIANS, tooke frõ them the hauen of NYSÆA, & recouered againe out of their
handes, the Ile of SALAMINA. Furthermore, all the cittie was possessed with a certen superstí-
tious feare: for some sayed, that sprites were come againe, and straunge sightes were seene.
The prognosticatours also sayed, they perceiued by their sacrifices, the cittie was defiled with
some abhominable & wicked things, which were of necessitie to be purged and throwen out.
Epimenides Phæstius taken for one of the 7. sages, excluding Periander. Hereupon they sent into CRETA for *Epimenides Phæstian*, whom they reckoned the seuenth
of the wise men, at the least such as will not allowe *Periander* for one of the number. He was a
holy and deuoute man, and very wise in celestiall things, by inspiration from aboue: by reason
whereof, men of his time called him the newe *Curetes*, that is to saye, Prophet: and he was
thought the sonne of a Nymphe called Baltè. When he was come to ATHENS, and growen F
in friendshippe with *Solon*: he dyd helpe him much, and made his waye for establishing of his
lawes. For he acquainted the ATHENIANS to make their sacrifices much lighter, and of

lesse

A leſſe coſte:& brought the cittizēs to be more moderate in their mourning,with cutting of certaine ſeuere and barbarous ceremonies,which the moſt parte of the women obſerued in their mourning,& he ordeined certain ſacrifices which he would haue done immediately after the obſequies of the dead.But that which exceeded all the reſt was, that by vſing the cittizēs vnto holines & deuotion,daylie ſacrifices,prayers vnto the godds,purging of them ſelues,& hūble offerings: he wanne mens hartes by litle & litle,to yelde them more cōfirmable to iuſtice,& to be more inclined to cōcorde & vnity.It is reported alſo that *Epimenides*,whē he ſaw the hauen of Munychia,& had long cōſidered of it: told thoſe about him,that men were very blinde in foreſeeing things to come.For if the ATHENIANS(ſayed he)knew,what hurt this hauen would bring thē:they would eate it(as they ſaye)with their teethe. It is ſayed alſo that *Thales* did pro-
B gnoſticate ſuch a like thing,who after his deathe commaunded they ſhould burie his bodie,in ſome vile place of no reckoning,with in the territorie of the MILESIANS,ſaying that one daye there ſhould be the place of a cittie. *Epimenides* therfore being maruelouſly eſteemed of euery man for theſe cauſes,was greatly honoured of the ATHENIANS,and they offered him great preſents of money and other things,but he would take nothing,and only prayed them to geue him a boughe of the holy olyue: which they graunted him,and ſo he returned ſhortely home into CRETA. Nowe that this ſedition of *Cylon* was vtterly appeaſed in ATHENS,for that the excommunicates were baniſhed the countrie: the citty fell againe into their olde troubles and diſſentions about the gouernment of the common weale: & they were deuided into ſo diuers partes and factions,as there were people of ſundry places & territories within the countrie of
C ATTICA.For there were the people of the mountaines,the people of the vallies,and the people of the ſea coaſte.Thoſe of the mountaines,tooke the cōmon peoples parte for their liues. Thoſe of the valley,would a fewe of the beſt cittizens ſhould carie the ſwaye.The coaſte men would,that neither of thē ſhould preuaile, bicauſe they would haue had a meane gouernmēt, & mingled of them both. Furthermore,the faction betwene the poore & riche, proceeding of their vnequalitie,was at that time very great. By reaſon whereof the cittie was in great daunger,and it ſeemed there was no waye to pacifie or take vp theſe controuerſies, vnleſs ſome tyraunt happened to riſe,that would take vpon him to rule the whole.For all the cōmon people were ſo ſore indetted to the riche,that either they plowed their landes,& yelded them the ſixt parte of their croppe: (for which cauſe they were called *Hectemorij* and ſeruants) or els they
D borowed money of them at vſurie,vpon gage of their bodies to ſerue it out. And if they were not able to paye them,then were they by the law deliuered to their creditours,who kept them as bonde men & ſlaues in their houſes,or els they ſent them into ſtraunge coūtries to be ſold: & many euen for very pouertie were forced to ſell their owne children(for there was no lawe to forbid the contrarie)or els to forſake their cittie & countrie,for the extreme cruelty & hard dealing of theſe abominable vſurers their creditours.Inſomuch as many of the luſtieſt & ſtowteſt of them,banded together in cōpanies,& incoraged one another, not to ſuffer & beare any lenger ſuch extremitie, but to chooſe them a ſtowte & truſty captaine, that might ſet them at libertie,and redeeme thoſe out of captiuity,which were iudged to be bondmen & ſeruants,for lacke of paying of their detts at their dayes appointed: & ſo to make againe a newe diuiſion of
E all landes and tenements,and wholy to chaunge and turne vp the whole ſtate & gouernment. Then the wiſeſt men of the cittie, who ſawe *Solon* only neither partner with the riche in their oppreſſion,neither partaker with the poore in their neceſſitie: made ſute to him,that it would pleaſe him to take the matter in hande,& to appeaſe and pacifie all theſe broyles and ſedition. Yet *Phanias* Lesbian writeth, that he vſed a ſubtiltie, whereby he deceiued both the one and the other ſide,concerning the cōmon weale.For he ſecretly promiſed the poore to deuide the lands againe:& the riche alſo,to confirme their couenants & bargaines. Howſoeuer it fell out, it is very certain that *Solon* frō the beginning made it a great matter, & was very ſcrupulous to deale betwene them:fearing the couetouſnes of the one,& arrogancie of the other.Howbeit in the end he was choſen gouernour after *Philōbrotus*,& was made reformer of the rigour of the
F lawes, & the tēperer of the ſtate & cōmō weale,by cōſent & agreemēt of both parties.The rich accepted him, bicauſe he was no begger:the poore did alſo like him, bicauſe he was an honeſt man.They ſaye moreouer,that one word & ſentēce which he ſpake(which at that preſent was

Solon pacified the ſedition at Athens.

The miſerie of dett, and vſurie.

Solons equitie and vprightnes.

Solon by ſubtiltie ſet order betwext the poore & rich.

Solon choſen reformer of the lawe, and chief gouernour.

rife in euery mans mouthe) that equalitie dyd breede no ſtryfe: did aſwell pleaſe the riche and A
wealthie, as the poore and needie. For the one ſorte conceyued of this worde equalitie, that he would meaſure all things according to the qualitie of the man: & the other tooke it for their purpoſe, that he would meaſure things by the number, & by the polle only. Thus the captaines of both factions perſuaded & prayed him, boldly to take vpon him that ſoueraigne authoritie, ſithence he had the whole cittie nowe at his commaundement. The neawters alſo of euery parte, when they ſawe it very harde to pacifie theſe things with lawe and reaſon, were well content that the wiſeſt, and honeſteſt man, ſhould alone haue the royall power in his handes. Some ſaye alſo that there was ſuch an oracle of *Apollo*.

Sitt thou at helme, as gouernour to ſteere
to guyde our courſe, and rule the rovvling shippe, B
for thou shalt ſee, full many Athenians there,
vvill take thy parte, and after thee vvill trippe.

Solō refuſeth to be a tyranne.

But his familier friendes aboue all rebuked him, ſaying he was to be accompted no better then a beaſt, if for feare of the name of tyranne, he would refuſe to take vpon him a Kingdome: which is the moſt iuſt and honorable ſtate, if one take it vpon him that is an honeſt man. As in olde time, *Tynnondas* made him ſelfe King of thoſe of *Negrepont*, with their conſent: and as *Pittacus* was then preſently of thoſe of METELIN. Notwithſtanding, all theſe goodly reaſons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they ſaye he aunſwered his friendes, that principalitie and tyrannie, was in deede a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, whē he was once entered into it. And in certen verſes that he wrote C
to *Phocus*, thus he ſayed:

Tynnondas, and Pittacus tyrannes.

Solons aunſwer for tyrannie.

I neither blushe, nor yet repent my ſelfe,
that haue preſerude, my natiue ſoyle all vvayes,
and that therein (to hourde vp trashe and pelfe)
no tyrants thought, could once eclypſe my prayſe.
No might could moue, my minde to any vvronge,
vvhich might beblot, the glory of my name:
for ſo I thought, to liue in honour longe,
and farre excell all other men for fame.

Hereby appeareth plainely, that euen before he was choſen reformer of the ſtate, to ſtabliſh D
newe lawes: he was then of great countenaunce and authoritie. But he him ſelfe writeth, that many ſayed of him thus, after he had refuſed the occaſion of vſurping of this tyrannie:

Suer, Solon vvas a foole, and of a bashefull minde,
that vvould refuſe the great good happe, vvhich goddes to him aſsignde.
The praye vvas in his handes, yet durſt he neuer drawe,
the net therefore: but ſtoode abasht, and like a daſtarde dawe.
For had not that ſo bene, he vvould (for one dayes raigne,
to be a King in Athens townne) him ſelfe (all quicke) haue flayen.
And eke ſubuerted quyte, his familie vvithall,
So ſvvete it is to rule the roſte, yclad in princely pall. E

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Nowe, notwithſtanding he had refuſed the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remiſſe nor ſofte therefore in gouerning, neither would he bowe for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their liking, that had choſen him their reformer. For where the miſchief was tollerable, he dyd not ſtraight plucke it vp by the rootes: neither dyd he ſo chaūge the ſtate, as he might haue done, leaſt if he ſhould haue attempted to turne vpſidowne the whole gouernment, he might afterwards haue bene neuer able to ſettle & ſtabliſhe the ſame againe. Therefore he only altered that, which he thought by reaſon he would perſuade his cittizens vnto, or els by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he ſaied, ſower with ſweete, & force with iuſtice. And herewith agreeth his aunſwer that he made afterwards, vnto one that asked him, if he had made the beſt F
lawes he could for the ATHENIANS? yea ſuer, ſayeth he, ſuch as they were to receiue. And this that followeth alſo, they haue euer ſince obſerued in the Athenian tōgue: to make certē things

Excellent temperature.

pleaſaunt

A pleasaunt, that be hatefull, finely conueying them vnder culler of pleasing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garrisons, gardes: prisones, houses. And all this came vp first by *Solons* inuẽtion, who called cleering of detts, *Seisachtheian*: in English, discharge. For the first chaunge & reformation he made in gouernment was this: he ordeined that all manner of detts past should be cleere, and no bodye should aske his detter any thing for the time past. That no man should thenceforth lende money out to vsurie, vpon couenants for the bodye to be bounde, if it were not repayed. Howbeit some write (as *Androtion* among other) that the poore were cõtẽted that the interest only for vsury should be moderated, without taking away the whole dett: & that *Solon* called this easie & gentle discharge, *Seisachtheian*, with crying vp the value of money. For he raised the pound of siluer, being before but three score and thirtene

B Drachmes, full vp to an hundred: so they which were to paye great summes of money, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with lesse number of peces then the dett could haue bene payed when it was borowed. And so the detters gayned much, & the creditours lost nothing. Neuertheles the more parte of them which haue written the same, saye, that this crying vp of money, was a generall discharge of all detts, conditions, & couenaunts vpon the same: whereto the very Poemes them selues, which *Solon* wrote, doe seeme to agree. For he glorieth, & breaketh forth in his verses, that he had taken away all bawkes & marcks, that separated mens lands through the countrie of ATTICA: & that now he had set at libertie, that which before was in bondage. And that of the cittizens of ATHENS, which for lacke of payment of their dettes had bene condẽned for slaues to their creditours, he had brought many home again out of straũge

C coũtries, where they had bene so long, that they had forgotten to speake their naturall tongue: & other which remained at home in captiuitie, he had nowe set them all at good libertie. But while he was a doing this, men saye a thing thwarted him, that troubled him maruelously. For hauing framed an Edict for clearing of all detts, and lacking only a litle to grace it with words, and to geue it some prety preface, that otherwise was ready to be proclaymed: he opened him selfe somewhat to certaine of his familiers whom he trusted (as *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*) & tolde them how he would not medle with landes and possessions, but would only cleere and cut of all mãner of detts. These men before the proclamation came out, went presently to the money men, & borowed great summes of money of them, & layed it out straight vpon lãde. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the landes they had purchased, but restored not

D the money they had borowed. This fowle parte of theirs made *Solon* very ill spoken of, & wrõgfully blamed: as if he had not only suffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong, & iniustice. Notwithstãding he cleared him self of this slaunderous reporte, losing fiue talents by his owne lawe. For it was well knowen that so much was due vnto him, & he was the first that following his owne proclamation, dyd clearely release his detters of the same. Other saye he was owing fifteene talents: and among the same, *Polyzelus* the *Rhodian* is one that affirmeth it. Notwithstanding they euer after called *Solons* friendes, *Greocopides*, cutters of detts. This lawe neither liked the one nor the other sorte. For it greatly offended the riche, for cancelling their bondes: and it much more misliked the poore, bicause all landes and possessions they gaped for, were not made againe common, & euery bodye a like riche and wealthie, as *Lycurgus* had made the

E LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Lycurgus* was the eleuẽth descended of the right line from *Hercules*, & had many yeres bene king of LACEDÆMON, where he had gotten great authoritie, & made him self many friends: all which things together, dyd greatly helpe him to execute that, which he wisely had imagined for the order of his common weale. Yet also, he vsed more persuasion then force, a good witnes thereof, the losse of his eye: preferring a lawe before his priuate iniurie, which hath power to preserue a cittie long in vnion and concorde, and to make cittizens to be neither poore nor riche. *Solon* could not attain to this, for he was born in a popular state, & a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had, as one seeking to winne no credit with his cittizẽs, but onely by his counsaile. Now, that he got the ill will of the more parte of the cittie, by his proclamation which he made: he him self doth

F witnesse it, saying:

Euen those vvhich earst, did beare me frendly face,
and spake full fayer, vvhere euer I them met:

Things hatefull made pleasaunt with sweete wordes.

Clearing of detts, Solons first lawe.

Vsurie forbidden vpon gage of the bodie.

The value of money cried vp by Solon.

Lawes would be kept secres till they be published.

Ill consciences by craft preuent lawe.

A good lawemaker, beginneth to doe iustice in him selfe.

gan nowe beginne, to looke full grym of grace, A
and were (like foes) in force against me set.
As if I had done them, some spite or scorne,
or open wronge, which were not to be borne.

Neuertheles he sayeth immediately after, that with the same authoritie and power he had, a man possibly

Could not controll, the peoples mindes:
nor still their braynes, which wrought like windes.

But shortely after, hauing a feeling of the benefit of his ordinaunce, and euery one forgetting his priuate quarrell: they altogether made a common sacrifice, which they called the sacrifice of *Seisachthia*, or discharge, and chose *Solon* generall reformer of the lawe, and of the B
Solons absolute authority in the common weale. whole state of the cõmon weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will. As the offices of state, common assemblies, voyces in election, iudgemẽts in iustice, and the bodie of the Senate. And they gaue him also full power and authoritie, to sesse and taxe any of them, to appointe the number, what time the sesse should continewe, and to keepe, confirme, and disanull at his pleasure, any of the auncient lawes and customes then in being. To beginne withall, he first tooke away all *Dracons* bloudy lawes, sauing for murder, and
Solon tooke away all Dracõs lawes. man slaughter, which were to seuere & cruell. For almost he dyd ordaine but one kinde of punishment, for all kinde of faultes and offences, which was death. So that they which were condemned for idlenes, were iudged to dye. And pety larceny, as robbing mens hortyards, & gardens of fruite, or erbes, was as seuerely punished: as those who had committed sacriledge or C
murder. *Demades* therefore encountered it pleasauntly, when he sayed: that *Dracons* lawes were not written with incke, but with bloud. And *Draco* him selfe being asked one daye, why his punishmẽts were so vnequall, as death for all kinde of faultes: he aunswered. Bicause he thought the least offence worthie so much punishment: and for the greatest, he found none more grieuous. Then *Solon* being desirous to haue the chiefe offices of the cittie to remaine in riche mens handes, as already they dyd, and yet to mingle the authoritie of gouernment in such sorte, as the meaner people might beare a litle swaye, which they neuer could before: he made an esti-
Solon rateth euerie cittizen at a certen summe. mate of the goodes of euery priuate cittizen. And those which he founde yerely worthe fiue hundred bussh ells of corne, & other liquide fruites and vpwards, he called *Pentacosiomedimnes*: as to saye, fiue hundred bussh ell men of reuenue. And those that had three hundred bussh ells a D
Pentacosiomedimni. yere, and were able to keepe a horse of seruice, he put in the second degree, and called them
Zeugitæ. knightes. They that might dispend but two hundred bussh ells a yere, were put in the thirde
Thetes. place, & called *Zeugites*. All other vnder those, were called *Thetes*, as ye would saye, hyerlings, or craftes men liuing of their labour: whom he dyd not admit to beare any office in the cittie, neither were they taken as free cittizens, sauing they had voyces in elections, and assemblies of the cittie, and in iudgements, where the people wholy iudged. This at the first seemed nothing, but afterwardes they felt it was to great purpose: for hereby the most parte of priuate quarrells and strifes that grewe among them, were in the ende layed open before the people.
The darknes of the lawe increased, the authoritie of the iudge. For he suffered those to appeale vnto the people, which thought they had wrong iudgement in their causes. Furthermore, bicause his lawes were written somewhat obscurely, and might E
be diuersely taken and interpreted: this dyd geue a great deale more authoritie and power to the iudges. For, considering all their controuersies could not be ended, and iudged by expresse lawe: they were driuen of necessitie allwayes to ronne to the iudges, and debated their matters before them. In so muche as the iudges by this meanes came to be somewhat aboue the lawe: for they dyd euen expounde it as they would them selues. *Solon* self doth note this equall diuision of the publicke authoritie, in a place of his poesies, where he sayeth.

Suche power haue I geuen, to common peoples hande,
as might become their meane estate, with equity to stande:
and as I haue not pluckt from them their dignitie,
so haue I not to much increast, their small authoritie. F
Vnto the riche likewise, I haue allowed no more,
then well might seeme (in iust conceit) sufficient for their store.

And

A *And ſo I haue for both prouided in ſuch vviſe,*
that neither ſhall eche other vvrong, nor ſeeme for to deſpiſe.

Yet conſidering it was meete to prouide for the pouertie of the common ſorte of people: he ſuffered any man that would, to take vpon him the defence, of any poore mans caſe that had the wrong. For if a man were hurte, beaten, forced, or otherwiſe wronged: any other man that would, might lawfully ſue the offendour, and proſecute lawe againſt him. And this was a wiſe lawe ordeined of him, to accuſtome his cittizens to be ſorie one for anothers hurte, & ſo to feele it, as if any parte of his owne bodie had bene iniured. And they ſaye he made an aunſwer on a time, agreable to this law. For, being asked what cittie he thought beſt gouerned: he aunſwered. That cittie where ſuch as receyue no wronge, doe as earneſtly defend wrõg offered
B to other, as the very wrong & iniurie had bene done vnto them ſelues. He erected alſo the coũſaill of the *Areopagites*, of thoſe magiſtrates of the cittie, out of which they did yerely chooſe their gouernour: & he him ſelf had bene of that number, for that he had bene gouernour for a yere. Wherfore perceyuing now the people were growen to a ſtomake, & hawtines of minde, bicauſe they were cleare diſcharged of their detts: he ſet one vp for matters of ſtate, another counſell of an hundred choſen out of euery tribe, whereof foure hũdred of them were to con-
C ſult & debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the people: that when the great counſell of the people at large ſhould be aſſembled, no matters ſhould be put forth, onles it had bene before well conſidered of, & digeſted, by the counſell of the foure hundred. Moreouer, he ordeined the higher courte ſhould haue the chiefe authoritie & power ouer all things, and chiefly to ſee the lawe executed and mainteined: ſuppoſing that the common weale being ſettled, and ſtayed with theſe two courtes (as with two ſtronge anker holdes) it ſhould be the leſſe turmoyled and troubled, and the people alſo better pacified and quieted. The moſt parte of writers holde this opinion, that it was *Solon* which erected the counſaill of the *Areopagites*, as we haue ſayed, and it is very likely to be true, for that *Dracon* in all his lawes and ordinaunces made no manner of mention of the *Areopagites*, but allwayes ſpeaketh to the *Ephetes* (which were iudges of life and death) when he ſpake of murder, or of any mans death. Notwithſtanding, the eight law of the thirteenth table of *Solon* ſayeth thus, in theſe very words.
All ſuch as haue bene baniſhed or detected of naughty life, before *Solon* made his laws, ſhalbe
D reſtored againe to their goodes and good name, except thoſe which were condemned by order of the counſaill of the *Areopagites*, or by the *Ephetes*, or by the Kings in open courte, for murder, and death of any man, or for aſpiring to vſurpe tyrannie. Theſe wordes to the contrarie, ſeeme to proue and teſtifie, that the counſell of the *Areopagites* was, before *Solon* was choſen reformer of the lawes. For howe could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the counſell of the *Areopagites* before *Solon*, if *Solon* was the firſt that gaue it authoritie to iudge? onles a man will ſaye peraduenture, that he would a litle helpe the matter of his lawes which were obſcure and darke, and would ſupply that they lacked, with expounding of the ſame by them. Thoſe which ſhalbe founde attainted and conuicted of any matter, that hath bene heard before the counſaill of the *Areopagites*, the *Ephetes*, or the gouernours of the cittie when this lawe ſhall come forth: ſhall ſtand condemned ſtill, and all other ſhalbe pardoned,
E reſtored, and ſet at libertie. Howſoeuer it is, ſure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore amongeſt the reſt of his lawes, one of them in deede was of his owne deuiſe: for the like was neuer ſtabliſhed els where. And it is that lawe, that pronounceth him defamed, and vnhoneſt, who in a ciuill vprore among the cittizens, ſitteth ſtill a looker on, and a neawter, and taketh parte with neither ſide. Whereby his minde was as it ſhould appeare, that priuate men ſhould not be only carefull to put them ſelues & their cauſes in ſafety, nor yet ſhould be careles for others mens matters, or thincke it a vertue not to medle with the miſeries and miſfortunes of their countrie, but from the beginning of euery ſedition that they ſhould ioyne with thoſe that take the iuſteſt cauſe in hande, and rather to hazarde them ſelues with ſuch, then to tarie looking (without putting them ſelues in daunger) which of the two ſhould haue
F the victorie. There is another lawe alſo, which at the firſt ſight me thinketh is very vnhoneſt and fond. That if any man according to the lawe hath matched with a riche heire & inheritour, and of him ſelfe is impotent, and vnable to doe the office of a husband, ſhe maye law-

The counſell of the Areopagites.

3 Counſells erected in Athens.

Other lawes of Solon.

A lawe againſt neawters.

An acte for matching with inheritours.

fully lye with any whom ſhe liketh, of her husbands neareſt kinſemen. Howbeit ſome affirme, A
that it is a wiſe made lawe for thoſe, which knowing them ſelues vnmeete to entertaine wedlocke, will for couetouſnes of landes, marye with riche heires and poſſeſſioners, and minde to abuſe poore gentlewomen vnder the colour of lawe: and will thincke to force and reſtraine nature. For, ſeeing the lawe ſuffereth an inheritour or poſſeſſioner thus ill beſtowed, at her pleaſure to be bolde with any of her husbands kynne: men will either leaue to purchaſe ſuch mariages, or if they be ſo careles that they will nedes marye, it ſhalbe to their extreme ſhame and ignominie, and ſo ſhall they deſeruedly paye for their greedy couetouſnes. And the lawe is well made alſo, bicauſe the wife hath not ſcope to all her husbands kynſemen, but vnto one choyce man whom ſhe liketh beſt of his houſe: to the ende that the children that ſhalbe borne, ſhalbe at the leaſt of her husbands bloude and kynred. This alſo confirmeth the ſame, B
that ſuch a newe maryed wife ſhould be ſhut vp with her husband, and eate a quince with him: and that he alſo which maryeth ſuch an inheritour, ſhould of duety ſee her thryſe a moneth at the leaſt. For although he get no children of her, yet it is an honour the husband doth to his wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honeſt woman, that he loueth her, and that he eſteemeth of her. Beſides, it taketh awaye many miſlikings and diſpleaſures which oftentimes happen in ſuch caſes, and keepeth loue and good will waking, that it dye not vtterly betweene them. Furthermore, he tooke awaye all ioynters and dowries in other mariages, and willed that the wiues ſhould bring their husbands but three gownes only, with ſome other litle moueables of ſmall value, and without any other thing as it were: vtterly forbidding that they ſhould buye their husbands, or that they ſhould make marchaundiſe of mariages, C
as of other trades to gaine, but would that man and woman ſhould marye together for iſſue, for pleaſure, and for loue, but in no caſe for money. And for proofe hereof, *Dionyſius* the tyranne of SICILE, one daye aunſwered his mother (which would needes be maried to a young man of SYRACVSA) in this ſorte. I haue power (ſaieth he) to breake the lawes of SYRACVSA, by hauing the Kingdome: but to force the law of nature, or to make mariage without the reaſonable compaſſe of age, that paſſeth my reache and power. So is it not tolerable, and much leſſe allowable alſo, that ſuch diſorder ſhould be in well ordered citties, that ſuch vncomely and vnfit mariages ſhould be made, betweene coples of ſo vnequall yeres: conſidering there is no meete nor neceſſary ende of ſuch matches. A wiſe gouernour of a cittie, or a iudge and reformer of lawes and manners, might well ſaye to an olde man that ſhould D
marye with a young mayde, as the Poet ſayeth of *Philoctetes*:

Solon forbiddeth ioinsters and dowries.

Dionyſius ſaying of mariages.

Ah ſeely vvretche, hovv trymme a man arte thou,
at theſe young yeres, for to be maryed novve?

And finding a young man in an olde riche womans houſe, getting his liuing by riding of her errants, and waxing fat as they ſaye the partridge doth by treading of the hennes: he maye take him from thence, to beſtowe him on ſome young mayde that ſhall haue neede of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another lawe of *Solons*, which forbiddeth to ſpeake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to thinke, that they ought not to touche the dead, no more than to touche holy things: and men ſhould take great heede to offende thoſe that are departed out of this world, beſides it is a token of wiſe- E
dome and ciuillitie, to beware of immortall enemies. He commaunded alſo in the ſelfe ſame lawe, that no man ſhould ſpeake ill of the liuing, ſpecially in Churches, during diuine ſeruice, or in counſaill chamber of the cittie, nor in the Theaters whileſt games were a playing: vpon payne of three ſiluer *Drachmes to be payed to him that was iniured, & two to the common treaſurie. For he thought it to much ſhameles boldnes, in no place to keepe in ones choller, and moreouer, that ſuch lacked ciuillitie and good manners: and yet altogether to ſuppreſſe and ſinother it, he knewe it was not only a harde matter, but to ſome natures vnpoſſible. And he that maketh lawes, muſt haue regarde to the common poſſibilitie of men, if he will puniſhe litle, with profitable example, and not much without ſome profit. So was he maruelouſly well thought of, for the lawe that he made touching willes and teſtaments. For before, F
men might not lawfully make their heires whom they would, but the goodes came to the childrē or kynred of the teſtatour. But he leauing it at libertie, to diſpoſe their goods where they

A lawe forbidding to ſpeake euill of the dead.

** Drachme.*

A lawe for willes and teſtaments.

A they thought good, ſo they had no children of their owne: dyd therein preferre friendſhip before kynred, and good will and fauour before neceſſitie and conſtrainte, and ſo made euery one lorde and maſter of his owne goodes. Yet he dyd not ſimply and a like allowe all ſortes of giftes, howſoeuer they were made: but thoſe only which were made by men of ſound memorie, or by thoſe whoſe wittes fayled them not by extreme ſicknes, or through drincks, medicines, poyſonings, charmes, or other ſuch violence and extraordinarie meanes, neither yet through the intiſements and perſuaſions of women. As thincking very wiſely, there was no difference at all betweene thoſe that were euidently forced by conſtraint, and thoſe that were compaſſed and wrought by ſubornation at length to doe a thing againſt their will, taking fraude in this caſe equall with violence, and pleaſure with ſorowe, as paſſions with mad-
B nes, which commonly haue as much force the one as the other, to drawe and driue men from reaſon. He made another lawe alſo, in which he appointed women their times to goe abroade into the fieldes, their mourning, their feaſtes and ſacrifices, plucking from them all diſorder and wilfull libertie, which they vſed before. For he dyd forbid that they ſhould carie out of the cittie with them aboue three gownes, and to take vittells with them aboue the value of an halfe pennie, neither basket nor pannier aboue a cubite highe: and ſpecially he dyd forbid them to goe in the night, other then in their coche, and that a torche ſhould be caried before them. He dyd forbid them alſo at the buriall of the dead, to teare and ſpoyle them ſelues with blowes, to make lamentations in verſes, to weepe at the funeralles of a ſtraunger not being their kinſeman, to ſacrifice an oxe on the graue of the dead, to burie aboue three
C gownes with the corſe, to goe to other mens graues, but at the very time of burying the corſe: all which or the moſt parte of them, are forbidden by our lawes at this daye. Moreouer, thoſe lawes appointe a penaltie vpon ſuch women as offend in the ſame, to be diſtrayned for, by certaine officers expreſſely named, to controll and reforme the abuſes of women, as womaniſh perſones and faynte harted, which ſuffer them ſelues to be ouercome with ſuch paſſions and fondnes in their mourning. And perceyuing that the cittie of ATHENS beganne to repleniſh daylie more and more, by mens repayring thither from all partes, and by reaſon of the great aſſured ſafetie, and libertie that they founde there: and alſo conſidering howe the greateſt parte of the Realme became in manner heathy, and was very barren, and that men traffeking the ſeas, are not wonte to bring any marchaundiſe to thoſe, which can geue them nothing a-
D gaine in exchaunge: he beganne to practiſe that his cittizens ſhould giue them ſelues vnto craftes and occupations, and made a lawe, that the ſonne ſhould not be bounde to relieue his father being olde, onles he had ſet him in his youth to ſome occupation. It was a wiſe parte of *Lycurgus* (who dwelt in a cittie where was no reſorte of ſtraungers, and had ſo great a territorie as could haue furniſhed twiſe as many people, as *Euripides* ſayeth, and moreouer on all ſides was enuironned with a great number of ſlaues of the ILOTES, whom it was needefull to keepe ſtill in labour and worcke continually) to haue his cittizens allwayes occupied in exerciſes of feates of armes, without making them to learne any other ſcience, but diſcharged them of all other miſerable occupations and handy craftes. But *Solon* framing his lawes vnto things, & not things vnto lawes, when he ſawe the countrie of ATTICA ſo leane and barren,
E that it could hardely bring forth to ſuſteine thoſe that tilled the grounde only, and therefore much more impoſſible to keepe ſo great a multitude of idle people as were in ATHENS: thought it very requiſite to ſet vp occupations, and to geue them countenaunce and eſtimation. Therefore he ordeined, that the counſaill of the *Areopagites*, ſhould haue full power, and authoritie to enquier how euery man liued in the cittie, & alſo to puniſhe ſuch as they found idle people, and dyd not labour. But this was thought to ſeuere and ſtraight a lawe which he ordeined (as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth) that the children borne of common harlotts and ſtrumpets ſhould not be bounde to relieue their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of matrimonie, plainely ſheweth that he tooke not a wife to haue children, but only to ſatisfie his luſt and pleaſure: and ſo ſuch an one hath his iuſt reward, and is diſapointed of the reue-
F rẽce that a father ought to haue of his children, ſince through his owne faulte the birth of his childe falleth out to his reproche. Yet to ſaye truely, in *Solons* laws touching women, there are many abſurdities, as they fall out ill fauoredly. For he maketh it lawfull for any man to kill an

A lawe for womens going abroade.

Craftes and occupations aduaunced.

The authoritie of the courte and counſaile of the Areopagites.

adulterer taking him with the facte. But he that rauiſheth or forcibly taketh awaye a free woman, is only condemned to paye a hundred ſiluer * drachmes. And he that was the *Pandor* to procure her, ſhould only paye twenty drachmes. Onles ſhe had bene a common ſtrumpet or curtiſan: for ſuch doe iuſtefy open acceſſe, to all that will hier them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any perſone to ſell his daughters or ſiſters, onles the father or brother had taken them, abuſing them ſelues before mariage. Me thincketh it is farre from purpoſe and reaſon, with ſeueritie to puniſh a thing in one place, and ouer lightly to paſſe it ouer in another: or to ſet ſome light fine on ones head for a great faulte, and after to diſcharge him, as it were but a matter of ſporte. Onles they will excuſe it thus, that money being very harde & ſcante at that time in Athens, thoſe fines were then very great & grieuous to paye. For in ſetting out the charges of offerings which ſhould be made in ſacrifices, he appointed a weather to be a conuenient offering, and he ſetteth a buſſhell of corne at a ſiluer drachme. More he ordeined, that they which wonne any of the games at Athens, ſhould paye to the common treaſurie an hundred drachmes. And thoſe that wõne any of the games *Olympicall*, fiue hũdred drachmes. Alſo he appointed that he which brought a he woulfe, ſhould haue fiue drachmes, & him one drachme for reward of a ſhe woulfe. Whereof as *Demetrius Phalerian* writeth: the one was the price of an oxe, and the other of a mutton. For, touching the rates he ordeined in the ſixtenth table of his lawes mete for burnt ſacrifices, it is likely he dyd rate them at a much higher price, then ordinarilie they were worth: and yet notwithſtanding, the price which he ſetteth, is very litle in compariſon of that which they are worth at this daye. Nowe it was a cuſtome euer amongeſt the Athenians to kill their woulfes, bicauſe all their coũtrie laye for paſture, & not for tillage. Some there be that ſaye, the tribes of the people of Athens haue not bene called after the names of the children of *Ion*, as the common opinion hath bene: but that they were called after their diuers trades & manners of liuing, which they tooke them ſelues vnto from the beginning. For, ſuch as gaue them ſelues vnto the warres, were called *Oplites*: as who would ſaye, men of armes. Thoſe that wrought in their occupations, were called *Ergades*: as much to ſaye, as men of occupation. The other two which were husbandmen, & followed the plough, were called *Teleontes*: as you would ſaye, labouring men. And thoſe that kept beaſtes & cattell, were called *Ægicores*: as much to ſaye, as heard men. Nowe, foraſmuch as the whole prouince of Attica was very drye, and had great lacke of water, being not full of riuers, ronning ſtreames, nor lakes, nor yet ſtored with any great nũber of ſprings, inſomuch as they are driuen there to vſe (through the moſt parte of the countrie) water drawen out of welles made with mens handes: he made ſuch an order, that where there was any well within the ſpace of an Hippicon, that euery bodye within that circuite, might come and drawe water onely at that well, for his vſe and neceſſitie. Hippicon is the diſtaunce of foure furlonges, which is halfe a mile: & thoſe that dwelt further of, ſhould goe ſeeke their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged tenne yardes deepe in their grounde, and could finde no water in the bottome, in this caſe, they might lawfully goe to their next neighbours well, and take a pot full of water conteining ſix gallons, twiſe a daye: iudging it great reaſon that neceſſitie ſhould be holpen, but not that idlenes ſhould be cheriſhed. He appointed alſo the ſpaces that ſhould be kept & obſerued by thoſe, that would ſet or plant trees in their ground, as being a man very skilfull in theſe matters. For he ordeined, that whoſoeuer would plante any kynde of trees in his grounde, he ſhould ſet them fiue foote a ſonder one from another: but for the figge tree and olyue tree ſpecially, that they ſhould in any caſe be nine foote a ſonder, bicauſe theſe two trees doe ſpread out their branches farre of, & they cannot ſtand neere other trees, but they muſt needes hurte them very much. For beſides that they drawe awaye the ſame that doth nouriſhe the other trees, they caſt alſo a certaine moiſture & ſteame vpon them, that is very hurtefull & incõmodious. More he ordeined, that whoſoeuer would digge a pytte or hole in his grounde, he ſhould digge it as farre of from his neighbours pyt, as the pytte he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would ſet vp a hiue of bees in his grounde, he ſhould ſet them at the leaſt three hundred foote from other hiues ſet about him before. And of the fruites of the earth, he was contented they ſhould tranſporte and ſell only oyle out of the Realme to ſtraungers, but no other fruite or graine. He ordeined that the gouernour

A B C D E F

* *Drachmæ.*

The tribes of the Athenids hey were called.

An acte for welles.

An acte for planting and ſetting of trees.

A uernour of the cittie ſhould yerely proclaime open curſes againſt thoſe that ſhould doe to the contrarie, or els he him ſelfe making default therein, ſhould be fined at a hundred drachmes. *Drachmæ.* This ordinaunce is in the firſt table of *Solon* lawes, and therefore we maye not altogether diſcredit thoſe which ſaye, they did forbid in the olde time that men ſhould carie figges out of the countrie of ATTICA, and that from thence it came that theſe picke thanckes, which bewraye & accuſe them that tranſported figges, were called *Sycophantes*. He made another lawe alſo againſt the hurte that beaſtes might doe vnto men. Wherein he ordeined, that if a dogge did bite any man, he that ought him ſhould deliuer to him that was bitten, his dogge tyed to a logge of timber of foure cubites longe: & this was a very good deuiſe, to make men ſafe from dogges. But he was very ſtraight in one lawe he made, that no ſtraunger might be made deni-
B zen and free man of the cittie of ATHENS, onles he were a baniſhed man for euer out of his countrie, or els that he ſhould come & dwell there with all his familie, to exerciſe ſome crafte or ſcience. Notwithſtanding, they ſaye he made not this lawe ſo much to put ſtraungers from there freedome there, as to drawe them thither, aſſuring them by this ordinaunce, they might come and be free of the cittie: and he thought moreouer, that both the one & the other would be more faithfull to the common weale of ATHENS. The one of them, for that againſt their willes they were driuen to forſake their countrie: & the other ſorte, for that aduiſedly and willingly they were contented to forſake it. This alſo was another of *Solons* lawes, which he ordeined for thoſe that ſhould feaſt certē dayes at the towne houſe of the cittie, at other mens coſt. For he would not allow, that one man ſhould come often to feaſts there. And if any man were *Feaſts for townes men in the towne hall of Athēs.*
C inuited thither to the feaſt, and dyd refuſe to come: he dyd ſet a fine on his head, as reprouing the miſerable niggardlines of the one, and the preſumptuous arrogancy of the other, to contemne & deſpiſe common order. After he had made his lawes, he dyd ſtabliſhe them to continewe for the ſpace of one hundred yeres, and they were written in tables of wood called *Axones*, which were made more long then broade, in the which they were grauen: whereof there remaine ſome monuments yet in our time, which are to be ſeene in the towne hall of the cittie of ATHENS. *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, that theſe tables were called *Cyrbes*. And *Cratinus* alſo the Comicall poet ſayeth in one place, of *Solon* & *Dracon*: that *Cyrbes* was a veſſell or panne wherein they dyd frye millet or hirſe. Howbeit others ſaye, that *Cyrbes* properly were the tables, which conteined the ordinaunces of the ſacrifices: and *Axones* were the other tables, that concerned the
D common weale. So, all the counſels & magiſtrates together dyd ſweare, that they would kepe *Solons* lawes them ſelues, & alſo cauſe them to be obſerued of others throughly & particularly. Then euery one of the *Theſmothetes* (which were certaine officers attēdaunt on the counſell, & had ſpeciall charge to ſee the lawes obſerued) dyd ſolēnly ſweare in the open market place, neere the ſtone where the proclamations are proclaimed: and euery of them, both promiſed, & vowed openly to keepe the ſame lawes, & that if any of them dyd in any one pointe breake the ſaid ordinaunces, then they were content that ſuch offender ſhould paye to the temple of *Apollo*, at the cittie of DELPHES, an image of fine golde, that ſhould waye as much as him ſelf. *Axones.* *Cyrbes.* *Theſmothetes.*
Moreouer *Solon* ſeeing the diſorder of the moneths, & the mouing of the moone, which followed not the courſe of the ſunne, & vſed not to riſe & fall when the ſunne doth, but oftetimes
E in one daye, it doth both touche & paſſe the ſunne: he was the firſt that called the chaunge of the moone, Ene caì néa, as much to ſaye, as olde and newe moone. Allowing that which appeared before the coniunction, to be of the moneth paſt: & that which ſhewed it ſelf after the coniunction, to be of the moneth following. And he was the firſt alſo (in my opinion) that vnderſtoode *Homer* rightly, when he ſayed: then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the chaunge, he called *Neomenia*, as much to ſaye, as the newe moneth, or the newe moone. After the twenty day of the moneth which they called *Icada*, he reckoned not the reſt of the moneth, as increaſing, but as in the wane: & gathered it by ſeing the light of the moone decreaſing vntill the thirtie day. Now after his lawes were come abroade, & proclaimed, there came ſome daylie vnto him, which either praiſed them, or miſliked them: & prayed him either
F to take awaye, or to adde ſome thing vnto them. Many againe came & asked him, howe he vnderſtoode ſome ſentēce of his lawes: & requeſted him to declare his meaning, & how it ſhould be taken. Wherefore conſidering howe it were to no purpoſe to refuſe to doe it, and againe

howe it would get him much enuie & ill will to yelde thereunto: he determined (happen what would) to winde him selfe out of these bryars, and to flye the gronings, complaints, and quarrells of his cittizens. For he sayeth him selfe: A

Full harde it is, all mindes content to haue,
and specially in matters harde and graue.

So, to conuey him self a while out of the waye, he tooke vpon him to be master of a shippe in a certaine voyage, and asked licence for tenne yeres of the ATHENIANS to goe beyond sea, hoping by that time the ATHENIANS would be very well acquainted with his lawes. So went he to the seas, & the first place of his arriuall was in EGYPT, where he remained a while, as he him self sayeth. *Solons trauell.*

Euen there vvhere Nylus, vvith his crooked cranckes
by Canobe, falles into the sea banckes. B

He went to his booke there, and dyd conferre a certaine time with *Psenophis Heliopolitan*, and *Sonchis Saitan*, two of the wisest priestes at that time that were in EGYPT: whom when he heard rehearse the storie of the Iles ATLANTIDES as *Plato* writeth, he proued to put the same in verse, & dyd send it abroade through GREECE. At his departure out of EGYPT he went into CYPRVS, where he had great curtesy & friendship of one of the princes of that countrie, called *Philocyprus*, who was lorde of a prety litle cittie which *Demophon* (*Theseus* sonne) caused to be built vpon the riuer of Clarie, & was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very leane and barren coūtrie. *Clarius fl.*

Whereupō *Solon* tolde him, it would doe better a great deale to remoue it out of that place, into a very fayer & pleasaunt valley that laye vnderneath it, and there to make it larger & stateher then it was: which was done according to his persuasiō. And *Solon* self being C present at it, was made ouerseer of the buildings, which he dyd helpe to deuise and order in good sorte, aswell in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence: insomuch as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other lordes of the countrie dyd followe th'example of this *Philocyprus*, who to honour *Solon*, called his cittie SOLES, which before was called ÆPIA. *Solon* in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his wordes vnto *Philocyprus*, as followeth. *AEpia called Soles.*

So graunt the goddes, that thou, and thine offspring
maye clyme to great, and passing princely state:
long time to liue, in Soles florishing.
And that they graunt, my shippe and me good gate D
vvhen I from hence, by seas shall take my vvaye:
that vvith her harpe, dame Venus doe vouchesafe
to vvaft me still, vntill she maye conueye
my selfe againe, into my countrey safe.
Since I haue bene, the only meane and man,
vvhich here to build, this cittie first beganne.

And as for the meeting & talke betwext him & king *Cræsus*, I know there are that by distāce of time will proue it but a fable, & deuised of pleasure: but for my parte I will not reiect, nor cōdemne so famous an historie, receiued & approued by so many graue testimonies. Moreouer it is very agreable to *Solons* māners & nature, & also not vnlike to his wisedom & magnanimitie: E although in all pointes it agreeth not with certaine tables (which they call Chronicles) where they haue busily noted the order and course of times which euen to this daye, many haue curiously sought to correct, & could yet neuer discusse it, nor accorde all contrarieties & manifest repugnaunces in the same. *Solon* at the desire & request of *Cræsus*, went to see him in the cittie of SARDIS. When *Solon* was come thither, he seemed to be in the selfe same taking that a man was once reported to be: who being borne & bred vp on the mayne lande, & had neuer seene the sea neither farre nor neere, did imagine euery riuer that he sawe had bene the sea. So *Solon* passing alongest *Cræsus* palace, & meeting by the waye many of the lordes of his courte richely apparelled, & carying great traines of seruing men, & souldiers about them: thought euer that one of them had bene the King, vntill he was brought vnto *Cræsus* selfe. Who was F passing richely arrayed, what for precious stones & iuells, & for riche cullered silkes, layed on with curious goldsmithes worke, & all to shewe him self to *Solon* in most stately, sumptuous, & *Solon sawe king Cræsus in the cittie of Sardis.*

magni-

A magnificent manner. Who perceiuing by *Solons* repayre to his preſence, that he ſhewed no manner of ſigne, nor countenance of woundring, to ſee ſo great a ſtate before him, neither had geuen out any word neere or likely to that which *Cræſus* looked for in his owne imagination, but rather had deliuered ſpeaches for men of iudgement and vnderſtanding to know, how inwardly he much did miſlike *Cræſus* fooliſh vanitie & baſe minde: then *Cræſus* commaunded all his treaſuries to be opened where his golde & ſiluer laye, next that they ſhould ſhewe him his riche & ſumptuous wardroppes, although that needed not: for to ſee *Cræſus* ſelf, it was enough to diſcerne his nature & condition. After he had ſeene all ouer & ouer, being brought againe vnto the preſence of the King: *Cræſus* asked him, if euer he had ſeene any mã more happy than him ſelf was? *Solon* aũſwered him, I haue: & that was one *Tellus* a cittizen of ATHENS, who was

Cræſus queſtion to Solon touching happines.

B a maruelous honeſt man, & had left his children behind him in good eſtimatiõ, & well to liue, & laſtly, was moſt happy at his death, by dying honorably in the field, in defence of his coũtrie. *Cræſus* hearing this aunſwer, beganne to iudge him a man of litle witte, or of groſſe vnderſtanding, bicauſe he did not thincke that to haue ſtore of gold & ſiluer, was the only ioye & felicitie of the world, & that he would preferre the life & death of a meane & priuate man as more happy, than all the riches & power of ſo mightie a King. Notwithſtanding all this, *Cræſus* yet asked him again: What other man beſide *Tellus* he had ſeene happier than him ſelf? *Solon* aunſwered him, that he had ſeene *Cleobis* & *Biton*, which were both brethern, & loued one another ſingularly well, & their mother in ſuch ſorte: that vpon a ſolemne feſtiuall daye, when ſhe ſhould goe to the tẽple of *Iuno* in her coche drawen with oxen: bicauſe they taried to long ere

Solon eſteemed Tellus a happie man.

Cleobis & Biton, happy mẽ.

C they could be brought, they both willingly yoked them ſelues by the necks, & drue their mothers coche in ſtead of the oxen, which maruelouſly reioyced her, and ſhe was thought moſt happy of all other, to haue borne two ſuch ſonnes. Afterwards when they had done ſacrifice to the goddeſſe, & made good cheere at the feaſt of this ſacrifice, they went to bed: but they roſe not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without ſuffering hurte or ſorowe, after they had receyued ſo much glorie & honour. *Cræſus* then could no lõger bridell in his pacience, but breaking out in choller, ſayed vnto him: why, doeſt theu recken me than in no degree of happy men? *Solon* would neither flatter him, nor further increaſe his heate, but aũſwered him thus: O King of LYDIANS, the godds haue geuẽ vs GRECIANS all things in a meane, & amongeſt other things chiefly, a baſe & popular wiſedome, not princely nor noble: which,

Solon commẽdeth the meane.

D conſidering howe mans life is ſubiect to infinite chaunges, doth forbid vs to truſt or glorie in theſe worldly riches. For time bringeth daylie misfortunes vnto man, which he neuer thought of, nor looked for. But when the goddes haue continued a mans good fortune to his end, then we thinke that man happy and bleſſed, and neuer before. Otherwiſe, if we ſhould iudge a man happy that liueth, conſidering he is euer in daunger of chaũge during life: we ſhould be much like to him, who iudgeth him the victorie before hande, that is ſtill a fighting, & maye be ouercomen, hauing no ſuertie yet to carie it away. After *Solon* had ſpoken theſe words, he departed from the Kings preſence, and returned backe againe, leauing king *Cræſus* offended, but nothing the wiſer, nor amended. Nowe *Æſope* that wrote the fables, being at that time in the cittie of SARDIS, & ſent for thither by the King, who entertained him very honorably: was ve-

No man happie before his ende.

E ry ſorie to ſee that the King had geuen *Solon* no better entertainement: ſo by waye of aduiſe he ſaid vnto him. O *Solon*, either we muſt not come to princes at all, or els we muſt ſeeke to pleaſe & content them. But *Solon* turning it to the contrary, aunſwered him: either we muſt not come to princes, or we muſt needes tell them truely, & counſell them for the beſt. So *Cræſus* made light accompt of *Solon* at that time. But after he had loſt the battell againſt *Cyrus*, and that his cittie was taken, him ſelf became priſoner, & was bounde faſt to a gibbet, ouer a great ſtacke of wood, to be burnt in the ſight of all the PERSIANS, & of *Cyrus* his enemie: he then cried out as lowde as he could, thryſe together. O *Solon*. *Cyrus* being abaſhed, ſent to aske him, whether this *Solon* he only cried vpon in his extreme miſerie, was a god or man. *Cræſus* kept it not ſecret from him, but ſayed: he was one of the wiſe men of GRECE, whom I ſent for to come vnto me

AEſops ſaying to Solon.

Solons aunſwer to AEſope.

King Cræſus wordes of Solon hanging vpõ a gibbet to be burnt.

F on a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which I ſtoode in neede of, but only that he might witneſſe my felicitie, which then I dyd enioye: the loſſe whereof is nowe more hurtefull, than the enioying of the ſame was good or profitable. But nowe (alas) to late I

Riches are but wordes & opinion.

know it,that the riches I poſſeſſed then, were but words & opinion, all which are turned now A
to my bitter ſorowe,and to preſent and remediles calamitie. Which the wiſe GRECIAN conſidering then, and foreſeeing a farre of by my doings at that time, the inſtant miſerie I ſuffer nowe: gaue me warning I ſhould marke the ende of my life,and that I ſhould not to farre preſume of my ſelfe,as puffed vp then with vaine glorie of opinion of happines, the ground thereof being ſo ſlippery, and of ſo litle ſuertie. Theſe wordes being reported vnto *Cyrus*, who was wiſer than *Cræſus*,& ſeeing *Solons* ſaying confirmed by ſo notable an example: he dyd not only deliuer *Cræſus* from preſent perill of death, but euer after honoured him ſo long as he liued. Thus had *Solon* glorie,for ſauing the honour of one of theſe Kings: & the life of the other, by his graue & wiſe counſaill. But during the time of his abſence,great ſeditions roſe at ATHENS

Sedition at Athes in Solons abſence.

amongeſt the inhabitants, who had gotten them ſeuerall heades amongeſt them: as thoſe of B
the vallie had made *Lycurgus* their head. The coaſt men, *Megacles*, the ſonne of *Alcmæon*. And thoſe of the mountaines, *Piſiſtratus*: with whom all artificers & crafts men liuing of their hādie labour were ioyned, which were the ſtowteſt againſt the riche. So that notwithſtanding the cittie kept *Solons* lawes and ordinaunces, yet was there not that man but gaped for a chaunge, and deſired to ſee things in another ſtate: either parties hoping their condition would mende by chaunge, and that euery of them ſhould be better than their aduerſaries. The whole common weale broyling thus with troubles, *Solon* arriued at ATHENS, where euery mā did honour and reuerence him, howbeit he was no more able to ſpeake alowde in open aſſembly to the people, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, bicauſe his age would not ſuffer him: &

Solon returneth to Athens.

therefore he ſpake with euery one of the heades of the ſeuerall factions a parte, trying if he C
could agree and reconcile them together againe. Whereunto *Piſiſtratus* ſeemed to be more willing then any of the reſt, for he was curteous, and maruelous fayer ſpoken, and ſhewed him ſelfe beſides, very good and pittiefull to the poore, and temperate alſo to his enemies: further, if any good quality were lacking in him, he dyd ſo finely counterfeate it, that men imagined it was more in him, than in thoſe that naturally had it in them in deede. As to be a quiet man,

Piſiſtratus wicked craft & ſubtiltie.

no medler, contented with his owne, aſpiring no higher, and hating thoſe which would attempt to chaunge the preſent ſtate of the common weale, and would practiſe any innouation. By this arte and fine manner of his, he deceyued the poore common people. Howbeit *Solon* found him ſtraight, and ſawe the marke he ſhot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and ſought ſtill to winne him, and bring him to reaſon, ſaying oftetimes, both to him ſelfe, and D
to others. That who ſo could plucke out of his head the worme of ambition, by which he aſpired to be the chiefeſt, and could heale him of his greedy deſire to rule: there could not be a

Theſpis a maker of tragedies.

man of more vertue, or a better cittizen than he would proue. About this time begāne *Theſpis* to ſet out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delited the people for the rarenes thereof, being not many poets yet in number, to ſtriue one againſt another for victorie, as afterwards there were. *Solon* being naturally deſirous to heare and learne, and by reaſon of his age ſeeking to paſſe his time awaye in ſportes, in muſicke, & making good cheere more then euer he dyd: went one daye to ſee *Theſpis*, who played a parte him ſelfe, as the olde facion of the Poets was,

Solon reproued Theſpis for lying.

and after the playe was ended, he called him to him, and asked him: if he were not aſhamed to E
lye ſo openly in the face of the worlde. *Theſpis* aunſwered him, that it was not materiall to doe or ſaye any ſuch things, conſidering all was but in ſporte. Then *Solon* beating the grounde with his ſtaffe he had in his hande: but if we commend lying in ſporte (q. he) we ſhall finde it afterwards in good earneſt, in all our bargaines & dealings. Shortely after *Piſiſtratus* hauing wounded him ſelf, and bloudied all his bodie ouer, cauſed his men to carie him in his coche into the market place, where he put the people in an vprore, & tolde them that they were his enemies that thus traiterouſly had hādled & arraied him, for that he ſtoode with them about the gouerning of the cōmon weale: inſomuch as many of thē were maruelouſly offended, & mutined by & by, crying out it was ſhamefully done. Then *Solon* drawing neere ſayed vnto him, O thou ſonne of *Hippocrates*, thou doeſt ill fauoredly coūterfeate the perſone of *Homers Vlyſſes*: for thou haſt whipped thy ſelf to deceiue thy cittizēs, as he did teare & ſcratch him ſelf, to deceiue his F
enemies. Notwithſtanding this, the common people were ſtill in vprore, being ready to take armes for *Piſiſtratus*: and there was a generall counſell aſſembled, in the which one *Ariſton*

ſpake,

A ſpake, that they ſhould graunte fiftie men, to cary holberds and maſes before *Piſiſtratus* for garde of his perſone. But *Solon* going vp into the pulpit for orations, ſtowtely inuayed againſt it: and perſuaded the people with many reaſons, like vnto theſe he wrote afterwards in verſe.

Eche one of you (ô men) in priuate actes,
can playe the foxe, for ſlye and ſubtill craft:
But vvhen you come, yfore (in all your factes)
then are you blinde, dull vvitted and bedaſt.
For pleaſaunt ſpeache, and painted flatterie,
beguile you ſtill, the vvhich you neuer ſpye.

But in the ende, ſeeing the poore people dyd tumult ſtill, taking *Piſiſtratus* parte, and that
B the riche fled here and there, he went his waye alſo, ſaying: he had ſhewed him ſelfe wiſer than ſome, and hardier than other. Meaning, wiſer than thoſe which ſawe not *Piſiſtratus* reache and fetche: and hardier than they which knewe very well he dyd aſpire to be King, and yet neuertheles durſt not reſiſt him. The people went on with the motion of *Ariſton*, and authoriſed the ſame, touching the graunte of halberders: limiting no number, but ſuffered him to haue about him and to aſſemble, as many as he would, vntill ſuch time as he had gotten poſſeſſion of the caſtell. Then the cittie was maruelouſly affrayed and amazed: and preſently *Megacles*, and all thoſe which were of the houſe of the *Alcmeonides* dyd flye. *Solon*, who for yeares was now at his laſt caſt, and had no man to ſticke vnto him: went notwithſtanding into the market place, and ſpake to the cittizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beaſtli-
C nes, and faynte cowardly hartes, and encouraged them not to loſe their libertie. He ſpake at that time notably, and worthie memorie, which euer after was remembred. Before ſayed he, you might more eaſely haue ſtayed this preſent tyrannie: but nowe that it is already facioned, you ſhall winne more glorie, vtterly to ſuppreſſe it. But for all his goodly reaſons, he found no man that would hearken to him, they were all ſo amazed. Wherefore he hied him home againe, and tooke his weapons out of his houſe, and layed them before his gate in the middeſt of the ſtreete, ſaying. For my parte, I haue done what I can poſſible, to helpe and defend the lawes and liberties of my countrie. So from that time he betooke him ſelfe vnto his eaſe, and neuer after delt any more in matters of ſtate, or common weale. His friends dyd counſell him to flye: but all they could not perſuade him to it. For he kept his houſe, and gaue him ſelfe *Solons libertie & conſtancie.*
D to make verſes: in which he ſore reproued the ATHENIANS faults, ſaying:

If preſently, your burden heauy be:
yet murmure not againſt the godds therefore.
The fault is yours, as you your ſelues maye ſee,
vvhich graunted haue of mightie mars the lore,
to ſuch as novve, by your direction
doe holde your necks, in this ſubiection.

His friends hereupon dyd warne him, to beware of ſuch ſpeaches, and to take hede what he ſayed: leaſt if it came vnto the tyrannes eares, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherein he truſted, that he ſpake ſo boldly. He aunſwered them, in my age.
E Howbeit *Piſiſtratus* after he had obteined his purpoſe, ſending for him vpon his worde and faith, dyd honour and entertaine him ſo well, that *Solon* in the ende became one of his counſaill, and approued many things which he dyd. For *Piſiſtratus* him ſelfe dyd ſtraightly keepe, and cauſed his friends to keepe *Solons* lawes. Inſomuch as when he was called by proces into the courte of the *Areopagites* for a murther, euen at that time when he was a tyrante: he preſented him ſelfe very modeſtly to aunſwer his accuſation, and to purge him ſelfe thereof. But his accuſer let fall the matter, and followed it no further. *Piſiſtratus* him ſelfe alſo dyd make newe lawes: as this. That he that had bene maymed, and made lame of any member in the warres, ſhould be mainteined all his life long, at the common charges of the cittie. The ſelfe ſame was before decreed by *Therſippus* (as *Heraclides* writeth) by *Solons* perſuaſion: who dyd *A good lawe for reward of ſeruice.*
F preferre it to the counſell. *Piſiſtratus* afterwards tooke holde of the motion, and from thence forth made it a generall lawe. *Theophraſtus* ſayeth alſo, it was *Piſiſtratus*, and not *Solon*, that

made the lawe for idlenes: which was the only cauſe that the countrie of ATTICA became more fruitefull, being better manured: and the cittie of ATHENS waxed more quiet. But *Solon* hauing begonne to write the ſtorie of the Iles ATLANTIDES in verſe (which he had learned of the wiſe men of the cittie of SAIS in EGYPT, and was very neceſſary for the ATHENIANS) grewe wearye, and gaue it ouer in mid waye: not for any matters or buſines that troubled him, as *Plato* ſayed, but only for his age, and bicauſe he feared the tediouſnes of the worke. For otherwiſe he had leyſure enough, as appeareth by his verſes where he ſayeth:

I growe olde, and yet I learne ſtill.

And in another place where he ſayeth,

Nowe Venus yeldes me ſweete delights,
and Bacchus lends me comfort ſtill:
the muſes eke, refreshe my ſprights,
and much relieue my weary will.
Theſe be the pointes of perfect eaſe,
which all mens mindes oftetimes doe pleaſe.

Plato afterwards for beawtifying of the ſtorie and fables of the Iles ATLANTIDES, was deſirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by waye of ſpeache haue broken vp a field or laye lande of his owne, or that this gifte had deſcended to him of right from *Solon*. He beganne to raiſe vp a ſtately fronte vnto the ſame, and encloſed it with high walles, and large ſquared courtes at the entrie thereof: ſuch was it, as neuer any other worke, fable, or poeticall inuention had euer ſo notable, or the like. But bicauſe he beganne a litle to late, he ended his life before his worke, leauing the readers more ſorowfull for that was left vnwritten, than they tooke pleaſure in that they founde written. For euen as in the cittie of ATHENS, the temple of *Iupiter Olympian* only remained vnperfect: ſo the wiſdome of *Plato* (amongeſt many goodly matters of his that haue come abroade) left none of them vnperfect, but the only tale of the Iles ATLANTIDES. *Solon* liued long time after *Piſiſtratus* had vſurped the tyrannie, as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth. Howbeit *Phanias Epheſian* writeth, that he liued not aboue two yeres after. For *Piſiſtratus* vſurped tyrannicall power in the yere that *Comias* was chief gouernour in ATHENS. And *Phanias* writeth, that *Solon* dyed in the yere that *Hegeſtratus* was gouernour, which was the next yere after that. And where ſome ſaye, the aſhes of his bodie were after his death ſtrawed abroade through the Ile of SALAMINA: that ſeemeth to be but a fable, and altogether vntrue. Neuertheles it hath bene written by many notable authours, and amongeſt others, by *Ariſtotle* the philoſopher.

The ende of Solons life.

THE

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS
Valerius Publicola.

A NOWE we haue declared what *Solon* was, we haue thought good to compare him with *Publicola*, to whom the ROMAINE people for an honour gaue that ſurname: for he was called before *Publius Valerius*, deſcended from that auncient *Valerius*, who was one of the chiefeſt worckers and meanes, to bring the ROMAINES and the SABYNES that were mortall enemies, to ioyne together as one people. For it was he that moſt moued the two Kings to agree, and ioyne together. *Publicola* being deſcended of him, whileſt the Kings dyd rule yet at ROME, was in very great eſtimation, aſwell for his eloquence, as for his riches: vſing the one rightly and freely, for the maintenaunce of iuſtice, and the other li-
B berally and curteouſly, for the relief of the poore. So that it was manifeſt, if the Realme came to be conuerted into a publicke ſtate, he ſhould be one of the chiefeſt men of the ſame. It chaunced that king *Tarquine* ſurnamed the prowde, being come to the crowne by no good lawfull meane, but contrarylie by indirect and wicked wayes, and behauing him ſelfe not like a King, but like a cruell tyrante: the people much hated and deteſted him, by reaſon of the death of *Lucretia* (which killed her ſelfe for that ſhe was forcibly rauiſhed by him) & ſo the whole cittie roſe and rebelled againſt him. *Lucius Brutus* taking vpon him to be the head and captaine of this inſurrection and rebellion, dyd ioyne firſt with this *Valerius*: who dyd greately fauour and aſſiſt his enterpriſe, and did helpe him to driue out king *Tarquine* with all his houſe & familie.
C Nowe whileſt they were thincking that the people would chuſe ſome one alone to be chief ruler ouer them, in ſtead of a King: *Valerius* kept him ſelfe quiet, as yelding willingly vnto *Brutus* the firſt place, who was meeteſt for it, hauing bene the chief authour and worcker of their recouered libertie. But when they ſawe the name of *Monarchie* (as much to ſaye, as ſoueraintie alone) was diſpleaſaunt to the people, and that they would like better to haue the rule deuided vnto two, and how for this cauſe they would rather chooſe two Conſuls: *Valerius* then begāne to hope, he ſhould be the ſeconde perſone with *Brutus*. Howbeit this hope fayled him. For againſt *Brutus* will, *Tarquinius Collatinus* (the husband of *Lucretia* was choſen Cōſul with him: not bicauſe he was a man of greater vertue, or of better eſtimation than *Valerius*. But the

The houſe of P. Valerius.

Tarquinius Superbus.

Valerius, Brutus companion, in expulſing the Kings.

Lucius Brutus.

Tarquinius Collatinus Conſuls.

noble men of the cittie fearing the practiſes of the Kings abroade, which ſought by all the fayer & flattering meanes they could to returne againe into the cittie: dyd determine to make ſuch an one Conſul, whom occaſion forced to be their hard and heauy enemie, perſuading them ſelues that *Tarquinius Collatinus* would for no reſpect yeld vnto them. *Valerius* tooke this matter greuouſly, but they had a miſtruſt in him, as if he would not doe any thing he could, for the benefit of his countrie: notwithſtanding he had neuer any priuate iniurie offered him by the tyrannes. Wherfore, he repaired no more vnto the Senate to pleade for priuate men, and wholy gaue vp to medle in matters of ſtate: inſomuch as he gaue many occaſion to thincke of his abſence, and it troubled ſome men much, who feared leaſt vpon this his miſliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings ſide, and ſo bring all the cittie in an vprore, conſidering it ſtoode then but in very tickle termes. But when *Brutus*, who ſtoode in iealouſie of ſome, would by othe be aſſured of the Senate, & had appointed them a daye ſolemnely to take their othes vpon the ſacrifices: *Valerius* then with a good cheerefull countenaunce came into the market place, and was the firſt that tooke his othe he would leaue nothing vndone, that might preiudice the *Tarquines*, but with all his able power he would fight againſt them, and defend the libertie of the cittie. This othe of his maruelouſly reioyced the Senate, & gaue great aſſuraunce alſo to the Conſuls, but ſpecially, bicauſe his dedes dyd ſhortly after performe his wordes. For there came ambaſſadours to ROME which brought letters from king *Tarquine*, full of ſweete & lowly ſpeaches to winne the fauour of the people, with commiſſion to vſe all the mildeſt meanes they could, to dulce and ſoften the hardened harts of the multitude: who declared how the King had left all pryde and crueltie, & ment to aske nought but reaſonable things. The Conſuls thought beſt to geue them open audience, and to ſuffer them to ſpeake to the people. But *Valerius* was againſt it, declaring it might perill the ſtate much, and deliuer occaſion of new ſturre vnto a multitude of poore people, which were more affrayed of warres, then of tyrannie. After that, there came other ambaſſadours alſo, which ſayed that *Tarquine* would from thenceforth for euer geue ouer and renounce his title to the Kingdome, and to make any more warres, but beſought them only, that they would at the leaſt deliuer him and his friends their money and goods, that they might haue wherewithall to keepe them in their baniſhment. Many came on a pace, and were very ready to yeld to this requeſt, and ſpecially *Collatinus*, one of the Conſuls who dyd fauour their motion. But *Brutus* that was a faſt and reſolute man, and very fierce in his harte, ranne immediately into the market place, crying out that his fellowe Conſul was a traytour, and contented to graunt the tyrannes matter, and meanes to make warre vpon the cittie, where in deede they deſerued not ſo much, as to be relieued in their exile. Hereupon the people aſſembled together, and the firſt that ſpake in this aſſembly, was a priuate man called *Gaius Minutius*, who ſpeaking vnto *Brutus*, & to the whole aſſembly, ſayed vnto them. O noble Conſul & Senate, handle ſo the matter, that the tyrannes goods be rather in your cuſtodie to make warre with them, than in theirs, to bring warre vpon your ſelues. Notwithſtāding, the ROMAINES were of opinion, that hauing gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the tyrannes: they ſhould not diſapoint the offered peace, with keeping backe their goodes, but rather they ſhould throwe their goods out after them. Howbeit this was the leaſt parte of *Tarquines* intent, to ſeeke his goodes againe: but vnder pretence of that demaund, he ſecretly corrupted the people, and practiſed treaſon, which his ambaſſadours followed, pretending only to get the Kings goodes and his fauourers together, ſaying, that they had already ſolde ſome parte, and ſome parte they kept, and ſent them daylie. So as by delaying the time in this ſorte with ſuch pretences, they had corrupted two of the beſt and auncienteſt houſes of the cittie: to wit, the familie of the *Aquilians*, whereof there were three Senatours: and the familie of the *Vitellians*, whereof there were two Senatours: all which by their mothers, were Conſul *Collatinus* nephewes. The *Vitellians* alſo were allied vnto *Brutus*, for he had maried their owne ſiſter, & had many children by her. Of the which the *Vitellians* had drawen to their ſtringe, two of the eldeſt of them, bicauſe they familiarly frequented together, being coſin germaines: whom they had intiſed to be of their conſpiracie, allying them with the houſe of the *Tarquines*, which was of great power, and through the which they might perſuade them ſelues to riſe to great honour & preferment by meanes of the Kings, rather than to truſt

The firſt embaſſiage of king Tarquine for recouering his Realme.

Another embaſſiage from Tarquine demaunding his goodes.

Good counſell of Minutius.

Tarquines ambaſſadours practiſe treaſon.

The Aquilij and Vitellij with Brutus ſonnes, traytours to their countrie.

A to truſt to their fathers willfull hardnes. For they called his ſeueritie to the wicked, hardnes: for that he would neuer pardone any. Furthermore *Brutus* had fayned him ſelfe mad, and a foole of long time for ſafety of his life, bicauſe the tyrannes ſhould not put him to death: ſo that the name of *Brutus* only remained. After theſe two young men had geuen their conſent to be of the confederacie, and had ſpoken with the *Aquilians*: they all thought good to be bounde one to another, with a great and horrible othe, drincking the bloude of a man, and ſhaking hands in his bowells, whom they would ſacrifice. This matter agreed vpon betweene them, they met together to put their ſacrifice in execution, in the houſe of the *Aquilians*. They had fittely pickt out a darcke place in the houſe to doe this ſacrifice in, & where almoſt no bodye came: yet it happened by chaunce, that one of the ſeruants of the houſe called *Vin-*

The confederacy confirmed with drinking of mãs blond.

B *dicius*, had hidden him ſelfe there, vnknowing to the traytours, and of no ſet purpoſe, to ſpye and ſee what they dyd, or that he had any manner of inckling thereof before: but falling by chaunce vpon the matter, euen as the traytours came into that place with a countenaunce to doe ſome ſecret thing of importaunce, fearing to be ſeene, he kept him ſelfe cloſe, and laye behinde a coffer that was there, ſo that he ſawe all that was done, and what they ſayed and determined. The concluſion of their counſell in the ende was this, that they would kill both the Conſuls: and they wrote letters to *Tarquinius* aduertiſing the ſame, which they gaue vnto his ambaſſadours, being lodged in the houſe of the *Aquilians*, & were preſent at this concluſion. With this determination they departed from thence, and *Vindicius* came out alſo as ſecretly as he could, being maruelouſly troubled in minde, & at a maze howe to deale in this matter.

Vindicius heareth all their treaſon.

The concluſion of their treaſon.

C For he thought it daungerous (as it was in deede) to goe and accuſe the two ſonnes vnto the father (which was *Brutus*) of ſo wicked and deteſtable a treaſon, and the nephewes vnto their vncle, which was *Collatinus*. On the other ſide alſo, he thought this was a ſecret, not to be imparted to any priuate perſone, and not poſſible for him to conceale it, that was bounde in duety to reueale it. So he reſolued at the laſt to goe to *Valerius* to bewraye this treaſon, of a ſpeciall affection to this man, by reaſon of his gentle and curteous vſing of men, geuing eaſy acceſſe and audience vnto any that came to ſpeake with him, and ſpecially for that he diſdained not to heare poore mens cauſes. *Vindicius* being gone to ſpeake with him, and hauing

Vindicius bewrayeth the treaſon vnto Valerius.

D told him the whole conſpiracy before his brother *Marcus Valerius*, and his wife, he was abaſhed and fearefull withall: whereupon he ſtayed him leaſt he ſhould ſlippe awaye, and locked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watche the doore, that no bodie went in nor out vnto him. And willed his brother alſo, that he ſhould goe and beſet the Kings palace round about, to intercept theſe letters if it were poſſible, and to ſee that none of their ſeruants fled. *Valerius* ſelfe being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friendes and people that wayted on him, went ſtraight vnto the houſe of the *Aquilians*, who by chaunce were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he founde the letters in the chamber, where king *Tarquines* ambaſſadours laye. Whileſt he was thus occupied, the *Aquilians* hauing intelligence thereof, ranne home immediately, and founde *Valerius* cõming out at their gate. So they would haue taken thoſe letters from him by force, and ſtrong hande. But *Valerius* and his company dyd reſiſt them, and moreouer hudded

E them with their gownes ouer their heads, and by force brought them (doe what they could) into the market place. The like was done alſo in the Kings palace, where *Marcus Valerius* founde other letters alſo wrapt vp in certaine fardells for their more ſafe cariage, and brought away with him by force into the market place, all the Kings ſeruaunts he founde there. There the Conſuls hauing cauſed ſilence to be made, *Valerius* ſent home to his houſe for this bondman *Vindicius*, to be brought before the Conſuls: then the traytours were openly accuſed, and their letters redde, and they had not the face to aunſwer one worde. All that were preſent, being amazed, honge downe their heades, and behelde the grounde, and not a man durſt once open his mouth to ſpeake, excepting a fewe, who to gratifie *Brutus*, beganne to ſay that they ſhould baniſhe them: and *Collatinus* alſo gaue them ſome hope, bicauſe he fell to weeping,

F and *Valerius* in like manner for that he held his peace. But *Brutus* calling his ſonnes by their names: come on (ſayed he) *Titus*, and thou *Valerius*, why doe you not aunſwer to that you are accuſed of? and hauing ſpoken thryſe vnto them to aunſwer, when he ſawe they ſtoode

Titus & Valerius, Brutus ſonnes.

mute,and ſayed nothing: he turned him to the ſergeants,and ſayed vnto them. They are now A
in your handes,doe iuſtice.So ſoone as he had ſpoken theſe wordes, the ſergeants layed holde
immediately vpon the two young men,and tearing their clothes of their backs, bounde their
hands behinde them, and then whipped them with roddes: which was ſuch a pittiefull ſight
Brutus ſeeth his owne ſonnes puniſhed & executed. to all the people,that they could not finde in their hartes to behold it, but turned them ſelues
another waye,bicauſe they would not ſee it.But contrariwiſe,they ſaye that their owne father
had neuer his eye of them,neither dyd chaunge his auſtere and fierce countenaunce,with any
pittie or naturall affection towards them, but ſtedfaſtly dyd beholde the puniſhement of his
owne children,vntill they were layed flat on the grounde,and both their heads ſtriken of with
an axe before him. When they were executed,*Brutus* roſe from the benche, and left the exe-
cution of the reſt vnto his fellowe Conſul. This was ſuch an acte, as men cannot ſufficiently B
Brutus,praiſed & reproued for the death of his ſonnes. prayſe, nor reproue enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his minde ſo
quiet, or els the greatnes of his miſerie that tooke awaye the feeling of his ſorowe: whereof
neither the one nor the other was any ſmall matter, but paſſing the common nature of man,
that hath in it both diuinenes, and ſomtime beaſtly brutiſhnes. But it is better the iudgement
of men ſhould commend his fame,then that the affection of men by their iudgemēts ſhould
diminiſhe his vertue. For the ROMAINES holde opinion, it was not ſo great an acte done of
Romulus firſt to build ROME: as it was for *Brutus* to recouer ROME,and the beſt libertie there-
of,and to renewe the auncient gouernment of the ſame. When *Brutus* was gone, all the peo-
ple in the market place remained as they had bene in a maze, full of feare and wounder, and
a great while without ſpeaking to ſee what was done. The *Aquilians* ſtraight grew bold, C
Collatinus ſofines periſons. for that they ſawe the other Conſull *Collatinus* proceede gently, and mildly againſt them: and
ſo made petition they might haue time geuen them to aunſwer to the articles they were ac-
cuſed of, and that they might haue their ſlaue and bondman *Vindicius* deliuered into their
handes,bicauſe there was no reaſon he ſhould remaine with their accuſers. The Conſul ſee-
med willing to yeld thereto,and was ready to breake vp the aſſembly thereupon. But *Valerius*
ſayed, he would not deliuer *Vindicius* (who was among the aſſembly that attended vpon his
perſone) and ſtayed the people beſides for departing awaye, leaſt they ſhould negligently let
thoſe eſcape that had ſo wickedly ſought to betraye their countrie. Vntill he him ſelfe had
Valerius boldly appeacheth Collatinus of iniuſtice. layed handes vpon them, calling vpon *Brutus* to aſſiſt him, with open exclamation againſt
Collatinus,that he dyd not behaue him ſelfe like a iuſt and true man, ſeeing his fellowe *Brutus* D
was forced for iuſtice ſake to ſee his owne ſonnes put to death: and he in contrary manner,
to pleaſe a fewe women,ſought to let goe manifeſt traitours,and open enemies to their coun-
trie.The Conſul being offended herewith,commaunded they ſhould bring awaye the bond-
man *Vindicius*. So the ſergeants making waye through the preaſe, layed handes vpon him to
bring him awaye with them,and beganne to ſtrike at them which offered to reſiſt them. But
Valerius friends ſtept out before them,and put them by.The people ſhowted ſtraight,& cried
out for *Brutus*: who with this noyſe returned againe into the market place, and after ſilence
made him,he ſpake in this wiſe.For mine own children,I alone haue bene their ſufficiēt iudg,
to ſee them haue the law according to their deſeruings: the reſt I haue left freely to the iudg-
ment of the people. Wherefore (ſayed he) if any man be diſpoſed to ſpeake, let him ſtand E
vp,and perſuade the people as he thinketh beſt.Then there needed no more wordes, but only
to hearken what the people cried: who with one voyce & conſent condemned them,& cried
execution,& accordingly they had their heades ſtriken of. Now was Conſull *Collatinus* long
before had in ſome ſuſpition, as allied to the Kings,and diſliked for his ſurname, bicauſe he
Collatinus reſigneth his Conſullſhippe, & departeth Rome. was called *Tarquinius*: who perceyuing him ſelfe in this caſe much hated and miſtruſted of
the people, voluntarely yelded vp his Conſulſhippe, and departed the cittie. The people aſ-
ſembling then them ſelues, to place a ſucceſſour in his roome: they choſe *Valerius* in his
Valerius choſen Conſul in his place. roome,without the contradiction of any, for his faithfull trauaill and diligence beſtowed in
this great matter. Then *Valerius* iudging that *Vindicius* the bondman had well deſerued alſo
ſome recompence,cauſed him not only to be manumiſed by the whole graunte of the people, F
Vindicius the firſt bondman manumiſed. but made him a free man of the cittie beſides: and he was the firſt bondman manumiſed,that
was made cittizen of ROME, with permiſſion alſo to geue his voyce in all elections of officers,

in any

A in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, *Appius* to currie fauour with the common people, made it lawfull for bondmen manumiſed, to geue their voyces alſo in elections, as other cittizens dyd: and vnto this daye the perfect manumiſing and freeing of bondmen, is called *Vindicta*, after the name of this *Vindicius*, that was then made a free man. Theſe things thus paſſed ouer, the goodes of the Kings were geuen to the ſpoyle of the people, and their palaces were raſed and ouerthrowen. Nowe amongeſt other lands, the goodlieſt parte of the field of *Mars* was belōging vnto king *Tarquine*: the ſame they conſecrated forthwith vnto the god *Mars*, & not long before they had cut downe the wheat thereof. The ſheaues being yet in ſhocks in the field, they thought they might not grinde the wheate, nor make any commoditie of the profit thereof: wherefore they threwe both corne &
B ſheaues into the riuer, & trees alſo which they had hewen downe & rooted vp, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god *Mars*, ſhould be left bare, without bearing any fruite at all. Theſe ſheaues thus throwē into the riuer, were caried down by the ſtreame not farre from thence, vnto a forde and ſhallowe place of the water, where they firſt dyd ſtaye, and dyd let the other which came after, that it could goe no further: there theſe heapes gathered together, and laye ſo cloſe one to another, that they beganne to ſincke and ſettle faſt in the water. Afterwards the ſtreame of the riuer brought downe continually ſuch mudde & grauell, that it euer increaſed the heape of corne more and more in ſuche ſorte, that the force of the water could no more remoue it from thence, but rather ſoftly preſſing and driuing it together, dyd firme and harden it, and made it growe ſo to lande. Thus this heape riſing ſtill in greatnes and
C firmenes, by reaſon that all that came downe the riuer ſtayed there, it grewe in the ende, and by time to ſpread ſo farre, that at this daye it is called the holy Ilande in Rome: in which are many goodly temples of diuers goddes, and ſundry walkes about it, and they call it in Latine, *Inter duos pontes*: in our tongue, betweene the two bridges. Yet ſome write, that this thing fell not out at that time when the field of the *Tarquines* was conſecrated vnto *Mars*: but that it happened afterwardes, when one of the *Veſtall Nunnes*, called *Tarquinia*, gaue a field of hers vnto the people, which was hard adioyning vnto *Tarquines* field. For which liberalitie and bowntie of hers, they dyd graunte her in recompēſe many priuiledges, and dyd her great honour beſides. As amongeſt others, it was ordeined, that her word & witnes ſhould ſtand good, & be allowed, in matters iudiciall: which priuiledge, neuer womā beſides her ſelf dyd enioye.
D By ſpeciall grace of the people alſo, it was graunted her, that ſhe might marie if ſhe thought it good: but yet ſhe would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you heare the reporte how this thing happened. *Tarquinius* then being paſt hope of euer entring into his Kingdome againe, went yet vnto the Thvscans for ſuccour, which were very glad of him: and ſo they leauied a great armie together, hoping to haue put him in his Kingdome againe. The Conſuls alſo hearing thereof, went out with their armie againſt him. Both the armies preſented them ſelues in battell raye, one againſt another, in the holy places conſecrated to the goddes: whereof the one was called the wodde *Arſia*, and the other the meadowe *Æſuuia*. And as both armies beganne to geue charge vpon eche other, *Aruns* the eldeſt ſonne of king *Tarquine*, and the Conſul *Brutus* encoūtered together, not by chaunce, but ſought for of ſet purpoſe to exe-
E cute the deadly fode and malice they dyd beare eache other. The one, as againſt a tyrante and enemie of the libertie of his countrie: the other, as againſt him that had bene chief authour & worker of their exile and expulſion. So they ſet ſpurres to their horſes, ſo ſoone as they had ſpyed eche other, with more fury then reaſon, and fought ſo deſperately together, that they both fell ſtarke dead to the ground. The firſt onſet of the battell being ſo cruell, the end thereof was no leſſe bloudy: vntill both the armies hauing receyued and done like damage to eche other, were parted by a maruelous great tempeſt that fell vpon them. Nowe was *Valerius* maruelouſly perplexed, for that he knewe not which of them wanne the field that daye: ſeeing his ſouldiers as ſorowfull for the great loſſe of their men lying dead before them, as they were glad of the ſlaughter and victorie of their enemies. For, to viewe the multitude of the ſlaine
F bodies of either ſide, the number was ſo equall in ſight, that it was very hard to iudge, of which ſide fell out the greateſt ſlaughter: ſo that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remaine of their campe, were perſuaded in their opinion, that they had rather loſt then wōne,

Vindicta ſo called, by reaſon of Vindicius.

Tarquines field cōſecrated to Mars.

Whereof the holy Iland came in Rome, that lieth betweene both bridges.

Tarquine cōmeth with a great power of the Thuſcans to wage battell with the Romaines.

Arſia ſilua.

Arūs & Brutus encountered, and ſlue eche other.

coniecturing a farre of the fall of their enemies. The night being come, ſuch things fell out, as A
maye be looked for after ſo terrible a battell. For when both campes were all layed to reſt, they
ſaye the wodde wherein they laye incamped, quaked and trembled: and they heard a voyce
ſaye, that onely one man more was ſlaine on the THVSCANS ſide, than on the ROMAINES
The victory of the Romaines againſt the Thuſcans. parte. Out of doubt this was ſome voyce frō heauen: for the ROMAINES thereupō gaue a ſhrill
ſhowte, as thoſe whoſe hartes receyued a newe quickening ſpirite or corage. The THVSCANS
on the contrarie parte were ſo affrayed, that the moſt parte of them ſtole out of the campe, &
ſcattered here and there: & there remained behind about the number of fiue thouſand men,
whom the ROMAINES tooke priſoners euery one, and had the ſpoile of their campe. The car-
kaſſes were viewed afterwards, & they found that there were ſlaine in that battell, eleuen thou-
ſand and three hundred of the THVSCANS: and of the ROMAINES, ſo many ſauing one. This B
Valerius the firſt Conſul that euer triumphed vpon a charret. battell was fought (as they ſaye) the laſt daye of Februarie, and the Conſul *Valerius* triumphed,
being the firſt of the Conſuls that euer entered into ROME triumphing vpon a charet drawen
with foure horſes, which ſight the people found honorable & goodly to beholde, & were not
offended withall (as ſome ſeeme to reporte) nor yet dyd enuy him for that he beganne it. For if
it had bene ſo, that cuſtome had not bene followed with ſo good acceptatiō, nor had cōtinued
ſo many yeres as it dyd afterwards. They much commended alſo the honour he dyd to his fel-
lowe Conſul *Brutus*, in ſetting out his funeralles & obſequies, at the which he made a funerall
The firſt beginning of funerall oration amōg the Romaines. oration in his praiſe. They did ſo like & pleaſe the ROMAINES, that they haue euer ſince contin-
ued that cuſtome at the buriall of any noble man, or great perſonage, that he is openly prai-
ſed at his buriall, by the worthieſt man that liueth among them. They reporte this funerall o- C
ration is farre more auncient then the firſt, that was made in GREECE in the like caſe: onles they
will confirme that which the orator *Anaximenes* hath written, that the manner of praiſing the
Anaximenes ſayeth, Solon was the firſt that inſtituted prayſes for the dead. dead at their funeralls, was firſt of all inſtituted by *Solon*. But they dyd moſt enuye *Valerius*, and
beare him grudge, bicauſe *Brutus* (whom the people did acknowledge for father of their liber-
tie) would neuer be alone in office, but had procured twiſe, that they ſhould appoint *Valerius*
fellowe Conſul with him. This man in contrariwiſe (ſayed the people) taking vpon him alone
the rule & ſoueraintie, ſheweth plainely he will not be *Brutus* ſucceſſour in his Conſulſhippe,
but *Tarquinius* ſelf in the Kingdome. For to great purpoſe was it to praiſe *Brutus* in wordes, &
to followe *Tarquinius* in deedes: hauing borne before him ſelfe only all the maſes, the axes and
the roddes, when he cometh abroade out of his owne houſe, which is farre greater, and more D
Valerius ſtately houſe ſtāding on moūt Velia. ſtately, then the Kings palace which he him ſelf ouerthrewe. And to ſaye truely, *Valerius* dwelt
in a houſe a litle to ſumptuouſly built & ſeated, vpon the hāging of the hill called mount Ve-
lia: & bicauſe it ſtoode highe, it ouerlooked all the market place, ſo that any man might eaſely
ſee from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very ill to come to it: but when he
came out of his houſe, it was a maruelous pompe and ſtate to ſee him come downe from ſo
highe a place, & with a traine after him, that caried the maieſtie of a Kings courte. But herein
Valerius a good example for magiſtrates. *Valerius* left a noble example, ſhewing howe much it importeth a noble man & magiſtrate, ru-
ling weighty cauſes, to haue his eares open to heare, and willingly to receyue free ſpeache in
ſteade of flatteries, & playne trothe in place of lyes. For, being enformed by ſome of his friēds
how the people miſliked & complained of it, he ſtoode not in his owne conceit, neither was E
Valerius ouerthrew his ſtately houſe. angrie with them: but forthwith ſet a worlde of workmen vpon it, earely in the morning be-
fore breake of daye, & cōmaunded them to plucke down his houſe, & to raſe it to the ground.
Inſomuch as the next day following, whē the ROMAINES were gathered together in the mar-
ket place, & ſawe this great ſodaine ruine, they much commended the noble acte & minde of
Valerius, in doing that he dyd: but ſo were they angrie, and ſorie both, to ſee ſo fayer and ſta-
tely a buylt houſe (which was an ornament to the cittie) ouerthrowen vpon a ſodaine. Much
like in compariſon to a man, whom through ſpite and enuie they had vniuſtly put to death:
and to ſee their chief magiſtrate alſo like a ſtraunger and a vacabonde, compelled to ſeeke his
lodging in another mans houſe. For his friends receyued him into their houſes, vntill ſuch
time as the people had geuen him a place, where they dyd build him a newe houſe, farre F
The temple called Vicus Publicus. more orderly, and nothing ſo ſtately and curious as the firſt was, and it was in the ſame place,
where the temple called *Vicus Publicus* ſtandeth at this daye. Now bicauſe he would not only

reforme

A reforme his perſone,but the office of his Conſulſhippe,& alſo would frame him ſelfe to the good acceptation and liking of the people: where before he ſeemed vnto them to be feareſull,he put awaye the carying of the axes from the roddes, which the ſergeants vſed to beare before the Conſul. Moreouer when he came into the market place, where the people were aſſembled, he cauſed the roddes to be borne downewardes, as in token of reuerence of the ſoueraine maieſtie of the people: which all the magiſtrates obſerue yet at this daye. Nowe in all this humble ſhowe and lowlines of his, he dyd not ſo much imbaſe his dignitie and greatnes, which the common people thought him to haue at the firſt: as he dyd thereby cut of enuie from him, winning againe as much true authoritie, as in ſemblaunce he would ſeeme to haue loſt. For this made the people willinger to obey, and readier to ſubmit them
B ſelues vnto him: inſomuch as vpon this occaſion he was ſurnamed *Publicola*,as much to ſaye, as the people pleaſer. Which ſurname he kept euer after, and we from henceforth alſo writing the reſt of his life, will vſe no other name: for he was contented to ſuffer any man that would, to offer him ſelfe to aske the Conſulſhippe in *Brutus* place. But he yet not knowing what kynde of man they would ioyne fellowe Conſul with him,and fearing leaſt through enuie or ignoraunce, the party might thwart his purpoſe and meaning: employed his ſole power and authoritie whileſt he ruled alone, vpon highe and noble attempts. For firſt of all he ſupplied vp the number of Senatours that were greatly decayed, bicauſe king *Tarquine* had put ſome of them to death not long before, and other alſo had bene lately ſlaine in the warres: in whoſe places he had choſen newe Senatours, to the number of a hundred three
C ſcore and foure. After that,he made newe decrees and lawes,which greatly dyd aduaunce the authoritie of the people. The firſt lawe gaue libertie to all offendours, condemned by iudgement of the Conſuls,to appeale vnto the people. The ſecõd,that no man vpon payne of death ſhould take vpon him the exerciſe of any office, vnles he had come vnto it by the gifte of the people. The third was,and all in fauour of the poore,that the poore cittizens of ROME ſhould paye no more cuſtome,nor any impoſt whatſoeuer. This made euery man the more willing to geue him ſelfe to ſome crafte or occupation, when he ſawe his trauaill ſhould not be taxed, nor taken from him. As for the law that he made againſt thoſe that diſobeyed the Conſuls, it was founde to be ſo fauorable to the communaltie,as they thought it was rather made for the poore,than for the riche & great men. For the offendours & breakers of that lawe, were con-
D demned to paye for a penaltie,the value of fiue oxen,and two muttons. The price of a mutton was then, tenne oboles, and of an oxe, a hundred oboles. For in thoſe dayes, the ROMAINES had no ſtore of coined mony,otherwiſe,they lacked no ſheepe,nor other rother beaſts. Hereof it came, that to this daye they call their riches or ſubſtaunce, *Peculium*, bicauſe *Pecus* ſignifieth ſheepe and muttons. And in the olde time the ſtampe vpon their money was an oxe, a mutton,or a hogge:& ſome of them called their children *Bubulci*,which ſignifieth cowheards: others *Caprarij*,to ſaye goateheards: and others *Porcij*,as you would ſaye,ſwineheardes. Nowe though in all his other lawes, he was very fauorable & temperate toward the people: yet in that moderation,ſomtimes he dyd ſet grieuous paynes & puniſhements. For he made it lawfull to kill any man without any accuſation, that dyd aſpire to the Kingdome, & he dyd ſet the
E murderer free of all puniſhement: ſo he brought forth manifeſt proofe, that the party ſlaine, had practiſed to make him ſelfe King. As being impoſſible a man ſhould pretend ſo great a matter, and no man ſhould finde it: and contrariwiſe being poſſible, albeit he were ſpyed, that otherwiſe he might attempt it,by making him ſelfe ſo ſtrong, that he needed not paſſe for the law. In this caſe he gaue euery man libertie by ſuch acte or meane,to preuent him if he could of diſcretion: who by ſtrength otherwiſe ſought to aſpire to reigne. They greatly commended him alſo for the lawe that he made touching the treaſure. For being very neceſſarie that euerie priuate cittizen ſhould according to his abilitie, be contributer to the charges and maintenaunce of the warres: he him ſelf would neither take ſuch collection into his charge, nor ſuffer any man of his to medle with the ſame,nor yet that it ſhould be layed in any priuate
F mans houſe,but he dyd ordeine that *Saturnes* tẽple ſhould be the treaſurie thereof. This order they keepe to this preſent daye. Furthermore,he graũted the people to chuſe two young men *Quæſtores* of the ſame, as you would ſaye the treaſurers, to take the charge of this money:

Why Valerius was ſurnamed Publicola.

Publicolaes actes and lawes.

Whereof Peculium was called.

The firſt Quæſtors.

Publius Veturius, Marc. Minutius.

and the two firſt which were choſen, were *Publius Veturius*, and *Marcus Minutius*, who gathered great ſummes of money together. For numbring the people by the polle, there were found a hundred and thirtie thouſand perſones which had payed ſubſidie, not reckoning in this accompt, orphanes, nor widowes, which were excepted from all payments. After he had eſtabliſhed all theſe things, he cauſed *Lucretius* (the father of *Lucretia*) to be choſen fellowe Conſul with him, vnto whom, for that he was his auncient, he gaue the vpper hande, and commaunded they ſhould carie before him the roddes, which were the ſignes of the chief magiſtrate: and euer ſince they haue geuen this honour vnto age. But *Lucretius* dying not long after his election, they choſe againe in his place *Marcus Horatius*, who held out the Conſulſhippe with *Publicola* the reſt of the yere. Nowe about that time king *Tarquine* remained in the coūtrie of THVSCANE, where he prepared a ſecōde armie againſt the ROMAINES, & there fell out a maruelous ſtraunge thing thereupon. For when he raigned king of ROME, he had almoſt made an ende of the building of the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and was determined (whether by any oracle receyued, or vpon any fantaſy it is not knowen) to ſet vp a coche of earth baked by a potter, in the higheſt place of the temple, and he put it out to be done by certaine THVSCAN workemen of the cittie of VEIES: but whileſt they were in hand with the worcke, he was driuen out of his Realme. When the worckemen had formed this coche, and that they had put it into the fournes to bake it, it fell out contrarie to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their worcke put into the fournes. For the earth dyd not ſhut and cloſe together in the fire, nor dryed vp all the moiſture thereof: but rather to the contrarie it dyd ſwell to ſuch a bignes, and grewe ſo harde and ſtrong withall, that they were driuen to breake vp the head and walles of the fournes to get it out. The ſoothe ſayers dyd expounde this, that it was a celeſtiall token from aboue, and promiſed great proſperitie and increaſe of power vnto thoſe, that ſhould enioye this coche. Whereupon the VEIANS reſolued not to deliuer it vnto the ROMAINES that demaunded it, but aunſwered that it dyd belong vnto king *Tarquine*, and not vnto thoſe that had baniſhed him. Not many dayes after, there was a ſolemne feaſt of games for running of horſes in the cittie of VEIES, where they dyd alſo many other notable actes, worthy ſight according to their cuſtome. But after the game was played, he that had wonne the bell, being crowned in token of victorie as they dyd vſe at that time, brought his coche and horſes fayer and ſoftely out of the ſhowe place: and ſodainely the horſe being affrayed vpon no preſent cauſe or occaſion ſeene, whether it was by chaunce, or by ſome ſecret working from aboue, ranne as they had bene mad with their coche to the cittie of ROME. The coche driuer dyd what he could poſſible at the firſt to ſtaye them, by holding in the raynes, by clapping them on the backs, and ſpeaking gently to them: but in the ende, perceyuing he could doe no good, and that they would haue their ſwynge, he gaue place to their furie, & they neuer linne ronning, till they brought him neere to the Capitoll, where they ouerthrewe him and his coche, not farre from the gate called at this preſent, *Ratumena*. The VEIANS woundering much at this matter, and being affrayed withall: were contented the workmen ſhould deliuer their coche made of earth vnto the ROMAINES. Now concerning *Iupiter Capitolins* temple, king *Tarquine* the firſt (which was the ſonne of *Demaratus*) vowed in the warres that he made againſt the SABYNES, that he would buyld it. And *Tarquine* the prowde, being the ſonne of him that made this vowe dyd buyld it: howbeit he dyd not conſecrate it, bicauſe he was driuen out of his Kingdome before he had finiſhed it. When this temple was built and throughly finiſhed, & ſet forth with all his ornaments: *Publicola* was maruelouſly deſirous to haue the honour of the dedication thereof. But the noble men and Senatours enuying his glorie, being very angrie that he could not content him ſelfe with all thoſe honours that he had receyued in peace, for the good lawes he had made, and in warres for the victories he had obteined & well deſerued, but further that he would ſeeke the honour of this dedication, which nothing dyd pertaine vnto him: they then dyd egge *Horatius*, & perſuaded him to make ſute for the ſame. Occaſion fell out at that time, that *Publicola* muſt haue the leading of the ROMAINES armie into the field: in the meane time, while *Publicola* was abſent, it was procured that the people gaue their voyces to *Horatius*, to conſecrate the temple, knowing they could not ſo well haue brought it to paſſe he being preſent. Other

Lucretius & Publicola Conſuls.

Publicola & Marcus Horatius Cōſuls.

A B C D E F

ſaye,

A ſaye, the Conſuls drewe lotts betweene them, and that it lighted vpon *Publicola* to leade the armie againſt his will, and vpon *Horatius* to conſecrate this temple, which maye be conie&tured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication thereof. For all the people being aſſembled together in the Capitoll with great ſilence, on the fiftenth daye of the moneth of September, which is about the newe moone of the moneth which the GRECIANS call *Metagitnion*: *Horatius* hauing done all the ceremonies needefull in ſuche a caſe, and holding then the doores of the temple, as the vſe was euen to vtter the ſolemne wordes of dedication: *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, hauing ſtoode a long time there at the temple doore, to take an oportunitie to ſpeake, beganne to ſay alowde in this wiſe. My lorde Conſul, your ſonne is dead of a ſickneſs in the campe. This made all the aſſembly ſorie to heare it, but it nothing amaſed
B *Horatius*, who ſpake only this muche. Caſt his bodie then where you will for me, the thought is taken. So he continued on to ende his conſecration. This was but à deuiſe and nothing true, of *Marcus Valerius*, only to make *Horatius* leaue of his conſecration. *Horatius* in this ſhewed him ſelfe a maruelous reſolute man, were it that he ſtreight founde his deuiſe, or that he beleeued it to be true: for the ſodainenes of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in conſecrating of the ſecond temple. For this firſt which *Tarquine* had built and *Horatius* conſecrated, was conſumed by fyer in the ciuill warres: and the ſecond was built vp againe by *Sylla*, who made no dedication of it. For *Catulus* ſet vp the ſuperſcription of the dedication, bicauſe *Sylla* dyed before he could dedicate it. The ſecond temple was burnt againe not long after the troubles and tumultes which were at ROME, vn-
C der *Vitellius* the Emperour. The third in like manner was reedified and built againe by *Veſpaſian*, from the ground to the toppe. But this good happe he had aboue other: to ſee his worke perfited and finiſhed before his death, and not ouerthrowen as it was immediately after his death. Wherein he dyd farre paſſe the happines of *Sylla*, who dyed before he could dedicate that he had built: and thother deceaſed before he ſawe his worcke ouerthrowen. For all the Capitoll was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported the only foundations of the firſt temple, coſt *Tarquinius* fortie thouſand *Pondos* of ſiluer. And to gyld only the temple which we ſee nowe in our time, they ſaye all the goodes and ſubſtaunce that the richeſt cittizen of ROME then had, will come nothing neere vnto it: for it coſt aboue twelue thouſand talents. The pillers of this temple are cut out of a quarrie of mar-
D bell, called pentlike marbell, and they were ſquared parpine, as thicke as long: theſe I ſawe at ATHENS. But afterwardes they were cut againe, and poliſhed in ROME, by which doing they got not ſo much grace, as they loſt proportion: for they were made to ſlender, and left naked of their firſt beawtie. Nowe he that would wounder at the ſtately buylding of the Capitoll, if he came afterwardes vnto the palace *Domitian*, and dyd but ſee ſome galerie, porche, hall, or hotte houſe, or his concubines chambers: he would ſaye (in my opinion) as the poet *Epicharmus* ſayed of a prodigall man.

How oft Iupiter Capitolins temple was burnt and built againe.

How much was ſpent in building the Capitoll.

It is a fault, and folly both in thee
to laſhe out giftes, and prodigall rewwardes:
For fonde delights, wwithout all rule that be,
E *regarding not wwhat happens afterwwardes.*

So might they iuſtly ſaye of *Domitian*. Thou art not liberall, nor deuoute vnto the goddes: but it is a vice thou haſt to loue to buyld, and deſireſt (as they ſaye of olde *Midas*) that all about thee were turned to gold, and precious ſtones. And thus much for this matter. *Tarquine* after that great foughten battell wherein he loſt his ſonne (that was ſlaine by *Brutus* in fighting together hande to hande) went to the cittie of CLVSIVM, vnto king *Claras Porſena*: the mightieſt prince that raigned at that time in all ITALIE, and was both noble and a curteous prince. *Porſena* promiſed him ayde: & firſt of all he ſent to ROME to ſummone the cittizens to receiue their King againe. But the ROMAINES refuſing the ſummones, he ſent forthwith an Heraulde to proclaime open warres againſt them, and to tell them where, and
F when he would meete them: and then marched thitherwardes immediatly with a great armie. *Publicola* nowe being abſent, was choſen Conſul the ſecond time, and *Titus Lucretius*

Domitians mad building humor.

Porſena proclaimeth warres with Rome.

Publicola & Titus Lucretius Conſuls.

with him. When he was returned home againe to ROME, bicauſe he would exceede king *Porſena* in greatnes of minde, he begāne to buyld a cittie called SIGLIVRIA, euen when the King with all his armie was not farre frō ROME: & hauing walled it about to his maruelous charge, he ſent thither ſeuen hundred cittizens to dwell there, to ſhewe that he made litle accompt of this warre. Howbeit *Porſena* at his coming dyd geue ſuche a luſtie aſſault to the mount *Ianiculum*, that they draue out the ſouldiers which kept the ſame: who flying towards ROME, were purſued ſo harde with the enemies, that with them they had entered the towne, had not *Publicola* made a ſaly out to reſiſt them. Who beganne a hotte skirmiſhe harde by the riuer of Tyber, & there ſought to haue ſtayed the enemies to follow any further: which being the greater number, dyd ouerlaye the ROMAINES, & dyd hurte *Publicola* very ſore in this skirmiſhe, ſo as he was caried away into the cittie in his ſouldiers armes. And euē ſo was the other Cōſul *Lucretius* hurte in like caſe: which ſo diſcoraged & frayed the ROMAINES, that they all tooke thē to their legges, & fled towards the cittie. The enemies purſued them at their heeles as farre as the wodden bridge: ſo that the cittie was in maruelous hazarde of taking vpon the ſodaine. But *Horatius Cocles*, & *Herminius*, and *Lucretius*, two other of the chiefeſt noble young men of the cittie, ſtood with them to the defence of the bridge, & made head againſt the enemie. This *Horatius* was ſurnamed *Cocles* (as much to ſaye, as one eye) bicauſe he had loſt one of them in the warres. Howbeit other writers ſaye, it was bicauſe of his flat noſe which was ſo foncke into his head, that they ſawe nothing to parte his eyes, but that the eye browes dyd meete together: by reaſon whereof the people thinking to ſurname him *Cyclops*, by corruption of the tōgue they called him (as they ſaye) *Cocles*. But howſoeuer it was, this *Horatius Cocles* had the courage to ſhew his face againſt the enemie, & to kepe the bridge, vntill ſuch time as they had cut & broken it vp behind him. When he ſaw they had done that, armed as he was, & hurte in the hippe with a pike of the THVSCANS, he leaped into the riuer of Tyber, and ſaued him ſelfe by ſwimming vnto the other ſide. *Publicola* woundring at this manly acte of his, perſuaded the ROMAINES ſtraight, euery one according to his abilitie, to giue him ſo much as he ſpent in a daye: & afterwards alſo he cauſed the common treaſury to geue him as much lande as he could compaſſe about with his plowe in a daye. Furthermore he made his image of braſſe to be ſet vp in the temple of *Vulcane*, comforting by this honour his wounded hippe, whereof he was lame euer after. Nowe whileſt king *Porſena* was hottely bent, very ſtraightly to beſiege ROME, there beganne a famine among the ROMAINES: & to encreaſe the daunger, there came a newe armie out of THVSCANE, which ouerranne, burnt, and made waſte, all the territorie of ROME. Whereupon *Publicola* being choſen Conſul, then the third time, thought he ſhould neede to doe no more to reſiſt *Porſena* brauely, but to be quiet only, & to looke well to the ſafe keeping of the cittie. Howbeit ſpying his oportunity, he ſecretly ſtole out of ROME with a power, & did ſet vpon the THVSCANS that deſtroyed the countrie about: & ouerthrew & ſlue of them, fiue thouſand men. As for the hiſtorie of *Mutius*, many doe diuerſely reporte it: but I will write it in ſuch ſorte, as I thincke ſhall beſt agree with the trothe. This *Mutius* was a worthie man in all reſpects, but ſpecially for the warres. He deuiſing howe he might come to kill king *Porſena*, diſguiſed him ſelfe in THVSCANS apparell, and ſpeaking Thuſcan very perfectly, went into his campe, and came to the Kings chayer, in the which he gaue audience: and not knowing him perfectly, he durſt not aske which was he, leaſt he ſhould be diſcouered, but drue his ſworde at aduenture, & ſlewe him whom he tooke to be King. Vpon that they layed holde on him, & examined him. And a panne full of fire being brought for the King that entēded to doe ſacrifice vnto the goddes, *Mutius* held out his right hand ouer the fire, and boldly looking the King full in his face, whileſt the fleſh of his hand dyd frye of, he neuer chaunged hewe nor contenaunce: the King woundering to ſee ſo ſtraunge a ſight, called to them to withdraw the fire, and he him ſelfe dyd deliuer him his ſworde againe. *Mutius* tooke it of him with his left hand, whereupon they ſaye afterwardes, he had geuen him the ſurname of *Scæuola*, as much to ſaye, as left handed, and told him in taking of it. Thou couldeſt not *Porſena* for feare haue ouercomed me, but nowe through curteſy thou haſt wonne me. Therefore for goodwill I will reueale that vnto thee, which no force, nor extremitie could haue made me vtter. Thete are three hundred ROMAINES diſperſed through thy campe, all which are prepared with like

Horatius Cocles why ſo called.

Good ſeruice rewarded.

Publicola Conſul.

The noble acte of Mutius Scæuola.

How Mutius came by the name of Scæuola.

A like mindes to followe that I haue begonne, only gaping for oportunitie to put it in practiſe. The lot fell on me to be the firſt to breake the Iſe of this enterpriſe: & yet I am not ſorie my hande fayled, to kill ſo worthie a man, that deſerueth rather to be a friend, then an enemie vnto the Romaines. *Porſena* hearing this, did beleeue it, & euer after he gaue the more willing eare to thoſe that treated with him of peace: not ſo much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in waite to kill him, as for the admiration of the Romaines noble minde and great corage. All other writers call this man, *Mutius Scæuola*: howbeit *Athenodorus*, ſurnamed *Sandon*, in a booke he wrote vnto *Octauia*, *Auguſtus* ſiſter, ſayeth that he was alſo called *Opſig onus*. But *Publicola* taking king *Porſena* not to be ſo daũgerous an enemie to Rome, as he ſhould be a profitable friẽd & allie to the ſame: let him vnderſtand, that he was cõtẽted to

B make him iudge of the controuerſie betweene them & *Tarquine*. Whom he dyd many times prouoke to come & haue his cauſe heard before king *Porſena*, where he would iuſtifie to his face, that he was the naughtieſt & moſt wicked man of the world, & that he was iuſtly driuen out of his countrie. *Tarquine* ſharpely aunſwered, that he would make no man his iudge, and *Porſena* leaſt of all other, for that hauing promiſed him to put him againe in his Kingdom, he was nowe gone from his worde, and had chaunged his minde. *Porſena* was very angrie with this aunſwer, iudging this a manifeſt token that his cauſe was ill. Wherefore *Porſena* being ſolicited againe by his owne ſonne *Aruns*, who loued the Romaines, dyd eaſely graunte them peace vpon condition: that they ſhould redeliuer backe againe to him the lands they had gotten before within the countrie of Thvscan, with the priſoners alſo which they had taken in

C this warre, & in liew thereof he offered to deliuer to them againe the Romaines, that had fled from them vnto him. To confirme this peace, the Romaines deliuered him oſtages, tenne of the nobleſt mens ſonnes of the cittie, & ſo many of their daughters: emõg which, was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne daughter. Peace being thus concluded, *Porſena* brake his armie, & withdrewe his ſtrength, truſting to the peace cõcluded. The Romaines daughters deliuered for oſtages, came downe to the riuers ſide to waſhe them, in a quiet place where the ſtreame ranne but gently, without any force or ſwiftnes at all. When they were there, and ſaw they had no garde about them, nor any came that waye, nor yet any botes going vp nor down the ſtreame: they had a deſire to ſwime ouer the riuer, which rãne with a ſwift ſtreame, & was maruelous deepe. Some ſaye, that one *Clelia* ſwamme the riuer vpon her horſe backe, & that ſhe did imbolden

D & incorage the other to ſwimme hard by her horſe ſide: & recouering the other bancke, and being paſt all daunger, they went & preſented them ſelues before *Publicola* the Conſul. Who neither commended them, nor liked the parte they had played, but was maruelous ſorie, fearing leaſt men would iudge him leſſe carefull to keepe his faith, then was king *Porſena*: & that he might ſuſpect the boldnes of theſe maidens, was but a crafty ſlight deuiſed of the Romaines. Therefore he tooke them all againe, & ſent them immediatly vnto king *Porſena*. Whereof *Tarquine* hauing intelligence, he layed an ambuſhe for them, that had the conduction of them. Who ſo ſoone as they were paſte the riuer, did ſhew them ſelues, & brake vpon the Romaines: they being farre fewer in number than the other, did yet very ſtowtely defend them ſelues. Now whileſt they were in earneſt fight together, *Valeria Publicolaes* daughter, and

E three of her fathers ſeruants, eſcaped through the middeſt of them, and ſaued them ſelues. The reſidue of the virgines remained in the middeſt among their ſwordes, in great daunger of their liues. *Aruns* king *Porſenas* ſonne aduertiſed hereof, ranne thither incõtinently to the reſcue: but when he came, the enemies fled, and the Romaines held on their iorney to redeliuer their oſtages. *Porſena* ſeeing them againe, asked which of them it was that beganne firſt to paſſe the riuer, and had encouraged the other to followe her. One pointed him vnto her, and told him her name was *Clelia*. He looked vpon her very earneſtly, and with a pleaſaunt countenaunce, and commaunded they ſhould bring him one of his beſt horſe in the ſtable, and the richeſt furniture he had for the ſame, and ſo he gaue it vnto her. Thoſe which holde opinion that none but *Clelia* paſſed the riuer a horſe backe, doe alledge this to proue

F their opinion true. Other doe denie it, ſaying that this Thvscan king, did onely honour her noble courage. Howſoeuer it was, they ſee her image a horſe backe in the holy ſtreete, as they goe to the palace: & ſome ſaye it is the ſtatue of *Valeria*, other of *Clelia*. After *Porſena*

Publicola maketh Porſena iudge, betwext them and the Tarquines.

Peace graunted the Romaines by Porſena.

The boldenes of Clelia and other Romaine virgines.

The liberalitie of king Porſena to the Romaines.

had made peace with the ROMAINES, in breaking vp his campe, he ſhewed his noble A
minde vnto them in many other things, and ſpecially in that he commaunded his ſouldiers
they ſhould carie nothing but their armour and weapon only, leauing his campe full of
corne, vittells, and other kynde of goodes. From whence this cuſtome came, that at this daye
when they make open ſale of any thing belonging to the common weale, the ſergeant or
common crier crieth, that they are king *Porſenas* goodes, and taken of thankefullnes and per-
petuall memorie of his bountie and liberalitie towards them. Further, *Porſenas* image ſtan-
deth adioyning to the palace where the Senate is vſed to be kept, which is made of great an-
tike worke. Afterwardes the SABYNES inuading the ROMAINES territorie with a great

Marcus Valerius, Poſthumius Tubertus Conſuls.

force, *Marcus Valerius Publicolaes* brother, was then choſen Conſul, with one *Poſthumius Tu-*
bertus. Howbeit all matters of weight and importaunce paſſed by *Publicolaes* counſell and au- B
thoritie, who was preſent at any thing that was done: and by whoſe meanes *Marcus* his bro-
ther, wanne two great battells, in the laſt whereof he ſlewe thirteene thouſand of his enemies,
not loſing one of his owne men. For which his victories, beſides the honour of triumphe he
had, the people alſo at their owne charges, built him a houſe, in the ſtreete of mounte Pala-
tine, and graunted him moreouer that his doore ſhould open outwards into the ſtreete, where
all others mens doores dyd open inwards into their houſe: ſignifying by graunte of this ho-
nour and priuiledge, that he ſhould allwayes haue benefit by the common weale. It is repor-
ted that the GRECIANS doores of their houſes in olde time, dyd all open outwards after
that facion, & they doe cõiecture it by the comedies that are played. Where thoſe that would
goe out of their houſes, dyd firſt knocke at their doores, and make a noyſe within the houſe, C
leaſt in opening their doore vpon a ſodaine, they might ouerthrowe or hurte him that taried
at the ſtreete doore, or paſſed by the waye: who hearing the noyſe, had warning ſtraight to a-
uoyde the daunger. The next yere after that, *Publicola* was choſen Conſul the fourth time, bi-
cauſe they ſtoode in great doubt that the SABYNES and LATINES would ioyne together to
make warres vpon them: beſides all this, there was a certaine ſuperſtitious feare ranne through
the cittie, of ſome ill happe toward it, bicauſe moſt parte of the women with childe were deli-
uered of vnperfect children, lacking ſome one limme or other, & all of them came before their
time. Wherfore *Publicola* looking in ſome of *Sybillaes* bookes, made priuate ſacrifice vnto *Pluto*,
& did ſet vp againe ſome feaſtes & ſolemne games that were left of, & had bene commaunded
before time to be kept by the oracle of *Apollo*. Theſe meanes hauing a litle reioyced the cittie D
with good hope, bicauſe they thought that the anger of the goddes had bene appeaſed: *Publi-*
cola then begãne to prouide for the daũgers that they were threatned withall by men, for that
newes was brought him that their enemies were vp in all places, & made great preparation to
inuade them. Nowe there was at that time amongeſt the SABYNES, a great riche man called
Appius Clauſius, very ſtrong and actiue of bodie, & otherwiſe a man of great reputation & elo-
quence, aboue all the reſt of his countrie men: but notwithſtãding, he was much enuied, and
could not auoyde it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to ſtaye thoſe inten-
ded warres againſt the ROMAINES. Whereupon, many which before tooke occaſion to mur-
mure againſt him, dyd nowe much more increaſe the ſame: with ſaying he ſought to main-
teine the power of the ROMAINES, that afterwards by their ayde he might make him ſelfe ty- E
ranne & King of the countrie. The common people gaue eaſy eare vnto ſuch ſpeaches, & *Ap-*
pius perceyuing well enough how the ſouldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would com-
plaine, & accuſe him. Wherefore being well backed & ſtoode to by his kynſemen, friends, and
followers, he practiſed to make a ſturre among the SABYNES, which was the cauſe of ſtaying
the warres againſt the ROMAINES. *Publicola*, alſo for his parte was very diligẽt, not only to vn-
derſtãd the originall cauſe of his ſedition, but to feede on further & increaſe the ſame, hauing
gotten men meete for the purpoſe, which caried *Appius* ſuch a meſſage from him. That *Publi-*
cola knewe very well he was a iuſt man, and one that would not be reuenged of his citti-
zens, to the generall hurte of his countrie, although the iniuries he receyued at their hands,
deliuered him iuſt occaſion to doe it: neuertheles if he had any deſire to prouide for his F
ſafety and to repaire to ROME, leauing them which cauſeles wiſhed him ſo muche euill,
they would both openly and priuately receyue him with that due honour which his ver-

tue

A tue deſerued and the worthines of the ROMAINE people required. *Clauſus* hauing long and many times conſidered this matter with him ſelfe, reſolued that it was the beſt waye he could take, making vertue of neceſſitie: & therefore being determined to doe it, he dyd procure his friends to doe as he dyd, & they got other alſo vnto them, ſo that he brought awaye with him out of the countrie of the SABYNES, fiue thouſand families with their wiues and children (of the quieteſt and moſt peacible people among the SABYNES) to dwel at ROME. *Publicola* being aduertiſed thereof before they came, dyd receyue them at their comming to ROME with great ioye, and all manner of good curteous enterteinment. For at their firſt coming, he made them all and their families free cittizens, & aſſigned vnto euery perſone of them two iugera of lande, (which conteined one acre, one roode, eleuen pole, and 69. partes of a pole) by the riuer

Appius Clauſius goeth to dwel at Rome.

B of Tyber: and vnto *Appius* ſelf he gaue 25. iugera (towit, 16. acres and a halfe, 4. pole and 76. partes of a pole) & receiued him into the nũber of the Senatours. And thus came he firſt vnto the gouernment of the common weale in ROME, where he did ſo wiſely behaue him ſelf, that in the end he came to be the chiefeſt man of dignitie & authoritie in ROME, ſo long as he liued. After his death, he left behind him the familie of the *Claudians*, deſcẽding frõ him: which for honour, and worthines, gaue no place to the nobleſt familie in ROME. But nowe the ſedition amongeſt the SABYNES being pacified, by the departure of thoſe that were gone to ROME: the ſeditious gouernours would not ſuffer thoſe that remained to liue in peace, but ſtill cried out, it were to much ſhame for them, that *Clauſus* being a fugitiue, and become an enemie, ſhould honour their enemies abroade, that being preſent durſt not ſhewe ſo much at

The familie of the Claudians.

C home, and that the ROMAINES ſhould ſcape vnreuenged, who had done them ſuch apparant wronges. So they raiſed great force and power, and went and encamped with their armie neere the cittie of FIDENES, and layed an ambuſhe harde by ROME, in certen hidden and hollowe places, where they put a two thouſand choyce footemen, very well armed, and dyd appoint the next morning to ſend certaine light horſe men to runne and praye to ROME gates: commaunding them, that when the ROMAINES came out of the cittie to charge them, they ſhould ſeeme leyſurely to retire, vntill they had drawen them within daunger of their ambuſh. *Publicola* receyuing full intelligence of all their intention, by a traytour that fled from them vnto him, made due preparation to encounter with their priuie ambuſhe, and ſo deuided his armie in two partes: for he gaue his ſonne in lawe *Poſthumius Balbus*, three thouſand footemen,

D whom he ſent awaye by night, commaunding them the ſame night to take the hilles, in the bottome whereof the SABYNES were layed in ambuſhe. *Lucretius*, fellowe Conſull with *Publicola*, hauing the lighteſt and luſtieſt men of the cittie, was appointed to make head againſt the vaũtcurriers of the SABYNES, that minded to approche the gates. And *Publicola* with the reſt of the armie, marched a great compaſſe about to incloſe his enemies behinde. The next morning betimes, by chaunce it was a thick miſte, & at that preſent time *Poſthumius* coming down from the hilles, with great ſhowtes, charged them that laye in ambuſh. *Lucretius* on the other ſide, ſet vpon the light horſemen of the SABYNES: & *Publicola* fell vpon their campe. So that of all ſides the SABYNES enterpriſe had very ill ſucceſſe, for they had the worſt in euery place, & the ROMAINES killed them flying, without any turning againe to make reſiſtance. Thus the

E place which gaue them hope of beſt ſafety, turned moſt to their deadly ouerthrowe. For euery one of their companies ſuppoſing the other had bene whole & vnbroken, when a charge was geuen vpon them, dyd ſtraight breake, & neuer a company of them turned head toward their enemie. For they that were in the campe, ranne toward them which laye in ambuſhe: & thoſe which were in ambuſhe on the contrarie ſide, ranne towards them that were in cãpe. So that in flying, the one met with the other, and founde thoſe, towards whom they were flying to haue bene ſafe, to ſtand in as much neede of helpe as them ſelues. That which ſaued ſome that were not ſlaine, was the cittie of FIDENES, which was neere the campe, and ſpecially ſaued thoſe which fled thither. But ſuch as came ſhorte of the cittie, and could not in time recouer it, were all ſlaine in the fielde, or taken priſoners. As for the glorie of this ho-

The Sabynes ſlaine.

F norable victorie, albeit the ROMAINES were wonte to aſcribe all ſuche great notable matters to the ſpeciall prouidence and grace of the goddes, yet at that time notwithſtanding they dyd iudge, that this happy ſucceſſe fell out by the wiſe foreſight and valliantnes

of the captaine. For euery man that had ſerued in this iorney, had no other talke in his mouth, but that *Publicola* had deliuered their enemies into their handes, lame, and blinde, and as a man might ſaye, bounde hande and feete to kill them at their pleaſure. The people were maruelouſly enriched by this victorie, aſwell for the ſpoile, as for the ranſome of the priſoners that they had gotten. Nowe *Publicola* after he had triumphed, and left the gouernment of the cittie to thoſe, which were choſen Conſuls for the yere following: dyed incontinently, hauing liued as honorably and vertuouſly all the dayes of his life, as any man liuing might doe. The people then tooke order for his funeralles, that the charges thereof ſhould be defrayed by the cittie, as if they had neuer done him any honour in his life, and that they had bene ſtill debters vnto him for the noble ſeruice he had done vnto the ſtate and common weale whileſt he liued. Therefore towardes his funeralle charges, euery cittizen gaue a pece of money called a Quatrine. The women alſo for their parte, to honour his funeralles, agreed among them ſelues to mourne a whole yere in blackes for him, which was a great and honorable memoriall. He was buried alſo by expreſſe order of the people, within the cittie, in the ſtreate called Velia: and they graunted priuiledge alſo vnto all his poſteritie, to be buried in the ſelfe ſame place. Howbeit they doe no more burie any of his there. But when any dye, they bring the corſe vnto this place, and one holding a torche burning in his hande, doth put it vnder the place, and take it ſtraight awaye againe, to ſhewe that they haue libertie to burie him there, but that they willingly refuſe this honour: and this done, they carie the corſe awaye againe.

The death of Publicola.

His funeralles.

THE COMPARISON OF *Solon with Publicola.*

NOWE preſently to compare theſe two perſonages together, it ſeemeth they both had one vertue in them: which is not founde in any other of their liues which we haue written of before. And the ſame is, that the one hath bene a witnes, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like. So as the ſentence that *Solon* ſpake to king *Cræſus*, touching *Tellus* felicitie & happines, might haue better bene applied vnto *Publicola*, than to *Tellus*: whom he iudged to be very happy, bicauſe he dyed honorably, he had liued vertuouſly, and had left behinde him goodly children. And yet *Solon* ſpeaketh nothing of his excellencie, or vertue, in any of his poemes: neither dyd he euer beare any honorable office in all his time, nor yet left any children that caried any great fame or renowme after his death. Whereas *Publicola* ſo long as he liued, was allwayes the chief man amongeſt the ROMAINES, of credit and authoritie: and afterwards ſince his death, certaine of the nobleſt families, and moſt auncient houſes of ROME, in theſe our dayes, as the *Publicoles*, the *Meſſales*, and

Publicola happie.

A & the VALERIANS, for six hundred yeres continuance, doe referre the glorie of the nobilitie & aunciētie of their house vnto him. Furthermore, *Tellus* was slaine by his enemies, fighting valliantly like a worthy honest man. But *Publicola* died after he had slaine his enemies: which is farre more great good happe, then to be slaine. For after he as generall had honorably serued his country in the warres, & had left them conquerers, hauing in his life time receyued all honours & triumphes due vnto his seruice: he attained to that happy end of life, which *Solon* accompted & esteemed, most happy & blessed. Also in wishing manner, he would his end should be lamented to his prayse, in a place where he confuteth *Mimnermus*, about the continuaunce of mans life, by saying:

Let not my death vvithout lamenting passe,
B *but rather let my friendes bevvayle the same:*
VVhose grieuous teares, and cries of out alas,
maye ofte resound the Eccho of my name.

If that be good happe, then most happy maketh he *Publicola*: for at his death, not only his friends and kinsefolkes, but the whole cittie also, and many a thousand persone besides, dyd bitterly bewayle the losse of him. For all the women of ROME dyd mourne for him in blacks, and dyd most pittiefully lament his death, as euery one of them had lost either father, brother, or husband.

True it is, that I couet goodes to haue:
but yet so got, as maye me not deprave.

Solon sayeth this, bicause vengeance followed ill gotten good. And *Publicola* tooke great
C heede, not only to get his goodes most iustly, but had regarde that those which he had, he spent most honestly in helping the needie. So that if *Solon* was iustly reputed the wisest man, we must needes confesse also that *Publicola* was the happiest. For what the one desired for the greatest and most perfect good, a man can haue in this worlde: the other hath wonne it, kept it, and vsed it all his life time, vntill the hower of his death. And thus hath *Solon* honoured *Publicola*, and *Publicola* hath done like vnto *Solon*, shewing him self a perfect example and looking glasse, where men maye see howe to gouerne a popular state: when he made his Consulshippe voyde of all pride & stately shewe, and became him self affable, curteous, and beloued of euerie bodie. So tooke he profit by many of his lawes. As when he ordeined, that the people only should haue authoritie to choose and create, all common officers and magistrates,
D and that they might appeale from any iudge to the people: as *Solon* when he suffered them to appeale vnto the iudges of the people. In deede *Publicola* dyd not create any newe Senate, as *Solon* dyd: but he dyd augment the first number, with as many persones almost as there were before. He dyd also first erect the office of *Quæstores*, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other collections of money. Bicause the chiefest magistrate, if he were an honest man, should not for so light an occasion be taken, from the care of better and more weightie affayers: and if he were wickedly geuen and ill disposed, that he should haue no such meane or occasion to worke his wicked will, by hauing the treasure of the cittie in his handes, and to commaund what he lyst. Moreouer in hating the tyrānes, *Publicola* therein was farre more sharpe & terrible. For *Solon* in his lawes punished him that went about to make him selfe tyranne, yet after
E he was conuicted thereof by lawe: but *Publicola* ordeined that they should kill him, before the lawe dyd passe on him, that sought to be King. And where *Solon* iustly, and truely vaunteth him self, that being offered to be King & Lord of ATHENS, and that with the whole consent of the cittizens: yet he dyd notwithstanding refuse it. This vaunte and glorie is as due vnto *Publicola*: who finding the dignitie of a Consul tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and fauorable for the people, not taking vpon him all the authoritie he might lawfully haue done. And it seemeth that *Solon* knewe before him, what was the true and direct waye to gouerne a common weale vprightly. For he sayeth in one place:

Publicola erected the office of Quæstores.

Both great and small of povver, the better vvill obaye:
if vve to litle or to much, vpon them doe not laye.

F The discharging of dettes was proper to *Solon*, which was a full confirmation of libertie. For litle preuayleth lawe to make equalitie among cittizens, when dettes doe hinder the poore people to enioye the benefit thereof. And where it seemeth that they haue most liber-

tie,as in that they maye be choſen iudges and officers to ſpeake their opinion in the counſell, A
and geue their voyces alſo: there in deede are they moſt bounde and ſubiect, bicauſe they
doe but obaye the rich,in all they doe commaund.But yet in this acte there is a thinge more
wonderfull, and worthie to be noted. That commonly diſcharging of dettes, was wont to
breede great tumultes, and ſeditions in common weales. And *Solon* hauing vſed it in a very
good time(as the phiſitian ventring a daungerous medecine) dyd appeaſe the ſedition already
begonne, and did vtterly quenche through his glorie, and the common opinion they had of
his wiſdome and vertue, all the infamie and accuſation that might haue growen of that acte.
As for their firſt entrie into the gouernment, *Solons* beginning was farre more noble. For he
went before,and followed not another: and him ſelfe alone without any others helpe,dyd put
in execution the beſt, and more parte of all his notable and goodly lawes. Yet was *Publicolaes* B
ende and death much more glorious and happie.For *Solon* before he dyed, ſawe all his comon
wealthe ouerthrowen: but *Publicolaes* common weale continued whole as he left it, vntill the
broyle of ciuill warres beganne againe among them. *Solon*, after he had made his lawes, and
written them in wodden tables,leauing them without defence of any man, went his waye im-
mediatly out of the cittie of ATHENS. *Publicola* abiding continually in ROME gouerning the
ſtate,dyd throughly ſtabliſhe & confirme the lawes he made. Furthermore *Solon* hauing wiſe-
ly forſeene *Piſiſtratus* practiſes, aſpiring to make him ſelfe King: he could neuer let him for
all that,but was him ſelfe ouercome and oppreſſed with the tyrannie he ſawe ſtabliſhed in his
owne ſight,and in diſpight of him.Where *Publicola* ouerthrewe and dyd put downe a mightie
Kingdome,that had continued of long time,and was throughly ſtabliſhed: his vertue and de- C
ſire being equall with *Solons*, & hauing had beſides fortune fauorable, and ſufficient power to
execute,his vertuous and well diſpoſed minde.But as for warres and marſhall deedes, there is
no compariſon to be made betweene them. For *Daimachus Plataian*, doth not attribute the
warres of the MEGARIANS vnto *Solon*, as we haue written it: where *Publicola* being generall
of an armie,and fighting him ſelfe in perſone,hath wonne many great battells.And as for mat-
ters of peace and ciuill gouernment,*Solon* neuer durſt preſent him ſelf openly to perſuade the
enterpriſe of SALAMINA, but vnder a counterfeat madnes, and as a foole to make ſporte.
Where *Publicola* taking his aduenture from the beginning,ſhewed him ſelfe without diſſimu-
lation, an open enemie to *Tarquine*, and afterwardes he reuealed all the whole conſpiracie.
And when he had bene the only cauſe and autor of puniſhing the traitours, he dyd not only D
driue out of ROME the tyrannes ſelues in perſone, but tooke from them alſo all hope of re-
turne againe. Who hauing allwayes thus nobly & valliantly behaued him ſelf,without ſhrin-
king backe, or flying from ought that required force,a manly corage,or open reſiſtaunce: dyd
yet ſhewe him ſelfe diſcreete,where wiſedome was requiſite, or reaſon and perſuaſion neede-
full.As when he conningly wanne king *Porſena*,who was a dredfull enemie vnto him, and in-
uincible by force: whom he handled in ſuch good ſorte, that he made him his friend. Pera-
uenture ſome might ſtand in this and ſaye: that *Solon* recouered the Ile of SALAMINA vnto
the ATHENIANS, which they would haue loſt. *Publicola* to the contrarie, reſtored the lands
vnto *Porſena* againe, which the ROMAINES had conquered before, within the countrie of
THVSCAN. But the times in which theſe things were done, are allwayes to be conſidered of. E
A politicke precept. For a wiſe gouernour of a Realme,and politicke man,doth gouerne diuerſely according to the
occaſions offred,taking euery thing in his time wherein he will deale.And many times,in let-
ting goe one thing, he ſaueth the whole: and in loſing a litle, he gayneth much. As *Publicola*
dyd: who loſing a litle pece of another mans countrie which they had vſurped,ſaued by that
meanes all that was aſſuredly his owne. And whereas the ROMAINES thought he ſhould doe
very much for them,to ſaue their cittie only: he got them moreouer,all the goodes that were
in their enemies cãpe,which dyd beſiege them. And in making his enemie iudge of his quar-
rell,he wãne the victorie: winning that moreouer,which he would gladly haue geuen to haue
ouercome, and haue ſentence paſſe of his ſide. For the King their enemie dyd not only make
peace with them, but dyd alſo leaue them all his furniture, prouiſion, and munition for the F
warres: euen for the vertue,manhood,and iuſtice, which the great wiſedome of this Conſul
perſuaded *Porſena* to beleeue to be,in all the other ROMAINES.

The ende of Publicolaes life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Themiſtocles.

A THEMISTOCLES parentage dyd litle aduaunce his glorie: for his father *Neocles* was of ſmall reputation in ATHENS, being of the hundred of *Phrear*, & tribe of *Leontis*: of his mother an allien or ſtraunger: as theſe verſes doe witneſſe,

Abrotonon I am, yborne in Thracia,
and yet this highe good happe I haue, that into Grecia:
I haue brought forth a ſonne, Themiſtocles by name,
the glorie of the Greekiſhe bloods, and man of greateſt fame.

Howbeit *Phanias* writeth, that his mother was not a THRACIAN, but borne in the countrie of CARIA: and they doe not call her *Abrotonon*, but *Euterpé*. And B *Neanthes* ſayeth furthermore, that ſhe was of HALICARNASSVS, the chiefeſt cittie of all the Realme of CARIA. For which cauſe when the ſtraungers dyd aſſemble at *Cynoſargos* (a place of exerciſe without the gate dedicated to *Hercules*, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortall woman:) *Themiſtocles* perſuaded diuers youthes of the moſt honourable houſes, to goe down with him, & to annointe them ſelues at *Cynoſargos*, conningly thereby taking away the differēce betwene the right & alien ſorte. But ſetting a parte all theſe circumſtaunces, he was no doubt allied vnto the houſe of the *Lycomedians*: for *Themiſtocles* cauſed the chappell of this familie, which is in the village of PHLYES, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be buylt vp againe at his owne charges: and as *Simonides* ſayeth, he dyd ſet it forth and enriche it with pictures. Moreouer euery man doth confeſſe it, that euen from C his childhood they dyd perceyue he was geuen to be very whotte headed, ſturring, wiſe, and of good ſpirite, and enterpriſing of him ſelfe to doe great things, and borne to rule weighty cauſes. For at ſuch dayes and howers as he was taken from his booke, and had leaue to playe, he neuer played, nor would neuer be idle, as other children were: but they allwayes founde him conning ſome oration without booke, or making it alone by him ſelfe, and the ground of his matter was euer comonly, either to defend, or accuſe ſome of his companions. Whereupon his ſchoolemaſter obſeruing him, ofte ſayed vnto him: ſuer ſome great matter hangeth ouer thy head my boye, for it cannot be choſen but that one daye thou ſhalt doe ſome notable

Cynoſargos, a place of exerciſt dedicated to Hercules.

Themiſtocles towardnes.

good thing, or ſome extreme miſchief. Therefore when they went about to teache him any A
thing, only to checke his nature, or to facion him with good manner and ciuilitie, or to ſtudie
any matter for pleaſure or honeſt paſtime: he would ſlowly and careleſly learne of them. But
if they deliuered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning ſtate: they ſawe he
would beate at it maruelouſly, and would vnderſtande more then any could of his age and ca-
riage, truſting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cauſe, that being mocked af-
terwardes by ſome that had ſtudied humanitie, and other liberall ſciences, he was driuen for
reuenge and his owne defence, to aunſwer with great and ſtowte wordes, ſaying, that in deede
he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a violl, nor to playe of a pſalterion: but if they dyd put
a cittie into his handes that was of ſmall name, weake, and litle, he knewe wayes enough how
to make it noble, ſtronge, and great. Neuertheles, *Steſimbrotus* writeth, how he went to *Ana-* B
Themiſtocles was Anaxagoras & Meliſſus ſcholler. *xagoras* ſchoole, and that vnder *Meliſſus* he ſtudied naturall philoſophie. But herein he was
greatly deceaued, for that he tooke no great hede vnto the time. For *Meliſſus* was captaine of
the SAMIANS againſt *Pericles*, at what time he dyd laye ſeige vnto the cittie of SAMOS. Now
this is true, *Pericles* was much younger then *Themiſtocles*, and *Anaxagoras* dwelt with *Pericles*
in his owne houſe. Therefore we haue better reaſon and occaſion to beleeue thoſe that write,
Mneſiphilus Phrearian. *Themiſtocles* dyd determine to followe *Mneſiphilus Phrearian*. For he was no profeſſed O-
rator, nor naturall philoſopher, as they termed it in that time: but made profeſſion of that
What wiſedome was in olde time. which then they called wiſedome. Which was no other thing, but a certen knowledge to
handle great cauſes, and an indeuour to haue a good wit and iudgment in matters of ſtate and
gouernment: which profeſſion beginning in *Solon*, dyd continue, and was taken vp from man C
to man, as a ſecte of philoſophie. But thoſe that came ſithence, haue mingled it with arte of
ſpeache, and by litle and litle haue tranſlated the exerciſe of deedes, vnto bare and curious
Howe the name of Sophiſters came vp. wordes: whereupon they were called *Sophiſters*, as who would ſaye, counterfeate wiſe men.
Notwithſtanding, when *Themiſtocles* beganne to medle with the gouernment of the common
weale, he followed much *Mneſiphilus*. In the firſt parte of his youth, his behauiour and doings
Themiſtocles youthe. were very light and vnconſtant, as one caried awaye with a raſhe head, and without any order
or diſcretion: by reaſon whereof his manners & conditions ſeemed maruelouſly to chaunge,
and oftimes fell into very ill fauored euents, as him ſelf dyd afterwards confeſſe by ſaying: that
a ragged colte oftimes proues a good horſe, ſpecially if he be well ridden, and broken as he
ſhould be. Other tales which ſome will ſeeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As D
that his father dyd diſinherite him, and that his mother for very care and ſorowe ſhe tooke to
ſee the lewde life of her ſonne, dyd kill her ſelf. For there are that write to the contrary, that his
father being deſirous to take him from dealing in gouernment, dyd goe and ſhewe him all a-
longeſt the ſea ſhore, the ſhippewracks and ribbes of olde gallyes caſt here and there, whereof
no reckoning was made, and ſayed to him: thus the people vſe their gouernours, when they
can ſerue no lenger. Howſoeuer it was, it is moſt true that *Themiſtocles* earneſtly gaue him ſelf
to ſtate, and was ſodainely taken with deſire of glorie. For euen at his firſt entrie, bicauſe he
would ſet foote before the prowdeſt, he ſtoode at pyke againſt the greateſt and mightieſt per-
The prime grudge betwext Themiſtocles and Ariſtides. ſones, that bare the ſwaye and gouernment, and ſpecially againſt *Ariſtides*, *Lyſimachus* ſonne,
who euer encountered him, and was ſtill his aduerſarie oppoſite. Yet it ſeemeth the euil will E
he conceyued toward him, came of a very light cauſe. For they both loued *Steſilaus*, that was
borne in the cittie of TEOS, as *Ariſton* the philoſopher writeth. And after this iealouſie was
kindled betweene them, they allwayes tooke contrary parte one againſt another, not only in
their priuate likings, but alſo in the gouernment of the cõmon weale. Yet I am perſuaded, that
the difference of their manners & conditions, did much encreaſe the grudge and diſcorde be-
twext them. For *Ariſtides* being by nature a very good man, a iuſt dealer, & honeſt of life, and
Ariſtides a iuſt man. one that in all his doings would neuer flatter the people, nor ſerue his owne glorie, but rather
to the contrary would doe, would ſaye, & counſaill allwayes for the moſt benefit & cõmoditie
of the commõ weale: was oftetimes enforced to reſiſt *Themiſtocles*, & diſapoint his ambition,
being euer buſilie mouing the people, to take ſome new matter in hande. For they reporte of F
Themiſtocles ambition. him, that he was ſo inflamed with deſire of glorie, & to enterpriſe great matters, that being but
a very yoõg man at the battell of *Marathon*, where there was no talke but of the worthines of

captaine

A captaine *Miltiades* that had wonne the battell: he was found many times ſolitarilie there alone deuiſing with him ſelf: beſides, they ſaye he could then take no reſt in the night, neither would goe to playes in the daye time, nor would keepe companie with thoſe whom he was accuſtomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that woūdred to ſee him ſo in his muſes, and chaunged, and asked him what he ayled: that *Miltiades* victorie would not let him ſleepe, bicauſe other thought this ouerthrow at MARATHON, would haue made an end of all warres. Howbeit *Themiſtocles* was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daylie ſtudied howe to preuent them, and how to ſee to the ſafetie of GREECE, & before occaſion offered, he did exerciſe his cittie in feats of warre, foreſeeing what ſhould followe after. Wherefore, where the cittizēs of ATHENS before dyd vſe to
B deuide among them ſelues the reuenue of their mines of ſiluer, which were in a parte of ATTICA called LAVRION: he alone was the firſt that durſt ſpeake to the people, & perſuade them, that from thenceforth they ſhould ceaſe that diſtribution among them ſelues, & employe the money of the ſame in making of gallyes, to make warres againſt the ÆGINETES. For their warres of all GREECE were moſt cruell, bicauſe they were lords of the ſea, & had ſo great a nūber of ſhippes. This perſuaſion drue the cittizens more eaſely to *Themiſtocles* minde, than the threatning them with king *Darius*, or the *Perſians* would haue done: who were farre from them, & not feared that they would come neere vnto them. So this oportunitie taken of the hatred & iealouſie betwene the ATHENIANS & the ÆGINETES, made the people to agree, of the ſaid money to make an hundred gallyes, with which they fought againſt king *Xerxes*, & did
C ouercome him by ſea. Now after this good beginning & ſucceſſe, he wanne the cittizēs by degrees to bende their force to ſea, declaring vnto them, howe by lande they were ſcant able to make heade againſt their equalles, whereas by their power at ſea, they ſhould not only defende them ſelues from the barbarous people, but moreouer be able to cōmaund all GREECE. Hereupon he made them good mariners, & paſſing ſea men, as *Plato* ſayeth, where before they were ſtowte & valliant ſouldiers by lande. This gaue his enemies occaſion to caſt it in his teethe afterwards, that he had taken away from the ATHENIANS the pike & the target, & had brought them to the bāke & the ower: & ſo he got the vpper hand of *Miltiades*. Who inueyed againſt him in that, as *Steſimbrotus* writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this ſea ſeruice to paſſe, whether thereby he dyd ouerthrow the iuſtice of the comō weale or not, I leaue that
D to the philoſophers to diſpute. But that the preſeruation of all GREECE ſtoode at that time vpō the ſea, & that the gallyes only were the cauſe of ſetting vp ATHENS againe: *Xerxes* him ſelf is a ſufficient witnes, beſides other proofes that might be brought thereof. For his armie by lāde being yet whole, & vnſet on, when he ſaw his armie by ſea broken, diſperſed, & ſouncke, he fled ſtraight vpon it, confeſſing as it were that he was nowe to weake to deale any more with the GREECIANS, & left *Mardonius* his lieutenant in GREECE, of purpoſe in my opinion, rather to let that the GREECIANS ſhould not followe him, then for any hope he had to ouercome thē. Some write of *Themiſtocles*, that he was a very good husband for his own profit, & carefull to looke to his things: for he dyd ſpende liberally, & loued ofte to make ſacrifices, & honorably to receyue & entertaine ſtraūgers: wherefore he had good reaſon to be carefull to get, to defraye
E his charges. Other to the cōtrary, blame him much, that he was to nere, & miſerable: for ſome ſaye, he would ſell preſents of meate that were geuen him. He dyd aske one *Philides* on a time, which had a brede of mares, a colte of gifte: who denying him flatly, he was ſo angrie, that he threatned him ere it were long he would make his houſe the horſe of wodde, with the which TROIA was taken. Meaning couertly to let him vnderſtande, that he would ſhortly ſet ſtrife & quarrel betwext him, & his neareſt kinſemen & familliar friends. It is true that he was the moſt ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a yoūg man, & ſcantly knowen, he earneſtly intreated one *Epicles*, borne at HERMIONNA, an excellent player of the citherne, & counted at that time the conningeſt man in all ATHENS at that inſtrument, that he would come & teache his arte at his houſe: and all was no more, but that many people being deſirous to heare him
F playe, ſhould aske for his houſe, & come thither to him. And one yere when he went vnto the feaſt & aſſembly of the playes Olympicall, he would nedes keepe open houſe for all commers, haue his tents richely furniſhed, & a great traine of ſeruants & all other furniture, only to con-

Themiſtocles perſuaded his contriemen to make gallyes.

The Athenians bēt their force to ſea, by Themiſtocles perſuaſion.

Themiſtocles a good husbād to looke for his profit.

Themiſtocles extremely ambitious.

tende with *Cimon*. This maruelously spighted the GREECIANS, who thought *Themistocles* expences fit for *Cimons* countenance, & abilitie, bicause he was a young gentleman, and of a noble house: but for him that was but a new come man, & would beare a greater porte, then either became his calling or abilitie, they thought it not only vnallowable in him, but meere presumption & vaine glorie. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedie which was played openly: & being set out therein to haue wonne the prise, & the ATHENIANS being maruelous desirous of the honour in such playes, he caused this victorie of his to be painted in a table, which he did dedicate & set vp in a temple, with this inscription. *Themistocles Phrearian defrayed the charges: Phrynicus made it: Adimantus vvas chief ruler.* Yet notwithstãding he was well taken of the common people, partly bicause he would speake to euery cittizen by his name, no man telling him their names: and partly also bicause he shewed him self an vpright iudge in priuate mens causes. As one daye he aunswered the poet *Simonides*, borne in CHIO, who dyd requeste an vnreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was gouernour of the cittie. Thou couldest be no good poet, *Simonides*, if thou diddest singe against the rules of musike: neither my self a good gouernour of a citie, if I should doe any thing against the lawe. And mocking the same *Simonides* another time, he told him he was but a foole to speake ill of the CORINTHIANS, considering they were lords of so great & strong a cittie. Likewise he was not wise to make him self to be drawen, being so deformed & ill fauored. But being growne in credit, & hauing wõne the fauour of the people, he was such an enemy to *Aristides*, that in the end he made him to be expulsed & banished ATHENS, for 5. yeres. Whẽ newes were brought that the king of PERSIA was onwardes on his iorney & coming downe to make warres vpon the GREECIANS: the ATHENIANS cõsulted whom they should make their generall. And it is reported, that all their cõmon counsellers which were wont to speake in matters, fearing the daunger, dyd drawe backe, saue an orator called *Epicydes*, *Euphemides* sonne, very eloquent in speache, but somwhat womanishe, fainte harted, & gredie of money, offred him self to sue for this charge, & had some hope to obteine it. Wherefore *Themistocles* fearing all would not be well, if it fell to this man to be generall of the armie, he bought out *Epicydes* ambitiõ with ready money, & so made him let fall his sute. It fell out *Themistocles* was greatly comẽded, about that was done to the interpreter, that came with the king of PERSIAES ambassadours, & demaunded the empire of the GREECIANS both by sea & lande, that they should acknowledge obedience to the King. For he caused him to be taken, & put to death by a comon cõsent, for vsing the Greeke tongue in the seruice & cõmaundement of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing also, that at his motion, *Arthmius* born at ZELEA, was noted of infamie, both he, his children, & all his posteritie after him, bicause he brought gold frõ the king of PERSIA, to corrupt & winne the GREECIANS. But the greatest & worthiest acte he did in those parts, was this: that he pacified all ciuill warres among the GREECIANS, persuading the citties to leaue of their quarrels vntill the warres were done, in the which they saye *Chileus Arcadian* did helpe him more then any other man. He being now chosen generall of the ATHENIANS, wẽt about presently to imbarke his cittizens into gallyes, declaring to them they should leaue their cittie, & goe mete with the barbarous King by sea, so farre frõ the coast of GREECE as they could: but the people did not thincke that good. Wherefore he led great numbers of souldiers by lande, into the countrie of TEMPES with the LACEDÆMONIANS, to keepe the passage & entrie into THESSALIE, against the barbarous people, which countrie stoode yet sownde to GREECE, & not reuolted to the MEDES. Afterwards the GREGIANS coming frõ thence without any acte done, and the THESSALIANS also being wonne somewhat on the Kings side, for that all the whole country vnto BOEOTIA was at the deuotion & goodwill of the barbarous people: then the ATHENIANS beganne to finde, howe *Themistocles* opinion to fight by sea was very good. Wherupon they sent him with their nauie to the cittie of ARTEMISIVN, to kepe the straight. There the other GRECIANS would haue had the LACEDÆMONIANS & their admirall *Eurybiades* to haue had the authoritie & cõmaundement of the rest. But the ATHENIANS would not set sayle vnder any other admirall then their own, bicause theirs were the greatest number of shippes in the armie, & aboue all the other GRECIANS. *Themistocles* foreseing the daunger that was likely to fall out amongest them selues, dyd willingly yelde the whole authoritie vnto

A wise saying of Themistocles.

Themistocles made Aristides to be banished.

Epicydes an orator sued to be generall.

Arthmius defamed for bribing.

Themistocles generall of the Atheniãs against Xerxes.

Eury-

A *Eurybiades*,& got the ATHENIANS to agree vnto it: assuring them,that if they behaued them selues valliātly in these warres, the other GREECIANS of their own accorde would afterwards submit them selues vnto their obedience.Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time,the originall cause of the sauing of GREECE, & dyd most aduaunce the honour and glorie of the ATHENIANS,by making them to ouercome their enemies by force,& their frieds & allies with liberalitie.In the meane time,*Eurybiades* seing the barbarous fleete riding at anker, all alongest the Ile of APHETES, with such a great nūber of shippes in the vaward,he begāne to be affrayed. And vnderstāding moreouer,there were other 200.sayle that wēt to cast about the Ile of SCIATHE,& so to come in:he presently would haue retired further into GREECE, & would haue drawē neerer vnto PELOPONNESVS,to the end their army by sea might be neare
B their army by lāde,as thinking it vnpossible to fight with king *Xerxes* power by sea.Whereupō the inhabitants of the Ile of EVBOEA,fearing least the GRECIANS would to the spoyle of the enemy,they caused *Themistocles* secretly to be spokē with all,& sent him a good sōme of money by one called *Pelagon*.*Themistocles* tooke the money,as *Herodotus* writeth,& gaue it to *Eurybiades*. But there was one *Architeles* amōgest the ATHENIANS,captaine of the galley called the holy galley,that was much against *Themistocles* intended purpose: who hauing no money to paye his mariners, dyd what he could that they might departe with speede from thence. *Themistocles* sturred vp then his souldiers more against him then before,insomuch as they wēt aborde his galley,& tooke his supper from him. *Architeles* being maruelous angrie & offēded withall,*Themistocles* sent him both bread & meat in a pānier,& in the bottome thereof he had
C put a talent of siluer, bidding him for that night to suppe with that, and the next morning he should prouide for his mariners,or els he would cōplaine,& accuse him to the cittizēs that he had takē money of the enemies.Thus it is writtē by *Phanias Lesbiā*. Moreouer these first fights in the straite of EVBOEA,betweene the GREECIANS, & the barbarous people, were nothing to purpose to end the warres betwene them.For it was but a taste geuē vnto them, which serued the GREECIANS turne very much, by making them to see by experiēce,& the manner of the fight,that it was not the great multitude of shippes,nor the pōpe & sumptuous setting out of the same,nor the prowde barbarous showts & songes of victorie that could stande them to purpose,against noble harts & valliāt minded souldiers,that durst grapple with them,& come to hands strokes with their enemies:& that they should make no reckoning of all that brauery
D & bragges,but should sticke to it like men,& laye it on the iacks of them.The which(as it seemeth)the poet *Pindarus* vnderstoode very well,when he sayed touching the battell of ARTEMISIVM.

The stovvte Athenians,haue novve foundation layed,
vnto the libertie of Greece,by thes assaults assayed.

For out of doubt the beginning of victorie, is to be hardie. This place ARTEMISIVM is a parte of the Ile of EVBOEA,looking towards the North,aboue the cittie of ESTIÆA,lying directly ouer against the country which somtimes was vnder the obedience of the PHILOCTETES,and specially of the cittie of OLIZON. There is a litle temple of *Diana*, surnamed *Orientall*, round about the which there are trees, and a compasse of pillers of white stone, which when a man rubbes with his hande, they shewe of the culler and sauour of safferne. And in
E one of those pillers there is an inscription of lamentable verses to this effect. *The coast of Artemisium.*

VVhen boldest bloods of Athens by their might
had ouercome,the numbers infinite
of Asia:they then in memorie,
of all their dedes,and valliant victorie
beganne to builde,this noble monument:
and to Diane the same they dyd present,
for that they had the Medes likevvise subdued,
& vvith their bloud,their hardy hands embrued.

There is a place seene also vpon that coast at this daye, a good waye into the lande, in the middest whereof are great sands full of blacke dust as ashes: and they thincke that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and olde shippwracks. Newes being brought what had bene done in the countrie of THERMOPYLES, how that king *Leonidas* was dead, and how that *Xerxes* had wonne that entry into GREECE by lande: the GREECIANS then brought their whole
F army by sea more into GREECE,the ATHENIANS being in the rereward in this retire,as mē whose hartes were lifte vp with the glorie of their former valliant dedes. Nowe *Themistocles* passing by those places where he knewe the enemies must of necessitie fall vpon the lee shore for harborow: he dyd ingraue certen wordes spoken vnto the IONIANS, in great letters in *Themistocles stratageame.*

ſtone, which he founde there by chaunce, or purpoſely brought thither for that purpoſe, A
where there was very good harber for ſhippes, and fit places alſo to lye in. Theſe were the
wordes, that the IONIANS ſhould take the GREECIANS partes being their founders and
aunceſters, & ſuch as fought for their libertie: or at the leaſt they ſhould trouble the armie of
the barbarous people, & doe them all the miſchief they could, when the GREECIANS ſhould
come to fight with them. By theſe words he hoped either to bring the IONIANS to take their
parte, or at the leaſt he ſhould make the barbarous people iealous & miſtruſtfull of them. *Xer-
xes* being already entred in the vppermoſt parte of the prouince of DORICA, into the countrie
of PHOCIDA, burning & deſtroying the townes & citties of the PHOCIANS: the other GREE-
CIANS laye ſtill & ſuffered the inuaſion, notwithſtanding the ATHENIANS did requeſt them to
mete with the barbarous armie in BOEOTIA, to ſaue the countrie of ATTICA, as before they B
had done, when they wēt by ſea to ARTEMISIVM. But they would not hearkē to it in no wiſe,
& all was bicauſe they were deſirous they ſhould drawe to the ſtraite of PELOPONNESVS, and
there they ſhould aſſemble the whole ſtrength and power of GREECE within the barre of the
ſame, & make a ſtrong ſubſtantiall walle from the one ſea to the other. The ATHENIANS were
very angrie at this deuiſe, & were half diſcoraged & out of harte, to ſee thē ſelues thus forſakē
and caſt of, by the reſt of the GREECIANS. For it was out of all ſpeache that they alone ſhould
fight againſt ſo many thouſands of enemies: & therefore their only remedy was, to leaue their
cittie: & to get them to the ſea. The people were very vnwilling to liſten hereūto, making their
reckoning it was nedeles to be carefull to ouercome, or to ſaue them ſelues, hauing once forſa-
ken the tēples of their godds, & the graues of their parents. Wherfore *Themiſtocles* ſeeing that C
neither reaſon, nor mans perſuaſiō could bring the people to like his opinion: he beganne to
frame a deuiſe (as men doe vſe ſomtimes in tragedies) & to threaten the ATHENIANS with ſi-
gnes from heauen, with oracles & aunſwers from the goddes. And the occaſion of *Mineruaes*
draggō ſerued his turne for a celeſtiall ſigne & token, which by good fortune dyd not appeare
in thoſe dayes in the tēple as it was wont to doe: & the prieſts found the ſacrifices which were
daylie offered to him, whole & vntouched by any. Wherefore being enformed by *Themiſto-
cles* what they ſhould doe, they ſpred a brute abroade amongeſt the people, that the goddeſſe
Minerua, the protectour & defendour of the cittie, had forſaken it, pointing them the waye vn-
to the ſea. And againe he wanne them by a prophecie, which cōmaunded them to ſaue them
Wodden walles ſignifie ſhippes. ſelues in walles of wodd: ſaying, that the walles of wodd dyd ſignifie nothing els but ſhippes. D
And for this cauſe he ſaied, *Apollo* in his oracle called SALAMINA diuine, not miſerable nor vn-
fortunate, bicauſe it ſhould geue the name of a moſt happy victorie which the GREECIANS
ſhould get there. And ſo at the laſt they following his counſell, he made this decree, that they
ſhould leaue the cittie of ATHENS to the cuſtodie of the goddeſſe *Pallas*, that was lady & go-
uernour of the country, & that all thoſe which were of age to carie any weapon ſhould get thē
The Athenians forſake Athens by Themiſtocles perſuaſion, & doe goe to the ſea. to the gallyes: & for the reſt, that euery man ſhould ſee his wife, children, & bondmen placed in
ſome ſuer place as well as he could. After this decree was paſt & authoriſed by the people, the
moſt parte of them did conuey their aged fathers & mothers, their wiues & litle children, into
the cittie of TROEZEN, where the TROEZENIANS receyued them very louingly & gently. For
they gaue order that they ſhould be entertained of the cōmon charge, allowing them a pece, E
two obulos of their money a daye, & ſuffered the young children to gather fruite whereſoeuer
they founde it: & furthermore dyd hier ſchoolemaſters at the charge of the cōmon wealth, to
bring them vp at ſchoole. He that was the pēner of this decree, was one called *Nicagoras*. The
ATHENIANS at that time, had no comō money, but the Senate of the *Areopagites* (as *Ariſtotle*
ſayeth) furniſhed euery ſouldier with eight drachmas, which was the only meane that the gal-
lyes were armed. Yet *Clidemus* writeth, that this was a crafte deuiſed of *Themiſtocles*. The A-
THENIANS being come downe vnto the hauen of PIRÆA, he made as though *Pallas* tergat
(on the which *Meduſus* heade was grauen) had bene loſt, & was not found with the image of
the goddeſſe: and faining to ſeeke for it, he ranſacked euery corner of the gallyes, and founde
a great deale of ſiluer which priuate perſones had hidden amongeſt their fardells. This mo- F
ney was brought out vnto the people, and by this meanes the ſouldiers that were ſhipped
had wherewithall, to prouide them of neceſſary things. When time came that they were

to

A to departe the hauen, & that all the cittie of ATHENS had taken ſea: one waye it was a pittie to beholde them. Another waye it made all ſortes to wounder, that conſidered the boldnes and corage of thoſe men, which before ſent awaye their fathers, and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at the teares, cries, ſherikes, & imbraſings of their wiues, their children, & departures, but ſtowtly and reſolutely helde on their courſe to SALAMINA. Notwithſtanding, there were many olde cittizens left ſtill of neceſſitie in ATHENS, bicauſe they could not be remoued for very extreme age, which ſturred many with compaſſion toward them. There was beſides, a certen pittie that made mens harts to yerne, when they ſaw the poore doggs, beaſts, & cattell ronne vp & downe bleating, mowing, and howling out alowde after their maſters, in token of ſorowe, when they dyd imbarke. Amongeſt theſe, there goeth a ſtraunge tale of *Xan-*

B *thippus* dogge, who was *Pericles* father: which for ſorowe his maſter had left him behinde him, dyd caſt him ſelf after into the ſea, & ſwimming ſtill by the galleys ſide wherein his maſter was, he helde on to the Ile of SALAMINA, where ſo ſone as the poore curre lāded, his breath fayled him, & dyed preſently. They ſaye, at this daye the place called the doggs graue, is the very place where he was buried. Theſe were ſtraūge acts of *Themiſtocles*, that beholding the ATHENIANS ſory for the abſence of *Ariſtides*, and fearing leaſt of ſpyte he taking parte with the barbarous nation, might haue bene the ruine & diſtruction of the ſtate of GREECE, being baniſhed fiue yeres alſo before the warres, by *Themiſtocles* procurement: that he dyd ſet forth a decree, that all thoſe which had bene baniſhed for a time, might returne home againe, to doe, to ſaye, & to geue counſell to the cittizens in thoſe things, which they thought beſt for the preſeruation of

C GREECE. And alſo where *Eurybiades*, being generall of the GREECIANS whole army by ſea, for the worthines of the cittie of SPARTA, but otherwiſe a rancke coward at time of neede, would in any caſe departe from thence, & retire into the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANS was by lande aſſembled: that *Themiſtocles* withſtood him, and did hinder it all he could. At that time alſo it was, that *Themiſtocles* made ſo notable aunſwers, which ſpecially are noted, & gathered together. For when *Eurybiades* ſayed one day vnto him. *Themiſtocles*, thoſe that at playes & games doe riſe before the company, are whiſtled at. It is true, ſaid *Themiſtocles*: but thoſe that tarie laſt ſo, doe neuer winne any game. Another time *Eurybiades* hauing a ſtaffe in his hande liſt it vp, as though he would haue ſtriken him. Strike & thou wilt, ſaid he, ſo thou wilt heare me. *Eurybiades* woūdring to ſee him ſo pacīēt, ſuffered him

D then to ſaye what he would. Then *Themiſtocles* beganne to bring him to reaſon: but one that ſtoode by ſayed vnto him. *Themiſtocles*, for a man that hath neither cittie nor houſe, it is an ill parte to will others that haue, to forſake all. *Themiſtocles* turning to him, replied. We haue willingly forſaken our houſes and walles, ſayed he, cowardly beaſte that thou arte, bicauſe we would not become ſlaues for feare to loſe things, that haue neither ſoule nor life. And yet our cittie I tell thee is the greateſt of all GREECE: for it is a fleete of two hundred galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to ſaue you if you liſt. But if you will needes goe your wayes, & forſake vs the ſeconde time: you ſhall heare tell ere it be long, that the ATHENIANS haue another free cittie, & haue poſſeſſed againe as much good land, as that they haue already loſt. Theſe wordes made *Eurybiades* preſently thincke, and feare, that the ATHENIANS would

E not goe, and that they would forſake them. And as another *Eretrian* was about to vtter his reaſon againſt *Themiſtocles* opinion: he could not but aunſwer him. Alas, and muſt you my maſters talke of warres to, that are like to a Sleue? In deede you haue a ſworde, but you lacke a harte. Some write, that whileſt *Themiſtocles* was talking thus from his galley, they ſpyed an owle flying on the right hande of the ſhippes, which came to light on one of the maſtes of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other GREECIANS dyd agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by ſea. But when the flete of their enemies ſhippes ſhewed on the coaſtes of ATTICA, harde by the hauen *Phalericus*, and couered all the riuers thereabouts, as farre as any bodie could ſee, and that king *Xerxes* him ſelfe was come in perſone with all his army by lande, to campe by the ſea ſide: ſo that his whole power both by lande

F and ſea might be ſeene in ſight: then the GREECIANS had forgotten all *Themiſtocles* goodly perſuaſions, and beganne to incline againe to the PELOPONNESIANS, conſidering how they might recouer the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, and they dyd growe very angry, when any man

Xanthippus dogge.

The dogges graue.

Ariſtides returneth from baniſhement by Themiſtocles decree.

Notable aunſwers of Themiſtocles.

The Sleue is a fiſhe facioned like a ſworde.

went about to talke of any other matter. To be ſhorte, it was concluded that they ſhould A
ſayle awaye the next night following,&the maſters of the ſhippes had order geuen them to
make all things readie for them to departe. *Themiſtocles* perceyuing their determination, he
was maruelous angry in his minde, that the GREECIANS would thus diſperſe them ſelues a
ſonder, repairing euery man to his owne cittie, and leauing the aduantage which the nature
of the place,& the ſtraight of the arme of the ſea,where they laye in harber together,did offer
them: and ſo he bethought him ſelfe howe this was to be holpen. Sodainely the practiſe of
Themiſtocles ſtratageame, by the which he wanne the battell at Salamina. one *Sicinus* came into his minde, who being a PERSIAN borne, and taken priſoner before
in the warres, loued *Themiſtocles* very well, and was ſchoolemaſter to his children. This *Si-*
cinus he ſecretly ſent vnto the king of PERSIA, to aduertiſe him that *Themiſtocles* (generall
of the ATHENIANS) was very deſirous to become his maieſties ſeruaunte, and that he dyd B
let him vnderſtand betimes, that the GREECIANS were determined to flye: and therefore
that he wiſhed him not to let them ſcape, but to ſet vpon them, whileſt they were troubled
and affrayed,and farre from their army by lande, to the ende that vpon a ſodaine he might o-
uerthrowe their whole power by ſea. *Xerxes* ſuppoſing this intelligence came from a man
that wiſhed him well, receyued the meſſenger with great ioye, and thereupon gaue preſent
order to his captaines by ſea, that they ſhould imbarke their men into the other ſhippes at
better leyſure, and that preſently they ſhould put out with all poſſible ſpeede, two hundred
ſayle to followe the GREECIANS in the taile, to ſhut vp the foreland of the ſtraite, and to
compaſſe the Iles all about, that not one of his enemies ſhippes ſhould ſcape: and ſo it fell
out. Then *Ariſtides* (*Lyſimachus* ſonne) being the firſt that perceyued it, went to *Themiſto-* C
cles tente, though he was his enemie, and through his only meanes had bene baniſhed be-
fore,as ye haue heard: and calling him out,told him how they were enuironned. *Themiſtocles*,
who knewe well enough the goodnes of this man, being very glad he came at that time to
ſeeke him out, declared vnto him the pollicie he had vſed by the meſſage of *Sicinus*, praying
Themiſtocles & Ariſtides conſent together to geue battell. him to put to his helpe to ſtaye the GREECIANS, and to procure with him, conſidering his
worde had more authoritie among them, that they would fight within the ſtraight of SALA-
MINA. *Ariſtides* commending his great wiſdome, went to deale with the captaines of the
other gallyes, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credit that he ſayed,
vntill ſuch time as there arriued a galley of TENEDIENA, whereof one *Panetius* was cap-
taine,who being ſtolen out of the hoſte of the barbarous army, brought certen newes, that D
the ſtraight out of doubt was ſhut vp. So that beſides the neceſſitie which dyd vrge them,the
ſpight which the GREECIANS conceyued thereof,dyd prouoke them to hazard the battell.
The next morning by breake of daye, king *Xerxes* placed him ſelfe on a maruelous ſteepe
highe hill,from whence he might deſcerne his whole flete, and the ordering of his army by
ſea, aboue the temple of *Hercules*, as *Phanodemus* writeth. Which is the narrowe waye or
channell betwext the Ile of SALAMINA,and the coaſt of ATTICA: or as *Aceſtodorus* ſayeth,
vpon the confines of the territories of MEGARA, aboue the pointe which they commonly
call the hornes. There *Xerxes* ſet vp a throne of golde, and had about him many ſecretaries, to
write all that was done in the battell. But as *Themiſtocles* was ſacrificing vnto the goddes in
his galley that was admiral,they brought to him three young priſoners, fayer of complexion, E
richely arrayed with gold and iuells,whom they ſayed were the children of *Sandaucé* the kings
ſiſter,and of prince *Autarctus*. So ſoone as *Euphrantides* the ſoothſayer had ſeene them, and
at their arriuall obſerued there roſe a great bright flame out of the ſacrifice, and at the very
ſelfe ſame inſtant that one on his right hand had ſneeſed: he tooke *Themiſtocles* by the hand,
and willed him to ſacrifice all thoſe three priſoners vnto the god *Bacchus*, ſurnamed *Omeſtes*,
as much to ſaye,as the cruell *Bacchus*: for in doing it, the GREECIANS ſhould not only be ſa-
ued,but they ſhould haue the victorie ouer their enemies. *Themiſtocles* woundred much, to
heare ſo ſtraunge and terrible a commaundement of the ſoothſayer. Neuertheles, the comon
ſorte following his cuſtome,which is,to promiſe ſafety ſoner in the greateſt daungers,& moſt
deſperate caſes,by ſtraunge & vnreaſonable, rather then by reaſonable and ordinary meanes: F
they beganne to call vpon the god with one voyce,and bringing the three priſoners neere vn-
to the altar,they compelled him to performe the ſacrifice in that ſorte as the ſoothſayer had
appointed.

A appointed. *Phanias Lesbian*, an excellent philosopher, and well seene in stories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus. As for the number of the shippes of the barbarous nauie: *Æschylus* the poet, in a tragedie which he intituled the PERSIANS, knowing certainely the trothe, sayeth thus:

King Xerxes had, a thousand shippes I knowve,
amongest the vvhich, tvvo hundred vvere (I trovve)
and seuen: vvhich all the rest dyd ouersayle
vvith svvifter course. This is vvithouten fayle.

Xerxes king of Persia had a thousand ships.

The ATHENIANS had nine score, in euery one of the which there were eightene souldiers, whereof foure of them were archers, and all the rest armed men. *Themistocles* also did with no
B lesse skill & wisedom choose his time & place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, vntill the hower was come, that of ordinarie custome the sea winde arose, and brought in a rough tyde within the channell, which dyd not hurt the GRÆCIAN gallyes, being made lowe and snugge, but greatly offended the PERSIAN gallyes, being highe cargged, heauie, & not yare of steredge, and made them lye sidelong to the GREECIANS, who fiercely set vpon them hauing allwayes an eye to *Themistocles* direction, that best foresawe their aduãtage. At the same time, *Ariamenes*, *Xerxes* admirall, a man of great valure and worthiest of the Kings brethern, be stowed arrowes and dartes as it were from the walles of a castell, charging the gallye of *Aminias Decelian*, and *Sosicles Pedian*, which were ioyned and grappled with him, and fiercely entring the same, was by them valliantly receyued vpon their pikes, and thrust ouer borde into
C the sea. Whose bodie floting amongest other shippewracks ARTEMISIA knowing, caused to be caried to king *Xerxes*. Nowe whilest this battell stoode in these termes, they saye that there appeared a great flame in the element, toward the cittie of ELEVSIN, and that a lowde voyce was heard through all the plaine of THRIASIA vnto the sea, as if there had bene a nũber of men together, that had songe out alowde, the holy songe of *Iacchus*. And it seemed by litle and litle, that there rose a clowde in the ayer from those which sange: that left the land, & came & lighted on the gallyes in the sea. Other affirmed, that they sawe armed men, which did reache out their hands from the Ile of ÆGINA, towards the GREECIAN gallyes: & they thought they were the ÆACIDES, for whose helpe they all prayed before the battell was begonne. The first man of the ATHENIANS that tooke any of the enemies shippes, was *Lycomedes*, a captaine of a
D gallye: who hauing takẽ very rich furniture & flagges, did afterwards cõsecrate them to *Apollo* laurell: as ye would saye victorious. The other GREECIANS in the fronte being equall in nũber with the barbarous shipps, by reason of the straightnes of the arme of the sea wherein they fought, & so straightned as they could not fight but by one & one, where by the BARBARIANS disorderly layed one another abourde, that they did hinder them selues with their ouer multitude: & in the end were so sore pressed vpon by the GREECIANS, that they were cõstrayned to flye by night, after they had fought & mainteined battell, vntil it was very darke. So the GRÆCIANS wanne that glorious & famous victorie: of the which maye truly be affirmed that, as *Simonides* sayeth:

Ariamenes Xerxes admirall.

The Grecians victorie of the Persians nauy by sea.

VVas neuer yet, nor Greeke nor Barbarous crevv
that could by sea, so many men subdevv:
E *Nor that obteind, so famous victorie*
in any fight, against their enemie.

Thus was the victorie wonne through the valliantnes and corage of those that fought that battell, but especially through *Themistocles* great policie and wisdome. After this battell *Xerxes* being mad for his losse, thought to fill vp the arme of the sea, and to passe his armie by lande, vpon a bridge, into the Ile of SALAMINA. *Themistocles*, bicause he would feele *Aristides* opinion, tolde him as they were talking together, that he thought best to goe and occupie the straight of HELLESPONT with the armie by sea, to breake the bridge of shippes which *Xerxes* had caused to be made: to the ende, said he, that we maye take ASIA into EVROPE. *Aristides* liked not this opinion. for we haue (said he) fought all this while against this barbarous
F King, who thought but to playe with vs: But if we shut him within GREECE, and bring him to fight of necessitie to saue his life: such an enemie that commaundeth so great an armie, will no more stand still as a looker on, and set at his ease vnder his golden pauilion, to see the pastime

of the battell,but will proue euerie waye, and be him ſelfe in euery place at all aſſayes to ſaue A
him ſelf from ſuch a ſtraight & daunger. Thus with politicke care & foreſight,he maye eaſely
amend his former faulte committed by negligence, and doe well enough, when he ſhall ſee
Ariſtides counſell vnto Themiſtocles, for the breaking of Xerxes bridge. his life and Kingdome both depend vpon it. Therefore *Themiſtocles*, I would thincke not beſt
to breake his bridge at all, which he hath cauſed to be made: but rather if we could, to build
another to it, to driue him out of EVROPE as ſone as we could. *Themiſtocles* then replied:
Seeing you thincke this were good to be done,we muſt all laye our heades together, to deuiſe,
how he maye be forced to come out aſſone as we could. They breaking of with this reſolutiō,
Themiſtocles ſtratageame. *Themiſtocles* ſent immediately one of the Kings enuches,called *Arſaces*, that was one of the
gromes of his chāber,whom he found out amōgeſt the priſoners, & by him he ſent this meſ-
ſage vnto the King. That the GREECIANS hauing wōne the battell of him by ſea,had decreed B
in their counſell,how they would goe to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT,to breake the bridge of
ſhippes he had cauſed to be made there. Whereof he thought good to aduertiſe him, for the
goodwil he did beare him,and to the ende he might bethincke him betimes,to get him away
to the ſea within his own dominion, and ſo paſſe backe againe into ASIA as ſone as he could,
whileſt he gaue order to his allies and confederates, to ſtaye following him at the poope. The
barbarous King vnderſtading theſe newes,was ſo affrayed,that he hoyſed away with all poſſi-
ble ſpeede. The further foreſight and great wiſdome of *Themiſtocles*, and *Ariſtides*,in marine
cauſes, dyd manifeſtly appeare afterwards in the battell the GREECIANS fought before the
cittie of PLATEA,againſt *Mardonius*,king *Xerxes* lieutenante: who hauing but a ſmall power
of the King his ſoueraines there, dyd yet put the GREECIANS to great diſtreſſe,and in hazard C
to haue loſt all. Of all the townes and citties that fought in this battell, *Herodotus* writeth, that
the cittie of ÆGINA wanne the fame for valliantnes aboue the reſt: & of priuate men,among
the GRECIANS, *Themiſtocles* was iudged the worthieſt man: although it was ſore againſt their
willes, bicauſe they enuied much his glory. For after the battell done, all the captaines being
gotten into the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, and hauing ſworne vpon the altar of their ſacri-
fices, that they would geue their voyces after their conſciences, to thoſe they thought had
beſt deſerued it: euery one gaue him ſelfe the firſt place for worthines, and the ſeconde vnto
Themiſtocles honored aboue all the Grecians. *Themiſtocles*. The LACEDÆMONIANS caried him into SPARTA, where they iudged the ho-
nour and dignitie to their admirall *Eurybiades*: but the wiſedome and pollicie they attributed
to *Themiſtocles*. In token thereof they gaue him an oliue braunche, and the goodlieſt coche D
that was in their cittie: and moreouer they ſent three hundred of their luſty youthes to ac-
company him,and conducte him out of their countrie. They ſaye, at the next feaſtes and aſ-
ſembly of the playes Olympicall that were made after this victorie: when *Themiſtocles* was
once come into the ſhowe place where theſe games were played,the people looked no more
on them that fought, but all caſt their eyes on him, ſhewing him to the ſtraungers which
knewe him not,with their fingers, and by clapping of their handes dyd witneſſe howe much
they eſteemed him. Whereat he him ſelfe tooke ſo great delite, that he confeſſed to his fami-
liar friends,he then dyd reape the fruite and benefit of his ſundry and painefull ſeruices he had
Themiſtocles ambition noted. taken in hande,for the preſeruation of GREECE: ſo ambitious was he of nature, & couetous
of honour, as we maye eaſely perceyue by certen of his dedes and notable ſayings they haue E
noted of him. For being choſen admirall of ATHENS he neuer diſpatched any cauſes priuate
or publicke,howſoeuer they fell out, vntill the very daye of his departure, and taking ſhippe:
and all bicauſe that men ſeeing him ryd much buſines at once, and to ſpeake with ſo many
perſones together, they ſhould eſteeme him to be the notabler man, & of the greater autho-
ritie. Another time he walked vpon the ſandes by the ſea ſide, beholding the dead bodies of
the barbarous people,which the ſea had caſt vp vpon the ſhore: and ſeing ſome of them that
had on ſtill their chaynes of golde, and bracelets,he paſſed by on his waye, but ſhewed them
Themiſtocles ſayings. yet to his familiar friende that followed him,and ſayed vnto him: take thou thoſe,for thou art
not *Themiſtocles*. And vnto one *Antiphates*,who in his youth had bene a goodly young boye,
and at that time dyd ſcornefully behaue him ſelfe vnto him,making no reckoning of him: and F
now that he ſawe him in authoritie came to ſee him,he ſayed. O my young ſonne,and friend:
we are both euen at one time(but to late) growen wiſe. He ſayed the ATHENIANS dyd not

eſteeme

A esteeme of him in time of peace: but when any storme of warres were towardes, and they stoode in any daunger, they ranne to him then, as they ronne to the shadowe of a plane tree, vpon any sodaine raine: and after fayer weather come againe, they cut awaye then the braunches, and bowghes thereof. There was a man borne in the Ile of SERIPHA, who being fallen out with him, dyd cast him in the teethe, that it was not for his worthines, but for the noble cittie wherein he was borne, that he had wonne such glorie. Thou sayest true sayed he: but neither should I euer haue wonne any great honour, if I had bene a SERIPHIAN, nor thou also if thou haddest bene an ATHENIAN. An other time one of the captaines of the cittie, hauing done good seruice vnto the common weale, made boast before *Themistocles*, and compared his seruice equall with his. *Themistocles* to aunswer him, *A prety tale of Themistocles,*
B tolde him a prety tale. That the working daye brawled on a time with the holy daye, repining against her, that he laboured for his liuing continually, and howe she dyd nothing but fill her bellie, and spende that they had gotten. Thou hast reason sayed the holy daye. But if I had not bene before thee, thou haddest not bene here nowe. And so, if I had not bene then: where had you my masters bene nowe? His owne sonne was a litle to sawsie with his mother, and with him also, bearing him self ouer boldely of her good will, by meanes of her cockering of him. Whereupō being merely disposed, he would saye that his sonne could doe more then any mā in all GRECE. For, sayeth he, the ATHENIANS commaunde the GRÆCIANS, I commaunde *Themistocles saying of his sonne.*
the ATHENIANS, my wife commaundeth me, and my sonne commaundeth her. Moreouer bicause he would be singular by him selfe aboue all other men: hauing a pece of lande he
C would sell, he willed the crier to proclaime open sale of it in the market place, and with all he should adde vnto the sale, that his lande laye by a good neighbour. An other time, two men being suters to his daughter, he preferred the honester before the richer, saying: he had rather haue to his sonne in lawe a man that lacked goodes, then goodes to lacke a man. These were *Themistocles* pleasaunt conceites and aunswers. But after he had done all these things we haue spoken of before, he tooke in hande to buylde againe the cittie and walles of ATHENS, and dyd corrupt the officers of LACEDÆMONIA with money, to the end *Themistocles buylt againe the walles of the cittie of Athens.*
they should not hinder his purpose, as *Theopompus* writeth. Or as all other saye when he had deceyued them by this subtiltie, he went vnto SPARTA as ambassadour, sent thither of purpose vpon the complaintes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that the ATHENIANS
D dyd inclose their cittie againe with walles, who were accused vnto the counsaill of SPARTA, by an orator called *Poliarchus*, who was sent thither from the ÆGINETES, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the ATHENIANS. *Themistocles* stowtely denied it to them, and prayed them for better vnderstanding of the trothe, they would sende some of their men thither to see it. This was but a fetche only to winne by this delaye, the ATHENIANS *A subtle fetche of Themistocles.*
so muche more time to rayse vp their walles, and that the ATHENIANS should keepe as ostages for suertie of his persone, those they should send to ATHENS, to bring backe the reporte thereof: and so it fell out. For the LACEDÆMONIANS being informed of the trothe as it was, dyd him no hurte, but dissembling the misliking they had to be thus abused by him, sent him awaye safe and sounde. Afterwardes he made them also mende and for-
E tifie the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing considered the situation of the place, and all to incline *The hauen of Pirea fortified.*
the cittie to the sea. Wherein he dyd directly contrary to all the counsell of the auncient kings of ATHENS: who seeking (as they saye) to withdrawe their people from the sea, and to accustome them to liue vpon the lande, by planting, sowing, and plowing their groundes, dyd deuise and geue out abroade, the fable they tell of the goddesse *Pallas*. And that is this, how she contending with *Neptune* about the patronage of the country of ATHENS, brought forth and shewed to the iudges the olyue tree, by meanes whereof she preuayled, and obteined the preheminence. Euen so *Themistocles* dyd not ioyne the hauen of PIRÆA, vnto the cittie of ATHENS, as the comicall poet *Aristophanes* sayeth: but rather ioyned the cittie vnto the hauen PIRÆA, and the lande vnto the sea. By this meanes he made the people
F strong against the nobilitie, and brought the communaltie to waxe bolder then they were before, by reason the rule and authoritie fell into the handes of saylers, mariners, pilottes, shippemasters, and such kinde of seafaring men: so as the pulpet where all the oracles of

made, ſtoode in the market place of PNYX, and dyd looke towardes the ſea. But the thirtie A
tyrannes that came in afterwardes, dyd remoue it, and turne it towardes the lande: hol-
ding opinion to be ſtrong by ſea, was it that dyd mainteine the authoritie of the popular
ſtate. And that contrariwiſe they which liue by the labour and toyle of the earthe, doe
more willingly like the gouernment of Nobilitie. *Themiſtocles* called to minde another
matter alſo of greater importance, to make the cittie of ATHENS of a greater power by
ſea. For after the retire of *Xerxes*, and that all the fleete and nauie of the GRÆCIANS
wintered in the hauen of PAGASES: he ſayed one daye in an open aſſembly of the people,
that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficiall for them,
but it was not to be tolde openly. The people willed him then to imparte it to *Ariſtides*:
and if he thought it good, they would execute it ſpeedely. *Themiſtocles* then tolde *Ari-* B
ſtides: the thing he had conſidered of, was to burne the Arcenal where the GRÆCIANS
nauy laye, and to ſet on fire all their ſhippes. *Ariſtides* hearing his purpoſe, returned to
The equitie of the Athenians. the people, and tolde them: howe nothing could be more profitable, but with all more vn-
iuſt, then that which *Themiſtocles* had deuiſed. The ATHENIANS then willed *Ariſtides* it
ſhould be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the LACEDÆMONIANS had exhibi-
ted their petition to the counſell of the *Amphictyons* (that is the generall counſaill of all the
ſtates of GRÆCE aſſembled) howe the townes and citties of GRÆCE which had not bene
parties with the GRÆCIANS to the league, againſt the barbarous people, ſhould be put of
wholy from this counſaill. *Themiſtocles* dowting of the ARGIVES, the THESSALIANS,
and the THEBANS alſo ſhould by this meanes be exempted, that the LACEDÆMONIANS C
would be then the greater number in voyces, and by this meanes might doe what they
would in this counſell: he ſpake ſo conſideratly for the citties which they would haue thus
diſcharged, that he made the petitioners in the aſſembly vtterly to chaunge their opinion.
Declaring, howe there were but one and thirtie citties compriſed only the league, and yet
that ſome of them were very weake and ſmall: and howe it were no reaſon, that reiecting all
the reſt of GREECE, the greateſt authoritie of this counſaill ſhould fall into the handes of
two or three of the chiefeſt citties alone. For this cauſe chiefly the LACEDÆMONIANS
dyd euer beare him extreme hatred, and dyd ſet vp *Cimon* all they could, to be allwayes ad-
uerſary oppoſite vnto him, and as it were to bearde him in all matters of ſtate, and the go-
uernment of ATHENS. They procured him beſides, the ill will and diſpleaſure of all the D
friendes and confederates of the ATHENIANS, for that he went ſayling ſtill to and fro a-
longeſt the Iles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the ſame. And this is to be knowen
by the matter propounded by him to the ANDRIANS (of whom he would haue had
money) and by the aunſwer they made him, as *Herodotus* writeth. Which was, howe he had
Themiſtocles goddes, Loue and Force. brought them two mightie goddes: Loue, and Force. And they aunſwered him againe, that
they alſo had two great goddeſſes, which kept them from geuing of him any money: Pouer-
tie, and Impoſſibilitie. And to make this good alſo: *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* poet galled him to
The Andriãs goddeſſes. Powerſtie, Impoſſibilitie. the quicke, when he ſharpely taunted him, for calling many home againe for money that
were baniſhed: and howe for couetouſnes of money he had betrayed, and forſaken, his hoſte
and friende. The verſes wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effecte. E

VVho liſt commend vvorthy Pauſanias,
Xanthippus or good Leotychides,
yet ſhall I ſeeme but light thereof to paſſe,
compared vvith valliant Ariſtides.
For yet vvas naye, the like in Athens tovvne,
nor neuer ſhall come none of like renovvne.
Themiſtocles by right and due deſerte,
is hated of Latona, for his lyes,
and for he bare a traitrous vvicked harte,
vvho like a vvretche, & nigard did deuiſe, F
for ſmall revvardes, his hoſt Timocreon
to holde, out of his countrie Ialiſon.

He

He tooke for bribe(vniuſtly yet therevvhile)
of redy coyne three talents fayre and bright,
revoking ſuch as pleaſed him,from exile
and banishing full many a vvorthy vvight.
Or putting them to death,vvithout cauſe tolde,
he gate thereby,great heapes of coyne and golde.
But in the ende (ô right revvarde for ſuch)
this bribing vvretch,vvas forced for to holde,
a tipling bovvthe,moſt like a clovvne or ſnuche,
at hoiy feaſtes and paſtimes manifold,
vvhich vvere amongeſt the people in thoſe dayes
Iſtmiciane folke,dyd vſe the like allvvayes.
And there he ſerued,his geſts vvith cold meat ſtill,
vvhileſt they that taſted of his cookerie,
gan vvishe that they(to eaſe their vveary vvill)
had neuer liued to ſee the treccherie,
of falſe Themiſtocles,and that he might
no longer liue,vvhich vvrought them ſuch deſpight.

After this,he dyd more openly blaſe him to the worlde, when he was baniſhed and condemned: in a ſonge that had beginning thus.

O Muſe,let theſe my verſes be diſperſt,
throughout all Grece,ſince they deſerue no leſſe:
and ſince the truthe vvhich is in them rehearſt,
deſerueth fame,vvhom no man ſhould ſuppreſſe.

They ſaye the cauſe was,why this *Timocreon* was baniſhed: the friendſhippe which he had with the Barbarous people,and for geuing them intelligence. Whereof *Themiſtocles* was one that iudicially condemned him. Wherefore when *Themiſtocles* him ſelfe was accuſed afterwards of the ſame faulte,*Timocreon* then made theſe verſes following againſt him.

Timocreon vvas not vvithout his pheere,
vvhich did conferre vvith Medes priuely,
Since others mo,the ſelfe ſame blame might beare,
mo foxes lurke in dennes as vvell as I.

Beſides theſe verſes,*Themiſtocles* owne cittizens for the ill will they bare him,were contented to heare him ill ſpoken of. Therefore while he ſought wayes,to redreſſe all this: he was driuen to vſe ſuch meane,which more increaſed their hatred toward him. For in his orations to the people, he dyd ofte remember them of the good ſeruice he had done them: and perceyuing howe they were offended withall,he was driuen to ſaye. Why,are ye weary ſo ofte to receyue good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him alſo, when he ſurnamed *Diana* (in the dedication of her temple he made vnto her) *Ariſtobule*,as much to ſaye,as the good counſeller: meaning thereby, howe he had geuen graue and wiſe counſell, both vnto his cittie, and to all the reſt of the GRECIANS. He built this temple alſo neere his houſe, in a place called *Melita*,where the hangemen doe caſt the dead bodies of thoſe that were executed, and throwe the ragges and halters endes of thoſe that were hanged, or otherwiſe put to death by lawe. There was alſo in our dayes in the temple of *Diana Ariſtobulé*, a litle image of *Themiſtocles*,which ſhewed plainely,that he was not only wiſe,and of a noble minde,but alſo of a great maieſtie and countenaunce in face. In the ende, the ATHENIANS baniſhed him ATHENS for fiue yeres, bicauſe they would plucke downe his ouergreat corage and authoritie, as they dyd vſe to ſerue thoſe,whoſe greatnes they thought to be more, then common equalitie that ought to be among cittizens would beare. For this manner of baniſhment for a time, called *Oſtraciſmon*,was no puniſhment for any faulte committed,but a mitigation and taking away of the enuie of the people,which delited to plucke downe their ſtomaks that to much ſeemed to exceede in greatnes: and by this meanes they tooke awaye the poyſon of his malice,with diminiſhing his glorie and honour. So *Themiſtocles* being baniſhed ATHENS, went

Themiſtocles baniſhed for fiue yere.

to dwell in ARGOS. In this meane ſeaſon, *Pauſanias* trecchery fell out, which gaue his enemies occaſion to lye heauie on his backe. But he which became his accuſer, & was partener of the treaſon, was one called *Leobotes* (*Alcmeons* ſonne) borne in a village called AGRAVLA. Beſides this, the SPARTANS alſo dyd ſit on his skirtes, & charged him ſorely. For *Pauſanias* neuer before reuealed to *Themiſtocles* the treaſon he had purpoſed, although he was his very familliar friende. But after he ſawe *Themiſtocles* was baniſhed, and dyd take his exile very vnpaciently: then *Pauſanias* was bolde to open his treaſon to him, to procure him to take his parte, and ſhewed him the letters the king of PERSIA had written to him, and all to ſturre him vp againſt the GRÆCIANS, as againſt vngratefull aud vnnaturall people. Howbeit *Themiſtocles* ſhooke him of, and tolde him plainely he would be no partener of his treaſon. Notwithſtanding, he neuer reuealed it to any liuing creature, nor diſcouered the practiſe he intended: hoping either he would haue geuen it ouer, or that ſhortely it would appeare by ſome other meane, conſidering he ſo fondly aſpired to things of great daunger, and without purpoſe or poſſibilite. After *Pauſanias* was condemned, and had ſuffered paynes of death for the ſame: they found amongeſt his papers, certaine writings and letters, which made *Themiſtocles* to be very ſore ſuſpected. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS on the one ſide cried out of him: and his enemies and ill willers at ATHENS accuſed him on th'other ſide. To the which he made aunſwer by letters from the beginning, and wrote vnto the people, it was not likely that he (who ſought all the wayes to rule, and was not borne to ſerue, neither had any minde thereto) would euer haue thought in his heade, to ſell his owne libertie, and the GRÆCIANS alſo vnto the Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithſtanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, ſent to apprehende him, and to bring him before the ſtates of all GRÆCE, to be iudged by that counſaill. Whereof *Themiſtocles* hauing intelligence in time, he dyd conuey him ſelfe into the Ile of CORPHV, bicauſe the citie there was greatly beholding to him, for a certen pleaſure in time paſte he had done them. For they being at ſute and ſtrife with the CORINTHIANS, he tooke vp the matter betweene them, and gaue iudgement on their ſide, & condemned the CORINTHIANS to paye them twēty talents damages: and did ſet downe an order, that they ſhould occupie the Ile of LEVCADE in cōmon together, as ground that had bene inhabited with the people, aſwell of the one cittie, as of the other. From thence he fled to *Epirus*, whether being followed by the ATHENIANS, & the LACEDÆMONIANS, he was compelled to venter him ſelfe vpon a doubtfull and very daungerous hope. For he went to yelde him ſelfe into the hands of *Admetus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS. Who hauing heretofore made certen requeſtes vnto the ATHENIANS, and being ſhamefully denied them by meanes of *Themiſtocles* (who then was at his chiefeſt height and authoritie) the King was maruelouſly offended with him: and it was a clere caſe in deede, that if he could then haue layed handes on him, he would haue bene reuenged of him throughly. Howbeit feeling the preſent miſerie of of his exile, he thought he might leſſe feare the Kings olde quarrell and diſpleaſure, then the freſhe hate & enuie of his contriemen. Whereupon he went vnto king *Admetus*, truſting to his mercie, and became an humble ſuter to him in a ſtraunge extraordinarie ſorte. For he tooke the Kings litle young ſonne in his armes, and went and kneeled downe before the altar in his chappell: which humble manner of ſuinge the MOLOSSIANS take to be moſt effectuall, and ſuch as they dare not denie, nor refuſe. Some ſaye that Queene *Phthia* her ſelfe, the Kings wife, dyd enforme him of this their country cuſtome and manner, & brought her litle ſonne alſo neere vnto the altar. Other write alſo, that it was *Admetus* him ſelfe that taught & ſhewed him this inforcing manner of petition, only for a cloke to excuſe him ſelfe to thoſe that ſhould come to demaunde *Themiſtocles* of him: that by duetie of religion he was ſo ſtraightly bounde & reſtrained, that he might not deliuer him out of his protection. In this meane time, *Epicrates Acharnian* founde the meanes ſecretly to conuey *Themiſtocles* wife and children out of ATHENS, & dyd ſend them priuelie vnto him: whereupon he was afterwards accuſed, & put to death, vpon *Cimons* accuſation & motion, as *Steſimbrotus* writeth. Who not remembring thoſe matters I knowe not howe, or making as though *Themiſtocles* had not remembred him ſelfe, doth ſaye, that *Themiſtocles* ſayled into SICILE, where he ſought to mary *Hierons* daughter, the tyranne of SYRACVSA: promiſing him if he would let him haue her, he would

Pauſanias reuealeth his treaſon vnto Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles ſuſpected of treaſon.

Themiſtocles fled into the Ile of Corphu.

The manner of ſupplicatiō among the Moloſſians.

A would assure him to conquer all GRECE for him, and to bring them vnder his obedience. But *Hieron* refusing this offer, *Themistocles* went from thence into ASIA: but that is not likely. For *Theophrastus* writeth in his booke intituled of Kingdomes, that *Hieron* hauing sent certain running horses to the feast of games Olympicall, & hauing set vp a maruelous riche and sumptuous tent there: *Themistocles* made an oration to the GRECIANS, declaring vnto them how they should teare the tyrannes tente in peces, and not to suffer his horses to ronne with other swifte and light horses, and to cary away the price in those holy games. *Thucydides* againe declareth, howe he went vnto the other sea, and imbarked in the cittie of PYDNE, being knowen of neuer a man in the shippe, vntill such time as the winde beganne to carie them into the Ile of NAXOS, which the ATHENIANS by chaunce dyd besiege at that time, where being afeard
B to be set on lande, he was forced to bewraye him self to the master of the shippe, & the masters mate, and wrought them, what with fayer wordes and what with threates (by saying he would accuse them to the ATHENIANS, that they dyd not ignorantly receiue him in, but hiered for money) so as he compelled them to sayle on further, and to cary him into ASIA. As for his goodes, his friendes saued the most parte of them, and sent them into ASIA to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate vnto the state: *Theopompus* writeth, they dyd amounte to the value of one hundred talents. And *Theophrastus* sayeth, but to foure score talents only. So that all his goodes was not worth three talents, when he beganne to gouerne the state of the common weale. when he came vnto the cittie of CVMA, he perceyued that all the coastes by sea were layed for him to apprehende him, and that he had many spyalls
C vpon him: among the which, these were two speciall noted men, *Ergoteles*, and one *Pythodorus*, the reward being very great, for men that sought their gayne any waye they could. For the king of PERSIA had proclaymed by sound of trūpet, two hundred talēts to him that brought him *Themistocles*. Whereupon he fled vnto a litle towne of ÆOLIA, called ÆGES, where no liuing bodie knewe him, but his host only, called *Nicogenes*: who was the richest man of all the ÆOLIANS, and knewe all the noble men of authoritie that were about the king of PERSIA. *Themistocles* continued hidden certen dayes in his house: in which time, on a night after the feast of a sacrifice, one *Olbius*, schoolemaster to *Nicogenes* children, by some secret working of the goddes, sodainely fell besides him selfe, and beganne to singe these verses out alowde.

Doe thou beleeue, vvhat so the night the tells
D *and geue thy voyce, thy counsell and conceipts*
Vnto the night, in darck somnes that dvvells,
thereon also thy victorie avvaits.

The next night following, *Themistocles* being fast asleepe in his bed, dreamed that a snake wounde it selfe round about his bellie, and glided vpwardes to his necke, vntill it touched his face, and sodainely then it became an eagle, and imbraced him with his winges: and so at length dyd lifte him vp into the ayer, and caried him a maruelous waye of, vntill he thought he sawe a golden rodde (suche as Herauldes vse to carie in their handes) whereupon the eagle dyd set him, and so was deliuered of all this feare and trouble he thought him selfe in. The trothe was, *Nicogenes* had this deuise in his heade, howe he might bring him safe to
E the king of PERSIAES courte. The Barbarous nations for the most parte (and specially the PERSIANS) are of a very straunge nature, and maruelous iealous ouer their women, and that not onely of their wiues, but also of their bonde women, and concubines: which they keepe so straightly locked vp, that no man euer seeth them abroade at any time, but are allwayes like housedoues kept within doores. And when they haue any occasion to goe into the country, they are caried in close coches couered all about, that no man can looke into them. *Themistocles* was conueyed into one of these coches dreste after this manner, and had warned his men to aunswer those they met by the waye, that asked whom they caried: howe it was a young GRECIAN gentlewoman of the countrie of IONIA, which they caried to the courte for a noble man there. *Thucydides*, and *Charon Lampsacenian* saye, he went thither after the
F death of *Xerxes*, and spake with his sonne there. But *Ephorus*, *Dino*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many other write, that he spake with him selfe. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that *Thucydides* wordes doe best agree with the chronicles & tables, recording the succession of times,

Themistocles dreame.

The Persians iealous of their wiues.

Howe Themistocles was conueyed to the king of Persias courte.

although they be of no great certaintie. *Themiſtocles* being come nowe to the ſwordes pointe (as it were) and to the extremitie of his daunger: dyd firſt preſent him ſelfe vnto one *Artabanus*, Colonell of a thouſand footemen, and ſayed vnto him. Syr, I am a GRECIAN borne, and deſire to ſpeake with the King: I haue matters of importance to open to his maieſtie, and ſuch as I knowe he will thanckefully receyue. *Artabanus* aunſwered him in this manner. My friend ſyr ſtraunger, the lawes and cuſtomes of men are diuers, and ſome take one thing for honeſt, others ſome another thing: but it is moſt honeſty for all men, to keepe and obſerue the lawes and manners of their owne countrie. For you GRECIANS haue the name to loue libertie, and equalitie aboue all things: & for vs, amongeſt all the goodly lawes and cuſtomes we haue, we eſteeme this aboue the reſt: to reuerence and honour our King, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and ſtate. Wherefore, if thou wilt facion thy ſelfe after our manner to honour the King, thou mayeſt both ſee him, and ſpeake with him: but if thou haue another minde with thee, then muſt thou of neceſſitie vſe ſome thirde perſone for thy meane. For this is the manner of our countrie: the King neuer geueth audience to any man, that hath not firſt honoured him. *Themiſtocles* hearing what he ſayed, aunſwered him againe. My lord *Artabanus*, the great good will I beare vnto the King, and the deſire I haue to aduaunce his glorie and power, is the only cauſe of my preſent repaire vnto his courte: therefore I meane not only to obey your lawes (ſince it hath ſo pleaſed the goddes to rayſe vp the noble empire of PERSIA vnto this greatnes) but will cauſe many other people alſo to honour the King, more then there doe at this preſent. Therefore let there be no ſtaye, but that my ſelfe in perſone maye deliuer to the King that I haue to ſaye vnto him. Well, ſayed *Artabanus*: whom then ſhall we ſaye thou arte? For by thy ſpeache it ſeemeth, thou art a man of no meane ſtate and condition. *Themiſtocles* aunſwered him: as for that *Artabanus*, none ſhall knowe before the King him ſelfe. Thus doth *Phanias* reporte it. But *Eratoſthenes*, in his booke he wrote of riches, addeth further: howe *Themiſtocles* had acceſſe vnto this *Artabanus*, being recommended to the King by a woman of ERETRIA, whom the King kept. *Themiſtocles* being brought to his preſence, after he had preſented his humble duety and reuerence to him, ſtoode on his feete, and ſayed neuer a worde, vntill the King commaũded the interpreter to aske him what he was? and he aunſwered. Maye it pleaſe your maieſtie, ô noble King: I am *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*, a baniſhed man out of my country by the GRECIANS, who humbly repayreth to your highnes, knowing I haue done great hurt to the PERSIANS, but I perſuade my ſelf I haue done them farre more good then harme. For I it was that kept the GRECIANS backe they dyd not follow you, whē the ſtate of GRECE was deliuered from thraldome, and my natiue country from daunger, and that I knew I ſtoode then in good ſtate to pleaſure you. Nowe for me, I finde all mens good willes agreable, to my preſent miſery and calamitie: for I come determined, moſt humbly to thancke your highnes, for any grace and fauour you ſhall ſhewe me, & alſo to craue humble pardone, if your maieſty be yet offended with me. And therfore licence me (moſt noble King) to beſeche you, that taking mine enemies the GRECIANS for witneſſes of the pleaſures I haue done the PERSIAN nation, you will of your princely grace vſe my harde fortune, as a good occaſion to ſhewe your honorable vertue, rather then to ſatisfie the paſſion of your heate and choller. For in ſauing my life, your maieſtie ſaueth an humble ſuter that put him ſelfe to your mercie: and in putting me to death, you ſhall ryd away an enemy of the GRECIANS. Hauing ſpoken thus theſe words, he ſayed further. That the goddes, by diuers ſignes and tokens had procured him, to come to ſubmit him ſelfe vnto him, and tolde the King what viſion he had ſeene in his dreame in *Nicogenes* houſe: and declared alſo the oracle of *Iupiter Dodonian*, who had commaunded him that he ſhould goe vnto him that was called as a god, and howe he thought it was the perſone of his maieſtie, bicauſe that god and he in trothe were called both great Kings. The King hauing thus heard him ſpeake, gaue him then no preſent aunſwer againe, notwithſtanding he maruelouſly wondred at his great wiſedome and boldenes. But afterwardes amongeſt his familliars the King ſayed, he thought him ſelfe very happy to mete with the good fortune of *Themiſtocles* comming to him: and ſo beſought his great god *Arimanius*, that he would allwayes ſend his enemies ſuch mindes, as to baniſhe the greateſt, & wiſeſt men amongeſt them.

The Perſians honour their King as the image of the god of nature.

Themiſtocles talke with the king of Perſia.

A B C D E F

It is

A It is reported alſo he did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, to geue them thankes therefore, and diſpoſed him ſelfe preſently to be mery. Inſomuch as dreaming in the night, in the middeſt of his dreame he cried out three times together for ioye: I haue *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*. The next morning the King hauing ſent for the chiefeſt lordes of his courte, he made *Themiſtocles* alſo to be brought before him: who looked for no goodnes at all, ſpecially when he ſawe the ſouldiers warding at the courte gates, geue him ill countenaunce and language both, when they behelde him, and vnderſtoode his name. Moreouer, *Roxanes*, one of the captaines, as *Themiſtocles* paſſed by him going to the King (who was ſet in his chayer of ſtate, and euery man keeping ſilence) ſoftely ſighing, ſayed vnto him. O thou Greekiſhe ſerpent, ſubtill and malicious: the Kings good fortune hath brought thee hether. Neuertheles when he came to the King, & had
B once againe made him a very humble and lowe reuerence: the King ſaluted him, & ſpake very curteouſly to him, ſaying. I am nowe your detter of two hundred talents, for preſenting your ſelf. It is good reaſon I ſhould deliuer you the money promiſed him that ſhould haue brought you: but I geue you a further warrante, be bolde I charge you, & ſpeake your minde freely, ſaye what you thinke of the ſtate of GRECE. *Themiſtocles* then aunſwered him. That mens wordes did properly reſemble the ſtories and imagery in a pece of arras: for both in the one & in the other, the goodly images of either of them are ſeene, when they are vnfolded and layed open. Contrariwiſe they appeare not, but are loſt, when they are ſhut vp, & cloſe folded: whereupon he ſayed to the King, he muſt nedes require ſome further time of aunſwer. The King liked his compariſon paſſingly well, & willed him to appointe his owne time. *Themiſtocles* asked a yere:
C in which time hauing pretily learned the Perſian tongue, he afterwards ſpake to the King him ſelfe without any interpreter. So, ſuche as were no courtiers, thought he only talked with the King of matters of GRECE. But bicauſe the chaunge & alteration of the courte fell out great at that time, the noble men imagined he had bene ſo bolde to comon with the King of them alſo. Thereupon they greatly enuied him, & afterwardes murmured much againſt him. For in deede the king dyd honour *Themiſtocles* aboue all other ſtraũgers whatſoeuer they were. On a time the king had him out a hunting with him, he made him ſee his mother, with whom he grewe familliar: and by the kings owne commaundement he was to heare the diſputations of the wiſe men of PERSIA touching ſecret philoſophie, which they call magike. *Demaratus* the
D LACEDÆMONIAN being at that time in the courte of PERSIA, the king willing him to aske what gifte he would. He beſought the king to graũt him this fauour: to licẽce him to goe vp & down the cittie of SARDIS, with his royall hat on his head, as the kings of PERSIA doe. *Mithropauſtes*, the kings coſin, taking him by the hãd, ſayed vnto him. *Demaratus*, the kings hatte thou demaundeſt, and if it were on thy heade, it would couer but litle wit: Naye though *Iupiter* dyd geue thee his lightning in thy hande, yet that would not make thee *Iupiter*. But the king gaue him ſo ſharpe a repulſe for his vnreaſonable requeſt, & was ſo angrie with him for it, that it was thought he would neuer haue forgeuen him: howbeit *Themiſtocles* was ſo earneſt a ſuter for him, that he brought him into fauour againe. And the reporte goeth, that the kings ſucceſſours which haue bene ſince that time, vnder whom the PERSIANS haue had more dealings with the GRECIANS, then in former dayes: when they would retaine any great
E ſtate or perſonage of GRECE into their ſeruice, they wrote vnto him, and promiſed him they would make him greater about them, then euer was *Themiſtocles* about *Xerxes*. That which is written of him, doth alſo confirme it. For he being ſtept vp to great countenaunce and authoritie, & followed with great traines of ſuters after him by reaſon of his greatnes: ſeing him ſelf one daye very honorably ſerued at his table, & with all ſortes of daintie meates, he turned him to his childrẽ, & ſayed vnto them. My ſonnes, we ſhould haue bene vndone, if we had not bene vndone. The moſt writers doe agree, that he had giuen him the reuenue of 3. citties for his allowance of bread, wine & vittailes: to wit, MAGNESIA, LAMPSACVS, & MYVNTA. But *Neãthes Cyzicenũ*, & *Phanias*, doe adde two other citties more, PERCOTA, & PALESCEPSIA: the one to defraye his charges of apparell, & the other for his lodging. Afterwards *Themiſtocles* going into
F the lowe countries towards the ſea, to take order againſt the practiſes of the GRECIANS: there was a PERSIAN lord called *Epixies* (gouernour of highe PHRYGIA) that had layed a traine to kill him (hauing of long time hiered certaine murderers of PISIDIA to doe it) ſo ſoone as he

An excellent compariſon of Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles honoured of the king of Perſia.

Demaratus fond demãde of the King.

Themiſtocles had the reuenue of three citties allowed him for his dyet.

Themiſtocles eſcaped murder by a warning he had in his ſleepe.

ſhould come into a towne of his gouernment, called the Lyons head. But as he ſlept on a daye A
in his houſe in the after none, the mother of the goddes appeared vnto him, and ſayed, *Themiſtocles*, goe not to the Lyons heade, for feare thou mete with the Lyon: and for this warning, I doe aske thy daughter *Mneſiptolema* for my ſeruante. *Themiſtocles* waking ſodainely out of his dreame, made his prayer vnto the goddeſſe, and turning out of the highe waye, fetched another compaſſe about. Afterwardes hauing paſſed that towne, he tooke his lodging being benighted: but one of the beaſtes which caried his tente, fell by the waye, vnfortunatly in a riuer, and all his arras and tapeſtry hangings being throughly wet, his ſeruaunts were driuen to laye them out a drying by moone light. The *Piſidians* that laye in wayte, and could not diſcerne by moone light that they were hangings layed out to drye, thought it had bene the very tente *Themiſtocles* ſelfe dyd lye in: whereupon they went vnto it with their ſwordes B
drawen in their handes, hoping to haue taken him ſleeping. But when they were come thither, and beganne to liſte vp a pece of the hangings: ſome of the people of *Themiſtocles* (which kept watche) perceyuing them, ranne vpon them, and tooke them. So *Themiſtocles* hauing eſcaped this daunger, wondred greately at the fauour of the goddeſſe which had appeared vnto him. In recompence whereof, when he was in the cittie of MAGNESIA, he built a temple vnto *Dindymena*, and made his daughter *Mneſiptolema* prioreſſe of the ſame. As he paſſed by the cittie of SARDIS for his recreation, he went to viſite the temples, and offerings that had bene geuen there. So he ſawe an image of a mayden in copper, in the temple of the mother of the goddes, being two yeardes highe, which they called the *Hydrophora*: as much to ſaye, as the water carier. And it was a ſtatue, which him ſelfe had heretofore dedicated, and cauſed to be made, with the fines of thoſe that had payed forfeytures, for ſtealing or C
turning awaye the water courſe at ATHENS, at ſuche time as he was maſter ſurueyer of the water workes and conduites there. Wherfore, whether *Themiſtocles* was ſory to ſee this goodly image a priſoner in the handes of the Barbarous people, or that he would ſhowe vnto the ATHENIANS the greatnes of his credit and authoritie through all the Kings dominions: he ſpake to the gouernour of LYDIA, & prayed him for his ſake that he would ſend this image againe to ATHENS. But this Barbarous gouernour was very angry with his requeſt, and tolde him he would aduertiſe the King thereof. Then *Themiſtocles* beganne to be afeard, & was driuen to ſeeke to the gouernours women and concubines, whom he got for money to intreate him, and ſo made fayre weather againe with the gouernour. But from thenceforth, he tooke D
better garde of him ſelfe in all his doings, greatly fearing the enuy of the Barbarous people. For he progreſſed not vp and downe ASIA, as *Theopompus* writeth, but laye a long time in the cittie of MAGNESIA, quietly enioying the Kings gratious giftes beſtowed on him: where he was honoured & reuerenced for one of the greateſt perſones of PERSIA, whileſt the King was els where occupied in the affayres of the highe prouinces of ASIA, and had no leyſure to thincke vpon thoſe of GRECE. But when newes was brought him, that ÆGYPT was rebelled, by meanes of the fauour & aſſiſtance of the ATHENIANS, & that the GRECIANS gallyes dyd ſcowre the ſeas euen vnto the Ile of CYPRVS, & vnto the coaſtes of CILICIA, & that *Cimon* had all the ſea in ſubiection: that made him then to bende all his thoughts howe to reſiſt the
GRECIANS, that their greatnes might not turne to his hurte. Then commiſſions went out E
to leauy men, to aſſemble captaines, & to diſpatche poſtes vnto *Themiſtocles* at MAGNESIA, with the Kings letters, ſtraightly charging him to haue an eye to the GRECIANS doings, and moreouer that he ſhould faithfully keepe his promiſe he had made to him. But he, to ſhewe that he neither maliced his cittizens, nor was moued with the deſire of greatnes and authoritie he might haue growen vnto in thoſe warres, or els for that he thought the Kings expectation would proue to a greater matter, then he could ende or wade through, conſidering GRECE was full at that time of famous captaines, and that *Cimon* amongeſt the reſt had maruelous good fortune, and that it ſhould be a reproche to him to ſtayne the glorie of ſo many noble actes, ſo many triumphes, and ſo great victories as *Cimon* had done and wonne: he tooke a wiſe reſolution with him ſelfe, to make ſuche an ende of his life, as the F
fame thereof deſerued. For he made a ſolemne ſacrifice vnto the goddes, and feaſted at the ſame all his friends. And, after he had taken his leaue of them all, he drancke bulles bloude,

Themiſtocles loue to his country.

The manner of Themiſtocles death.

as

A as moſt men thincke (or as other ſaye) poyſon, which diſpatcheth a man in foure and twenty howers, and ſo ended his dayes in the cittie of MAGNESIA, after he had liued threeſcore and fiue yeres, and the moſt parte of them allwayes in office, and great charge. It is written, that the king of PERSIA vnderſtanding the cauſe and manner of his deathe, dyd more eſteeme him afterwards, then he dyd before, and that euer after he continued to vſe his friends and familliars in very good ſorte. For he left children behinde him, which he had of *Archippa* (*Lyſanders* daughter) of the towne of ALOPECIA: *Archeptolis*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Cleophantus*, of whom *Plato* the philoſopher maketh mẽtion, ſaying that he was a good man at armes, but otherwiſe that there was no goodnes in him. His other ſonnes that were elder, as *Neocles*, dyed being bitten with a horſe: and as for *Diocles* another ſonne, his grandfather *Lyſander* dyd a- *Themiſtocles children.*

B dopt him for his ſonne. He had many daughters, of the which *Mneſiptolema* (which he had by a ſeconde wife) was maried vnto her halfe brother *Archeptolis*, for they were not both of one venter. An other called *Italia*, was maried vnto one *Panthides* of CHIO. *Sybaris*, vnto *Nicomedes* an ATHENIAN. And *Nicomacha*, vnto *Pharſicles*, *Themiſtocles* nephue: vnto whom her brethern dyd mary her within the cittie of MAGNESIA, after the death of their father. This *Pharſicles* dyd bring vp ASIA, which was the youngeſt of all his daughters. Furthermore, his ſumptuous tumbe ſtandeth yet in the market place of MAGNESIA. But that *Andocides* writeth of his bones, in a booke he made to his friendes, is not to be credited, which was: that the ATHENIANS hauing founde the aſhes of his bones, dyd caſt them vp into the ayer, as a deuiſe to ſturre vp the noble men againſt the people. And *Themiſtocles tumbe and reliques.*

C *Phylarchus* in his hiſtorie (much like vnto the fayned ſubtilties of a tragedie) bringeth in I can not tell what *Neocles*, and *Demopolis*, for *Themiſtocles* ſonnes, to moue the readers with compaſſion. Howbeit no man is ſo ſimple, but will iudge it ſtraight a very fayning and deuiſe. *Diodorus* the coſmographer alſo, in a booke he hath written of tumbes and monuments ſayeth, by coniecture, rather then of any certen knowledge: that alongeſt the hauen of PIROEA, coming towardes the head of *Alcimus*, there is a forelande in forme of an elbowe, within the which when they haue doubled the pointe, the ſea is allwayes calme, and there they finde a great and long foundation or baſe, vpon the which there is as it were the forme of an altar, and that is (ſayeth he) *Themiſtocles* tumbe. And he ſuppoſeth that *Plato* the comicall poet doth witneſſe it in theſe verſes.

D *Thy graue is ſet and plaſt, comodiouſly,*
vvhere paſſengers and marchants that come by
maye viſite thee, and vvhere it maye regarde,
all ſuch as ſeeke that porte to be their vvarde.
Somtimes alſo, it maye reioyce to ſee,
the bloudy fights, vpon the ſea that be.

And furthermore, thoſe of MAGNESIA dyd inſtitute certen honours vnto the iſſue of *Themiſtocles*, which continew yet vnto this daye. And in my time, another *Themiſtocles* alſo of ATHENS dyd enioy the ſame honours, with whom I was familliarly conuerſante in the houſe of *Ammonius* the philoſopher. *Honour done to Themiſtocles after his death.*

The ende of Themiſtocles life.

THE LIFE OF
Furius Camillus.

AMONGEST many great matters which are ſpoken of this *Furius Camillus*, this ſeemeth moſt ſtraunge and wonderfull aboue the reſt. That he hauing borne the chiefeſt offices of charge in his countrie, and hauing done many notable and worthy deedes in the ſame: as one that was choſen fiue times *Dictator*, and had triumphed foure times, and had wonne him ſelfe the name & title of the ſeconde founder of Rome, and yet neuer came to be Conſul. But the only cauſe thereof was, that the common weale of Rome ſtoode then in ſuch ſtate and ſorte. The people were then at diſſention with the Senate. They would chuſe no more Conſuls, but other kynde of gouernours whom they called *Tribuni militares*: theſe dyd all things with like power & authoritie as the Conſuls, yet were they nothing ſo odious vnto the people, by reaſon of the number that was of them. For it was ſome hope to them that could ill beare the rule of the ſmall number of nobilitie, that the gouernment of the ſtate being put into ſixe, and not into two officers hands, their rule would be the eaſier, and tollerabler. Nowe *Camillus* being at that time in his beſt credit and authoritie, and in the prime and glorie of his doings, dyd not deſire to be made Conſul without the good-will of the people, although whileſt he was in authoritie, there were many times Conſuls created. But to all other offices and dignities, he was called, and choſen. He behaued him ſelfe in ſuch ſorte, that when he was alone, he made his authoritie comon to other: and when he had companions & aſſociates, the glorie of all redounded to him ſelf alone. The cauſe whereof, was his modeſtie on the one ſide, for he commaunded euer without enuie: and his great wiſedome and ſufficiencie on the other ſide, for the which all others willingly gaue him place, and yelded to him. The houſe of the *Furians* being at that time of no great fame, he was the firſt that beganne to ſet him ſelf forwards. For in a great battell which was fought againſt the *Æques* and *Volſces*, he being but a priuate man at armes vnder the *Dictator Poſthumius Tubertus*, was the firſt that riding out of the army, aduaunced him ſelfe, and gaue the charge. And being ronne into the thighe at that time with a ſtaffe broken vpon his thighe, he plucked the trunchen out, and retired not for all that: but geuing chardge againe vpon the ſtowteſt of the enemies, he fought it out ſo valliantly to the encoraging of other, that he was the chief cauſe they turned their backes. Whereupon, to requite his ſeruice done at that time (beſides other honours

Why Camillus neuer came to be Conſul.

The authoritie of a fewe, odious to the common people.

Camillus wiſedome and modeſtie.

Camillus hurte.

A honours they dyd him) they made him *Censor*: an office at that time of great preheminence & dignitie. In his office of Censorshippe, he dyd two notable acts. The one very honest: when he brought men that were not maried, to marie the women whom the warres had left widows, which were in nũber many. To this he got them partly by persuasion, & partly by threatnings, to set roũd fines vpõ their heads that refused. The other very necessary: in that he brought the orphanes to be cõtributories, vnto taxes, & subsidies, which before payed nothing. The cause thereof was, the continuall warres, about the which the common weale susteined great charges: but specially about the siege of the citie of the VEIANS (which some call VENETANIANS) that was a very sore burden to thẽ at that time. For it was the capitall cittie of all THVSCAN, the which for store of armour, & nũber of souldiers, was nothing inferiour vnto the cittie of ROME.

Camillus acts in his Censorshippe.

The cittie of Veies besieged.

B For the VEIANS being growẽ to stomake & corage in time, by reason of their wealth & prosperitie, & for the sundry great battells they had fought against the ROMAINES, that contẽded with them for glory and empire: now it fell so out, that they finding them selues weakened by many great ouerthrowes, which they had receyued of the ROMAINES, they did let fall their former peacokes brauery, & ambition, to byd them battell any more in the fielde. Howbeit the inhabitants of the cittie of VEIES hauing raised the walles, & made very great high rãpers, beganne to fortifie them selues, & made good prouision for armour & munition, besides store of corne, shotte, & other necessary things: they valliantly, & without feare of any thing, defended the siege of the ROMAINES, that cõtinued long time, & was no lesse hard & painefull vnto thẽ that did besiege, then it was vnto those that were besieged. For where the ROMAINES were wõt

C before time to keepe their houses in the winter season, and the field only in the sommer time: that was the first time they were compelled by the captaines and *Tribuni militares*, to buylde fortes, and to intrenche their campe with a wall, euen in their enemies countrie, and to winter abroade as they were wont to lye in the campe in sommer. Nowe this siege had continued seuen whole yeres together. The captaines were burdened that they dyd not their dueties, nor stoode manfully to their charge: whereupon in the end they were discharged, and other captaines placed in their roomes to followe the siege. Among those, *Camillus* was one, whom then the seconde time they created *Tribunus militaris*. Who notwithstanding dyd nothing then in that siege, bicause it was his happe by lot, to make warres vpon the PHALERIANS, and the CAPENATES. These people whilest the ROMAINES were occupied other where, had

The siege cõtinued seuen yeres together.

Camillus twise chosen Tribune of the souldiers.

D inuaded their countrie, and done them great harme, during the time of their warre with the THVSCANS. But *Camillus* hauing ouerthrowen a great number of them in the fielde, had the rest in chase, and draue them to take their cittie, and dyd shut them vp within their owne walles. The chaunce that happened at the lake of ALBANVS, about the time the THVSCAN warres were greatest, dyd maruelously amate the ROMAINES, being no lesse wounderfull, then the most straunge and vncredible thing that could be tolde by man. For they could not finde out the cause of it by common reason, nor any naturall grounde: considering it was in the later end of Autumne, and sommer was ended, and that there had not bene much rayne, nor notable sowthe winds. And although there are many lakes, many brooks & riuers, many springs, and other waters in ITALIE: yet some of them dried vp altogether, other ranne but faintely

The wonderfull ouerflowing of the lake Albanus.

E by reason of the drought, and all the riuers then were (as they are wont to be commonly in sommer) very lowe, and there was scante any water. But the lake ALBANVS contrariwise, that cometh from no other place, neither runneth any whether out of him selfe, being enuironned all about with hilles and mountaines, and where the earthe is good: beganne to swell, and rise to euery mans sight, without any cause at all (but secret and hidden vnto the goddes alone) and went allwayes increasing alongest those hilles sides, vntill suche time as it came to be euen with the height of the highest mountaine, gathering vpwardes still without any waues or tempest of weather at all. This at the first, made poore shepeheardes and heardemen, keeping their cattell thereaboutes, maruelously affrayed. But at the lengthe when the earthe and weight of one of the hilles (which kepte in the lake as a walle,

F from running ouer into the felde) beganne to breake by reason of the waight, and great quantitie of water, that ranne straight with a maruelous extreme force and violence ouer all the arrable landes and groundes planted with trees, and so tooke his course into the

ſea: the ROMAINES then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of ITALY were wounderfully affrayed, and iudged that it was ſome ſigne and prognoſtication of ſome wounderfull thing to come. And there was no other newes currante in the campe, which laye at ſiege of the cittie of VEIES: inſomuch as the very brute of it flewe ouer the walles of the cittie, vnto them that were beſieged. And as it happeneth very ofte in long ſieges, that thoſe which lye in campe doe oftentimes talke with them that are beſieged: there was a ROMAINE who fell acquainted, and commonly vſed to talke familiarly with one of the cittie, who could tell of many olde & ſtraunge things done and happened, and was very skillfull aboue any other in the cittie, in the arte of diuination, or ſoothe ſaying. The ROMAINE then tolde him one daye the violent breaking out of the lake ALBANVS, and perceyuing that the other after he had heard him, was as mery as a pye at the matter, and that he gibed at their ſiege: he tolde him further, that this wounderfull chaunce was not only happened vnto the ROMAINES at that time, but that they had bene acquainted with many other farre more ſtraunge then this, which he would very willingly open vnto him, to ſee if there were any remedy, that though the affaires of the common weale had but harde ſucceſſe, yet he would procure that his owne priuate matters might proſper well with him. The VEIAN aunſwered him, he would heare them with a goodwill, & gaue good eare vnto him, hoping to haue heard ſome great ſecret. So the ROMAINE training him on ſtill from one matter to another, holding on his waye, vntill he ſawe he was a good diſtance of from the gates of the cittie, he ſodainely cought holde on him, and by ſtrong hand caried him awaye with him, and with helpe of other ſouldiers which came ronning out of the campe vnto him, he brought him to the captaines. The VEIAN ſeeing him ſelf thus forciblie vſed, and knowing alſo that fatall deſteny cannot be auoyded, beganne to declare vnto the ROMAINES, the auncient oracles and prophecies touching the fortune of their cittie: by which it was reported vnto them, that the cittie of VEIES ſhould neuer be taken, vntill the enemie had cauſed the water of the lake ALBANVS (which ſhould breake out) to be brought backe againe, and to turne it ſome other waye from thence, that it ſhould not fall into the ſea. This was caried vnto the Senate at ROME, to be conſulted of in counſail: and there it was determined they ſhould ſend to the oracle of *Apollo*, at the cittie of DELPHES, and aske him what they ſhould doe therein. So thither were ſent great and notable men, *Coſſus Licinius*, *Valerius Politus*, and *Fabius Ambuſtus*: who hauing ended their iorney by ſea, and receyued aunſwer of that they demaunded, returned home againe, and amongeſt other oracles they brought one that ſayed thus. That through negligence they had omitted ſome auncient ceremonies in the holy dayes of the Latines. And another willed them, that they ſhould by all poſſible meanes they could, keepe the water of the lake ALBANVS that it fell not into the ſea, and ſhould (if it were poſſible) bring it backe againe into his old place: if not, that yet they ſhould cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be droncke vp in the middeſt of the fields. When theſe oracles were vnderſtanded, the prieſts prepared all things for diuine ſeruice, and the people went about the water of the lake to turne it againe. After theſe things were done, the Senate in the tenth yere of the warres againſt the VEIANS, put of all thoſe which dyd beare office, and created *Camillus Dictator*, who named for generall of the horſe men, *Cornelius Scipio*. And before he went in hande with any thing, he made a vowe vnto the goddes, that if it pleaſed them to graunte a happy ende of theſe warres, in honour of them he would celebrate great playes, and buyld a temple vnto the goddeſſe which the ROMAINES call *Matuta*: which ſeemeth to be her whom we call *Leucothea*, conſidering the ceremonies done in theſe ſacrifices. For they cauſe a chamber mayde to enter into her temple, & there they boxe her about the eares. Then they put her out of the temple, and doe embrace their brothers children rather then their owne. They make many other ceremonies, and they are much like vnto thoſe that are done vnto *Bacchus* nurces, and to the misfortunes that chaunced vnto *Ino*, by reaſon of her husbands concubine. After all theſe vowes and prayers made, he entred with his army into the FALISSIANS territories, whom he ouerthrewe in a great battell, together with the CAPENATES alſo, which came to ayde them. From thence he went to the ſiege of the cittie of VEIES, where perceyuing to take it by aſſaulte, was not to be wonne without great daunger: he beganne to vndermine it (finding the earth all about very minable) and with all

The craft of a Romaine.

An oracle brought from Delphes.

Camillus choſen Dictator.

Matuta. Leucothea.

A B C D E F

all ſo deepe,that the enemies could perceyue nothing.Nowe when his mining fell out according to his good hope, he gaue an aſſaulte to the walles in all places alike about the cittie at one inſtante,to bring out all the inhabitants of the cittie to man the walles.Whileſt they were all thus vpon the walles to make defence:*Camillus* ſouldiers entred ſecretly through the mines within the caſtell,harde by the temple of *Iuno*:which was the chiefe Churche of all the cittie, and whereunto the cittizens had moſt deuotion . They ſaye that euen at that preſent time the generall of the THVSCANS dyd ſacrifice vnto the goddes, & that his ſoothesayer hauing conſidered the intrells of the beaſtes offered vp in ſacrifice,cried out alowde,that the goddes gaue the victorie vnto him, which ſhould happen to come vpon them in this ſacrifice. The ROMAINES which were within the mine hearing this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaped out,crying,and making noyſe with their weapons: wherewith the enemies were ſo aſtonied, that they fled vpon it,and ſo the ROMAINES tooke the intrells,and caried them vnto *Camillus*. And theſe be euen much like the Poets tales and fables. Howbeit *Camillus* hauing by this meanes taken the cittie, and ſeeing from the toppe of the caſtell the infinite goodes & riches within the cittie,which the ſouldiers ſpoyled & made hauoke of,he wept for very pittie.And when thoſe that were about him tolde him he was a happy man: he lift vp his handes vnto heauen,and made this prayer. O mightie god *Iupiter*, and you ô goddes, which ſee and iudge mens good and ill worckes: you knowe right well,that we haue not willingly (without wrong and cauſe offered vs) begonne this warre, but iuſtly, and by compulſion, to be reuenged of a cittie our enemie,which hath done vs great iniuries.But if to conteruayle this our great good proſperitie,and victorie,ſome bitter aduerſitie and ouerthrowe be predeſtined vnto vs: I beſeeche you then(moſt mercifull goddes)in ſparing our cittie of ROME,and this her army,you will (with as litle hurte as maye be)let it all fall and light vpon my perſone alone . And as he had ſpoken theſe wordes, and was turning on his right hande (according to the manner of the ROMAINES after they haue prayed vnto the goddes) he fell downe flat before them all. The ſtanders by taking this fall for an ill token , were ſomwhat troubled with the matter: but after he got vp on his feete againe , he tolde them that the thing he requeſted of the goddes was happened vnto him.And that was,a litle hurte,in exchaunge of a great good fortune.So the whole cittie being ſpoyled and rifled,he was alſo deſirous to carie *Iunos* image to ROME,to accompliſhe the vowe he had made.And hauing ſent for worckemen for this purpoſe,he dyd ſacrifice firſt vnto the goddeſſe,beſeching her to accept well of the ROMAINES good will, & that ſhe would willingly vouchſafe to come and dwell with the other goddes, who had the protection of the cittie of ROME. Some ſaye , that the image aunſwered, ſhe was contenred. But *Liuius* writeth that *Camillus* made this prayer, as he touched the image, and that the aſſiſtants aunſwered ſhe was contented,and would goe with a goodwill. Yet they which doe affirme,it was the image ſelfe that ſpake , doe fauour this miracle,grounding their proofe vpon the opinion of the fortune of ROME: the which,from ſo baſe and meane beginning had impoſſibly attained vnto ſo highe glorie and power as it had , without the ſingular fauour of the goddes,and that hath manifeſtly appeared vnto the world,by ſundry great proofes and examples.They bring forth alſo ſuch other like wonders . As, that images haue heretofore let fall droppes of ſwet from them : that they haue bene heard to ſighe : that they haue turned : and that they haue made certen ſignes with their eyes, as we finde written in many auncient ſtories. And we could our ſelues alſo tell ſuch like wonders , which we haue heard men of our time affirme,which are not vncredible,nor lightly to be condemned. But for ſuch matters , it is as daungerous to geue to much credit to them , as alſo to diſcredit them to much, by reaſon of the weaknes of mans nature,which hath no certen boundes,nor can rule it ſelf,but ronneth ſomtimes after vanitie and ſuperſtition, and otherwhile alſo diſpiſeth and contemneth holy and diuine matters: and therefore the meane is the vertue, & not to goe to farre in this, as in all other things beſides, it is the beſt. Nowe *Camillus*, whether his late enterpriſe performed, in winning a cittie that ſtoode out with ROME, & helde ſiege with them tenne yeres together , had put him into an ouerwening or conceipt of him ſelfe : or that the wordes of the people,which dyd bleſſe and prayſe him,had made him looke highe , and preſume vpon him ſelfe, more then became the modeſtie of a ciuill magiſtrate , and gouernour of the common

The cittie of Veies taken by mining.

Camillus prayer when Veies was taken.

Fayned wonders of images.

Plutarches iudgements of miracles.

Camillus ſtately triumphe of the Veians.

weale,& one that was ſubiect to the lawe:he ſhewed a ſtately triumphe,ſet forth with all riche furniture,& ſpecially for that him ſelf was caried through Rome vpon his triumphant charret drawen with foure fayer white courſers. This, neuer captaine nor generall before him durſt vndertake to doe, neither any euer after him attẽpted it: for they thinke it is a ſacred cariage, and only mete for the King,and father of the goddes. This bred him much enuy amongeſt the cittizẽs,which had not bene acquainted with ſo great ſtatelynes. There was another occaſion alſo that made them miſlike him much:which was,bicauſe he ſtood againſt the lawe put forth that they ſhould deuide the cittie of Rome. For the *Tribunes* of the people dyd ſet out an Edict,that the Senate & people of Rome ſhould be deuided into two partes: and that thoſe on whom the lotte ſhould fall, ſhould abide ſtill in Rome, and the other ſhould goe dwell in the newe wonne cittie of Veies. Theſe were the reaſons to perſuade this: that both the one and the other ſorte ſhould be richer then they were before,& ſhould more eaſely keepe their lands and goodes from the inuaſion of their enemies,by meanes of theſe two great cities. The people which were multiplied nowe into great numbers, & had ſerued duetifully & daũgerouſly, thought it the beſt waye in the worlde: Therefore they ſtill cried out,and thronged with great tumulte,about their pulpit for orations, praying that this lawe might be put vnto the voyces of the people. But the whole Senate,and wiſeſt cittizens among them,iudging this motion of the Tribunes would be the deſtruction,and not the diuiſion of the cittie of Rome: could in no wiſe abide it ſhould goe any further. Whereupon they went & prayed *Camillus* helpe:who fearing to bring it to the pointe,whether the lawe ſhould paſſe or no,dyd allwayes ſeeke new occaſions and letts,ſtill to delaye & put of the matter,& ſtaye the confirmation of this lawe. For theſe cauſes, he was hated of the common people. But the originall & apparant cauſe of the peoples ill will towards him,was for taking from them the tenth parte of their ſpoyles: and it was not altogether without ſome reaſon, and to ſaye truely the people dyd him much wrong to beare him ſuch malice for that. For before he went to the cittie of Veies, he made a ſolẽne vowe to offer the tenth parte vnto the goddes,of the ſpoyles of the cittie,if he wãne the ſame. But when it was taken and ſacked,whether it was that he was lothe to trouble the cittizens, or hauing a worlde of buſines in his head, that he eaſely forgate his vowe: he ſuffered the ſouldiers to deuide the ſpoyle amongeſt them,& to take the benefit to them ſelues. Shortely after he was diſcharged of his charge, he dyd enforme the Senate of his vowe. Furthermore, the ſoothe ſayers made reporte at that very time,howe they knew by certaine ſignes and tokens of their ſacrifices,that the goddes were offended for ſomwhat, and howe they muſt of neceſſitie be pacified againe. Whereupon the Senate preſently made an order,where it was vnpoſſible euery man ſhould bring in againe the ſelfe ſame things he had gotten, to make a newe diuiſion of euery mans ſhare: that euery one therefore vpon his othe ſhould preſent the tenthe parte of his gaynes he had gotten by that bootie. There was great trouble about it. They were driuen to vſe great extremitie to the poore ſouldiers(which had traueled ſore,and taken great paynes in the warres) to make them to reſtore backe ſuch a coloppe out of their gaine, and the rather bicauſe many of them had already ſpent it euery penney: and for this trouble,they all cried out with open mouth againſt *Camillus*. But he being ſet vp, and not knowing otherwiſe howe to excuſe him ſelfe, was forced to bring forth as cold and as vnreaſonable an excuſe as he could make, which was: forſoothe he had forgotten his vowe he had made. The people notwithſtanding were eger ſtill againſt him,ſaying: howe he had vowed then to offer the tenth parte of the enemies goodes to the goddes, and that nowe he would performe it with the tenthes of the cittizens goodes. Neuertheles, euery man hauing brought that he ſhould for his parte: it was thought good they ſhould cauſe a maſſie cuppe of golde to be made, to ſend to the temple of *Apollo* at Delphes. And ſmall ſtore of golde being in the cittie of Rome, as the officers of the cittie were ſerching vp and downe to get it: the women of Rome of their owne voluntary willes without motion, agreed among them ſelues, that they would departe with all the iuells they had, towardes the making vp of this offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof, to honour them withall: the Senate ordeined that they ſhould be prayſed openly with funerall orations at their buriall,as they dyd vſe at honorable and noble mens obſequies. For before that lawe, it was not the

A lawe for the people of Rome to dwell at Veies.

The chiefeſt cauſe of the peoples malice againſt Camillus.

A cuppe of golde ſent to Delphes.

The ladyes of Rome gaue their iuells towards the making of it.

What time womens prayſes beganne at funeralls in Rome.

A the manner to prayſe women openly at their funeralles. Nowe there were appointed three of the nobleſt men of the cittie to goe to carie this offering, & they ſent them out in a galley well manned, ſtored alſo with good mariners, & trimly ſet forth in all triumphing manner: howbeit both in ſtorme, & calme weather, they were in daunger of their liues. For after that they had ſcaped drowning very narrowly by tempeſt, when the winde was downe againe, they fell into another daunger, which they eſcaped alſo beyond all hope. For harde by the Iles of ÆOLVS, the gallyes of the LIPARIANS fell vpon them, as if they had bene rouers. But when the LIPARIANS ſawe they made no reſiſtance, & intreated them, holding vp their hands: they gaue no further charge vpon them, but only faſtened their gallye vnto theirs. So when they had haled them to the ſhore, they declared they were pirates, & offered to make porte ſale of the men & B goodes, as if they had bene a lawfull priſe: & had ſolde them in deede, had not the wiſedome & authoritie of *Timeſitheus* letted them, who was gouernour at that time of the cittie, and had great a doe to perſuade them to let them goe. And he dyd not ſo leaue them, but ſent out certaine of his owne ſhippes to accompanie them in their iorney, who dyd helpe them to goe and performe their offering. For which curteſie of his, the ROMAINES afterwardes dyd him great honour at ROME, according to his well deſeruing. The Tribunes of the people beganne nowe to ſet a foote againe the lawe for the deuiding of the inhabitans of ROME vnto the cittie of VEIES. But the warres of the FALISCES fell out happely at that time, wherby the noble men dyd chooſe ſuch officers as they would. So they choſe *Camillus*, *Tribunus militaris* of the ſouldiers, and fiue other to aſſiſte him, the ſeruice in that caſe requiring a generall, C that caried both authoritie & reputation among them, as an olde experienced ſouldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the election, *Camillus* immediatly entred the territories of the FALISCES with the ROMAINES armie, where he layed ſiege vnto the cittie of the FALERIANS, being very well fortified, vitteled and ſtored, with all other munition of warre. Knowing therefore that it was no ſmall attempt to winne this cittie, and that it would not be done in a ſhorte time: he pollitikely ſought (whatſoeuer came of it) to keepe his coũtrimẽ occupied about ſome thing, & to ſtaye them for going home, leaſt by repayring to ROME, they ſhould haue many occaſions to rebell, & raiſe ſome ciuill diſſention. For the ROMAINES dyd wiſely vſe this remedie: to diſperſe abroade like good phiſicians, the humours which troubled the quiet ſtate of their cõmon weale at home. But the FALERIANS truſting in the ſituation of D their cittie, which was very ſtrong in all partes, made ſo litle accompt of the ſiege: that thoſe which kept not watche vpon the walles, walked vp and downe in their gownes in the cittie, without any weapon about them, and their children went to ſchoole, the ſchoolemaſter alſo would commonly leade them abroade out of the cittie a walking, to playe and paſſe the time by the towne walles. For the whole cittie had one common ſchoolemaſter, as the GRECIANS alſo haue, which doe bring vp their children from litle ones in company together, bicauſe one maye be familiarly acquainted with an other. This ſchoolemaſter ſpying his time to doe the FALERIANS a ſhrewd turne, dyd accuſtomably take all his ſcholers out of the cittie with him, to playe, not farre from the walles at the beginning, & afterwards brought them into the cittie againe, after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroade thus once E or twiſe, he trayned them out euery daye a litle further, to make them to be bolde, perſuading them there was no daunger. But at the length, one daye hauing gotten all the cittizẽs children with him, he led them within the watche of the ROMAINES campe, & there deliuered all his ſcholers into their handes, & prayed them they would bring him vnto their generall. So they did. And when he came before *Camillus*, he begãne to tell him that he was ſchoolemaſter vnto all theſe children, neuertheles that he dyd more eſteeme to haue his grace and fauour, then regarde his office he had by this name & title. *Camillus* hearing what he ſayed, & beholding his threachierous parte, he ſayed to thoſe that were about him. Warre of it ſelfe ſurely is an euill thing, for in warres many iniuries & miſchieues are done: neuertheles amõg good men there is a law & diſcipline, which doth forbid thẽ to ſeeke victorie by wicked & traiterous meanes, & F that a noble & worthie generall ſhould make warre, & procure victorie, by truſting to his own valliantnes, & not by anothers vilenes & villanie. Therefore he commaunded his ſergeants to teare the clothes of the backe of this vile ſchoolemaſter, & to binde his hands behinde him: &

Camillus chooſen Tribune of the ſouldiers.

Camillus beſiegeth the Falerians.

Camillus worthie acte to the ſchoolemaſter, betraying the Faleriãs children.

A noble ſaying of Camillus, and wiſe precept for warres.

Valiantnes to be preferred before vilanie.

that they ſhould geue the children roddes & whippes in their handes, to whippe the traitour backe againe into the cittie, that had thus betrayed them, & grieued their parents. Now when the FALERIANS heard newes that the ſchoolemaſter had thus betrayed them, all the cittie fell a weeping (as euery man maye thinke for ſo great a loſſe) and men & women ranne together one in anothers necke, to the town walles, & gates of the cittie, like people out of their wittes, they were ſo troubled. When they came thither, they ſaw their childrē bringing their ſchoolemaſter backe againe, ſtarcke naked and bownde, whipping of him, & calling *Camillus* their father, their god, and their ſauiour: ſo that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the cittizens alſo in generall, dyd conceyue in them ſelues a wonderfull admiration and great loue, of the wiſedome, goodnes, and iuſtice of *Camillus*. So that euen preſently they called a counſaill, and there it was concluded they ſhould ſend ambaſſadours forthwith vnto him, to put their liues and goodes to his mercy and fauour. *Camillus* ſent their ambaſſadours vnto ROME, where audience being geuen vnto them by the Senate, the ambaſſadours ſayed. Bicauſe the ROMAINES preferred iuſtice aboue victorie, they taught them to be better contented to ſubmit them ſelues vnto them, then to be their own men at libertie: confeſſing their vertue dyd more ouercome them, then any force or power could doe. The Senate diſpatched letters vnto *Camillus*, giuing him commiſſion to doe and determine as he thought good. So he hauing taken a certen ſumme of money of the FALERIANS, dyd furthermore make peace and league with all the reſt of the FALISCES: and thereupon returned backe againe to ROME. But the ſouldiers grudged maruelouſly at it. For they ſtoode in hope to haue had the ſacking of the cittie. When there was no remedie, but they muſt needes returne home emptie handed, they beganne to accuſe *Camillus* to the reſt of the cittizens, as ſone as they came to ROME, ſaying: he loued not the common people, and howe for ſpite he diſapointed their army of the ſpoyle. On the other ſide, the Tribunes of the people beganne to reuiue the lawe, for the deuiding of the inhabitants of ROME, and were ready to paſſe it by the voyces of the people. *Camillus* not fearing the ill will of the commons, dyd boldely ſpeake, and doe in open preſence, all he could againſt it. So that plainely he was the chiefeſt cauſe, that the people againſt their willes (intreate what they could) were driuen to let it alone. But withall they were ſo ſpitefull againſt him, that notwithſtanding his ſorowe and misfortune for the death of his ſonne (dying of a ſickenes) was great: they would not of malice once take pittie or compaſſion of him. The loſſe whereof (albeit he was of a very good & curteous nature) was ſo grieuous, and made him ſo vnquiet: that being accuſed before the people, he ſturred not once out of his houſe, but was locked vp with the women, which lamented for his ſonne departed. He that dyd accuſe him, was one *Lucius Apuleius*, burdening him that he had ſtolen and taken awaye, parte of the ſpoyle of the THVSCANS: and ſayed, they had ſeene certen braſen gates at his houſe, which had bene brought out of THVSCAN. Nowe the people were ſo maliciouſly bent againſt him, that euery man might ſee, if they could once take him in a trippe, vpon any aduantage whatſoeuer, they would douteles haue condemned him. Wherefore calling together his friendes and ſouldiers that had ſerued vnder him in the warres, or that had taken charge with him, which were many in number: he earneſtly beſought them, that they would not ſuffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through falſe and vniuſt accuſations layed againſt him, nor to be ſo ſcorned and defamed by his enemies. His friends hauing layed their heades together, and conſulted thereupon, made him aunſwer: howe for his iudgment they could not remedy it, but if he were condemned, they would all ioyne together with a very goodwill, to helpe to paye his fine. But he being of minde not to beare ſuch an open ſhame and ignominie, determined in choller to leaue the cittie, and to exile him ſelfe from it. And after he had taken his leaue of his wife & children, bidding them farewell: he went out of his houſe to the gates of the cittie, & ſayed neuer a word. When he came thither, he ſtayed ſodainely, & returning backe againe, he lift vp his hands towards the Capitoll, and made his prayers vnto the godds: that if it were of very ſpight and malice, and not of iuſt deſeruing, that the common people compelled him thus ſhamefully to forſake the cittie, that the ROMAINES might quickely repente them, and in the face of the worlde might wiſhe for him, and haue nede of him. After he had made theſe prayers againſt the cittizens (as *Achilles* dyd againſt the GRECIANS) he went his way, & was condemned

The Faliſciās by their ambaſſadours doe yelde thē ſelues and goodes vnto Camillus.

The meſſage of the ambaſſadours of the Faliſciās vnto the Romaines.

Camillus tooke a ſumme of money of the Falerians, and made peace with all the reſt of the Faliſces.

Lucius Apuleius accuſed Camillus.

The equitie of the Romaines who would not peruert the lawe though they dearely loued Camillus: but willingly offered to paye his fine.

Camillus prayer before his departure out of Rome.

Camillus exileth him ſelfe from Rome.

A condemned for his contempte, in the ſumme of fifteene thouſand *Aſſes* of the ROMAINE coyne, which make of Greekiſhe money, a thouſand fiue hundred *Drachmas* of ſiluer: for an *As* was a litle pece of money, wherof tenne of them made a ROMAINE penney. Howbeit there was not a ROMAINE of any vnderſtāding, but beleeued certenly that ſome great puniſhment would followe them incontinently, and that the wrong & iniurie they had done him would be quickely requited, with ſome moſt ſharpe and terrible reuenge, not only vnpleaſaunt to thinke vpon, but further moſt notable to be ſpoken of through the world. There fell out ſo ſodainely vpon it, ſuch miſchief toward the cittie of ROME, and the preſent time alſo brought forth ſuch occaſion of daunger and deſtruction thereof, to their ſhame & infamie: that it was vncertaine whether it happened by chaunce, or els it was the handie worcke of ſome god, that would not
B ſuffer vertue recompēced with ingratitude, to paſſe vnreuenged. Their firſt token that threatned ſome great miſchief to light vpon them, was the death of *Iulius*, one of the Cenſors: for the ROMAINES doe greately reuerēce the office of a Cenſor, and eſteeme it as a ſacred place. The ſeconde token that happened a litle before *Camillus* exile, was: that one *Marcus Caditius*, a man but of meane qualitie, and none of the Senatours (but otherwiſe a fayer conditioned honeſt man, and of good conſcience) tolde the *Tribuni militares* of a thing that was to be well conſidered of. For he ſayed that the night before, as he was going on his waye in the newe ſtreete, he heard one call him alowde: and returning backe to ſee what it was, he ſawe no liuing creature, but only heard a voyce bigger then a mans, which ſayed vnto him. *Marcus Caditius*, goe thy waye to morrowe morning to the *Tribuni militares*, and byd them looke
C quickely for the GAVLES. The *Tribunes* were mery at the matter, and made but a ieaſt at his warning, and ſtraight after followed the condemnation of *Camillus*. Nowe as touching the GAVLES. They came (as they ſaye) of the CELTÆ, whoſe country not being able to mainteine the multitudes of them, they were driuen to goe ſeeke other countryes to inhabite in: and there were amongeſt them many thouſands of young men of ſeruice and good ſouldiers, but yet more women and litle children by a great number. Of theſe people, ſome of them went towards the north ſea, paſſing the mountaines RIPHEI, and dyd dwell in the extreme partes of EVROPE. Other of them remained betwene the mountaines PIRENEI, and the greateſt mountaines of the ALPES, neere vnto the SENONES, and the CELTORII. There they continued a long time, vntill they fortuned in the ende to taſte of the wine, which was firſt
D brought out of ITALIE vnto them. Which drinke they found ſo good, and were ſo delited with it, that ſodainely they armed themſelues: and taking their wiues and children with them, they went directly towards the ALPES, to goe ſeeke out the country that brought forth ſuch fruite, iudging all other countries in reſpect of that, to be but wilde and barren. It is ſayed, that the firſt man which brought wine vnto them, and that dyd procure them to paſſe into ITALIE, was a noble man of THVSCAN called *Arron*, and otherwiſe of no ill diſpoſed nature: howbeit he was ſubiect to this misfortune following. He was tutor vnto an orphan childe, the richeſt that was at that time in all the countrie of THVSCAN, and of complexion was wonderfull fayer: he was called *Lucumo*. This orphan was brought vp in *Arrons* houſe of a childe, and though he was growen to mans ſtate, yet he would not goe from him, fayning he was ſo well,
E and to his liking. But in deede the cauſe was, that he loued his maiſtres (*Arrons* wife) whom ſecretly he had enioyed a long time, and ſhe him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the ende, loue hauing ſo poſſeſſed them both, that neither parte could withdrawe from other, much leſſe culler that they had long enioyed: the young man ſtole her away from him, and kept her ſtill by force. *Arron* put him in ſute, but he preuayled not: for *Lucumo* ouerweyed him with friends, money, giftes, and charges. But he tooke it ſo greuouſly, that he left his country: and hauing heard talke of the GAVLES, he went vnto them, and was their guide to bring them into ITALIE. So they conquered at their firſt coming all that country which the THVSCANS helde in olde time, beginning at the foote of the mountaines, and ſtretched out in length from one ſea vnto the other which enuironneth ITALIE, as the names them
F ſelues doe witneſſe. For they call yet that ſea which looketh vnto the northe, the Adriatick ſea: by reaſon of a cittie built ſometime by the THVSCANS, which was called *Adria*. The other, which lieth directly ouer againſt the South, is called the THVSCAN ſea. All that countrie

Tokens of the warres of the Gaules.

The originall beginning of the Gaules.

Arrō a Thuſcan the procurer of the Gaules comming into Italie.

Lacke of iuſtice, the cauſe of the deſtruction & conqueſt of Thuſcan by the Gaules.

The power of the Thuſcans in olde time.

is well planted with trees,& hath goodly pleaſaunt paſtures for beaſtes and cattell to feede in, A
& is notably watered with goodly ronning riuers. There was alſo at that time eighteene ſayer
great cities in that country,all of them very ſtrong and well ſeated, aſwell for to enriche the
inhabitants thereof by traffike,as to make them to liue delicately for pleaſure. All theſe cities
the Gavles had wonne, and had expulſed the Thvscans, but this was done long time be-
fore.Now the Gavles being further entred into Thvscan,dyd beſiege the cittie of Clv-
Cluſium a cittie of Thuſcã beſieged by the Gaules. sivm. Thereupon the Clvsians ſeeking ayde of the Romaines, beſought them they
would ſend letters and ambaſſadours vnto theſe barbarous people in their fauour. They ſent
vnto them three of the beſt and moſt honorable perſones of the cittie, all three of the houſe
of the *Fabians*. The Gavles receyued them very curteouſly, bicauſe of the name of Rome:
and leauing to aſſaulte the cittie,they gaue them audience. The Romaine ambaſſadours dyd B
aske them,what iniurie the Clvsians had done vnto them, that they came to make warres
Brennus king of the Gaules. with them. *Brennus* king of the Gavles, hearing this queſtion, ſmiled, and aunſwered them
thus. The Clvsians doe vs wrong in this: they being but fewe people together, & not able
to occupie much lande,doe notwithſtanding poſſeſſe much,and will let vs haue no parte with
them,that are ſtraungers,and out of our country, and ſtande in neede of ſeate and habitation.
The like wrong was offered vnto you Romaines in old time,by thoſe of Alba,by the Fide-
nates, and the Ardeates: and not long ſithence,by the Veians,& the Capenates: and
partly by the Falisces and the Volsces: againſt whom ye haue taken, & doe take armes,
at all times. And as ofte as they will let ye haue no parte of their goods, ye impriſon their per-
ſones,robbe and ſpoyle their goodes,and diſtroye their cities. And in doing this,ye doe them C
no wrong at all,but followe the oldeſt lawe that is in the worlde, which euer leaueth vnto the
ſtronger,that which the weaker can not keepe and enioye. Beginning with the goddes, & en-
ding with beaſtes: the which haue this propertie in nature,that the bigger and ſtronger haue
euer the vauntage of the weaker and leſſer. Therefore,leaue your pittie to ſee the Clvsians
beſieged, leaſt you teache vs Gavles to take compaſſion alſo of thoſe you haue oppreſſed.
By this aunſwer the Romaines knewe very wel,there was no waye to make peace with king
Brennus. Wherefore they entred into the cittie of Clvsivm, and incoraged the inhabitants
to ſalye out with them vpon theſe barbarous people: either bicauſe they had a deſire to proue
the valliantnes of the Gavles, or els to ſhewe their owne corage and manhoode. So the cit-
tizens went out, and skirmiſhed with them harde by the walles: in the which one of the *Fa-* D
Fabius Ambuſtus a Romaine, breaketh the common lawe of all nations. *bians*,called *Quintus Fabius Ambuſtus*, being excellently well horſed, and putting ſpurres to
him, dyd ſet vpon a goodly bigge perſonage of the Gavles, that had aduaunced him ſelfe
farre before all the troupe of his companions. He was not knowen at the firſt encounter, as
well for the ſodaine meeting and skirmiſhing together, as for that his gliſtering armour dim-
med the eyes of the enemies. But after he had ſlaine the Gavle, and came to ſtrippe him:
Brennus then knewe him, and proteſted againſt him, calling the goddes to witneſſe, howe he
had broken the lawe of armes, that coming as an ambaſſadour, he had taken vpon him the
Brennus reproueth Fabius for breaking the lawe of armes. forme of an enemie. Hereupon *Brennus* forthwith left skirmiſhing,and raiſing the ſeige from
Clvsivm, marched with his army vnto Rome gates. And to the ende the Romaines
might knowe, that the Gavles were not well pleaſed for the iniurie they had receyued: to E
haue an honeſt culler to beginne warres with the Romaines, he ſent an Herauld before to
Rome, to demaunde liuerie of the man that had offended him, that he might puniſh him ac-
cordingly. In the meane time,he him ſelfe came marching after, by ſmall iourneys to receyue
their aunſwer. The Senate hereupon aſſembled,& many of the Senatours blamed the raſhnes
of the *Fabians*: but moſt of all,the prieſtes called *Fæciales*. For they followed it very earneſtly,
as a matter that concerned religion,& the honour of the godds: declaring how the Senate,in
diſcharge of all the reſidue of the cittie of the offence cõmitted,ſhould laye the whole waight
and burden of it vpon him alone,that only had done the facte. *Numa Pompilius*,the iuſteſt and
Numa Pompilius erected the colledge of the Fæciales. moſt peaceable of all the kings of Rome that had bene, was he that firſt erected the colledge
of theſe *Fæciales*,and dyd ordeine that they ſhould be the keepers of peace, and the iudges to F
heare and allowe all the cauſes,for the which they ſhould iuſtely beginne any warres. Neuer-
theles,the Senate in the ende turned ouer the ordering of the matter, vnto the whole will and

iudgment

A iudgment of the people, before whom these priestes *Feciales* dyd also accuse *Fabius Ambustus*. The people made so litle accõpt of their propounded religion, & honour of the godds in that case: that in stede of deliuering of this *Fabius* vnto the enemy, they dyd choose him for one of the Tribunes of the souldiers with his brothers. The GAVLES vnderstanding this, were so furious & angrie thereat, that they would no lenger linger their iourneis, but marched with all spede vnto ROME. The people that dwelt by the high wayes where they should passe by, were maruelously affrayed to see the multitude of them, & their braue & vniuersall furniture: & beginning to doubt the furie of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroye all the chãpion country before them, & afterwardes would take all the strong cities. They cõtrariwise dyd take nothing at all out of the fieldes, neither dyd any hurte or displeasure vnto any
B bodie: but passing by their cities, cried out they went to ROME, and would haue no warres but with the ROMAINES, and howe otherwise they desired to be friendes with all the worlde. These barbarous people marching on in this wise towards ROME, the Tribunes of the souldiers brought their army to the field to encounter them. They were no lesse in number then the GAVLES, for they were fourty thousand footemen. Howbeit most part of them were rawe souldiers, that had neuer serued in the warres before. They were very careles of the goddes, & dissolute in matters of religion: for they passed neither for good signes in their sacrifices, neither to aske coũsaill of their soothesayers, which the ROMAINES were religiously wont to doe, before they gaue any battaill. To make the matter worse: the number of the captaines hauing power and authoritie alike, dyd asmuche (or more then the rest) disorder and confounde their
C doings. For ofte times before, in farre lesser matters and daungers then these, they dyd vse to chuse speciall officers that had sole & soueraine authoritie, which they called *Dictators*: knowing very well of how great importance it is, in daungerous times to haue but one head & generall, to cõmaund all, & to haue supreme authoritie of iustice in his hands, & not to be bound to deliuer accõpt of his doings to any. The iniury also which they had to vngratefully done to *Camillus*, brought great mischief & incõueniẽce then vpon them. For the captaines after him, durst no more commaunde the people roughly, but euer after dyd flatter them much. When their army was nowe brought into the field, they encamped them selues by a litle riuer called *Allia*, about the eleuẽth stone from ROME, and not farre from the place where the same riuer falleth into *Tyber*. Thither came the barbarous army to them, who ouerthrew them in battell,
D by their disorder & lacke of gouernment. For the left pointe or winge of their battell was broken of at the first by the GAVLES, who charged them so furiously, that they draue them hedlõg into the riuer. The right wing then retiring out of the plain, before they had any charge geuẽ, & hauing gotten certen hilles hard by them: they had litle hurte, & most of them sauing them selues, did recouer ROME again. The rest that escaped after the enemies were weary of killing, fled by night vnto the cittie of VEIES, thinking ROME had bene lost, & all the cittie put to the sword. This ouerthrowe was on the lõgest daye in sommer, the moone being at the full: & the daye before fortuned the great slaughter of the *Fabians*, of the which were slaine by the THVSCANS in one daye 300. all of a name. The very daye it self was afterwards called *Alliade*, of the name of the litle riuer, by the which the 2. ouerthrow was geuen. But for the differẽce of dayes,
E that some of thẽ are naturally vnfortunate, or that *Heraclitus* the philosopher had reason to reproue the poet *Hesiodus*, for makĩg some days good, & some dayes ill, as though he vnderstood they were not all of one nature: we haue writtẽ & declared our opinion therof in other places. Yet, bicause the matter deliuereth present occasiõ to speake of the same, peraduẽture it wil not be amisse to alleage a few exãples of it only. It fortuned the BOEOTIANS on a time to wĩne two honorable victories, on the first daye of the moneth they call *Hippodromus* (and which the ATHENIANS call *Hecatombæon*) that is now the moneth of Iune, by either of the which they did still restore the GRECIANS to their libertie. The first was the battell of LEVCTRES. The secõd was the battell of GERASTE, which was two hũdred yeres before, when they ouercame LATTAMIAS, & the THESSALIANS in battell. The PERSIANS contrarily were ouercome in battail
F by the GRECIANS, the sixt daye of August, at the iorney of MARATHON. The third day, at the battell of PLATEES. And on the selfe same daye, neere vnto MYCALA. On the fiue and twenty daye, at the fight of ARBELES, the ATHENIANS wanne the battell by sea, neere vnto

The Gaules marche towards Rome.

The Romaines armie were 40000 footemen.

To many rulers of an armie, doe confound all order, and putteth the army in perill.

Allia fl.

The battell at the riuer of Allia where the Gaules wanne the field of the Romaines.

300. of a name slaine in one daye.

Ile of NAXOS, vnder the charge and gouernment of *Chabrias*, about the full of the moone, in A
the moneth of Auguſt. And on the twenty of the ſame moneth, they wanne the battell of SALAMINA: as we haue written more amplie in our hiſtorie of difference of dayes. The moneth of Aprill alſo brought to the barbarous people many notable loſſes. For *Alexander* the great, ouercame the generall of the king of PERSIA, at the fielde of GRANICA, in the ſayed moneth. The CARTHAGINIANS alſo were vanquiſhed in SICILE by *Timoleon*, on the ſeuen & twenty daye thereof. On which daye alſo it is thought the cittie of TROYE was taken: as *Ephorus*, *Calliſthenes*, *Damaſtes*, and *Phylarchus*, haue written in their hiſtories. Nowe contrariwiſe. The moneth of Iulye, which the BOEOTIANS call *Panemus*, hath not bene gratious to the GRECIANS. For on the ſeuen daye of the ſame, they were ouerthrowen by *Antipater* at the battell of CRANON, which was their vtter deſtruction. They had before alſo loſt a battell B
the ſame moneth, neere vnto the cittie of CHAERONEA, by king *Phillippe*. On the ſame daye alſo, and in the very ſelf moneth and yere, thoſe which came into ITALIE with king *Archidamus*, were ſlaine euery one of them, by the barbarous people of the coũtry. The CARTHAGINIANS alſo feare the ſeuen & twenty daye of the ſame moneth, as the daye which had before time brought them into many great and ſorowfull calamities. Contrarilie alſo, I knowe very well, how about the feaſt of myſteries, the cittie of THEBES was deſtroyed by *Alexander*, & that the ATHENIANS were compelled to receyue a garriſon of ſouldiers into their cittie, about the twenty daye of Auguſt, at which time they made the holie proceſſion of the myſteries of *Iacchus*. And on the ſelf day the ROMAINES loſt their armie, & their generall *Cæpio*, who was ſlaine by the CIMBRES. And how afterwards vnder the leading of *Lucullus*, they ouercame king *Tigranes*, & the ARMENIANS. And that *Attalus*, & *Pompey* alſo, dyed both on the ſelfe ſame daye C
they were borne. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, vnto whom after like reuolutions of time, there happened notable chaunces of good or ill. But to returne againe vnto our hiſtorie. The daye of this ouerthrowe, is one of thoſe which the ROMAINES take for

The Romaines ſuperſtition in obſerwing of dayes.

one of the vnfortunateſt dayes that euer came vnto them. And by reaſon of that day, they reckon two other dayes of euery moneth very vnfortunate, engendred through feare & ſuperſtition, which ſpreadeth farre (as commonly it doth) vpon ſuch ſiniſter misfortunes. But for this matter, we haue written it more largely & exquiſitly in the booke we made, of the ceremonies & cuſtomes of the ROMAINES. Now after this battell loſt, if the GAVLES had hottely purſued the chaſe of their flying enemies, nothing could haue ſaued ROME from being taken, & the in- D
habitãts therof from being put vnto the ſword. For the ROMAINES that fled from the battell, brought ſuch a feare vpon thoſe that receyued them, and filled the whole cittie of ROME with ſuch greif & trẽbling: that they wiſt not what to doe. The barbarous people againe, beleeuing litle their victorie was ſo great as it was, fell to make good cheere for ſo great a ioye receiued, & deuided among them the ſpoyle of their enemies goods they found in the campe. So gaue they time & leyſure by this meanes, to the multitude of people that fled out of ROME, to ſeeke them ſome place of ſafety: & to ſuch as remained ſtill, they left good hope to ſaue them ſelues, & to make ſomeprouiſion for defence. Thereupon they all fortified them ſelues within mouṫ Capitoll, & ſtoring it with all kind of vitaill, armor, & munition, they wholy dyd forſake the reſt of the cittie. But the firſt worke they tooke in hande was this. They dyd bring into their ſayed E

The holy fier.

forte, parte of their ſacred relickes: & the profeſſed *Veſtalls* brought thither alſo their holy fire & all other their holy monumẽts. Some writers ſaye, that they had nothing els in keeping, but the ſempiternall fyer, & were ſo conſecrated by king *Numa*, who dyd firſt inſtitute, that the fyer ſhould be worſhipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the moſt motiue & quickeſt

The force of fyer.

ſubſtance that is of all naturall things: notwithſtanding, that generation alſo is a mouing, or at the leaſt not done without motion. For we ſee, that all other ſubſtance which lacketh heate, remaineth idle, & without action, & ſturreth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which craueth the force and heate of fyre: as the ſoule it ſelfe recouering heate, beginneth ſomewhat to moue, and diſpoſeth it ſelfe to doe, and ſuffer ſome thing. Wherefore *Numa* being (as they ſaye) a man of great learning and vnderſtanding, who for his wiſedome was reported to talke F
many times with the *Muſes*, dyd conſecrate the ſame as a moſt ſacred thing, and commaunded that they neuer ſhould ſuffer that fyre to goe out, and but keepe it, as they would preſerue

the

A the liuely image of the eternall God, the only King & maker of the worlde. Other saye, that the fyer burned continually there before the holy & sacred things, signifying a kinde and manner of purification, which opinion the GRECIANS holde also: howbeit behinde the same fyer, there were certen hidden things, which in no case any might see, but those holy *Vestall Nũnes*. Many also holde an opinion, th at the *Palladium* of TROYE (as much to say, as *Pallas* image) is hidden also there, which was brought by *Æneas* into ITALIE. Other doe reporte also, that *Dardanus*, at that time when he first beganne to buylde the cittie of TROYE, brought thither the holy images of the goddes of SAMOTHRACIA, and he dyd offer them vp there: and howe *Æneas* after the cittie was taken, dyd steale them awaye, and kept them vntill he came to dwell in ITALIE. Some other also, that take vpon them to knowe more therein then the
B common sorte, doe holde opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is emptie and standeth open, the other is full & fast locked vp, howbeit they are not to be seene but by these holy *Nunnes*. Other thincke also, that these imaginers inuented that they spake of their owne heads, bicause the *Vestall Nunnes* dyd cast all that they could put in at that time, into two pipes, which they buried after in the grounde, within the temple of *Quirinus*: and herefore that very place carieth the surname at this daye of pipes. Howbeit they caried about them the most precious things they had, & fled alongest the riuer. Where one *Lucius Albinus* (one of the common people) flying also, & hauing brought away his wife & litle children, and other household stuffe he had in a carte, by chaunce he lighted vpon the *Vestall Nunnes* in the waye. But so sone as he perceyued these holy *Nunnes* (carying the blessed relickes and iuells in
C their armes, dedicated vnto the seruice of the goddes) all alone, & that they were wearie with going a foote: he caused his wife and his children to come out of the carte, & tooke downe all his goodes also, & willed them to get them vp, and flye into some cittie or towne of GRECE. Thus, me thought I could not well passe ouer with silence, *Albinus* reuerence & deuotion he shewed vnto the goddes, in so daungerous a time & pinche of extremitie. Furthermore the priests of other goddes, & the most honorablest olde men of the cittie of ROME (that had bene Cõsuls before time, or had past the honour of triumphe) had not the harte to forsake ROME: but putting on all their most holy robes & vestments dyd vowe, and as it were willingly sacrificed them selues vnto the fortune that should befall them, for the safety of their countrie. And vsing certain words & prayers which their high bishoppe *Fabius* had taught them, they went *Fabius chief bishoppe of Rome.*
D euen thus apparelled into the great market place, & dyd sit them downe there, in chayers of iuory, expecting the good will & pleasure of the godds what should become of them. But with in three dayes after, *Brennus* came to ROME with his army: who finding the gates of the cittie *Rome taken of the Gaules.* all open, & the walles without watche, he dowted some deuise in it, & feared some priuie ambush had bene layed, as one hardly beleeuing to haue found the ROMAINES of so base a mind, as to forsake their cittie. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into ROME by the gate *Collina*, & tooke the same, litle more thẽ three hũdred & three score yeres after it was first builded: if it be true at the least there hath remained any certen chronicles of those times vnto this present daye, considering the trouble & confusion of that time hath made many things more
E vncerteine then that, dowtefull vnto vs. But so it was, that the rumor ranne to GRECE incontinently howe ROME was taken, but yet withall somwhat doubtefully & vncertainely. For *Heraclides Ponticus* (who was about that time) sayeth in a certen booke he wrote of the soule, that there was newes come from the West parte, that an armie which came from the HYPERBORIANS, had taken a cittie of GRECE called ROME, situated in that country neere the great sea. But I wonder not that *Heraclides* (who hath written so many other fables & lyes) dyd amplifie the true newes of the taking of ROME, with adding to of his owne deuise, of the HYPERBORIANS, & by the great sea. It is a most true tale, that *Aristotle* the philosopher had certain knowledge it was taken by the GAVLES: howbeit he sayeth also it was recouered againe afterwards *Aristotles testimonie of the taking of Rome.* by one called *Lucius*: where in deede it was, by *Marcus Camillus*, & not by *Lucius*. But all this in manner is spoken by cõiecture. Moreouer, *Brennus* being entred ROME, dyd appointe parte of *The maiestie of the olde Senatours set in the market place of Rome.*
F his souldiers to besiege those which were gotten into moũt Capitoll. And he with the residue of his armie, marched on towards the market place: where when he saw the aunciẽt Senatours set so grauely in their chayers, & spake neuer a word, nor offered once to rise, though they saw

their enemies come armed towards them, neither chaunged coũtenance, nor culler at all, but A
leaned ſoftely on their ſtaues they had in their hands, ſeeming to be nothing affrayed nor abaſhed, but looked one vpon another, he maruelouſly wondred at it. This their ſo ſtraunge manner at the firſt dyd ſo dampe the GAVLES, that for a ſpace they ſtoode ſtill, and were in doubte to come neere to touche them, fearing leaſt they had bene ſome goddes: vntill ſuche time, as one of them went boldely vnto *Marcus Papyrius*, & layed his hand fayer & ſoftely vpon his lõg bearde. But *Papyrius* gaue him ſuch a rappe on his pate with his ſtaffe, that he made the bloud ronne about his eares. This barbarous beaſte was in ſuch a rage with the blowe, that he drue out his ſworde, and ſlewe him. The other ſouldiers alſo killed all the reſt afterwardes: and ſo the GAVLES continued many dayes ſpoyling and ſacking all thinges they founde in the houſes, and in the ende dyd ſet them all a fyer, and deſtroyed them euery one, for deſpite of B
thoſe that kept the forte of the Capitoll, that would not yeld vpon their ſummons, but valliantly repulſed them when they ſcaled the walles. For this cauſe they raſed the whole cittie, and put all to the ſworde that came in their handes, young and olde, man, woman, and childe.
Nowe this ſiege continuing long, and the ROMAINES holding them out very ſtowtely, vittells beganne to growe ſcante in the campe of the GAVLES, in ſo much as they were driuen of force to ſeeke it abroade without the cittie. Hereupon they deuided them ſelues, whereof ſome remained ſtill with the King at the ſiege of the Capitoll: and the reſt went a forraging, and ſpoyling all the champion countrie and villages thereaboutes, ſcattered as it were by bandes & companies, ſome here, ſome there, fearing nothing, nor paſſing vpon watch or warde, they liued in ſuche ſecur itie of their victorie. Howbeit the greateſt company amon- C
geſt them, went by fortune towardes the cittie of ARDEA, where *Camillus* dwelt, liuing like a priuate man, medling with no matters of ſtate from the time of his exile, vntill that preſent time. But then he beganne not to bethinke him ſelf as a man that was in ſafety, and might haue eſcaped the handes of his enemies, but rather ſought to deuiſe and finde out all the meanes he could to ſubdewe them if occaſion were ſo offered. Whereupon, conſidering that the inhabitants of ARDEA were enough in number to ſet vpon them, although faynte harted, and cowardly, by reaſon of the ſlouth and negligence of their gouernours and captaines, who had no manner of experience in the warres: he beganne to caſt out theſe words among the young men. That they ſhould not thinke the ROMAINES misfortune fell vpon them, through the valliantnes of the GAVLES, nor that their calamitie (who had refuſed good counſaill) had hap- D
pened vnto them by any worke or acte of the GAVLES, hauing done nothing for their parte to make them carie awaye the victorie: but that they ſhould thinke, it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would needes ſhewe her power. Therefore, that it were nowe a notable and honorable enterpriſe (although ſomewhat daungerous) to driue theſe ſtraungers and barbarous people out of their countrie: conſidering that the only ende of their victorie was, but to deſtroye and conſume as fire, all that fell into their hands. Wherefore if they would but only take a good luſty harte and corage vnto them, he would with opportunitie, and place, aſſure them the victorie, without any daunger. The young men were pleaſed with theſe words of life & comforte. Whereupon *Camillus* went to breake the matter alſo vnto the magiſtrates & counſellours: and hauing drawen them by perſuaſion vnto this enterpriſe, he armed all that E
were of age to carie armor, & would not ſuffer a man to goe out of the cittie, for feare leaſt the enemies (which were not farre of) ſhould haue intelligẽce of the ſame. Now after the GAVLES had rõne ouer all the chãpion countrie, & were loden with all ſorts of ſpoyles, they did encãpe them ſelues negligẽtly in open fields, & neuer charged watch nor warde: but hauing their full cariage of wine layed them down to ſlepe, & made no noyſe at all in their cãpe. *Camillus* being aduertiſed therof by his ſeuerall skowtes, cauſed the ARDEANS with as litle noyſe as might be, forthwith to goe out into the fields: & hauing marched ſomwhat roũdly the diſtance betwene the cittie, & the cãpe of the GAVLES, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his ſoldiers make great ſhowtes & cries, & the trũpets to be ſoũded on euery ſide, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the lowde noyſe they ma de, could hardly be made to wake, F
they were ſo deadly drõke. Yet there were ſome notwithſtãding, that for feare to be takẽ tardy, dyd buſtle vp at this ſodaine noyſe: & coming to them ſelues, fell to their weapons to reſiſt *Camillus*

The cittie of Rome raſed by the Gaules.

The cittie of Ardea.

Camillus wordes vnto the Ardeans in excuſe of the Romaines.

Camillus perſuadeth the Ardeans to take armes againſt the Gaules.

A millus, which were ſlayne by and by. The reſt, & the greateſt number of them, laye here & there ſcattered in the middeſt of the field, without any weapon, dead a ſleepe, ſtarcke droncke with wine, & were put to the ſworde, & neuer ſtrake ſtroke. Thoſe that fled out of the campe that night (which were but fewe in number) were ouerthrowen alſo the next daye, by the horſe men which followed & killed them, as they tooke them ſtraggling here & there in the fieldes. The brute of this victorie was blowen abroade incontinently through all the townes and villages thereabouts, which cauſed many young men to come & ioyne them ſelues to *Camillus*: but ſpecially the ROMAINES deſired the ſame, that had ſaued thē ſelues in the cittie of VEIES, after the battell loſt at ALLIA, who made their mones amongeſt them ſelues there, ſaying. O goddes, what a captaine hath fortune taken from the cittie of ROME? What honour hath the B cittie of ARDEA by the valliantnes and worthy deedes of *Camillus*: and in the meane ſeaſon, his naturall cittie that brought him forth, is now loſt, & vtterly deſtroyed? We, for lacke of a captaine to leade vs, are ſhut vp here within others walles, & doe nothing but ſuffer ITALIE in the meane ſpace to goe to ruine, & vtter deſtruction before our eyes. Why then doe we not ſend to the ARDEANS for our captaine? or why doe we not arme our ſelues, to goe vnto him? For he is nowe no more a baniſhed man, nor we poore cittizens: ſince our cittie is poſſeſſed with the forein power, of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counſaill, & ſent vnto *Camillus* to beſeche him to be their captaine, and leade them. But he made aunſwer, he would in no caſe conſent vnto it, vnles they that were beſieged in the Capitoll had lawfully firſt confirmed it by their voyces. For thoſe (ſayed he) ſo long as they remaine within the cittie, doe re- C preſent the ſtate & bodie thereof. Therefore if they cōmaunded him to take this charge vpon him, he would moſt willingly obey them: if otherwiſe they miſliked of it, that thē he would not medle againſt their good willes & cōmaundement. They hauing receaued this aunſwer, there was not a ROMAINE amongeſt them, but greatly honored & extolled the wiſedome & iuſtice of *Camillus*. But nowe they knewe not how to make them priuie to it, that were beſieged in the Capitoll: for they ſawe no poſſibilitie to conuey a meſſenger to them: conſidering the enemies were lordes of the cittie, & layed ſeige to it. Howbeit there was one *Pontius Cominius* amōgeſt the young men (a man of a meane houſe, but yet deſirous of honour & glory) that offered him ſelf very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he tooke no letters to cary to them which were beſieged, for feare leaſt they might be intercepted, & ſo they ſhould diſcouer *Camillus* in- D tētion: but putting on an ill fauoured gowne vpon him, he cōueyed certen peces of corcke vnder it, & traueling at none dayes kept on his waye without feare, vntill he came to ROME, bringing darke night with him. And bicauſe he could not paſſe ouer the bridge, for that the Barbarous people kept watche vpō it: he wrapped ſuch clothes as he had, about his necke (which were not many, nor heauy) & tooke the riuer, & ſwimming with theſe corcks he had brought, at the length he got ouer to the other ſide where the cittie ſtoode. Then taking vp thoſe lanes allwayes where he thought the enemies were not, ſeeing fire, & hearing noyſe in other places, he wēt to the gate Carmentale, where he found more ſilēce then in other places: on the which ſide alſo, the hill of the Capitoll was more ſtepe and vpright, by reaſon of the great rocks that were harde to clime vp vpon. But he digged & crept vp ſo long amongeſt them, that he got vp E with great payn vnto the wall of the fortreſſe, on the which ſide alſo the enemie kept no watch: & ſaluting the watche of the Capitoll, he told them what he was. So they plucked him vp vnto them, & brought him to the magiſtrates that ruled then. Who cauſed the Senate to aſſemble preſently, vnto whom he told the newes of *Camillus* victorie, which they had not heard of before: & therewith alſo he dyd declare vnto thē, the determination of the ROMAINE ſouldiers that were abroade, which was, to make *Camillus* their captaine & general, & did perſuade them alſo to graūt him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whō the cittizēs gaue their conſents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitoll, conſulted thereupon amōgeſt them ſelues, & ſo did chuſe *Camillus Dictator*, & returned the meſſenger *Pōtius Cominius* backe againe, the ſelf ſame way he came vnto them. His fortune in returning backe, was F like vnto his coming thither: for the enemies neuer ſawe him. And ſo he brought reporte vnto thē that were abroad, of the Senates decree & conſent, whereof they all were maruelous glad. Thus came *Camillus* to take this charge of generall vpon him, & found there were twēty thou-

Camillus ſlue the Gaules had by Ardea.

Pōtius Cominius got vp into the Capitoll at Rome.

Camillus choſen Dictator the ſecond time.

ſand good fighting men abroade,and well armed. Then got he further ayde alſo of their allies A
and confederates,and prepared daylie to goe and ſet vpon the enemies. So was *Camillus* choſen nowe *Dictator* the ſeconde time, and went vnto the cittie of VEIES, where he ſpake with the ROMAINE ſouldiers that were there, and leauied a great number of the allies beſides, to goe fight with the enemies as ſone as he could. But whileſt *Camillus* was thus a preparing, certen of the Barbarous people in ROME, walking out by chaunce on that ſide of the Capitoll where *Pontius Cominius* had gotten vp the night before: ſpied in diuers places the printes of his feete and hands,as he had griped & gotten holde,ſtill digging to get vp,& ſawe the weedes and erbes alſo growing vpon the rocks,& the earth in like manner,flat troden down. Whereupon they went preſently vnto the King,to let him vnderſtãde the ſame: who forthwith came to vewe the place. And hauing conſidered it well,he dyd nothing at that time: but when darke B
night was come,he called a companie of the lighteſt GAVLES together, and that vſed moſt to digge in mountaines,& ſayed vnto them. Our enemies them ſelues doe ſhew vs the waye how to take them,which we could not haue founde out but by them ſelues. For they hauing gone vp before vs,doe geue vs eaſely to vnderſtãde,it is no impoſſible thing for vs to clime vp alſo. Wherefore,we were vtterly ſhamed,hauing already begõne well,if we ſhould fayle alſo to end well: & to leaue this place as vnuincible. For if it were eaſie for one man alone, by digging to clime vp to the height thereof: much leſſe is it harde for many to get vp one after another, ſo that one doe helpe another. Therefore Syrs,I aſſure you,thoſe that doe take paynes to get vp, ſhalbe honorably rewarded, according to their iuſt deſerte. When the King had ſpoken theſe
The Gaules clime vp to the Capitoll in the night. wordes vnto the GAVLES, they fell to it luſtely euery man to get vp: & about midnight, they C
beganne many of them to digge,& make ſtepps vp to the rocke one after another,as ſoftly as could poſſibly,with catching holde the beſt they could,by the hãging of the rocke,which they found very ſteepe,but neuertheles eaſier to clime,then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the formeſt of them being come to the toppe of the rocke, were now ready to take the walle, & to ſet vpon the watche that ſlept: for there was neither man nor dogge that heard them. It chaũced then there were holy geſe kept in the temple of *Iuno*,which at other times were wont to be fed till their croppes were full: but vittells being very ſtraite,& ſcante at that time euen to finde the men,the poore geſe were ſo hard handled, & ſo litle regarded, that they were in mãner ſtarued for lacke of meate. This fowle in deede naturally is very quicke of hearing,& ſo is ſhe alſo very fearefull by nature: & being in manner famiſhed with their harde allowance,they D
were ſo much the more waking,& eaſier to be afrayed. Vpõ this occaſion therfore, they heard
The holy geſe ſaued the Capitoll. the cõming of the GAVLES,& alſo beganne to ronne vp & downe & crie for feare: with which noyſe they did wake thoſe that were within the caſtell. The GAVLES being bewrayed by theſe fooliſhe geſe, left their ſtealing vpon them, & came in with all the open noyſe & terrour they could. The ROMAINES hearing this larum, euery man tooke ſuch weapon as came firſt to his hand, & they ranne ſodainely to reſcue that place from whence they vnderſtoode the noyſe:
Marcus Mãlius repulſed the Gaules from the Capitoll. among thoſe,the formeſt man of all was *Marcus Manlius*,a man that had bene Cõſul,who had a luſty bodye,& as ſtowte a harte. His happe being to mete with two of the GAVLES together, as one of them was lifting vp his axe to knocke him on the head, he preuẽted him, & ſtrake of his hand with his ſword,and clapt his target on the others face ſo fiercely, that he threwe him E
backward down the rocke: & cõming afterwards vnto the walle with others that ranne thither with him,he repulſed the reſt of the GAVLES that were gotten vp,who were not many in nũber,neither did any great acte. Thus the ROMAINES hauing eſcaped this daũger,the next morning they threw the captaine hedlong down the rocks from the caſtell,who had charge of the watche the night before: & gaue *Manlius* in recompence of the good ſeruice he had done, a more honorable then profitable rewarde,which was this. Euery man of them gaue him halfe a pound of the country wheate, which they call *Far*, and the fourth parte of the meaſure of wine, which the GRECIANS call *Cotile*: and this might be about a quarte, being the ordinary allowance of euery man by the daye. After this repulſe, the GAVLES beganne to be diſco-
The Gaules vexed with the plague at Rome. raged, partely for that their vitailles fayled them, and durſt no more forage abroade in the F
fieldes for feare of *Camillus*: and partly alſo for that the plague came amongeſt them, being lodged amongeſt heapes of dead bodies, lying in euery place aboue ground without buriall,

A and amongeſt burnt houſes deſtroyed, where the aſhes being blowen very high by the winde & vehemẽcy of heate, dyd geue a drie perſing ayer, that dyd maruelouſly poyſon their bodies when they came to drawe in the breathe of it. But the greateſt cauſe of all their miſchief was, the chaunge of their wonted dyet. Who comming out of a freſhe countrie, where there were excellent pleaſaunt places to retire vnto, to auoyde the diſcommoditie of the parching heate of the ſommer, were nowe in a naughty plaine countrie for them to remaine in, in the latter ſeaſon of the yere. All theſe things together dyd heape diſeaſes vpon them, beſides the long continuaunce of the ſiege about the Capitoll (for it was then about the ſeuenth moneth) by reaſon whereof there grewe a maruelous death in their campe, through the great numbers of them that dyed daylie, and laye vnburied. But notwithſtanding all the death and trouble of the
B Gavles, the poore beſieged Romaines were nothing holpen the more, the famine ſtill dyd growe ſo faſt vpõ them. And bicauſe they could heare nothing of *Camillus*, they were growen almoſt vnto a deſpaire: and ſend vnto him they could not, the Gavles kept ſo ſtraight watche vpon them in the cittie. Whereupon both parties finding them ſelues in harde ſtate, firſt the watche of either ſide beganne to caſt out wordes of peace amongeſt them ſelues: and afterwards by cõſent of the heades, *Sulpitius*, Tribune of the ſouldiers, came to parle with *Brennus*. In which parle it was articled: that the Romaines ſhould paye a thouſand pounde weight of golde, and that the Gavles ſhould incontinently after the receipt of the ſame, departe out of their cittie, and all their territories. This decree being paſſed by othe from both, the golde was brought. And whẽ it came to be weyed, the Gavles at the firſt priuely begãne to deale falſe-
C ly with them: but afterwardes they openly ſtayed the ballance, and would not let them waye no more, whereat the Romaines beganne to be angrie with them. Then *Brennus*, in ſcorne & mockery, to deſpight them more, pluckt of his ſworde, girdell and all, and put it into the ballance where the gold was wayed. *Sulpitius* ſeeing that: asked him what he ment by it? *Brennus* aunſwered him: what canne it ſignifie els, but ſorrowe to the vanquiſhed. This worde euer after ranne as a common prouerbe in the peoples mouthes. Some of the Romaines tooke this vile parte of theirs in ſuch ſcorne, that they would needes take the gold from them againe by force, and ſo returne into their holde, to abide the ſiege ſtill, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrary, and thought it beſt with pacience to put vp this ſcorne of theirs, and not to thincke it was a ſhame to paye more then they had promiſed: but only to
D paye it by cõpulſion as they dyd, by misfortune of time, was to thincke it rather neceſſary, then honorable. And as they were debating the matter thus, aſwell amongeſt them ſelues, as with the Gavles: *Camillus* came to Rome gates with his armie, and vnderſtanding all what had paſſed betweene them, he commaunded the reſt of the army to marche fayer and ſoftely after him in good order, and he in the meane ſeaſon with the beſt choyſe men he had, went before with all ſpeede. Aſſone as the other Romaines within the cittie had ſpied him, they ſhowted out for ioye, and receaued him euery one with great reuerence, without any more wordes, as their ſoueraine captaine and prince, who had power ouer them all. And *Camillus* taking the golde out of the skales, gaue it vnto his men, and commaunded the Gavles preſently to take vp their skales, and to get them going: for, ſayeth he, it is not the Romaines
E manner to keepe their countrie with golde, but with the ſworde. Then *Brennus* beganne to be hotte, and tolde him it was not honorably done of him, to breake the accorde that had paſſed betweene them before by othe. Whereunto *Camillus* ſtowtely aunſwered him againe, that accorde was of no validitie. For he being created *Dictator* before, all other officers and magiſtrates whatſoeuer, & their actes, by his election were made of no authoritie: and ſeeing therefore they had delte with men, that had no power of them ſelues to accorde to any matter, they were to ſpeake to him, if they required ought. For he alone had abſolute authoritie to pardone them if they repented, and would aske it: or els to puniſhe them, and make their bodies aunſwer the damages and loſſe his cuntry had by them ſuſteyned. Theſe wordes made *Brennus* madde as a march hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their ſwordes of all ſides, and
F layed luſtely one at an other as they could, within the houſes, and in open ſtreetes, where they could ſet no battell in order. But *Brennus* ſodainely remembring him ſelfe that it was no euen matche for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had loſt many of

The Romaines went about to redeeme their libertie of the Gaules with golde.

Camillus came to Rome with his army.

Camillus ſpeaketh ſtowtely to Brennus king of the Gaules.

his people. The next night following, he departed out of ROME with all his army, and went to encãpe him ſelf about a three ſcore furlong from thence, in the highe way that goeth towards the cittie of the GABIANS. *Camillus* with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediatly, & ſhowed at his campe by the breake of daye. The ROMAINES hauing taken harte againe vnto them, dyd luſtely geue them battell: the ſame continued longe, very cruell and doubtefull, vntill the GAVLES at the length were ouerthrowen, and their campe taken with great ſlaughter. As for thoſe that dyd eſcape the furie of the battell, they were killed, ſome by the ROMAINES ſelues, who hottely followed the chaſe after the battell broken: the reſidue of them, and the greateſt parte, were ſlaine by thoſe of the citties and villages neere abouts, that dyd ſet vpon them as they fled ſcatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the cittie of ROME ſtraungely againe recouered, that was before ſtraungely wonne and loſt, after it had continued ſeuen moneths in the handes of the barbarous people. For they entred ROME about the fiftenth daye of Iulye: and they were driuen out againe, about the thirtenth daye of Februarye following. So *Camillus* triumphed as beſeemed him, and as one that had ſaued and deliuered his countrie out of the handes of their enemies, and ſet ROME againe at libertie. Thoſe that had bene abroade all the time of this ſiege, came into ROME againe, following his triumphing charret: and thoſe that had bene beſieged within the Capitoll (looking for no other but to haue dyed by famin) went and preſented them ſelues before him, and eche one embraced other, in weeping wiſe for ioye. The prieſtes and miniſters of the temples alſo, preſented their holy iuells, whole and vndefaced, which ſome of them had buried in the ground within the cittie ſelfe: and others ſome had caried awaye with them, when they fled out of ROME. All theſe the people dyd as gladly ſee, as if the goddes them ſelues had returned home againe into their cittie. After they had ſacrificed vnto the goddes, and rendred them moſt humble thankes, and had purged their cittie, as they had bene taught by men experienced in thoſe matters for ſatisfaction of the goddes: *Camillus* beganne againe to buylde vp the temples that were there before, harde by the which he buylt another newe one alſo to the god *Aius Locutius*, in that very place where *Marcus Cæditius* heard the voyce warne him of the coming of the GAVLES. So by *Camillus* good diligence, and the prieſtes great paynes and trauaill, the ſituations of theſe temples were with muche a doe founde out againe. But when they were to buylde againe all the reſt of the cittie, that was wholy burnt, and deſtroyed to the grounde: the people had no minde to it, but euer ſhrinked backe, to put any hande to the worcke, for that they lacked all thinges neceſſarie to beginne the ſame. Furthermore, waying their late and long ſuſteined trouble and miſeries, they were fitter to take their eaſe and reſt, then to beginne newe labour and toyle, to kill their hartes and bodies altogether. For, neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reache to the charge of it. Wherefore diſpoſing their mindes to dwell in the cittie of VEIES, Which remained whole, vntouched, and furniſhed of all thinges to receaue them: they deliuered to the pratling Orators (whoſe tongues dyd neuer ceaſe to ſpeake *placentia* to the people) trimme occaſion to ſet this matter abroache. So they gaue good eare, and were willing to heare certen ſeditious wordes ſpoken againſt *Camillus*, which were theſe. That for his priuate ambition he would depriue them of a cittie well furniſhed already, and would againſt their willes compell them to lodge in their owne houſes, wholy burnt and pulled downe. And moreouer, how he would make them to rayſe vp againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the ende the people might call him, not only captaine and generall of the ROMAINES, but the founder of ROME alſo, & ſo drown *Romulus* honorable title thereof. The Senate conſidering of this matter, & fearing ſome tumulte among the people: they would not ſuffer *Camillus* to leaue his *Dictator* ſhippe before the ende of the yere, notwithſtanding no man euer enioyed that office aboue ſixe moneths. Then *Camillus* for his parte dyd much endeuour him ſelfe, to comforte & appeaſe the people, praying them all he could to tarie: and further pointed with his finger vnto the graues of their auncеſters, and put them in minde alſo of the holy places dedicated to the goddes, and ſanctified by king *Numa*, or by *Romulus*, or by other Kings. But amongeſt many other tokens drawen out of holy and diuine things, he forgate not to bring for example, the heade of a man founde newe and freſhe, in making the foundations of the Capitoll, as if that

Camillus ouerthroweth the armie of the Gaules.

Rome was 7. moneths in the handes of the Gaules.

Camillus triumphed of the Gaules.

The buſie headed Orators ſtirre the people to tumulte againſt Camillus.

Camillus Dictatorſhippe prorouged.

Camillus perſuadeth the people what he could to dwell in Rome, and to leaue Veies.

A if that place by fatall desteny had bene once chosen to be the heade and chief of all ITALIE. And moreouer, that the holy fyer of the goddesse *Vesta* (which sence the warres had bene kindled againe by the holy *Vestall Nunnes*) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did forsake their naturall cittie, besides the great shame and dishonour it would be vnto them, to see it inhabited in time to come by vnknowe straungers, or els to be left a common field and pasture, for beastes and cattell to graze in. Such sorowfull examples and griefes, the honest naturall borne cittizens, dyd euer blowe into the peoples eares, aswell priuately, as openly. The people againe to the contrarie, dyd make their hartes to yerne for pittie, when they layed before their eyes their penurie, and pouertie they susteined: and besought them also not to enforce them to gather and ioyne together againe the broken peces of a spoyled cittie (as
B of a shippewracke that had cast them naked into the sea, hauing only saued bare life and persones) sence that they had another cittie neere at hande and ready to receaue them. So *Camillus* counsell was, that the Senate should consulte vpon this matter, and deliuer their absolute opinion herein: which was done. And in this counsell, he him self brought forth many probable reasons, why they should not leaue in any case, the place of their naturall birth and country: and so dyd many other Senatours in like case, fauoring that opinion. Last of all, after these persuasions, he commaunded *Lucius Lucretius* (whose manner was to speake first in such assemblies) that he should stand vp and deliuer his opinion, & that the rest also in order as they sat, should saye their mindes. So euery man keeping silence, as *Lucretius* was ready to speake, at that present time there passed by their coūsaill house, a captaine with his bāde that warded
C that daye, who spake alowde to his ensigne bearer that went formest, to staye, and set downe his ensigne there: for, sayed he, here is a very good place for vs to warde in. These wordes being heard vp into the Senate house, euen as they stoode all in a doubte & maze what would be the resolution of this matter: *Lucretius* beganne to saye, that he most humbly thancked the goddes, and allowed of the captaines iudgment, and so euery one of the rest in their order, sayed as much. Moreouer there was a wonderfull chaunge and alteration of minde sodainely among the common people: for euery man dyd persuade & encorage his fellowe liuely to put his hand to this worke. Insomuch as tarying for no diuision or appointing out of streetes, nor setting out euery man his place he should builde in: they fell to worke of all handes, euerie one *Rome is built againe.*
D choosing that place he liked best, & was most cōmodious for their building, without any other order or diuision amongest them. Whereupon, they ronning to this building on a head, the streetes were cōfused on heapes together, & their houses all built out of order & vniformitie. For the reporte goeth, that the whole cittie (as well cōmon as priuate buildings) was built vp new againe in a yere. But the surueyours, to whom *Camillus* had geuen charge to finde out all *Rome was newe built againe in a yere.* the holy places where the tēples had bene ouerthrowen: as they went about mount *Pallatine*, they came by chaunce to the place, where the chappell of *Mars* had stoode, which the GAVLES had wholy burnt and destroyed, as they had done all the rest. They making cleane the place, and surueying euery corner, dyd finde by chaunce *Romulus* augures crooked staffe hid- *Romulus augures staffe founde hole after Rome was burnt.*
E den vnder a great mount of ashes. This staffe is crooked at one of the endes, and they call it *Lituus*, which soothesayers doe vse to quarter out the regions of the element, when they will beholde the flying of birdes to tell of things to come. *Romulus* that was very skillfull in this arte, dyd vse this staffe: and after he was taken awaye from all mens sights, the priests tooke it, and kept it as a holy relicke, suffering no creature to laye hands on it. Nowe they founde this staffe whole and vnbroken, where all things els were consumed and perished by fire, they were in a maruelous ioye thereat. For they interpreted this to be a signe, of the euerlasting continuaunce of the cittie of ROME. But before they could make an ende of all their building, there grewe a newe warre againe vpon them. For at one very instante, all the ÆQVES, the VOLSCES, and the LATINES, entred with all their might and mayne into the territories of the ROMAINES. The THVSCANS also went then and besieged SVTRIVM, that was in league & amitie with the ROMAINES. The *Tribuni militares* got them straight to the field with their
F armie, and encamped about mount *Martian*. The LATINES besieged them so straightely, that *Camillus chosen Dictator the third time.* their army stoode in great daunger to be ouerthrowen, & they were driuen to sende to ROME for a newe supplie. Thereupon the ROMAINES dyd choose *Camillus Dictator* againe the third

time. The occaſion of this warre is reported two manner of wayes: whereof I will declare the A
firſt, which I doe conceyue to be but a tale. They ſaye the LATINES ſent vnto the ROMAINES,
to demaunde ſome of their free maydes in mariage: which they dyd either to make a quarell
of warre, or els as deſirous in deede, to ioyne both the peoples againe by newe mariages. The
ROMAINES were amaſed very much at this, and ſore troubled, as not knowing howe to aun-
ſwer them, they were ſo affrayed of warres. For they were yet ſcante newe ſetled at home, and
dreaded much leſt this demaunde of their daughters, was but a ſummons made to geue them
hoſtages, which they finely cloked vnder the name of alliãce in mariage. Some ſaye that there
was at that time a bonde mayde called *Tutola*, or as ſome ſaye, *Philotis*, that went vnto the Se-
nate, and counſelled them they ſhould ſende her awaye with ſome other fayer maydes ſlaues,
Tutola, or Philotis craft & ſubtiltie. dreſſed vp like gentlewomen, & then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this deuiſe, B
and choſe ſuch a number of bonde maydes as ſhe deſired to haue, & trimming them vp in fine
apparell, begawded with chaines of golde and iuells, they ſent them forth to the LATINES,
who were encamped not farre from the cittie. When night was come, the other maydes hyd
their enemies ſwords. But this *Tutola, or Philotis* (call her as you will) dyd clime vp to the toppe
of a wilde figge tree, from which ſhe ſhewed a burning torche vnto the ROMAINES, hauing
made ſhifte to hange ſomwhat behinde her, to keepe the light from ſight of the enemies. For
this ſignall the Senate of ROME had ſecretly appointed her to ſet vp, which was the cauſe that
the iſſuing out of the ſouldiers being commaunded to goe out in the night, was full of trouble
and tumulte. For being preſſed by their captaines, they called one another, and there was great
Rome deliuered frõ warres by Tutola the bondmayde. a doe to put them into order of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies ſleeping, who C
nothing miſtruſting the ſame, were ſlaine the moſt parte of them within their cãpe. This was
done on the fifte day of the moneth called then *Quintilis*, & now is named *Iulye*: at which time
they doe yet celebrate a certaine feaſt in remembraunce of that acte. For firſt of all, going out
of the citie, they call alowde many of their fellowes names which are moſt common: as *Caius*,
Marcus, and *Lucius*, ſhowing thereby howe one of them called another after that ſorte, as they
went in great haſte out of the cittie. Afterwardes all the mayde ſeruauntes of the cittie being
The maydens feaſte, called None Capratinæ. trimmely apparelled, goe playing vp and downe the towne, pleaſauntly ieaſting with thoſe
they mete: and in the ende they make as though they fought together, in token that they
dyd helpe the ROMAINES at that time to deſtroye the LATINES. Then they are feaſted, ſit-
ting vnder bowers made with wilde figge tree boughes: and this feaſte daye is called, *Nonæ* D
Capratinæ, by reaſon of the wilde figge tree (as ſome thincke) from the toppe whereof, the
bonde mayde ſhewed to the ROMAINES the burning torche. For the ROMAINES call the
wilde figge tree, *Caprificus*. Other ſaye, that all theſe things are done and ſpoken, in remem-
brance of the miſchaũce that happened vnto *Romulus*, whẽ he was taken out of their ſight, the
ſame day without the gats of the citty, at which time there roſe a ſodain miſte & darke clowd.
Or as ſome other ſaye, that then was the eclypſe of the ſunne: and they holde opinion that the
day was named *Nonæ Capratinæ*, bicauſe *Capra* in the ROMAIN tõgue, ſignifieth a goate. *Romu-
lus* vaniſhed out of mens ſightes, as he was making an oration vnto his people, neere vnto the
place which is called goate marſhe, as we haue mentioned more at large in his life. The 2. oc-
caſion & beginning of this warre (according to the opinion of moſt writers) was, that *Camillus* E
being choſen *Dictator* the third time, & knowing that the *Trib. militares* with their army were
ſtraightly beſieged by the LATINES, and VOLSCES: he was inforced to arme all the old men,
who for very age were priuiledged from further ſeruice in warres. And hauing fetched a great
cõpaſſe about moũt *Martian*, bicauſe he would not be ſeene of his enemies, he came to lodge
his campe behind them, where he raiſed fiers, to make the ROMAINES knowe that were beſie-
ged, how he was come: which as ſone as they pceiued, they tooke to thẽ corage again, & deter-
mined to fight. But the LATINES & VOLSCES kept within their cãpe, & dyd entrenche & for-
tifie thẽ ſelues with a wall of wodd, which they layed a croſſe, bicauſe they ſaw they were beſet
both before & behind: & determined to tary the releeſe of a new ſupply, as well of their owne,
as of ſome further ayde beſides frõ the THVSCANS, which thing *Camillus* pceauing, & fearing F
leaſt they ſhould ſerue him, as he had already hãdled thẽ by cõpaſſing of him again behind: he
thought it neceſſary to preuẽt this. So cõſidering the incloſure & fortificatiõ of their cãpe was

all

A all of wodde, and that euery morning commonly, there came a great winde from the side of the mountaines, he made prouision of a number of fire brandes. And leading out his armie into the fields by breake of day, he appointed one parte of them to geue charge vpon the enemies on the one side, with great noyse and showting: and he with the other parte determined to rayse fier on the cõtrary side, from whence the winde should come, looking for oportunitie to doe the same. When he sawe the sunne vp, and the winde beginning to whistle, blowing a good gale from the side of the hilles, & that the skirmishe was begonne on the other side: then he gaue a signall vnto the companie he led with him, to set vpon the enemies, and made them throwe into the inclosure of their campe, diuers potts & dartes with fire, so that the flame finding matter to catche holde of, in this inclosure of wodde, & trees layed ouerthwart, dyd raise
B straight an exceding great flame in the ayer, & still got waye inwards into the LATINES cãpe. Whereupon the LATINES being vnprouided of present remedy to quenche the flame, and seeing their campe a fyre all about their eares: they gathered them selues together at the first in a very small roome. Neuertheles, they were inforced in the ende to get them into the field, & there they founde their enemies ready armed, & in battell raye. So as fewe of those escaped that came into the field, & their fellowes that remained within their cãpe, were burnt to death with fyer, vntill the ROMAINES them selues came to quench it for greedines of their spoyle & goodes. When all this was done, *Camillus* left his sonne in the campe, to keepe the prisoners & spoyles: & he him self, with the rest of the armie, went to inuade his enemies contrie, where he tooke the cittie of ÆQVES. Then after he had ouercome the VOLSCES, he led his army pre-
C sently from thence vnto the cittie of SVTRIVM. For he had not yet harde of their misfortune. Therefore he hasted him self to ayde them, bicause he thought they were yet besieged by the THVSCANS. But suche was their harde fortune, that they had already yelded vp their cittie by composition, & saued no parte of their goodes, but the very clothes they had on their backs. So being turned out of all they had, they met *Camillus* by the waye as they were wandring abroad, lamenting their miserie, with their wiues & litle young children: whose miserie went to the very harte of *Camillus*, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, when he sawe the ROMAINES weepe for pittie also, to see the mone that these vnfortunate people made vnto him, and that it greued them hartely to beholde their great mischaunce: he determined with him self not to deferre reuenge, but presently to goe the selfe same daye before the cittie
D of SVTRIVM, imagining that he should finde the THVSCANS out of order, without keeping watch, & attending nothing but making good cheere, bicause they had newly taken a wealthy riche cittie, where they had left neuer an enemy in the same to hurte them, neither feared any abroad to come neere to assaulte them. And in deede it fell out rightly as he gessed. For he had not only passed through the territories of the cittie, without any intelligence geuen to the enemies within the same: but he was come to the very gates, and had taken the walles, before they hard any thing of his coming, by reason they neither kept watch nor warde, but were dispersed abroade in the cittie, in euery house, eating and drincking droncke together. Insomuch as when they knew their enemies were already within the cittie, they were so full fraight with meate & wine, that the most of their wittes serued them not so much as to flye, but taried vn-
E till they were slaine or taken, like beastes in the houses. Thus was the cittie of SVTRIVM twise taken in one daye. And it chaunced that those which had wonne it, lost it: & those which had lost it, recouered it againe by *Camillus* meanes. Who deserued both the honour and entrie of triumphe into ROME: the which wanne him no lesse good will and glorie, then the two first before had done prayse, and gotten fame. For euen his greatest enemies that most spighted and enuied his former noble actes, ascribing them rather to fortune that fauored him, then to his valliantnes or worthines: were forced nowe by this deede of his to confesse, that his wisedome and valliantnes deserued prayse and commendation to the skyes. *Camillus* of all his enemies had one most bitter to him, which was *Marcus Manlius*, that was the first man
F that gaue the GAVLES the repulse that night they had entered the walles of the Capitoll, and had thought to haue taken it: whereupon they gaue him the surname of *Capitolinus*. He aspiring to be the chief of the cittie, & finding no direct waye to exceede the glory of *Camillus*, tooke the broade highe waye of them that practise tyrannie. For he beganne to flatter

Camillus fra-gaeth warre against the Latines and Volsces.

Camillus saue the Latines.

Camillus tooke the cittie of Aeques.

Camillus wanne the cittie of Sutrii.

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus moueth sedition.

Flattery and hypocrisie winneth the multitude & common people.

the common people, and specially those that were indebted: he tooke vpon him to defende their causes, and pleaded their case at the barre against their creditours. Sometimes he tooke the debters out of the creditours handes and caried them awaye by force, that for lacke of abilitie to paye, were by rigour of the lawe condemned to be bonde slaues. But by this practise, in shorte time he gotte him a maruelous number of suche needie followers, and poore men, that the noble men and honest cittizens were affrayed of the insolent partes they played, and of the continuall troubles and tumultes they daylie stirred vp in the market place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this case, they dyd choose *Quintus Capitolinus Dictator*: who caused the sayed *Manlius* immediately to be apprehended, and committed him to prison. Whereupon the people beganne to chaunge their apparell: which they were neuer wont to doe, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing least some cōmotion would ryse hereupon, they dyd set him at libertie againe. He being thus out of prison, was no whit the better, nor wiser thereby, but dyd still stirre vp the commons, more boldely and seditiously, then before. Then was *Camillus* chosen againe *Tribunus militaris*, and *Manlius* was accused in his time of office. But when this matter came to pleading, the sight of the Capitoll troubled his accusers much. For the very place it selfe where *Manlius* had repulsed the GAVLES by night, and defended the Capitoll, was easely seene from the market place, where the matter was a hearing: and he him selfe pointing with his hande, shewed the place vnto the goddes, and weeping tenderly he layed before them the remembraunce of the hazarde of his life, in fighting for their safety. This dyd moue the iudges hartes to pittie, so as they knew not what to doe, but many times they dyd put ouer the hearing of his case vnto another daye, and neither would they geue iudgement, knowing he was conuicted by manifest proofes: neither could they vse the seueritie of the lawe vpon him, bicause the place of his so notable good seruice was euer still before their eyes. Wherefore *Camillus* finding the cause of delaye of iustice, dyd make the place of iudgement to be remoued without the cittie, into a place called the wodde *Petelian*, from whence they could not see the Capitoll. And there the accusers gaue apparent euidence against him: and the iudges considering all his wicked practises, conceaued a iust cause to punishe him, as he had deserued. So they gaue sentence of death against him: that he should be caried to the mount Capitoll, and there to be throwen downe hedlonge the rockes thereof. Thus, one, and the selfe place was a memory of his notable good seruice, and also a memoriall of his miserable and vnfortunate end. Besides all this, they rased his house, and built in the same place a temple to the goddesse they call *Moneta*: and made a lawe also, that no *Patrician* from thenceforth should dwell any more in the mount Capitoll. *Camillus* after this, being called againe to take the office of *Tribunus militaris* the sixt time: he sought to excuse him selfe aswell for that he sawe he was well stepte in yeres, as also for that he feared fortunes spight, or some mishappe, after he had obteined such glorie for his noble actes and seruice. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sickenes, which troubled him much at that time. But the people would allowe no excuse by any meanes, but cried out, they dyd not desire he should fight a foote nor a horse backe, but that he should only geue counsaill, and commaunde: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the armie with one of his companions named *Lucius Furius*, against their enemies the PRÆNESTINES, and the VOLSCES, who ioyning together, dyd inuade the confines of the ROMAINES friendes. So he led his army out immediately to the field, and campED as neere the enemy as he could: being minded for his parte to drawe the warres out in length, that he might fight afterwards (if neede required) when he had recouered strength. But *Furius* contrarilie coueting glorie, was whottely bent to hazarde the battell, whatsoeuer perill came of it: and to this ende he sturred vp, and incoraged the captaines of euerie priuate bande. Wherfore *Camillus* fearing least they should thinke, for ill will he bare the young men, that he went about to hinder and take awaye the meanes to winne their honour, and to doe some noble acte: suffered *Furius* against his will to put his men in order of battell, and he in the meane season by reason of his sicknes, remained with a fewe about him in the campe. So went *Lucius* vpon a head to present battell to the enemie, & so was he as headilie also ouerthrowen. But *Camillus* hearing the ROMAINES were ouerthrowen: sicke as he was vpon his bedde,

Marcus Mālius Capitolinus put to death.

Lucius Furius gaue battell to the Prenestines and Volsces, and was ouerthrowen.

Mālius clapt in prison by Q. Capitolinus Dictator.

Camillus chosen againe Tribunus militaris.

A B C D E F

A bedde, got vp, and taking his houſeholde ſeruantes with him, he went in haſte to the gates of the campe, and paſſed through thoſe that fled, vntill he came to mete with the enemies that had them in chaſe. The ROMAINES ſeeing this that were already entred into the campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and thoſe that fled alſo without, when they ſawe him, they gathered together, and put them ſelues againe in arraye before him, and perſuaded one another not to forſake their captaine. So their enemies hereupon ſtayed their chaſing, and would purſue no further that daye. But the next morning, *Camillus* leading his armie into the fielde, gaue them battell, and wanne the field of them by plaine force: and following the victorie harde, he entred amongeſt them that fled into their campe pelmel, or hand ouerheade, and ſlue the moſt parte of them euen there. After this victorie, he was aduertiſed howe the
B THVSCANS had taken the cittie of SVTRIVM, and had put to the ſworde all the inhabitants of the ſame, which were the ROMAINES cittizens. Whereupon he ſent to ROME the greateſt parte of his army, and keeping with him the lighteſt and luſtieſt men, went and gaue aſſaulte vnto the THVSCANS, that nowe were harbored in the cittie of SVTRIVM. Which when he had wonne againe, he ſlue parte of them, and the other ſaued them ſelues by flight. After this, he returned to ROME with an exceeding ſpoyle, confirming by experience, the wiſedome of the ROMAINES, who dyd not feare the age nor ſicknes of a good captaine that was experte and valliant: but had choſen him againſt his will, though he was both olde and ſicke, and preferred him farre before the younger and luſtier that made ſute to haue the charge. Newes being brought vnto the Senate, that the THVSCVLANIANS were reuolted, they ſent *Camillus*
C thither againe, willing him of fiue other companions to take out one he liked beſt, euery of the which deſired to be choſen, and made their ſute vnto him for the ſame. But he refuſing all other, dyd choſe againe *Lucius Furius* beyounde all expectation of men, ſeeing not long before he needes would againſt his will hazarde battell, in which he was ouerthrowen. Howbeit *Camillus*, hauing a deſire (as I thincke) to hyde his faulte and ſhame he had receaued: dyd of curteſie preferre him before all other. Nowe the THVSCVLANIANS hearing of *Camillus* coming againſt them, ſubtilly ſought to culler the faulte they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the fields, ſome to plowe, other to keepe the beaſtes, as if they had bene in beſt peace: and dyd ſet the gates of the cittie wide open, ſent their children openly to ſchoole, their artificers wrought their occupation in their ſhoppes,
D the men of hauiour & honeſt cittizens walked in the market place in their long gownes, & the officers and gouernours of the cittie went vp and downe to euery houſe, commaunding them to prepare lodgings for the ROMAINES, as if they had ſtoode in no feare at all, and as though they had committed no faulte. Howbeit all theſe fine fetches could not make *Camillus* beleeue, but that they had an intent to rebell againſt the ROMAINES: yet they made *Camillus* pittie them, ſeeing they repented them of that they had determined to doe. So he commaunded them to goe to ROME to the Senate, to craue pardone of their faulte: and he him ſelfe dyd helpe them, not only to purge their cittie of any intent of rebellion, but alſo to get them the priuiledge and freedome of ROME. And theſe be the chiefeſt acts *Camillus* dyd in the ſixt time of his tribuneſhippe. After this, one *Licinius Stolo* moued great ſedition in the cittie, betwene
E the common people, and the Senate. For he would in any caſe that of the two Conſuls, which were choſen yerely, the one of them ſhould be a commoner, and not that both of them ſhould be of the auncient noble families, called *Patricians*. The Tribunes of the people were choſen, but the election of the Conſuls, the people ſtayed: ſo that the common wealth went to decaye, and declined to greater troubles, then euer it dyd before, for lacke of gouernment. But to ſuppreſſe this, the Senate created *Camillus* the fourth time *Dictator*: but this was ſore againſt his will, bicauſe it miſliked the people muche. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the people, for that they hauing ſerued vnder him in many warres and battells, might boldely, and truely ſaye vnto him: that he had done more notable acts by them in the warres, then he had done by the *Patricians* in peace. Yet was he created *Dictator* in deſpight, to rule the people,
F and of enuie in the noble men towards them. Thus neceſſitie dyd vrge him, either by force to ſuppreſſe the people, if he were the ſtronger in this diſſention: or els that he him ſelf ſhould be ſuppreſſed, if he became the weaker. *Camillus* notwithſtanding, preparing to preuent this

Camillus wanne the fielde of the Prænestines and Volſcies.

Camillus ſlue the Thuſcans at Sutrium.

Camillus ſent again againſt the Thuſculanians.

The craftie of the Thuſculanians.

Great ſeditiō moued in Rome by Licinius Stolo.

Camillus created Dictator the fourth time.

miſchief,and knowing the daye the Tribunes had determined,to preferre the paſſing of their A
lawe by voyces of the people: he gaue warning by proclamations ſet vpon poſtes, that the
ſame very daye he would muſter the people, and all was but to drawe them from the market
place into the field of *Mars*, and dyd ſet great penalties vpon thoſe that ſhould be lacking at
the muſters, and would preſume to diſobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrarie
parte, dyd withſtande his threates, and ſware they would condemne *Camillus* ſelfe in fiftie
thouſand Drachmas of ſiluer, if he dyd not let the people alone,but would goe about to di-
ſturbe them for geuing their voyces to ſuch lawe, as they liked of. *Camillus* perceauing this,
and fearing to be condemned,and baniſhed once againe,which would fall out very ill for him,
being nowe an olde man, and one that had done ſo many great and notable actes, or els for
that he thought him ſelfe not ſtrong enough to withſtande the force of the people: he kept B
his houſe that daye, fayning him ſelfe to be ſicke, and certaine other dayes following, and in
the ende he gaue vp his office. Thereupon the Senate choſe in his place another *Dictator*,
who named the ſame *Licinius Stolo* generall of the horſe men,that was the author and further-
rer of all this ſedition: and beſides dyd ſuffer him to preferre another lawe, and to paſſe it by
voyces of the people,that aboue all other lawes,dyd moſt trouble the *Patricians*. Which lawe
Licinius Stolo made a lawe for enioying of landes. dyd forbid any cittizen of Rome, to haue, or occupie aboue fiue hundred iugera, which a-
mount to 330.acres and a halfe,12.pole, and 121.partes of a pole. Then was this *Stolo* aloſte,
and of great eſtimation at that time: for that he had in deſpite of the Senate eſtabliſhed this
law.Howbeit ſhortely after it was found out, that him ſelf had more number of acres then his
Stolo the firſt offender of the ſame law. owne lawe permitted. By reaſon whereof, he receaued the iuſte puniſhment of his owne de- C
uiſed forfaiture.Yet the moſt weightie matter of all this diſſention that beganne firſt,and moſt
of all troubled the Senate,touching the election of the Conſuls, remained ſtill vndetermined.
But while theſe matters were thus in talke,the Romaines had certen intelligence, howe the
The Gaules come againe to Rome. Gavles were departed once againe from the Adriaticke ſea,and were coming with a great
power ſtraight vnto Rome: vpon reporte of which newes, the warres followed immediate-
ly. For the Gavles deſtroyed the champion country as they went: and the poore country
men that could not recouer Rome, were ſcattered here and there amongeſt the mountaines.
The feare of this dyd ſomewhat appeaſe the diſſention. The people then aſſembling with the
Senate, and the baſer ſorte with the nobſe, dyd all with one voyce and aſſent chuſe *Camillus*
Camillus choſen Dictator the 5 time. *Dictator* the fifte time.He was nowe a very olde man,lacking litle of foure ſcore yeres: but ne- D
uertheles,conſidering the neceſſitie and preſent daunger,without framing any excuſe,or ſtar-
ting as he had before, he vndertooke the charge. Nowe that he had taken it vpon him, he
preſently leuied men,and prepared his army. And knowing very well howe the fiercenes of
theſe barbarous Gavles conſiſted, in downe right blowes with their ſwordes, with which
Howe Camillus appointed his ſouldiers with armour & weapon to fight with aduantage againſt the Gaules. they would ſtrike of heades and ſhoulders of men at a blowe, mangling them like bouchers,
without any caſt or skyll of fight: he cauſed iron ſalletts,and morians to be made for the moſt
of his men, as ſmoothely wrought on the out ſide as could be,that their ſwordes lighting on
them,ſhould either ſlyde of, or breake. Moreouer, he cauſed their ſheldes to haue barres
made about them of copper, bicauſe the wodde ſelfe was not able to abide their blowes.
Furthermore,he dyd teache his ſouldiers to cary long iauelines or punchion ſtaues, where- E
with they might wounde their enemies lifting vp their ſwordes to ſtrike them. Nowe when
Anies fl. the Gavles were come neere Rome,hauing pitched their campe vpon the riuer of *Anian*,
and being full loden and ſtuffed with all kindes of ſpoyle and booties: then *Camillus* brought
his armie alſo into the fielde, and went to lodge on a litle hill which was eaſie to get vpon,
where there were many litles caues,ſo that the moſt of his army was all hidden and couered,
and thoſe that were ſeene, ſeemed to be retired thither into thoſe highe places for an aduan-
tage, and of feare. *Camillus* to increaſe this opinion more in his enemies, and to make them
the bolder: dyd ſuffer them to come and ſpoyle euen to the foote of the hill where he was
lodged,and ſtirred not once out to trouble them, but kept him ſelfe quiet in his campe and
well fortified.Vntill ſuch time as he ſpyed occaſion of aduantage, that the beſt parte of their F
army were ſcattered here and there,a forraging all about the fieldes: and thoſe which remai-
ned in their campe,fell to eating and drincking,as they vſed careleſly at all howres. Then *Ca-*

millus

A *millus* ſent very early before daye, his lighteſt armed men, to vexe and trouble the barbarous people in coming out of their campe, and to let them in any caſe from putting their men in order of battell: and he at the breake of daye, came downe into the plaine, and dyd ſet his other men being well armed, in good arraye, which were a great number, and luſtie fellowes, and were not as the barbarous people thought, fewe, and fearefull. This at the very firſt diſcoraged the hartes of the GAVLES, maruelouſly, bicauſe they thought them ſelues diſhonored, that the ROMAINES ſhould charge vpon them firſt. Afterwardes alſo *Camillus* vantgarde dyd ſet vpon the GAVLES, and that on a ſodaine, before they had leyſure to put them ſelues in battell, or to order their troupes: compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chaunce. In the ende alſo, *Camillus* came vpon the neckes of them, with
B all his whole force, and army together: againſt whom they ranne notwithſtanding, holding vp their naked ſwordes aloſte in their handes. But the ROMAINES thruſting with their armed iauelinges, receaued their enemies blowes vpon them, and thereby ſo rebated the edges of their ſwordes (their blades being very ſharpe and thinne grounde, and of ſo ſofte a temper) that they bowed againe, and ſtoode crooked vnreaſonably: and furthermore, hauing perſed their ſhieldes through with their punchingſtaues, the GAVLES armes were ſo clogd and wearied with them, the ROMAINES plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw away their ſwordes and ſhieldes, and flying in, cloſed with the ROMAINES, and caught holde of their iauelines, thincking by plaine force to haue wreſted them out of their handes. Howbeit they perceauing then the GAVLES were naked, fell ſtraight to their ſwordes: and ſo was
C the ſlaughter of their firſt ranckes very great. The other fled ſcatteringly here and there, all about the plaine: bicauſe *Camillus* had cauſed all the hilles and mountaines about them to be occupied and poſſeſſed. Neither dyd they retire towardes their campe, for that it was vnfortified, and alſo knewe well enough it would be eaſely taken. This battell (as they ſaye) was thirteene yeres after their taking of ROME before. But after that fielde, the ROMAINES corages were good enough againſt theſe barbarous GAVLES, whom they ſtoode in feare of before: thincking the firſt time they came, that they had not ouercomed them by force, but by reaſon of the plague that fell amongeſt them, or through ſome other ſtraunge chaunce. For they dyd ſo feare them at that time, that they made a lawe, howe their prieſtes ſhould be exempted from warres, ſo it were not againſt the GAVLES. This ouerthrowe was the laſt
D marſhall acte *Camillus* dyd in the warres. For, the taking of the cittie of VELITRES, was an accident depending vpon this iorney: bicauſe they yelded ſtraight vnto him, without ſtriking any ſtroke. But the ſeditiouſnes of the people of ROME about gouernment, and the chooſing of the yere Conſuls, was the hardeſt matter he euer had in hande. For they returning home to ROME ſtronge, and of greate power, by their late obteined victorie: woulde in any caſe haue one of the Conſuls to be choſen of a commoner, which was directly againſt their auncient cuſtome. But the Senate ſtowtely withſtoode it, and would not ſuffer *Camillus* to be put out of office: hoping the better by meanes of his authoritie, which was greate then, that they ſhould mainteine and continue their auncient dignitie, and prerogatiue of their nobilitie. But as *Camillus* was ſet in his chayer in the market place, where he hearde
E and diſpatched cauſes: there came a ſergeante to him, ſent from the Tribunes of the people, who commaunded him to followe him, and there withall layed violent handes vpon him, as he woulde haue caried him awaye by force. This made ſuche a terrible tumulte and vprore, that the like was neuer ſeene before in the market place. For *Camillus* friendes draue the ſergeaunte backe behinde the chayer. The common people cried out againe to the ſergeant from beneath, pull him out of his chayer. This ſo amazed *Camillus*, that he knew not well what to ſaye to the matter. Notwithſtanding, he would not reſigne vp his office, but taking thoſe Senatours he had about him, he went vnto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept. And there, before he would goe into it, he returned backe againe vnto the Capitoll, & made his prayer vnto the goddes, that it would pleaſe them to
F bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and ſo made a ſolemne vowe and promiſe (if theſe tumultes and troubles might be pacified) that he woulde builde a temple of Concorde. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and di-

Camillus ſlue the Gaules againe.

The Romaines howe they exempted prieſtes from the warres.

Sedition at Rome about chooſing of Conſuls.

Policy to yeld to neceſsitie. uerſitie of opinions among them: yet in the ende, the eaſieſt waye dyd carie it, and that was A
to graunt the common peoples deſire, that a commoner ſhould be choſen Conſul with a
A commoner choſen Conſul with a noble man. noble man. The *Dictator* hauing openly publiſhed to the people the Senates decree, confirming their deſire: the common people were ſo ioyfull, that at that preſente they let fall all their malice againſt the Nobilitie and Senate, and brought *Camillus* home to his houſe, with greate ſhowtes of ioye, and clapping of handes. The next morning all the people being aſſembled together in the market place, it was there decreed: that the temple of concorde ſhould be built at the common wealthes charge (according to the vowe *Camillus* had made) in ſuch a place, as it might be ſeene from the market place ſelfe, where all the aſſemblies for matters of counſell were made. And further, it was ordered that one daye more ſhould be added to the feaſtes of the LATINES: & that from thenceforth they ſhould B
ſolemniſe foure feſtiuall dayes, & ſhould preſently make generall ſacrifices vnto the goddes, in euerie temple of the cittie, to geue them thanckes: and in token of ioye, they ſhould all weare garlands vpon their heades for this reconciliation. So *Camillus* proceeding to election,
Marcus AEmilius, Lucius Sextus Conſuls. there were choſen two Conſuls, *Marcus Æmilius* of the noble *Patricians*, and *Lucius Sextus* of the *Plebeians* or commoners. And this was the laſte acte that euer *Camillus* dyd. For, the next yere after, the plague was in ROME, and tooke awaye an infinite number of people that dyed, beſides many magiſtrates and officers of the cittie that departed: among whom,
Camillus died of the plague. *Camillus* alſo left his life. Who notwithſtanding he had liued a long time, and had ended a reaſonable courſe of life: yet he was as ready to dye, and as paciently tooke his death, as any man liuing could haue done. Moreouer, the ROMAINES made more mone and lamentation for his deathe alone, then for all the reſt the plague had already conſumed. C

The ende of Furius Camillus life.

THE LIFE OF
Pericles.

A CÆSAR seeing in Rome one daye certen riche & wealthy straũgers, hauing litle dogges and munkeyes in their armes, and that they made maruelous much of them, he asked them if the women in their country had no children: wisely reprouing them by his queſtion, for that they beſtowed their naturall loue & affection vpon brute beaſts, which they ſhould with all kindnes and loue beſtowe vpon creatures. Nature in like caſe alſo, hauing planted in our minds a naturall deſire to learne and vnderſtand, we are in reaſon to reproue thoſe that vainely abuſe this good deſire, fondly diſpoſing it to learne things vaine and vnprofitable: and to caſt behinde them in the meane ſeaſon things honeſt and neceſſarie to be learB ned. For as touching our outward ſence, which with paſſion receaueth impreſſiõ of the thing it ſeeth, peraduenture it wilbe neceſſarie to conſider indifferently the thing ſeene, whether it will fall out beneficiall or hurtefull vnto him: but ſo fareth it not with our vnderſtanding, for euery man maye at his pleaſure turne and diſpoſe that to the thinge he taketh delight in, the reaſon whereof we muſt allwayes employe to the beſt parte, and that not only to conſider and looke vpon the thing, but alſo to reape the benefit and commoditie of the thing we ſee. For like as the eye is moſt delited with the lighteſt and freſheſt cullers: euen ſo we muſt geue our mindes vnto thoſe ſightes, which by looking vpon them doe drawe profit and pleaſure vnto vs. For ſuch effects doth vertue bring: that either to heare or reade them, they doe printe in our hartes an earneſt loue aud deſire to followe them. But this followeth not in all oC ther things we eſteeme, neither are we allwayes diſpoſed to deſire to doe the things we ſee wel done: but cõtrary oftentimes, when we like the worke, we miſlike the worke man, as cõmonly in making theſe perfumes and purple cullers. For both the one, & the other doe pleaſe vs well: but yet we take perfumers & diers to be men of a meane occupation. Therefore *Antiſthenes* aunſwered one very wiſely, that told him *Iſmenias* was an excellent player of the flute. But yet he is a naughtie man, ſayed he: otherwiſe he could not be ſo conning at the flute as he is. Euen ſo dyd *Philippe* king of Macedon ſaye to his ſonne *Alexander* the great on a time: that at a certen feaſt had ſong paſſing ſweetely, and like a maſter of muſicke. Art thou not

Wit allwayes to be employed to good things.

Antiſthenes ſaying of a flute player.

aſhamed, ſonne, to ſinge ſo well? It is enough for a King to beſtowe his leyſure ſomtime to heare muſitians ſinge, and he doth much honour to the muſes to heare the maſters of the ſcience otherwhile, when one of them ſingeth to excell another. But he that perſonally ſhall beſtowe his time, exerciſing any meane ſcience, bringeth his paynes he hath taken in matters vnprofitable, a witnes againſt him ſelfe, to proue that he hath bene negligent to learne things honeſt and profitable. And there was neuer any young gentleman nobly borne, that ſeeing the image of *Iupiter* (which is in the cittie of PISA) deſired to become *Phidias*: nor *Polycletus*, for ſeeing of *Iuno* in the cittie of ARGOS: nor that deſired to be *Anacreon*, or *Philemon*, or *Archilochus*, for that they tooke pleaſure ſomtime to reade their workes. For it followeth not of neceſſitie, that though the worke delight, the workeman muſt needes be prayſed. And ſo in like caſe, ſuch things doe not profit thoſe which behold them, bicauſe they doe not moue affection in the hartes of the beholders to followe them, neither doe ſtirre vp affection to reſemble them, and much leſſe to conforme our ſelues vnto them. But vertue hath this ſingular propertie in all her actions: that ſhe maketh the man that knoweth her to affect her ſo, that ſtraight he liketh all her doings, and deſireth to followe thoſe that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we only deſire to haue them in poſſeſſion: but of vertue, we chiefly loue the deedes. Wherefore, we are contented to haue goodes from other men: but good deedes we would other ſhould haue from vs. For vertue is of this power, that ſhe allureth a mans minde preſently to vſe her, that wiſely conſidereth of her, and maketh him very deſirous in his harte to followe her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the only vnderſtanding and knowledge of vertuous deedes, which ſodainely bringeth vnto him a reſolute deſire to doe the like. And this is the reaſon, why me thought I ſhould continew ſtill to write on the liues of noble men, and why I made alſo this tenthe booke: in the which are conteined the liues of *Pericles*, and *Fabius Maximus*, who mainteined warres againſt *Hannibal*. For they were both men very like together in many ſundry vertues, and ſpecially in curteſie and iuſtice: & for that they could paciently beare the ſollies of their people, and companions that were in charge of gouernment with them, they were maruelous profitable members for their countrie. But if we haue ſorted them well together, comparing the one with the other: you ſhall eaſely iudge that reade our writings of their liues. *Pericles* was of the tribe of the *Acamantides*, of the towne of CHOLARGVS, and of one of the beſt & moſt auncient families of the cittie of ATHENS, both by his father and mother. For *Xanthippus* his father (who ouercame in battell the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA in the iorney of *Mycala*) maried *Agariſte* that came of *Cliſthenes*, he who draue out of ATHENS *Piſiſtratus* ofſpring, and valliantly ouerthrewe their tyrannie. Afterwards he eſtabliſhed lawes, and ordeined a very graue forme of gouernment, to mainteine his cittizens in peace and concorde together. This *Agariſte* dreamed one night, that ſhe was brought a bed of a lyon: and very ſhortely after ſhe was deliuered of *Pericles*, who was ſo well proportioned in all the partes of his bodie, that nothing could be mended, ſauing that his head was ſomwhat to long and out of proportion to the reſt of his bodie. And this is the only cauſe why all the ſtatues & images of him almoſt, are made with a helmet of his head: bicauſe the workemen as it ſhould ſeeme (and ſo it is moſt likely) were willing to hide the bleamiſhe of his deformitie. But the ATTICAN poets dyd call him *Schinocephalos*, aſmuch to ſaye, as headed like an onyon. For thoſe of ATTICA doe ſomtime name that which is called in the vulgar tongue *Scilla*, that is to ſaye, an onyon of barbarie: *Schinos*. And *Cratinus* the Comicall poet in his comedie he intituled *Chirones*, ſayed:

The power of vertue.

Pericles ſtocke.

Pericles mothers dreame.

Pericles had a long head.

Olde Saturne he, and dreadfull dyre debate
begotten haue, betvvene them Carnally,
this tyranne here, this heauy iollting pate,
in courts of goddes ſo termed vvorthely.

And againe alſo in that which he nameth *Nemeſis*, ſpeaking of him, he ſayeth:

Come Iupiter, come Iupiter,
Come iollthead, and come inkeeper.

And *Teleclides* mocking him alſo, ſayeth in a place:

Somtimes

A *Somtimes he ſtandes, amazed vvhen he perceyues,*
that harde it vvere, ſufficiently to knovvve,
in vvhat eſtate, his gouernment he leaues.
And then vvill he, be ſeldome ſeene by lovve,
ſuche heauy heapes, vvith in his braynes doe grovvve.
But yet ſomtimes, out of that monſtruous pate
he thundreth faſt, and threatneth euery ſtate.

And *Eupolis* in a comedie which he intituled *Démi*: being very inquiſitiue, and asking particularly of euery one of the Orators (whom he fayned were returned out of hell) when they named *Pericles* the laſt man vnto him, he ſayed:

B *Truely thou haſt novv brought, vnto vs here that dvvell,*
the chief of all the captaines, that come from darkſome hell.

And as for muſicke, the moſt authors write, that *Damon* dyd teache him muſicke, of whoſe name (as men ſaye) they ſhould pronounce the firſt ſyllable ſhorte. Howbeit *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, that he was taught muſicke by *Pythoclides*. Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that this *Damon* was a man of deepe vnderſtanding, and ſubtill in matters of gouernment: for, to hide from the people his ſufficiency therein, he gaue it out he was a muſitian, and dyd reſorte vnto *Pericles*, as a maſter wreſtler, or fenſer: but he taught him howe he ſhould deale in matters of ſtate. Notwithſtanding, in the ende he could not ſo conningly conuey this matter, but the people ſawe his harping and muſicke, was only a viſer to his other practiſe: wherefore C they dyd baniſh him ATHENS for fiue yeres, as a man that buſilie tooke vpon him to chaunge the ſtate of things, and that fauored tyrannie. And this gaue the Comicall poets matter to playe vpon him finely: among which *Plato* in a comedie of his, bringeth in a man that aſketh him: *Pericles ſtudies and teachers.*

O Chiron, tell me firſt: art thou in deede the man,
vvhich dyd inſtruct Pericles thus? make aunſvver if thou can.

He was ſomtime alſo ſcholler to the philoſopher *Zenon*, who was borne in the cittie of ELEA, & taught naturall philoſophie, as *Parmenides* dyd: but his profeſſion was to thwarte and D contrary all men, and to alledge a world of obiections in his diſputation, which were ſo intricate, that his aduerſarie replying againſt him, knewe not howe to aunſwer him, nor to conclude his argument. The which *Timon Phliaſius* witneſſeth in theſe wordes, *Zenon Eleatican.*

Zenon vvas ſubtill ſure, and very eloquent,
and craftilie could vvinde a man, by vvaye of argument,
if ſo he vvere diſpoſed, his cunning to deſcrie,
or ſhovve the sharpenes of his vvitt, to practiſe pollicie.

But *Anaxagoras Clazomenian* was he that was moſt familliar and conuerſaunt with him, and dyd put in him the maieſtie and grauity he ſhewed in all his ſayings, and doings, who dyd farre excell the common courſe of ordinarie Orators that pleaded before the people: and to be ſhorte, he it was that dyd facion his manners, altogether to carie that graue countenaunce which he dyd. For they called *Anaxagoras* in his time, *Nus*, as much to ſaye, E as vnderſtanding. Either bicauſe they had his ſingular wit and capacitie in ſuche great admiration, being growen to ſearche out the cauſe of naturall things: or that he was the firſt man, who dyd aſcribe the diſpoſition and gouernment of this world, not vnto fortune or fatall neceſſitie, but vnto a pure, ſimple, and vnderſtanding minde, which doth ſeparate at the firſt moouing cauſe, the ſubſtaunce of ſuche like partes as are medled and compounded of diuers ſubſtaunces, in all other bodies through the world. *Pericles* made maruelous muche of *Anaxagoras*, who had fully inſtructed him in the knowledge of naturall things, and of thoſe ſpecially that worke aboue in the ayer and firmament. For he grewe not only to haue a great minde and an eloquent tongue, without any affectation, or groſſe countrie termes: but to a certen modeſt countenaunce that ſcantly ſmyled, very ſober in his gate, hauing a kynde of *Pericles maners and behauiour.*

ſounde in his voyce that he neuer loſt nor altered, and was of very honeſt behauiour, neuer troubled in his talke for any thing that croſſed him, and many other ſuche like things, as all that ſawe them in him, and conſidered them, could but wonder at him. But for proofe hereof, the reporte goeth, there was a naughty buſy fellowe on a time, that a whole daye together dyd nothing but rayle vpon *Pericles* in the market place, and reuile him to his face, with all the villanous wordes he could vſe. But *Pericles* put all vp quietly, and gaue him not a worde againe, diſpatching in the meane time matters of importaunce he had in hand, vntill night came, that he went ſoftly home to his houſe, ſhewing no alteration nor ſemblaunce of trouble at all, though this lewde varlet followed him at the heeles, with wordes of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his owne doores, being darke night, he commaunded one of his men to take a torche, and to bring this man home to his houſe. Yet the poet *Ion* ſayeth, that *Pericles* was a very prowde man, and a ſtately, and that with his grauity and noble minde, there was mingled a certaine ſcorne and contempt of other: and contrarilie, he greatly prayſeth the ciuillitie, humanitie, and curteſie of *Cimon*, bicauſe he could facion him ſelfe to all companies. But letting paſſe that which the poet *Ion* ſayed: who would that vertue ſhould be full of tragicall diſcipline, bringing in with it, a certaine ſatyricall diſcourſe to moue laughture. Nowe *Zennon* contrariwiſe dyd counſell all thoſe, that ſayd *Pericles* grauity was a preſumption, and arrogancie: that they ſhould alſo followe him in his preſumption. For, to counterfeate in that ſorte things honeſt and vertuous, doth ſecretly with time breede an affection and deſire to loue them, and afterwardes with cuſtome euen effectually to vſe and followe them. So *Pericles* by keeping *Anaxagoras* company, dyd not onely profit him ſelfe in theſe things, but he learned beſides to put awaye all ſuperſtitious feare, of celeſtiall ſignes and impreſſions ſeene in the ayer. For to thoſe that are ignoraunte of the cauſes thereof, ſuche ſights are terrible, and to the godly alſo feareful, as if they were vtterly vndone: and all is, bicauſe they haue no certaine knowledge of the reaſon that naturall philoſophy yeldeth, which in ſteade of a fearefull ſuperſtition, would bring a true religion accompanied with aſſured hope of goodnes. Some ſaye a man brought *Pericles* one daye from his farme out of the countrie, a rammes head that had but one horne, and that the prognoſticator *Lampon* conſidering this head, that had but one ſtrong horne in the middeſt of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the ſignification thereof. That being two tribes and ſeuerall factions in the cittie of Athens touching gouernment, the one of *Pericles*, and the other of *Thucydides*: the power of both ſhould be brought into one, and ſpecially into his parte, in whoſe houſe this ſigne dyd happen. Further, it is ſayed that *Anaxagoras* being preſent, dyd cauſe the rammes head to be clouen in two peces, and ſhewed vnto them that ſtoode by, that the brayne of this ramme dyd not fill the panne of his naturall place, but incloſed it ſelfe in all partes, being narrowe like the poynte of an egge, in that parte where the horne tooke his firſt roote of budding out. So *Anaxagoras* was maruelouſly eſteemed at that preſent by all thoſe that ſtoode by: but ſo was *Lampon*, ſone after that *Thucydides* was driuen awaye, and that the gouernment of the whole common weale fell into the handes of *Pericles* alone. And it is not to be wondred at (in my opinion) that the naturall philoſopher and the prognoſticator dyd rightly mete together in trothe: the one directly telling the cauſe, and the other the ende of the euent as it fell out. For the profeſſion of the one, is to knowe howe it commeth: and of the other, wherefore it commeth, and to foretell what it betokeneth. For where ſome ſaye, that to ſhewe the cauſe, is to take awaye the ſignification of the ſigne: they do not conſider that in ſeeking to aboliſhe by this reaſon the wonderfull tokens and ſignes in the ayer, they doe take awaye thoſe alſo which are done by arte. As the noyſe of baſons, the lightes of fyre by the ſea ſide, and the ſhadowes of nedles or pointes of dyalles in the ſunne: all which things are done by ſome cauſe and handyworke, to be a ſigne and token of ſome thing. But this argument peraduenture maye ſerue better in another booke. And nowe againe to *Pericles*. Whileſt he was yet but a young man, the people ſtoode in awe of him, bicauſe he ſomwhat reſembled *Piſiſtratus* in his countenaunce: and the auncienteſt men of the cittie alſo were muche afeard of his ſofte voyce, his eloquent tongue, and ready vtteraunce, bicauſe in thoſe

Pericles patience.

The benefit of naturall philoſophie.

What was ſignified by the rammes head that had but one horne, & was found in Pericles grounde.

Pericles likened to Piſiſtratus.

A in thoſe he was *Piſiſtratus* vp and downe. Moreouer he was very riche and wealthy, and of one of the nobleſt families of the cittie, and thoſe were his friendes alſo that caried the only ſwaye and authoritie in the ſtate: whereupon, fearing leaſt they would baniſhe him with the baniſhement of *Oſtraciſmon*, he would not medle with gouernment in any caſe, although otherwiſe he ſhewed him ſelfe in warres very valliant and forward, and feared not to venter his perſone. But after that *Ariſtides* was dead, that *Themiſtocles* was driuen awaye, and that *Cimon* being euer in ſeruice in the warres as generall in forreine countries, was a long time out of GRECE: then he came to leane to the tribe of the poore people, preferring the multitude of the poore communaltie, aboue the ſmall number of Nobilitie and riche men, the which was directly againſt his nature. For of him ſelfe he was not popular, nor meanely geuen: but he
B dyd it (as it ſhould ſeeme) to auoyde ſuſpition, that he ſhould pretend to make him ſelfe King. And bicauſe he ſawe *Cimon* was inclined alſo to take parte with the Nobilitie, and that he was ſingularly beloued and liked of all the honeſter ſorte: he to the contrarie enclined to the common people, purchaſing by this meanes ſafety to him ſelfe, and authoritie againſt *Cimon*. So he preſently beganne a newe courſe of life, ſince he had taken vpon him to deale in matters of ſtate: for they neuer ſawe him afterwardes at any time goe into the cittie, but to the market place, or to the Senate houſe. He gaue vp going to all feaſtes where he was bidden, and left the entertainment of his friendes, their company and familiaritie. So that in all his time wherein he gouerned the common weale, which was a long time, he neuer went out
C to ſupper to any of his friendes, vnles it were that he was once at a feaſt at his nephew *Euryptolemus* mariage: and then he taried there no longer, but while the ceremonie was a doing, when they offer wine to the goddes, and ſo he roſe from the table. For theſe friendly meetings at ſuche feaſtes, doe much abaſe any counterfeate maieſtie or ſet countenaunce: and he ſhall haue much a doe to keepe grauity and reputation, ſhewing familiaritie to euery knowen friende in ſuch open places. For in perfect vertue, thoſe things truely are euer moſt excellent, which be moſt common: and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable vnto ſtraungers, then their dayely conuerſation is to their friendes. *Pericles* nowe to preuent that the people ſhould not be glutted with ſeeing him to ofte, nor that they ſhould come much to him: they dyd ſee him but at ſome times, and then he would not talke in euery matter, neither came muche abroade among them, but reſerued him ſelfe (as *Critolaus* ſayed
D they kept the SALAMINIAN galley at ATHENS) for matters of great importaunce. And in the meane ſeaſon, in other matters of ſmall moment, he delt by meanes of certaine orators his familliar friendes, amongeſt whom *Ephialtes* (as they ſaye) was one: he who tooke awaye the authoritie and power from the courte of *Areopagus*, and dyd geue to muche libertie to the people, as *Plato* ſayed. Vpon which occaſion, as the Comicall poets ſaye, he became ſo ſtowte and head ſtrong, that they could no more holde him backe, then a younge vnbrideled colte: and tooke ſuch a corage vpon him, that he would obaye no more, but inuaded the Ile of EVBOEA, and ſet vpon the other Ilandes. *Pericles* alſo bicauſe he would facion a phraſe of ſpeache, with a kynde of ſtyle altogether agreable to the manner of life and grauitie he had taken vpon him: he gaue him ſelfe to all matters which he had learned of *Anaxagoras*,
E ſhadowing his reaſons of naturall philoſophie, with artificiall rethoricke. For hauing obteined a deepe vnderſtanding by ſtudying of philoſophie, and a ready waye effectually to ende any matter, he vndertoke to proue (beſides that nature had endued him with an excellent witte and capacitie, as the diuine *Plato* doth write, to bring any thing to ſerue his purpoſe) he dyd ſo artificially compaſſe it with eloquence, that he farre paſſed all the orators in his time. And for this cauſe was he (as they ſaye) ſurnamed *Olympius*, as muche to ſaye, as heauenly or diuine. But ſome are of opinion he had that ſurname, by reaſon of the common buildings and ſtately workes he rayſed vp in the cittie of ATHENS, that dyd muche ſet forth the ſame. Other thinke it was geuen him for his great authoritie and power he had in gouernment, aſwell in warres, as in peace. But it is no maruaill that this glorie was
F geuen him, conſidering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the comedies the Poetes cauſed to be played in thoſe times (in which there were many wordes ſpoken of him, ſome in earneſt, ſome in ſporte and ieaſt) doe witneſſe

Pericles firſt beginning to deale in the common wealth.

To much familiaritie breedeth contempt.

Ephialtes an orator.

VVhy Pericles was ſurnamed Olympius.

that he had that ſurname geuen him, chiefly for his eloquence. For it is reported, that he A
thundered and lightened in his oration to the people, & that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an aunſwer *Thucydides*, *Mileſius* ſonne, ſhould pleaſauntly make concerning the force of *Pericles* eloquence. *Thucydides* was a noble man,
Thucydides, Pericles aduerſarie. and had long time contended againſt *Pericles* in matters of the common weale. *Archidamus*, king of LACEDÆMON, asked *Thucydides* on a time: whether he or *Pericles* wreſtled beſt. *Thucydides* made him aunſwer. When I haue geuen him an open fall before the face of the world, he can ſo excellently deny it, that he maketh the people beleeue he had no fall at all, and perſuadeth them the contrarie of that they ſawe. Notwithſtanding he was euer very graue and wiſe in ſpeaking. For euer when he went vp into the pulpit for orations to ſpeake to the people, he made his prayers vnto the goddes, that nothing might eſcape his mouthe, B
but that he might conſider before whether it would ſerue the purpoſe of his matter he treated on: yet are there none of his workes extant in writing, vnles it be ſome fewe lawes he made, and but very fewe of his notable ſayings are brought to light, ſaue only theſe. He ſayed
Pericles ſayings. on a time that they muſt take awaye the cittie of ÆGINA, bicauſe it was a ſtrawe lying in the eye of the hauen PIRÆA. And another time, he ſayed that he ſaw the warres a farre of, comming from PELOPONNESVS. Another time, as he tooke ſhippe with *Sophocles* (his companion in commiſſion with him as generall of the armie) who commended a fayer young boye they met as they came to the hauen: *Sophocles*, ſayed he, a gouernour muſt not only haue his handes, but alſo his eyes cleane. And *Steſimbrotus* writeth, that in a funerall oration he made in the prayſe of thoſe that were ſlaine in the warre of SAMOS: he ſayed they were immor- C
tall as the goddes. For we doe not ſee the goddes (ſayed he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happines they enioye, we doe coniecture they are immortall: and the ſame things are in thoſe that dye in ſeruice, and defence of their countrie. Nowe where *Thucydides* doth write the gouernment of the common weale vnder *Pericles* to be as a gouernment of Nobilitie, and yet had apparaunce of a popular ſtate: it is true that
Pericles common wealthe. in effect it was a Kingdome, bicauſe one alone dyd rule and gouerne the whole ſtate. And many other ſaye alſo, he was the firſt that brought in the cuſtome to deuide the enemies landes wonne by conqueſt among the people, and of the common money to make the people ſee playes and paſtimes, and that appointed them rewarde for all things. But this cuſtome was ill brought vp. For the common people that before were contented with litle, and got D
their liuing paynefully with ſwet of their browes: became nowe to be very vaine, ſumptuous, and riotous, by reaſon of theſe things brought vp then. The cauſe of the alteration doth eaſely appeare by thoſe things. For *Pericles* at his firſt comming, ſought to winne the fauour of the people, as we haue ſayed before, only to get like reputation that *Cimon* had wonne. But comming farre ſhorte of his wealthe and abilitie, to carie out the porte and charge
The good deedes of Cimon. that *Cimon* dyd, entertaining the poore, keeping open houſe to all commers, clothing poore olde people, breaking open beſides all incloſures and pales through all his landes, that euery one might with more libertie come in, and take the fruites thereof at their pleaſure: and ſeeing him ſelfe by theſe great meanes out gone farre in good will with the common people, by *Demonides* counſell and procurement (who was borne in the Ile of IOS) he brought E
in this diſtribution of the common money, as *Ariſtotle* writeth. And hauing wonne in a ſhorte time the fauour and good will of the common people, by diſtribution of the common treaſure, which he cauſed to be deuided among them, aſwell to haue place to ſee theſe playes, as for that they had rewarde to be preſent at the iudgementes, and by other ſuche
Pericles large diſtribution diminiſhed, the Areopagit authoritie. like corruptions: he with the peoples helpe, dyd inuey againſt the courte of the *Areopagites*, wherof he neuer was any member. For it neuer came to be his happe to be yerely gouernour, nor keeper of the lawes, nor King of the ſacrifices, nor maſter of the warres: all which were offices choſen in auncient time by lot. And further, thoſe on whom the lot fell, if they had behaued them ſelues well in their office, they were called forwards, & raiſed to be of the bodie of this courte of the *Areopagites*. *Pericles* nowe by theſe meanes hauing obteined great cre- F
dit and authoritie amongeſt the common people, he troubled the Senate of the *Areopagites* in ſuche ſorte, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by *Ephialtes* helpe:

and

A and in time made *Cimon* to be baniſhed ATHENS, as one that fauored the LACEDÆMONIANS, and contraried the common wealthe and authoritie of the people. Notwithſtanding he was the nobleſt and richeſt perſone of all the cittie, and one that had wonne ſo many glorious victories, and had ſo repleniſhed ATHENS with the conquered ſpoyles of their enemies, as we haue declared in his life: ſo great was the authoritie of *Pericles* amongeſt the people. Nowe the baniſhment wherewith he was puniſhed (which they called *Oſtraciſmon*) was limited by the lawe for tenne yeres. In which ſpace the LACEDÆMONIANS being come downe with a great armie into the countrie of TANAGRA, the ATHENIANS ſent out their power preſently againſt them. There *Cimon* willing to ſhewe the ATHENIANS by his deedes, that they had falſely accuſed him for fauoring the LACEDÆMONIANS: dyd arme B him ſelf, and went on his country mens ſide, to fight in the companie of his tribe. But *Pericles* friends gathered together, and forced *Cimon* to departe thence as a baniſhed man. And this was the cauſe that *Pericles* fought that daye more valliantly then euer he dyd, and he wanne the honour and name to haue done more in the perſone of him ſelfe that daye, then any other of all the armie. At that battell alſo, all *Cimons* friends, whom *Pericles* had burdened likewiſe to fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS doings, dyed euery man of them that daye. Then the ATHENIANS repented them much that they had driuen *Cimon* away, and wiſhed he were reſtored, after they had loſt this battell vpon the confines of the countrie of ATTICA: bicauſe they feared ſharpe warres would come vpon them againe at the next ſpring. Which thing when *Pericles* perceyued, he ſought alſo to further that the common people deſired: where- C fore he ſtraight cauſed a decree to be made, that *Cimon* ſhould be called home againe, which was done accordingly. Now when *Cimon* was returned, he aduiſed that peace ſhould be made betwene both cities: for the LACEDÆMONIANS dyd loue *Cimon* very well, and contrarily they hated *Pericles*, and all other gouernours. Some notwithſtanding doe write, that *Pericles* dyd neuer paſſe his conſent to call him home againe, before ſuche time as they had made a ſecret agreement amongeſt them ſelues (by meanes of *Elpinice Cimons* ſiſter) that *Cimon* ſhould be ſent out with an armie of two hundred galleys, to make warres in the king of PERSIA his dominions, & that *Pericles* ſhould remaine at home with the authoritie of gouernment within the cittie. This *Elpinice* (*Cimõs* ſiſter) had once before intreated *Pericles* for her brother, at ſuch time as he was accuſed before the iudge of treaſon. For *Pericles* was one of the committees, D to whom this accuſation was referred by the people. *Elpinice* went vnto him, & beſought him not to doe his worſt vnto her brother. *Pericles* aunſwered her merilie. Thou art to old *Elpinice*, thou art to olde, to goe through with theſe matters. Yet when his matter came to iudgement, & that his cauſe was pleaded: he roſe but once to ſpeake againſt him (for his owne diſcharge as it were) & went his waye when he had ſayed, doing leſſe hurte to *Cimon*, then any other of his accuſers. How is *Idomeneus* to be credited nowe, who accuſeth *Pericles* that he had cauſed the orator *Ephialtes* to be ſlaine by treaſon (that was his friende, and dyd allwayes counſell him, and take his parte in all kinde of gouernment of the common weale) only for the iealouſie and enuie he dyd beare to his glorie? I can but muſe why *Idomeneus* ſhould ſpeake ſo ſlanderouſly againſt *Pericles*, vnles it were that his melancholy humour procured ſuche violent E ſpeache: who though peraduenture he was not altogether blameles, yet he was euer nobly minded, and had a naturall deſire of honour, in which kinde of men ſuch furious cruell paſſions are ſeldome ſeene to breede. But this orator *Ephialtes* being cruell to thoſe that tooke parte with the Nobilitie, bicauſe he would ſpare nor pardone no man for any offence whatſoeuer committed againſt the peoples authoritie, but dyd followe and perſecute them with all rigour to the vttermoſt: his enemies layed waite for him by meanes of one *Ariſtodicus* TANAGRIAN, and they killed him by treaſon, as *Ariſtotle* writeth. In the meane time *Cimon* dyed in the Ile of CYPRVS, being generall of the armie of the ATHENIANS by ſea. Where- F fore thoſe that tooke parte with the Nobilitie, ſeeing *Pericles* was nowe growen very great, and that he went before all other cittizens of ATHENS, thincking it good to haue ſome one to ſticke on their ſide againſt him, and to leſſen thereby ſomewhat his authoritie, that he might not come to rule all as he would: they raiſed vp againſt him, one *Thucydides*, of the towne of ALOPECIA, a graue wiſe man, and father in lawe to *Cimon*. This *Thucydides* had leſſe skill of

Pericles cauſeth Cimon to be baniſhed Athens.

The Oſtraciſmon.

Pericles calleth Cimon from exile.

Pericles moderation vnto Cimon.

The murther of Ephialtes.

Thucydides Pericles aduerſary in the cõmõ wealth.

warres then *Cimon*, but vnderſtoode more in ciuill gouernment then he, for that he remained A
moſt parte of his time within the cittie: where continually inuaying againſt *Pericles* in his
pulpit for orations to the people, in ſhorte time he had ſtirred vp a like companie againſt the
faction of *Pericles*. For he kept the gentlemen and richer ſorte (which they call Nobilitie) from
mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the
commons their eſtate and dignitie was abſcured, and troden vnder foote. Moreouer he dyd
ſeparate them from the people, and dyd aſſemble them all as it were into one bodie, who
came to be of equall power with the other faction, and dyd put (as a man will ſaye) a counter-
peaſe into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a litle ſecret grudge only betwene
theſe two factions, as an artificiall flower ſet in the blade of a ſworde, which made thoſe ſhewe
a litle, that dyd leane vnto the people: and the other alſo ſomwhat that fauored the Nobilitie. B
But the contention betwene theſe two perſones, was as a deepe cut, which deuided the cittie
wholy in two factions: of the which the one was called the Nobilitie, and the other the com-
munaltie. Therefore *Pericles* geuing yet more libertie vnto the people, dyd all things that
might be to pleaſe them, ordeining continuall playes and games in the cittie, many feaſtes,
banckets, and open paſtimes to entertaine the commons with ſuche honeſt pleaſures and de-
uiſes: and beſides all this, he ſent yerely an armie of three ſcore gallyes vnto the warres, into
the which he put a great number of poore cittizens that tooke paye of the ſtate for nine mo-
neths of the yere, and thereby they dyd learne together, and practiſe to be good ſea men. Fur-
thermore he ſent into the countrie of CHERRONESVS, a thouſand free men of the cittie to
dwell there, and to deuide the landes amongeſt them: fiue hundred alſo into the Ile of NA- C
XOS: into the Ile of ANDROS, two hundred & fiftie: into THRACIA, a thouſand to dwell with
the BISALTES: & other alſo into ITALIE, when the cittie of SYBARIS was built againe, which
afterwardes was ſurnamed the cittie of the THVRIANS. All this he dyd to ryd the cittie of a
A politicke care for idle perſones. number of idle people, who through idlenes beganne to be curious, and to deſire chaunge
of things, as alſo to prouide for the neceſſitie of the poore townes men that had nothing. For,
placing the naturall cittizens of ATHENS neere vnto their ſubiects and friendes, they ſerued
as a garriſon to keepe them vnder, and dyd ſuppreſſe them alſo from attempting any alter-
ation or chaunge. But that which deliteth moſt, and is the greateſt ornament vnto the cittie of
ATHENS, which maketh ſtraungers moſt to wonder, and which alone doth bring ſufficient te-
ſtimonie, to confirme that which is reported of the auncient power, riches, and great wealthe D
of GREECE, to be true and not falſe: are the ſtately and ſumptuous buildings, which *Pericles*
Sumptuous buildings erected by Pericles. made to be built in the cittie of ATHENS. For it is the only acte of all other *Pericles* dyd,
and which made his enemies moſt to ſpight him, and which they moſt accuſed him for, cry-
ing out vpon him in all counſailles & aſſemblies: that the people of ATHENS were openly defa-
med, for carying awaye the ready money of all GREECE, which was left in the Ile of DELOS
to be ſafely kept there. And although they could with good honeſtie haue excuſed this facte,
ſaying that *Pericles* had taken it from them, for feare of the barbarous people, to the ende to
laye it vp in a more ſtronger place, where it ſhould be in better ſafetie: yet was this to ouer-
great an iniurie offered vnto all the reſt of GREECE, and to manifeſt a token of tyrannie alſo, to
beholde before their eyes, howe we doe employe the money, which they were inforced to E
gather for the maintenaunce of the warres againſt the barbarous people, in gilding, building,
and ſetting forth our cittie, like a glorious woman, all to be gawded with golde and precious
ſtones, and howe we doe make images, and build vp temples of wonderfull & infinite charge.
Pericles replied to the contrarie, and declared vnto the ATHENIANS that they were not
bounde to make any accompt of this money vnto their friendes and allies, conſidering that
they fought for their ſafety, & that they kept the barbarous people farre from GREECE, with-
out troubling them to ſet out any one man, horſe, or ſhippe of theirs, the money only excep-
ted, which is no more theirs that payed it, then theirs that receyued it, ſo they beſtowe it to
that vſe they receyued it for. And their cittie being already very well furniſhed, and prouided
of all things neceſſary for the warres, it was good reaſon they ſhould employe and beſtowe the F
ſurplus of the treaſure in things which in time to come (and being throughly finiſhed) would
make their fame eternall. Moreouer he ſayed that whileſt they continue building, they ſhould

be

A be presently riche, by reason of the diuersitie of workes of all sortes, and other things which they should haue neede of: and to compasse these things the better, and to set them in hande, all manner of artificers and worke men (that would labour) should be set a worke. So should all the townes men, and inhabitants of the cittie, receyue paye and wages of the common treasure: and the cittie by this meanes should be greatly beawtified, and muche more able to mainteine it selfe. For suche as were stronge, and able men of bodie, and of yeres to carie weapon, had paye and entertainment of the common wealthe, which were sent abroade vnto the warres: and other that were not meete for warres, as craftes men, and labourers: he would also they should haue parte of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing somwhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupie
B the common people with great buildings, and deuises of works of diuers occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the ende that the cittizens remaining at home, might haue a meane and waye to take parte of the common treasure, and enriche them selues, aswell as those that went to the warres, and serued on the sea, or els that laye in garrison to keepe any place or forte. For some gayned by bringing stuffe: as stones, brasse, yuory, gold, ebbany, & cypres. Other got, to worke and facion it: as carpinters, grauers, sownders, casters of images, masons, hewers of stone, dyers, goldsmithes, ioyners working in yuorie, painters, men that set in sundrie cullers of peces of stone or wodde, and turners. Other gayned to bring stuffe, & to furnishe them: as marchaunts, mariners, and shippemasters, for things they brought them by sea. And by lande other got also: as carte makers, cariers, carters, corde makers, sadlers, coller-
C makers, & pyoners to make wayes plaine, & miners, & such like. Furthermore, euery science and crafte, as a captaine hauing souldiers, had also their armie of the worke men that serued them, labouring truely for their liuing, who serued as prētises & iorney men vnder the worke-masters: so the worke by this meanes dyd disperse abroade a common gayne to all sortes of people and ages, what occupation or trade soeuer they had. And thus came the buildings to rise in greatnes & sumptuousnes, being of excellent workemanshippe, & for grace & beawtie not comparable: bicause euery workeman in his science dyd striue what he could to excell others, to make his worke appeare greatest in sight, and to be most workemanly done in shewe. But the greatest thing to be woundred at, was their speede and diligence. For where euery man thought those workes were not likely to be finished in many mens liues and ages, &
D from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilest one only gouernour continued still in credit and authoritie. And yet they saye, that in the same time, as one *Agatarchus* boasted him self, that he had quickly painted certen beastes: *Zeuxis* another painter hearing him, aunswered. And I contrarilie doe reioyce, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For cōmonly slight and sodaine drawing of any thing, cannot take deepe cullers, nor geue perfect beawty to the worke: but length of time, adding to the painters diligence and labour in making of the worke, maketh the cullers to continue for euer. For this cause therefore the workes *Pericles* made, are more wonderfull: bicause they were perfectly made in so shorte a time, and haue cōtinued so long a season. For euery one of those which were finished vp at that time, seemed then to be very auncient touching the beawtie thereof: and yet for the grace & continuance
E of the same, it looketh at this daye as if it were but newly done and finished, there is suche a certaine kynde of florishing freshnes in it, which letteth that the iniurie of time cannot impaire the sight thereof: As if euery one of those foresaid workes, had some liuing spirite in it, to make it seeme young and freshe: and a soule that liued euer, which kept them in their good continuing state. Now the chief surueyour generall of all these workes, was *Phidias*, albeit that there were many other excellent worke masters in euery science & occupation. For the temple of *Pallas*, which is called *Parthénon* (as a man would saye, the temple of the virgine, and is surnamed *Hecatompedon*, for that it is a hundred foote euery waye) was built by *Ictinus*, and *Callicrates*: and the chappell of *Eleusin* (where the secret ceremonies of the mysteries were made) was first founded by *Corœbus*, who raised vp the first pillers in order, standing beneath
F on the ground, and dyd set them vp vnto the master chaptrells. But after he was dead, *Metagenes*, borne in the towne of XYPETA, turned the arches ouer, and then dyd set the pillers in order also which are aboue: and *Xenocles* of the towne of CHOLARGEA, was he that made

Diuers artificers at Athēs.

the lanterne or toppe of the ſteeple which couereth the ſanctuarie: but the long wall which *Socrates* heard *Pericles* him ſelfe geue order for the building of it, was done by *Callicrates*, who vndertooke the worke. *Cratinus* the Poet, in a comedie he made, laugheth at this worke, to ſee how ſlowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, ſaying:

Pericles long a goe, dyd ende this vvorke begonne:
and build it highe, vvith glorious vvordes, if ſo it had bene done.
But as for deedes (in dede) he built nothing at all,
but let it ſtande: as yet it ſtands, much liker for to fall.

The Odeon. And as for the Theater or place appointed for muſicke, where they heare all muſitians playe, and is called *Odeon*: it is very well made within with diuers ſeates & degrees, and many ranges of pillers, but the toppe of the roofe is altogether rounde, which is ſomwhat hanging downeward round about of it ſelfe, comming together into one pointe. And it is ſayed that this was made after the patterne and facion of king *Xerxes* royall pauilion, and that *Pericles* was the firſt deuiſer and maker of it. Wherefore *Cratinus* in another place of his comedie he maketh of the THRACIANS, doth playe very pretily vpon him, ſaying:

Pericles here doth come, Dan Iupiter ſurnamed,
(and onyons hed) vvhich hath in his great noddell finely framed,
The plot of Odeon, vvhen he deliuered vvas
from banishment, and daungers deepe, vvherein he long dyd paſſe.

Pericles was the firſt that made maruelous earneſt labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the daye of the feaſt called *Panathenæa*, they would ſet vp games for muſicke. And he him ſelfe being choſen ruler of theſe games, as iudge to rewarde the beſt deſeruer: ordained the manner the muſitians ſhould euer after keepe in their ſinging, playing on their flutes, or vpon the citherne, or other inſtruments of muſicke. So the firſt games that euer were for muſicke, were kept within the *Odeon*: and ſo were the other after them alſo, euer celebrated there. The gate and entring into the caſtell was made and finiſhed within the ſpace of fiue yeres, vnder the charge of *Mneſicles*, that was maſter of the workes. And whileſt theſe gates were a building, there happened a wonderfull chaunce, which declared very well that the goddeſſe *Minerua* dyd not miſlike the building, but that it pleaſed her maruelouſly. For one of the moſt painefulleſt workemen that wrought there, fell by miſchaunce from the height of the caſtell to the grounde, which fall dyd ſo ſore brooſe him, and he was ſo ſicke with all, that the phiſitians and ſurgeons had no hope of his life. *Pericles* being very ſorie for his miſchaunce, the goddeſſe appeared to him in his ſleepe in the night, and taught him a medicine, with the which he dyd eaſely heale the poore brooſed man, & that in ſhorte time. And this was the occaſion why he cauſed the image of the goddeſſe *Minerua* (otherwiſe called of healthe) to be caſt in braſſe, and ſet vp within the temple of the caſtell, neere vnto the altar which was there before, as they ſaye. But the golden image of *Minerua* was made by *Phidias*, and grauen round about the baſe: Who had the charge in manner of all other workes, and by reaſon of the good will *Pericles* bare him, he commaunded all the other workemen. And this made the one to be greatly enuied, and the other to be very ill ſpoken of. For their enemies gaue it out abroad, that *Phidias* receyued the gentlewomen of the cittie into his houſe, vnder culler to goe ſee his workes, and dyd conuey them to *Pericles*. Vpon this brute, the Comicall poets taking occaſion, dyd caſt out many ſlaunderous ſpeaches againſt *Pericles*, accuſing him that he kept one *Menippus* wife, who was his friend and lieutenante in the warres: and burdened him further, that *Pyrilampes*, one of his familiar friends alſo, brought vp fowle, and ſpecially peacoks, which he ſecretly ſent vnto the women that *Pericles* kept. But we muſt not wonder at theſe Satyres, that make profeſſion to ſpeake ſlaunderouſly againſt all the worlde, as it were to ſacrifice the iniuries and wronges they caſt vpon honorable and good men, to the ſpight and enuie of the people, as vnto wicked ſpirites: conſidering that *Steſimbrotus* THASIAN durſt falſely accuſe *Pericles* of deteſtable inceſt, and of abuſing his owne ſonnes wife. And this is the reaſon, in my opinion, why it is ſo hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the trothe of auncient things, by the monuments of hiſtoriographers: conſidering long proceſſe of time, doth vtterly obſcure the trothe of matters, done in former times.

Pericles erected games for muſicke.

The Poets raiſe vp ſlaunders againſt Pericles.

A times. For euery written hiſtorie ſpeaking of men that are aliue, and of the time of things, whereof it maketh mention: ſomtime for hate and enuie, ſomtime for fauour or flatterie, doth diſguiſe and corrupt the trothe. But *Pericles* perceyuing that the orators of *Thucydides* faction, in their common orations dyd ſtill crie out vpon him, that he dyd vainely waſte and conſume the common treaſure, and that he beſtowed vpon the workes, all the whole reuenue of the cittie: one daye when the people were aſſembled together, before them all he asked them, if they thought that the coſte beſtowed were to muche. The people aunſwered him: a great deale to muche. Well, ſaid he then, the charges ſhalbe mine (if you thinke good) and none of yours: prouided that no mans name be written vpon the workes, but mine onely. When *Pericles* had ſayed ſo, the people cried out alowde, they would none of that (either bi-

The noble ſaying of Pericles.

B cauſe that they wondred at the greatnes of his minde, or els for that they would not geue him the only honour and prayſe to haue done ſo ſumptuous and ſtately workes) but willed him that he ſhould ſee them ended at the common charges, without ſparing for any coſte. But in the end, falling out openly with *Thucydides*, & putting it to an aduēture which of them ſhould baniſhe other, with the baniſhment of *Oſtraciſmon*: *Pericles* got the vpper hand, and baniſhed *Thucydides* out of the cittie, & therewithall alſo ouerthrewe the contrarie faction againſt him. Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the cittie againe to vnitie & concorde, he founde then the whole power of ATHENS in his handes, and all the ATHENIANS matters at his diſpoſing. And hauing all the treaſure, armo ur, gallyes, the Iles, and the ſea, and a mar-

Thucydides baniſhed by Pericles.

Pericles power.

C uelous ſeigniorie and Kingdome (that dyd enlarge it ſelfe partely ouer the GRECIANS, and partely ouer the barbarous people) ſo well fortified and ſtrengthened with the obedience of nations ſubiect vnto them, with the friendſhippe of Kings, & with the alliance of diuers other Princes & mightie Lords: then from that time forward he beganne to chaunge his manners, and from that he was wont to be toward the people, and not ſo eaſely to graunt to all the peo-

Pericles ſomwhat altereth the common weale.

ples willes and deſires, no more then as it were to contrarie windes. Furthermore he altered his ouer gentle and popular manner of gouernment which he vſed vntill that time, as to delicate & to effeminate an harmonie of muſike, and dyd conuert it vnto an imperious gouernment, or rather to a kingly authoritie: but yet held ſtill a direct courſe, and kept him ſelf euer vpright without fault, as one that dyd, ſayed, and counſelled that, which was moſt expedient for the common weale. He many times brought on the people by perſuaſions and reaſons, to

D be willing to graunt that he preferred vnto them: but many times alſo, he draue them to it by force, & made them againſt their willes doe that, which was beſt for them. Following therein the deuiſe of a wiſe phiſitian: who in a long and chaungeable diſeaſe, doth graunt his pacient ſomtime to take his pleaſure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate ſorte: and another time alſo he doth geue him a ſharpe or bitter medicine that doth vexe him, though it heale him. For as it falleth out commonly vnto people that enioye ſo great an empire: many times misfortunes doe chaunce, that fill them full of ſundrie paſſions, the which *Pericles* alone could finely ſteere and gouerne with two principall rudders, feare, and hope: brideling with the one, the fierce & inſolent raſhenes of the common people in proſperitie, and with the other comforting their grief and diſcoragement in aduerſitie. Wherein he manifeſtly proued,

E that rethorike and eloquence (as *Plato* ſayeth) is an arte which quickeneth mens ſpirites at her pleaſure, and her chiefeſt skill is, to knowe howe to moue paſſions and affections throughly, which are as ſtoppes and ſoundes of the ſoule, that would be played vpon with a fine fingered hande of a conning maſter. All which, not the force of his eloquence only brought to paſſe, as *Thucydides* witneſſeth: but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthines, bicauſe he would not any waye be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any couetouſnes in him. For, when he had brought his cittie not onely to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authoritie exceeded many Kings and tyrannes, yea euen thoſe which by their willes and teſtaments might haue left great poſſeſſions to their children: he neuer for all that increaſed his fathers goodes and patrimonie left him, the value

The force of eloquence.

Pericles commended for his good life & worthines.

F of a grote in ſiluer. And yet the hiſtoriographer *Thucydides* doth ſet forth plainely enough, the greatnes of his power. And the Comicall poets alſo of that time doe reporte it maliciouſly vnder couert words, calling his familiar friends, the newe *Piſiſtratides*: ſaying, howe they muſt

make him ſweare and proteſt he would neuer be King, geuing vs thereby to vnderſtand, that A
his authoritie was to exceeding great for a popular gouernment. And *Teleclides* (amongeſt o-
ther) ſayeth that the ATHENIANS had put into his hands the reuenue of the townes & citties
vnder their obedience, and the townes them ſelues, to binde the one, and to loſe the other, &
to pull downe their walles, or to build them againe at his pleaſure. They gaue him power, to
make peace and alliance: they gaue all their force, treaſure, & authoritie, and all their goodes,
wholy into his handes. But this was not for a litle while, nor in a geere of fauour, that ſhould
continue for a time: but this helde out fortie yeres together, he being allwayes the chief of his
cittie amõgeſt the *Ephialtes*, the *Leocrates*, the *Mironides*, the *Cimons*, the *Tolmides*, & the *Thu-*
cydides. For after he had preuailed againſt *Thucydides*, & had baniſhed him: he yet remained
chief aboue all other, the ſpace of fifteene yeres. Thus hauing atteined a regall dignitie to cõ- B
maunde all, which continued as aforeſaid, where no other captaines authoritie endured but
Pericles free from gifts taking. one yere: he euer kept him ſelfe vpright from bribes and money, though otherwiſe he was no
ill husband, and could warely looke to his owne. As for his landes and goodes left him by his
parents, that they miſcaried not by negligẽce, nor that they ſhould trouble him much, in bu-
Pericles good husbandrie. ſying him ſelf to reduce them to a value: he dyd ſo husband them, as he thought was his beſt
and eaſieſt waye. For he ſolde in groſſe euer the whole yeres profit and commoditie of his
landes, and afterwardes ſent to the market daylie to buye the cates, and other ordinarie proui-
ſion of houſholde. This dyd not like his ſonnes that were men growen, neither were his wo-
men contented with it, who would haue had him more liberall in his houſe, for they complai-
ned of his ouerhard and ſtraight ordinarie, bicauſe in ſo noble and great a houſe as his, there C
was neuer any great remaine left of meate, but all things receyued into the houſe, ranne vnder
accompt, & were deliuered out by proportion. All this good husbandrie of his, was kept vp-
right in this good order, by one *Euangelus*, Steward of his houſe, a man very honeſt and skill-
full in ordering his houſeholde prouiſion: and whether *Pericles* had brought him vp to it, or
that he had it by nature, it was not knowen. But theſe things were farre contrarie to *Anaxa-*
Anaxagoras a mathematician. *goras* wiſedome. For he deſpiſing the world, and caſting his affection on heauenly things: dyd
willingly forſake his houſe, and ſuffered all his lande to ronne to layes and to paſture. But (in
Great diuerſitie betweene contemplatiue and ciuill life. my opinion) great is the diuerſitie betwene a contemplatiue life, and a ciuill life. For the one
employeth all his time vpon the ſpeculation of good and honeſt things: and to attaine to
that, he thinketh he hath no neede of any exteriour helpe or inſtrument. The other applying D
all his time vpon vertue, to the common profit & benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth
riches, as an inſtrument not only neceſſarie, but alſo honeſt. As, looke vpon the example of
Pericles: who dyd relieue many poore people. And *Anaxagoras* ſpecially among other: of
whom it is reported, that *Pericles* being occupied about matters of ſtate at that time, hauing
Anaxagoras determined to famiſh himſelf to death. no leyſure to thinke vpon *Anaxagoras*, he ſeeing him ſelfe old & forſaken of the world, layed
him downe, and couered his head cloſe, determining to ſtarue him ſelfe to death with hunger.
Pericles vnderſtanding this, ranne preſently to him as a man halfe caſt awaye, and prayed him
as earneſtly as he could, that he would diſpoſe him ſelfe to liue, being not only ſorie for him,
but for him ſelfe alſo, that he ſhould loſe ſo faithfull and wiſe a counſeller, in matters of ſtate
Anaxagoras ſaying to Pericles. and gouernment. Then *Anaxagoras* ſhewed his face, and tolde him: O *Pericles*, thoſe that E
will ſee by the light of a lampe, muſt put oyle to it, to make the light burne. Now beganne the
LACEDÆMONIANS to growe iealous, of the greatnes of the ATHENIANS, wherefore *Pericles*
to make the ATHENIANS hartes greater, and to drawe their mindes to great enterpriſes: ſet
downe an order they ſhould ſend ambaſſadours, to perſuade all the GRECIANS (in what part
ſoeuer they dwelt in EVROPE, or ASIA, aſwell the litle as the great cities) to ſend their de-
Pericles appointeth a generall counſell to be holden at Athẽs. puties vnto ATHENS, to the generall aſſembly that ſhould be holden there, to take order for
the temples of the goddes which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the ſacrifices
they had vowed for the preſeruation of GRECE, when they gaue battell vpon them: and tou-
ching ſea matters alſo, that euery man might ſayle in ſafetie where he would, & that all might
liue together in good peace & loue, one with another. To performe this commiſſion, twenty F
perſones were ſent of this embaſſiate, euery one of them being fiftie yeres of age and vpward.
Whereof fiue of them went to the DORIANS, dwelling in ASIA, and to the inhabitants of the
Iles,

A Iles, euen vnto the Iles of LESBOS, & of the RHODES. Fiue other went through all the countrie of HELLESPONT, and of THRACIA, vnto the cittie of BIZANTIVM. Other fiue were cõmaunded to goe into BOEOTIA, into PHOCIDES, and through all PELOPONNESVS, & from thence by the countrie of the LOCRIANS, into the vplande countrie adioyning to it, vntill they came into the country of ACARNANIA, & of AMBRACIA. And the other fiue went first into the Ile of EVBOEA, and from thence vnto the OETÆIANS, and through all the gulfe of MALEA, vnto the PHTIOTES, vnto the ACHAIANS, and the THESSALIANS: declaring to all the people where they came, the ATHENIANS commission, persuading them to send vnto ATHENS, and to be present at the councell which should be holden there, for the pacification & vnion of all GREECE. But when all came to all, nothing was done, & the sayed cities
B of GRECE dyd not assemble, by practise of the LACEDÆMONIANS (as it is reported) who were altogether the let: for the first refusall that was made of their summons, was at PELOPONNESVS. This haue I written to make *Pericles* noble corage to be knowen, and howe profounde a wise man he shewed him selfe vnto the world. Furthermore, when he was chosen generall in the warres, he was much esteemed, bicause he euer tooke great regarde to the safetie of his souldiers. For by his good will he would neuer hazard battell, which he sawe might fall out doubtfull, or in any thing daungerous: and moreouer, he neuer praysed them for good generalls, neither would he followe them that had obteined great victories by hazard, howsoeuer other dyd esteeme or cõmend them. For he was wont to saye, that if none but him self dyd leade them to the shambles, as much as laye in him, they should be immortall. And when
C he sawe *Tolmides*, the sonne of *Tolmæus* (trusting to his former victories, and the praise & commendation of his good seruice) dyd prepare vpon no occasion, and to no purpose, to enter into the countrie of BOEOTIA, & had procured also a thousand of the lustiest & most valliant men of the cittie, to be contented to goe with him in that iorney, ouer and aboue the rest of the armie he had leauied: he went about to turne him from his purpose, and to keepe him at home, by many persuasions he vsed to him before the peoples face, and spake certen wordes at that time, that were remembred long after, and these they were. That if he would not beleeue *Pericles* counsell, yet that he would tarie time at the least, which is the wisest counseller of men. These wordes were pretilie liked at that present time. But with in fewe dayes after, when newes was brought that *Tolmides* selfe was slaine in a battell he had lost, neere vnto the
D cittie of CORONEA, wherein perished also, many other honest & valliant men of ATHENS: his wordes spoken before, dyd then greatly increase *Pericles* reputation & good will with the common people, bicause he was taken for a wise man, and one that loued his cittizens. But of all his iorneis he made, being generall ouer the armie of the ATHENIANS: the iorney of CHERRONESVS was best thought of and esteemed, bicause it fell out to the great benefit and preseruation of all the GRECIANS inhabiting in that coũtrie. For besides that he brought thither a thousand cittizens of ATHENS to dwell there (in which doing he strengthened the cities with so many good men) he dyd fortifie the barre also, which dyd let it from being of an Ile, with a fortification he drue from one sea to another: so that he defended the countrie against all the inuasiõs and piracies of the THRACIANS inhabiting thereabouts, & deliuered it
E of extreme warre, with the which it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongest them, who only liued vpon piracie, and robbing on the seas. So was he likewise much honored & esteemed of straungers, when he dyd enuironne all PELOPONNESVS, departing out of the hauen of PEGES, on the coast of MEGARA, with a fleete of a hũdred gallyes. For he dyd not only spoyle the townes all alõgest the sea side, as *Tolmides* had done before him: but going vp further into the mayne lande, farre from the sea, with his souldiers he had in the gallyes, he drawe some of them to retire within their walles, he made them so affrayed of him: and in the countrie of NEMEA, he ouercame the SICYONIANS in battell, that taried him in the field, and dyd erect a piller for a notable marke of his victorie. And imbarking in his shippes a newe supply of souldiers which he tooke vp in ACHAIA, being friends
F with the ATHENIANS at that time: he passed ouer to the firme lande that laye directly against it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the riuer of *Achelous*, he inuaded the countrie of ACARNANIA, where he shut vp the OENEADES within their walles. And after he had

Pericles loued the safty of his men in warres.

Time, the best counseller.

Tolmides slaine in the field.

Pericles iorneyes.

Achelous fl.

layed waſte and deſtroyed all the champion countrie, he returned home againe to ATHENS: A
hauing ſhewed him ſelfe in this iorney, a dreadfull captaine to his enemies, and very carefull
for the ſafety of his ſouldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this iorney (by
chaunce or otherwiſe) vnto the ſouldiers vnder his charge. And afterwardes, going with a
great nauie maruelous well appointed vnto the realme of PONTVS, he dyd there gently vſe
and intreate the citties of GRECE, and graunted them all that they required of him: making
the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the ſame alſo, to
know the great force & power of the ATHENIANS, who ſailed without feare all about where
they thought good, keeping all the coaſtes of the ſea vnder their obedience. Furthermore, he
left with the SINOPIANS thirteene gallyes, with certen number of ſouldiers vnder captaine
Lamachus, to defend them againſt the tyranne *Timeſileus*: who being expulſed, and driuen a- B
waye, with thoſe of his faction, *Pericles* cauſed proclamation to be made at ATHENS, that ſixe
hundred free men of the cittie, that had any deſire to goe, without cõpulſion, might goe dwell
at SINOPA, where they ſhould haue deuided among them, the goodes & landes of the tyranne
& his followers. But he dyd not followe the fooliſhe vaine humours of his cittizens, nor would
not yeld to their vnſatiable couetouſnes, who being ſet on a iolitie to ſee them ſelues ſo ſtrõg,
and of ſuche a power, and beſides, to haue good lucke, would needes once againe attempt to
conquer EGYPT, and to reuolte all the countries vpon the ſea coaſtes, from the empire of the
king of PERSIA: for there were many of them whoſe mindes were maruelouſly bent to attẽpt
the vnfortunate enterpriſe of entering SICILIA, which *Alcibiades* afterwardes dyd muche
pricke forward. And ſome of them dreamed beſides, of the conqueſt of THVSCAN, & the em- C
pire of CARTHAGE. But this was not altogether without ſome likelyhood, nor without occa-
ſion of hope, conſidering the large boundes of their Kingdome, & the fortunate eſtate of their
affayres, which fell out according to their owne deſire. But *Pericles* dyd hinder this going out,
and cut of altogether their curious deſire, employing the moſt parte of their power and force,
to keepe that they had already gotten: iudging it no ſmall matter to keepe downe the LACE-
DÆMONIANS from growing greater. For he was allwayes an enemie to the LACEDÆMO-
NIANS, as he ſhewed him ſelfe in many things, but ſpecially in the warre he made, called the
holy warre. For the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing put the PHOCIANS from the charge of the tẽ-
ple of *Apollo*, in the cittie of DELPHES, which they had vſurped, & hauing reſtored the DEL-
PHIANS againe vnto the ſame: ſo ſone as they were gone thence, *Pericles* went alſo with ano- D
ther armie, & reſtored the PHOCIANS in again. And where as the LACEDÆMONIANS had
cauſed to be grauen in the forehead of a woulfe of braſſe, the priuiledge the DELPHIANS
had graunted them, to be the firſt that ſhould make their demaundes of the oracle: he hauing
atteined the like priuiledge of the PHOCIANS, made his image alſo to be grauen on the right
ſide of the ſame image, of the braſen woulfe. Nowe howe wiſely *Pericles* dyd gouerne GRECE
by the power of the ATHENIANS, his deedes doe plainely ſhewe. For firſt of all, the countrie
of EVBOEA dydrebell, againſt whõ he brought the armie of the ATHENIANS. And ſodaine-
ly in the necke of that, came newes from another coaſte, that the MEGARIANS alſo were in
armes againſt them: and howe that they were already entered into the countrie of ATTICA
with a great armie, led by *Pliſtonax*, king of LACEDÆMON. This occaſion drewe him home- E
ward againe, and ſo he marched backe with ſpeede into his countrie, to make preparation to
encoũter his enemies, that were already entered into the territories of ATTICA. He durſt not
offer them battell, being ſo great a number of valliant ſouldiers: but hearing that king *Pliſto-
nax* was yet but a young man, and was ruled altogether by *Cleandrides* counſell and direction
(whom the *Ephores* had placed about him to counſell & direct him) he ſought priuilie to cor-
rupt *Cleandrides*. When he had wonne him ſone with his money, he perſuaded him to drawe
backe the PELOPONNESIANS out of their countrie of ATTICA: and ſo he dyd. But when the
LACEDÆMONIANS ſawe their armie caſſed, & that the people were gone their waye, euery
man to his owne cittie or towne: they were ſo mad at it, that the King was condemned in a
great ſome. The King being vnable to aunſwer his fine, which was ſo extreme great: he was F
driuen to abſent him ſelf from LACEDÆMON. *Cleandrides* on the other ſide, if he had not fled
in time, euen for ſpight had bene condemned to death. This *Cleandrides* was *Gylippus* father,

Pericles would not followe the couetouſnes of the people.

The enterpriſe of Sicilia.

Pericles an enemie to the Lacedæmonians.

Pliſtonax king of Lacedæmon.

Cleandrides corrupted by Pericles.

that

A that afterwards ouercame the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, in whom it seemed nature bred couetousnes, as a disease inheritable by succession from father to the sonne. For he being shamefully conuicted also, for certen vile partes he had played, was likewise banished from SPARTA: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lysander*. And *Pericles* deliuering vp the accõpt of his charge, and setting downe an article of the expense of tenne talentes he had employed, or should employe in needefull causes: the people allowed them him, neuer asking question how, nor which waye, nor whether it was true that they were bestowed. Now there are certen writers (amõg whom the philosopher *Theophrastus* is one) who write that *Pericles* sent yerely vnto SPARTA tenne talẽts, with the which he entertained those that were in authoritie there, bicause they should make no warres with them: not to buye peace of them, but time, that B he might in the meane season, with better commoditie, and that leysure, prouide to mainteine the warres. After that, as the armie of the PELOPONNESIANS were out of the countrie of ATTICA, he returned again against the rebels, & passed into the Ile of EVBOEA with fiftie sayle, & fiue thousand footemen well armed: & there he ouercame all the cities that had taken armes against him, and draue away the *Hyppobotes*, who were the most famous men of all the CHALCIDIANS, aswell for their riches, as for their valliantnes. He draue awaye also all the HESTIÆIANS, whom he chased cleane out of all the countrie, and placed in their cittie, only the cittizens of ATHENS. And the cause why he delt so rigorously with them was, bicause they hauing taken a galley of the ATHENIANS prisoner, had put all the men to death that were in her. And peace being concluded afterwards betwene the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMO- C NIANS for thirtie yeres: he proclaimed open warres against those of the Ile of SAMOS, burdening them, that they being cõmaunded by the ATHENIANS, to pacifie the quarrells which they had against the MILESIANS, they would not obaye. But bicause some hold opinion, that he tooke vpon him this warre against SAMOS, for the loue of *Aspasia*: it shall be no great digression of our storie, to tell you by the waye, what manner of woman she was, & what a maruelous gifte and power she had, that she could entangle with her loue the chiefest rulers and gouernours at that time of the common weale, and that the philosophers them selues dyd so largely speake & write of her. First of all, it is certaine that she was borne in the cittie of MILETVM, and was the daughter of one *Axiochus*: she following the steppes and example of an olde curtisan of IONIA, called *Thargelia*, gaue her selfe only to entertaine the greatest per- D sones & chiefest rulers in her time. For this *Thargelia* being passing fayer, and carying a comely grace with her, hauing a sharpe wit and pleasaunt tongue: she had the acquaintaunce and friendshippe of the greatest persones of all GRECE, and wanne all those that dyd haunte her company to be at the king of *Persiaes* commaundement. So that she sowed through all the cities of GRECE, great beginnings of the faction of the MEDES: for they were the greatest men of power & authoritie of euerie cittie that were acquainted with her. But as for *Aspasia*, some saye that *Pericles* resorted vnto her, bicause she was a wise woman, and had great vnderstanding in matters of state and gouernment. For *Socrates* him selfe went to see her somtimes with his friends: and those that vsed her company also, brought their wiues many times with them to heare her talke: though her traine about her were to entertaine such as would warme E them by their fire. *Æschines* writeth, that *Lysicles* a grasier, being before but a meane man, and of a clubbishe nature, came to be the chief man of ATHENS, by frequenting the companie of *Aspasia*, after the death of *Pericles*. And in *Platoes* booke intituled *Menexenus*, although the beginning of it be but pleasauntly written, yet in that, this storie is written truely: that this *Aspasia* was repaired vnto by diuers of the ATHENIANS, to learne the arte of rethorike of her. Yet notwithstanding it seemeth most likely that the affection *Pericles* dyd beare her, grewe rather of loue, then of any other cause. For he was maried vnto a kinswoman of his owne, and that before was *Hipponicus* wife, by whom she had *Callias*, surnamed the riche: & had afterwards by *Pericles*, *Xantippus* and *Paralus*. But not liking her companie, he gaue her with her owne good will and consent vnto another, and maried *Aspasia* whom he dearely lo- F ued. For euer when he went abroad, & came home againe, he saluted her with a kisse. Whereupon in the auncient comedies, she is called in many places, the newe *Omphale*, and somtimes *Deianira*, and somtimes *Iuno*. But *Cratinus* plainely calleth her whore in these verses:

Gylippus ouercame the Athenians at Syracusa in Sicile.

Gylippus robbed parte of the treasure *Lysander* sent him withall to Sparta.

Pericles wise pollicy in forrein entertainement.

Pericles aßis in Eubœa.

Pericles maketh warre with the Samians.

Aspasia a passing wise woman.

The description of Aspasia.

Thargelia.

Callias the riche.

Pericles maried *Aspasia* the famous curtisan.

His Iuno she him brought, Aſpaſia by name,
vvhich vvas in deede an open vvhore, and paſt all kynde of shame.

And it ſeemeth that he had a baſtard: for *Eupolis* in a comedie of his called *Demoſij*, bringeth him in, asking *Pyronides* thus:

I praye thee: is my baſtard ſonne yet aliue?

And then *Pyronides* aunſwered him:

A perfect man long ſince, he ſurely had bene founde,
if that this levvde, and naughty vvhore his vertue had not drovvnde.

To conclude, this *Aſpaſia* was ſo famous, that *Cyrus* (he that fought againſt king *Artaxerxes* his brother, for the empire of PERSIA) called *Aſpaſia* his beſt beloued of all his concubines, which before was called *Milto*, and was borne in PHOCIDES, being *Hermotimus* daughter. And *Cyrus* being ſlayne in the field, *Aſpaſia* was caried to the King his brother, with whom afterwardes ſhe was in great fauour. As I was writing this life, this ſtorie came in my minde: and me thought I ſhould haue delt hardly, if I ſhould haue left it vnwritten. But to our matter againe. *Pericles* was charged that he made warres againſt the SAMIANS, on the behalfe of the MILESIANS, at the requeſt of *Aſpaſia*: for theſe two cities were at warres together, for the cittie of PRIENA, but the SAMIANS were the ſtronger. Now the ATHENIANS commaunded them to laye a ſide their armes, and to come and pleade their matter before them, that the right might be decided: but they refuſed it vtterly. Wherefore *Pericles* went thither & tooke awaye the gouernment of the ſmall number of Nobilitie, taking for oſtages, fiftie of the chiefeſt men of the cittie, and ſo many children beſides, which he left to be kept in the Ile of LEMNOS. Some ſaye euery one of theſe oſtages offered to geue him a talent: and beſides thoſe, many other offered him the like, ſuche as would not haue the ſoueraine authoritie put into the handes of the people. Moreouer *Piſſuthnes* the PERSIAN, lieutenant to the king of PERSIA, for the good will he bare thoſe of SAMOS, dyd ſend *Pericles* tenne thouſand crownes to releaſe the oſtages. But *Pericles* neuer tooke pennie: and hauing done that he determined at SAMOS, and eſtabliſhed a popular gouernment, he returned againe to ATHENS. Notwithſtanding, the SAMIANS rebelled immediatly after, hauing recouered their oſtages againe by meanes of this *Piſſuthnes* that ſtale them awaye, and dyd furniſhe them alſo with all their munition of warre. Whereupon *Pericles* returning againſt them once more, he founde them not idle, nor amazed at his coming, but reſolutely determined to receyue him, and to fight for the ſeigniorie by ſea. So there was a great battell fought betweene them, neere the Ile of TRACIA. And *Pericles* wanne the battell: hauing with foure and fortie ſayle only nobly ouercome his enemies, which were three ſcore & tenne in number, wherof twenty of them were ſhippes of warre. And ſo following his victorie forthwith, he wanne alſo the porte of SAMOS, and kept the SAMIANS beſieged within their owne cittie: where they were yet ſo bolde, as they would make ſalies out many times, and fight before the walles of the cittie. But when there arriued a newe ſupplie of ſhippes bringing a greater ayde vnto *Pericles*: then were they ſhut vp of all ſides. *Pericles* then taking three ſcore gallyes with him, lanched out into the ſea, with intent (as ſome ſaye) to goe mete certen ſhippes of the PHOENICIANS (that came to ayde the SAMIANS) as farre from SAMOS as he could: or as *Steſimbrotus* ſayeth, to goe into CYPRVS, which me thinketh is not true. But whatſoeuer was his intent, he committed a foule fault. For *Meliſſus* (the ſonne of *Ithagenes*, a great philoſopher) being at that time generall of the SAMIANS: perceyuing that fewe ſhippes were left behinde at the ſiege of the cittie, and that the captaines alſo that had the charge of them were no very expert men of warre, perſuaded his cittizens to make a ſalye vpon them. Whereupon they fought a battell, and the SAMIANS ouercame: the ATHENIANS were taken priſoners, and they ſuncke many of their ſhippes. Nowe they being lordes againe of the ſea, dyd furniſhe their cittie with all manner of munition for warres, whereof before they had great want. Yet *Ariſtotle* writeth that *Pericles* ſelfe was once ouercome in a battell by ſea by *Meliſſus*. Furthermore the SAMIANS, to be euen with the ATHENIANS for the iniurie they had receyued of them before: dyd brande them in the forehead with the ſtampe of an owle, the owle being then the ſtampe of their coyne at ATHENS, euen as the ATHENIANS had branded the SAMIAN priſoners before with the ſtape of

Piſſuthnes the Perſian.

A good proofe that Pericles was not couetous.

Pericles victorie againe of the Samiãs.

Meliſſus a philoſopher, generall of the Samians.

The owle, the ſtampe of the coyne at Athens.

A of *Samæna*. This *Samæna* is a kynde of a ſhippe amongeſt the SAMIANS, lowe afore, and well layed out in the midde ſhippe, ſo that it is excellent good to riſe with the waues of the ſea, and is very ſwifte vnder ſayle: and it was ſo called, bicauſe the firſt ſhippe that was made of this facion, was made in the Ile of SAMOS, by the tyranne *Polycrates*. It is ſayed that the poet *Ariſtophanes*, couertly conueying the ſtampe of the SAMIANS, ſpeaking merylie in a place of his comedies ſayeth: *Samæna a kinde of a ſhippe.*

The Samians are great learned men. *The wittie ſaying of Ariſtophanes of the Samians.*

Pericles being aduertiſed of the ouerthrowe of his armie, returned preſently to the reſcue. *Meliſſus* went to mete him, and gaue him battell: but he was ouerthrowen, and driuen backe into his cittie, where *Pericles* walled them in round about the cittie, deſiring victorie rather by
B time and charge, then by daunger, and loſſe of his ſouldiers. But when he ſawe that they were wearie with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withholde them: he then deuided his armie into eight companies, whom he made to drawe lots, and that companie that lighted on the white beane, they ſhould be quiet & make good cheere, while the other ſeuen fought. And they ſaye that from thence it came, that when any haue made good cheere, & taken pleaſure abroade, they doe yet call it a white daye, bicauſe of the white beane. *Ephorus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that it was there, where firſt of all they beganne to vſe engines of warre to plucke down great walles, and that *Pericles* vſed firſt this wonderfull inuention: & that *Artemon* an enginer was the firſt deuiſer of them. He was caried vp and downe in a chayer, to ſet forward theſe workes, bicauſe he had a lame
C legge: and for this cauſe he was called *Periphoretos*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* confuteth *Ephorus* therein, by the verſes of *Anacreon*, in the which *Artemon* is called *Periphoretos*, many yeres before this warre of SAMOS beganne: & ſayeth that this *Periphoretos* was a maruelous tender man, and ſo fooliſhly afeard of his owne ſhadowe, that the moſt parte of his time he ſturred not out of his houſe, & dyd ſit allwayes hauing two of his men by him, that held a copper target ouer his head, for feare leaſt any thing ſhould fall vpon him. And if vpon any occaſion he were driuen, to goe abroade out of his houſe: he would be caried in a litle bed hanging neere the grounde, & for this cauſe he was ſurnamed *Periphoretos*. At the laſt, at nine moneths ende the SAMIANS were compelled to yeld. So *Pericles* tooke the cittie, & raſed their walles to the grounde: he brought their ſhippes awaye, and made them paye a maruelous great tribute, *Artemon Periphoretos a timerous mã.* *The Samians doe yeld to Pericles.*
D whereof parte he receyued in hande, & the reſt payable at a certen time, taking oſtages with him for aſſurance of payment. But *Duris* the SAMIAN dilateth theſe matters maruelous pittiefully, burdening the ATHENIANS, and *Pericles* ſelf with vnnaturall crueltie: whereof neither *Thucydides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Ariſtotle* him ſelfe maketh mention. And ſuer I cannot beleeue it is true that is writtẽ. That he brought the captaines of the gallyes, & the ſouldiers them ſelues of SAMIA, into the market place of the cittie of MILETVM: where he made them to be bound faſt vnto bordes for the ſpace of tenne dayes, & at the ende of the ſame, the poore men halfe dead, were beaten downe with clubbes, and their heads paſſhed in peces: and afterwards they threw out their bodies to the crowes, & would not burie them. So *Duris* being accuſtomed to ouerreach, & to lye many times in things nothing touching him: ſeemeth in this place out of
E all reaſon to aggrauate the calamities of his countrie, only to accuſe the ATHENIANS, and to make them odious to the world. *Pericles* hauing wõne the cittie of SAMOS, he returned againe to ATHENS, where he dyd honorably burie the bones of his ſlaine cittizens in this warre: and him ſelf (according to their manner & cuſtome) made the funerall oration, for the which he was maruelouſly eſteemed. In ſuche ſorte, that after he came downe from the pulpit where he made his oration: the ladies & gentlewomen of the cittie came to ſalute him, & brought him garlãds to put vpon his head, as they doe to noble cõquerers when they returne from games, where they haue wonne the price. But *Elpinicé* coming to him, ſayed. Surely *Pericles*, thy good ſeruice done, deſerueth garlands of triumphe: for thou haſt loſt vs many a good and valliant cittizen, not fighting with the MEDES, the PHOENICIANS, and with the barbarous people as *Elpinicé.*
F my brother *Cimon* dyd, but for deſtroying a cittie of our owne nation and kynred. *Pericles* to theſe wordes, ſoftely aunſwered *Elpinicé*, with *Archilocus* verſe, ſmyling: *Pericles iaunte to an olde woman.*

VVhen thou art olde, painte not thy ſelfe.

But *Ion* writeth, that he greatly gloried, and ſtoode muche in his owne conceipt, after he had ſubdued the SAMIANS, ſaying: *Agamemnon* was tenne yeres taking of a cittie of the barbarous people: and he in nine moneths only had wonne the ſtrongeſt cittie of the whole nation of IONIA. In deede he had good cauſe to glorie in his victorie: for truely (if *Thucydides* reporte be true) his conqueſt was no leſſe doubtfull, then he founde it daungerous. For the SAMIANS had almoſt bene lordes of the ſea, and taken the ſeigniorie thereof from the ATHENIANS. After this, the warres of PELOPONNESVS being whotte againe, the CORINTHIANS inuading thilanders of CORPHV: *Pericles* dyd perſuade the ATHENIANS to ſend ayde vnto the CORPHIANS, and to ioyne in league with that Iland, which was of great power by ſea, ſaying: that the PELOPONNESIANS (before it were long) would haue warre with them. The ATHENIANS conſented to his motion, to ayde thoſe of CORPHV. Whereupon they ſent thither *Lacedæmonius* (*Cimons* ſonne) with tenne gallyes only for a mockery: for all *Cimons* familie and friendes, were wholy at the LACEDÆMONIANS deuotion. Therefore dyd *Pericles* cauſe *Lacedæmonius* to haue ſo fewe ſhippes deliuered him, and further, ſent him thither againſt his will, to the ende that if he dyd no notable exploite in this ſeruice, that they might then the more iuſtly ſuſpect his good will to the LACEDÆMONIANS. Moreouer whileſt he liued, he dyd euer what he could, to keepe *Cimons* children backe from ryſing: bicauſe that by their names they were no naturall borne ATHENIANS, but ſtraungers. For the one was called *Lacedæmonius*, the other *Theſſalus*, and the third *Elius*: and the mother to all them three, was an ARCADIAN woman borne. But *Pericles* being blamed for that he ſent but tenne gallyes only, which was but a ſlēder ayde for thoſe that had requeſted them, and a great matter to them that ſpake ill of him: he ſent thither afterwardes a great number of other gallyes, which came when the battell was fought. But the CORINTHIANS were maruelous angrie, and went & complained to the counſell of the LACEDÆMONIANS, where they layed open many grieuous complaints and accuſations againſt the ATHENIANS, and ſo dyd the MEGARIANS alſo: alledging that the ATHENIANS had forbidden them their hauens, their ſtaples, and all trafficke of marchaundiſe in the territories vnder their obedience, which was directly againſt the common lawes, and articles of peace, agreed vpon by othe among all the GRECIANS. Moreouer the ÆGINETES finding them ſelues very ill and cruelly handled, dyd ſend ſecretly to make their mone & complaintes to the LACEDÆMONIANS, being afeard openly to complaine of the ATHENIANS. While theſe things were a doing, the cittie of POTIDÆA, ſubiect at that time vnto the ATHENIANS (and was built in olde time by the CORINTHIANS) dyd rebell, and was beſieged by the ATHENIANS, which dyd haſten on the warres. Notwithſtanding this, ambaſſadours were firſt ſent vnto ATHENS vpon theſe complaints, & *Archidamus*, king of the LACEDÆMONIANS, dyd all that he could to pacifie the moſt parte of theſe quarrells and complaints, intreating their friendes and allies. So as the ATHENIANS had had no warres at all, for any other matters wherewith they were burdened, if they would haue graunted to haue reuoked the decree they had made againſt the MEGARIANS. Whereupon, *Pericles*, that aboue all other ſtood moſt againſt the reuocation of that decree, & that dyd ſturre vp the people, & made thē to ſtand to that they had once decreed, & ordered, againſt the MEGARIANS: was thought the only original cauſe & author of the PELOPONNESIAN warres. For it is ſayed that the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent ambaſſadours vnto ATHENS for that matter only. And when *Pericles* alledged a lawe, that dyd forbid them to take away the table, whereupon before time had bene written any cōmon law or edict: *Polyarces*, one of the LACEDÆMON ambaſſadours, ſayed vnto him. Well, ſaid he, take it not awaye then, but turne the table onely: your lawe I am ſuer forbiddeth not that. This was pleaſauntly ſpoken of the ambaſſadour, but *Pericles* could neuer be brought to it for all that. And therefore it ſeemeth he had ſome ſecret occaſion of grudge againſt the MEGARIANS: yet as one that would finely conuey it vnder the cōmō cauſe & cloke, he tooke frō them the holy lāds they were breaking vp. For to bring this to paſſe, he made an order, that they ſhould ſend an herauld to ſummone the MEGARIANS to let the land alone, & that the ſame herauld ſhould goe alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to accuſe the MEGARIANS vnto thē. It is true that this ordinance was made by *Pericles* meanes, as alſo it was moſt iuſt & reaſonable: but it fortuned ſo, that the meſſenger they ſent thither dyed and

Cimōs ſonnes.

The Athenians accuſed as Lacedæmō.

Pericles, author of the warres againſt Peloponeſus.

Pericles malice againſt the Megarians.

A and not without ſuſpition that the MEGARIANS made him awaye. Wherefore *Charinus* made a lawe preſently againſt the MEGARIANS: that they ſhould be proclaimed mortall enemies to the ATHENIANS for euer, without any hope of after reconciliation. And alſo if any MEGARIAN ſhould once put his foote within the territories of ATTICA, that he ſhould ſuffer the paynes of death. And moreouer, that their captaines taking yerely their ordinary othe, ſhould ſweare among other articles, that twiſe in the yere they ſhould goe with their power, and deſtroy ſome parte of the MEGARIANS lande. And laſtly, that the heraulde *Anthemocritus* ſhould be buried by the place called then the gates *Thriaſienes*, and nowe called, *Dipylon*. But the MEGARIANS ſtowtely denying, that they were any cauſe of the death of this *Anthemocritus*: dyd altogether burden *Aſpaſia* and *Pericles* with the ſame, alledging for
B proofe thereof, *Ariſtophanes* verſes the Poet, in his comedie he intituled the *Acharnes*, which are ſo common, as euery boye hath them at his tongues ende.

The young men of our lande (to dronken bybbing bent)
ranne out one daye vnrulily, and towards Megara vvent.
From vvhence in their outrage, by force they tooke avvaye,
Simætha noble curtiſan, as she dyd ſporte and playe.
VVherevvith enraged all (vvith pepper in the noſe)
the prouvde Megarians came to vs, as to their mortall foes,
And tooke by ſtelthe avvaye, of harlots eke a payer,
attending on Aſpaſia, vvhich vvere both young and fayer.

C But in very deede, to tell the originall cauſe of this warre, and to deliuer the trothe thereof, it is very harde. But all the hiſtoriographers together agree, that *Pericles* was the chiefeſt author of the warre: bicauſe the decree made againſt the MEGARIANS, was not reuoked backe againe. Yet ſome holde opinion, that *Pericles* dyd it of a noble minde and iudgement, to be conſtant in that he thought moſt expedient. For he iudged that this commaundement of the LACEDÆMONIANS was but a triall, to proue if the ATHENIANS would graunte them: and if they yelded to them in that, then they manifeſtly ſhewed that they were the weaker. Other contrarilie ſaye, that it was done of a ſelfe will and arrogancie, to ſhewe his authoritie and power, and howe he dyd deſpiſe the LACEDÆMONIANS. But the ſhrowdeſt proſe of all, that bringeth beſt authoritie with it, is reported after this ſorte. *Phidias* the image
D maker (as we haue tolde you before) had vndertaken to make the image of *Pallas*: and being *Pericles* friende, was in great eſtimation about him. But that procured him many ill willers. Then they being deſirous to heare by him what the people would iudge of *Pericles*: they intiſed *Menon*, one of the worke men that wrought vnder *Phidias*, and made him come into the market place to praye aſſurance of the people that he might openly accuſe *Phidias*, for a faulte he had committed about *Pallas* image. The people receyued his obedience, and his accuſation was heard opēly in the market place, but no mention was made of any theft at all: bicauſe that *Phidias* (through *Pericles* counſell & deuiſe) had from the beginning ſo layed on the gold vpon the image, that it might be taken of, & wayed euery whitte. Whereupō *Pericles* openly ſayed vnto his accuſers, take of the golde & way it. The glorie of his works dyd pur
E chaſe him this enuie. For he hauing grauē vpon the ſcutchiō of the goddeſſe, the battel of the AMAZONES, had cut out the portraiture of him ſelf maruelous liuely, vnder the perſone of an olde balde man, lifting vp a great ſtone with both his handes. Further he had cut out *Pericles* image, excellētly wrought & artificially, ſeeming in māner to be *Pericles* ſelf, fighting with an AMAZON in this ſorte. The AMAZONES hād being lifte vp highe, holdeth a darte before *Pericles* face, ſo paſſing cunningly wrought, as it ſeemed to ſhadowe the likenes & reſemblaunce of *Pericles*: and yet notwithſtanding appeareth plainely to be *Pericles* ſelf on either ſide of the portraiture. So *Phidias* was clapt vp in priſone, & there dyed of a ſicknes, or els of poyſon (as ſome ſaye) which his enemies had prepared for him: & all to bring *Pericles* into further ſuſpition, &
F to geue them the more cauſe to accuſe him. But howſoeuer it was, the people gaue *Menon* his freedome, & ſet him free for paymēt of all ſubſidies, following the order *Glycon* made, and gaue the captaines charge they ſhould ſee him ſafely kept, and that he tooke no hurte. And about

Phidias the image maker.

Aſpaſia accuſed. the ſame time alſo *Aſpaſia* was accuſed, that ſhe dyd not beleeue in the goddes: and her accuſer was *Hermippus*, maker of the comedies. He burdened her further, that ſhe was a bawde to *Pericles*, and receyued cittizens wiues into her houſe, which *Pericles* kept. And *Diopithes* at the ſame time made a decree, that they ſhould make ſearche and enquirie for heretickes that dyd not beleeue in the goddes, and that taught certaine newe doctrine and opinion touching the operations of things aboue in the element, turning the ſuſpition vpon *Pericles*, bicauſe of *Anaxagoras*. The people dyd receyue and confirme this inquiſition: and it was moued alſo then by *Dracontides*, that *Pericles* ſhould deliuer an accompt of the money he had ſpent, vnto the handes of the *Prytanes*, who were treaſorers of the common fines and reuenues, and that the iudges deputed to geue iudgement, ſhould geue ſentence within the cittie vpon the altar. But *Agnon* put that worde out of the decree, and placed in ſtead thereof, that the cauſe ſhould be iudged by the fifteene hundred iudges, as they thought good, if any man brought this action for theſte, for batterie, or for iniuſtice. As for *Aſpaſia*, he ſaued her, euen for the verie pittie and compaſſion the iudges tooke of him, for the teares he ſhed in making his humble ſute for her, all the time he pleaded her caſe: as *Æſchines* writeth. But for *Anaxagoras*, fearing that he could not doe ſo muche for him: he ſent him out of the cittie, and him ſelfe dyd accompany him. And furthermore, ſeeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for *Phidias* facte, and for this cauſe fearing the iſſue of the iudgement: he ſet the warres a fyre againe, that allwayes went backeward, and dyd but ſmoke a litle, hoping by this meanes to weare out the accuſations againſt him, and to roote out the malice ſome dyd beare him. For the people hauing waightie matters in hande, and very daungerous alſo: he knewe they would put all into his handes alone, he hauing wonne already ſuche great authoritie and reputation among them. And theſe be the cauſes why he would not (as it is ſayed) ſuffer the ATHENIANS to yeld vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing: howbeit the trothe cannot certenly be knowen. But the LACEDÆMONIANS knowing well, that if they could wede out *Pericles*, and ouerthrowe him, they might then deale as they would with the ATHENIANS: they commaunded them they ſhould purge their cittie of *Cylons* rebellion, bicauſe they knew well enough that *Pericles* kynne by the mothers ſide were to be touched withall, as *Thucydides* declareth. But this practiſe fell out contrarie to their hope, and expectation, that were ſent to ATHENS for this purpoſe. For, wening to haue brought *Pericles* into further ſuſpition and diſpleaſure, the cittizens honoured him the more, and had a better affiaunce in him then before, bicauſe they ſawe his enemies dyd ſo much feare and hate him. Wherefore, before king *Archidamus* entred with the armie of the PELOPONNESIANS into the countrie of ATTICA, he tolde the ATHENIANS, that if king *Archidamus* fortuned to waſte and deſtroye all the countrie about, and ſhould ſpare his landes and goodes for the olde loue and familiaritie that was betweene them, or rather to geue his enemies occaſion falſely to accuſe him: that from thenceforth, he gaue all the landes and tenements he had in the countrie, vnto the common wealthe. So it fortuned, that the LACEDÆMONIANS with all their friends and confederates, brought a maruelous armie into the countrie of ATTICA, vnder the leading of king *Archidamus*: who burning & ſpoyling all the countries he came alõgeſt, they came vnto the towne of ACHARNES, were they incamped, ſuppoſing the ATHENIANS would neuer ſuffer them to approche ſo neere, but that they would giue them battell for the honour and defence of their countrie, and to ſhewe that they were no cowardes. But *Pericles* wiſely conſidered howe the daunger was to great to hazard battell, where the loſſe of the cittie of ATHENS ſtoode in perill, ſeing they were three ſcore thouſand footemẽ of the PELOPONNESIANS, & of the BOEOTIANS together: for ſo many was their number in the firſt voyage they made againſt the ATHENIANS. And as for thoſe that were very deſirous to fight, and to put them ſelues to any hazard, being mad to ſee their countrie thus waſted and deſtroyed before their eyes, *Pericles* dyd comforte and pacifie them with theſe wordes. That trees being cut and hewen downe, dyd ſpring againe in ſhorte time: but men being once dead, by no poſſibilitie could be brought againe. Therefore he neuer durſt aſſemble the people in counſell, fearing leaſt he ſhould be inforced by the multitude, to doe ſome thing againſt his will. But as a wiſe man of a ſhippe, when he ſeeth a ſtorme coming on the ſea, doth ſtraight geue order to make all things ſafe in the

Prytani, treaſorers of the common fines.

The Lacedæmonians inuade Attica.

An excellent compariſon to ſtaye the ſouldiers deſier to fight.

A the ſhippe, preparing euery thing readie to defend the ſtorme, according to his arte and skill, not harkening to the paſſengers fearefull cries and pittiefull teares, who thinke them ſelues caſt away: euen ſo dyd *Pericles* rule all things according to his wiſedome, hauing walled the cittie ſubſtancially about, and ſet good watche in euery corner: and paſſed not for thoſe that were angrie & offended with him, neither would be perſuaded by his friends earneſt requeſts & intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threates nor accuſatiõs againſt him, nor yet reckoned of all their fooliſhe ſcoffing ſonges they ſonge of him in the cittie, to his ſhame and reproche of gouernment, ſaying that he was a cowardly captaine, and that for daſtardlines he let the enemies take all, and ſpoyle what they would. Of which number *Cleon* was one that moſt defamed him, and beganne to enter into ſome prety credit and fauour with the com-
B mon people, for that they were angrie, and miſliked with *Pericles*: as appeareth by theſe ſlanderous verſes of *Hermippus*, which were then abroade:

Cleon accuſeth Pericles.

O King of Satyres thou, vvho vvith ſuch manly ſpeache
of bloudy vvarres and doughty dedes, doſt daylie to vs preache:
VVhy art thou novve afrayed, to take thy launce in hande,
or vvith thy pike againſt thy foes, corageouſly to ſtande?
Synce Cleon ſtovvte and fierce, doth daylie thee prouoke,
VVith biting vvordes, vvith trenchaunt blades, & deadly davvnting ſtroke.

All theſe notwithſtanding, *Pericles* was neuer moued any thing, but with ſilence dyd paciently beare all iniuries and ſcoffings of his enemies, and dyd ſend for all that a nauie of a
C hundred ſayle vnto PELOPONNESVS, whether he would not goe in perſone, but kept him ſelf at home, to keepe the people in quiet: vntill ſuch time as the enemies had raiſed their campe, and were gone awaye. And to entertaine the common people that were offended and angrie at this warre: he comforted the poore people againe, with cauſing a certen diſtribution to be made amongeſt them of the common treaſure, and diuiſion alſo of the landes that were got by conqueſt. For after he had driuen all the ÆGINETES out of their countrie, he cauſed the whole Ile of ÆGINA to be deuided by lot amongeſt the cittizens of ATHENS. And then it was a great comforte to them in this aduerſitie, to heare of their enemies hurte and loſſe in ſuche manner as it dyd fall out. For their armie that was ſent by ſea vnto PELOPONNESVS, had waſted and deſtroyed a great parte of the champion countrie there, and had ſacked be-
D ſides many ſmall citties and townes. *Pericles* ſelfe alſo entring into the MEGARIANS countrie by lande, did waſte the whole countrie all afore him. So the PELOPONNESIANS receyuing by ſea aſmuche hurte and loſſe at the ATHENIANS hands, as they before had done by lande vnto the ATHENIANS: they had not holden out warres ſo long with the ATHENIANS, but would ſone haue geuen ouer (as *Pericles* had tolde them before) had not the goddes aboue ſecretly hindered mans reaſon and pollicie. For firſt of all there came ſuch a ſore plague among the ATHENIANS, that it tooke awaye the flower of ATHENS youth, and weakened the force of the whole cittie beſides. Furthermore the bodies of them that were left aliue being infected with this diſeaſe, their hartes alſo were ſo ſharpely bent againſt *Pericles*, that the ſicknes hauing troubled their braynes, they fell to flat rebellion againſt him, as the pacient againſt his
E phyſitian, or children againſt their father, euen to the hurting of him, at the prouocation of his enemies. Who bruted abroade, that the plague came of no cauſe els, but of the great multitude of the coũtry men that came into the cittie on heapes, one vpon anothers necke in the harte of the ſommer, where they were compelled to lye many together, ſmothred vp in litle tentes and cabines, remaining there all daye long, cowring downewardes, and doing nothing, where before they liued in the countrie in a freſhe open ayer, and at libertie. And of all this, ſaye they, *Pericles* is the only cauſe, who procuring this warre, hathe pent and ſhrowded the country men together within the walles of a cittie, employing them to no manner of vſe nor ſeruice, but keeping them like ſheepe in a pinnefolde, maketh one to poyſon another with the infection of their plague ſores ronning vpon them, and geuing them no leaue to chaunge
F ayer, that they might ſo muche as take breathe abroade. *Pericles* to remedy this, and to doe their enemies a litle miſchief: armed a hundred and fiftie ſhippes, and ſhipped into them a

Note Pericles pollicie to pacifie the peoples anger.

AEgina võne by the Athenians.

Plague at Athens.

Accuſations againſt Pericles.

great number of armed footemen and horſemen alſo. Hereby he put the cittizens in good hope, and the enemies in great feare, ſeeing ſo great a power. But when he had ſhipped all his men, and was him ſelfe alſo in the admirall ready to hoyſe ſayle: ſodainely there was a great eclypſe of the ſunne, and the daye was very darke, that all the armie was ſtriken with a maruelous feare, as of ſome daungerous and very ill token towardes them. *Pericles* ſeeing the maſter of his gallye in a maze withall, not knowing what to doe: caſt his cloke ouer the maſters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any hurte or no. The maſter aunſwered him, he thought it none. Then ſayed *Pericles* againe to him. There is no difference betwene this and that, ſauing that the bodye which maketh the darknes is greater, then my cloke which hideth thy eyes. Theſe things are thus diſputed of in the ſchooles of the philoſophers. But *Pericles* hoyſing ſayle notwithſtanding, dyd no notable nor ſpeciall ſeruice, aunſwerable to ſo great an armie and preparation. For he laying ſeige vnto the holy cittie of EPIDAVRVM, when euery man looked they ſhould haue taken it, was compelled to rayſe his ſeige for the plague that was ſo vehement: that it dyd not only kill the ATHENIANS them ſelues, but all other alſo (were they neuer ſo fewe) that came to them, or neere their campe. Wherefore perceyuing the ATHENIANS were maruelouſly offended with him, he dyd what he could to comforte them, and put them in harte againe: but all was in vaine, he could not pacifie them. For by the moſt parte of voyces, they depriued him of his charge of generall, and condemned him in a maruelous great fine & ſumme of money, the which thoſe that tell the leaſt doe write, that it was the ſumme of fifteene talentes: and thoſe that ſay more, ſpeake of fiftie talentes. The accuſer ſubſcribed in this condemnation, was *Cleon*, as *Idomeneus*, or *Simmias* ſaye, or as *Theophraſtus* writeth: yet *Heraclides Ponticus* ſayeth, one *Lacratidas*. Nowe his common grieues were ſone blowen ouer: for the people dyd eaſely let fall their diſpleaſures towardes him, as the waſpe leaueth her ſtinge behinde her with them ſhe hath ſtong. But his owne priuate affayers and houſehold cauſes were in very ill caſe: both for that the plague had taken awaye many of his friendes and kinſemen from him, as alſo for that he and his houſe had continued a long time in diſgrace. For *Xanthippus* (*Pericles* ſonne & heire) being a man of a very ill diſpoſition and nature, and hauing maried a young woman very prodigall and lauiſhe of expence, the daughter of *Iſander*, ſonne of *Epilycus*: he grudged much at his fathers hardnes, who ſcantly gaue him money, and but litle at a time. Whereupon he ſent on a time to one of his fathers friendes in *Pericles* name, to praye him to lend him ſome money, who ſent it vnto him. But afterwardes when he came to demaunde it againe, *Pericles* dyd not only refuſe to paye it him, but further, he put him in ſute. But this made the young man *Xanthippus* ſo angrie with his father, that he ſpake very ill of him in euery place where he came: and in mockery reported howe his father ſpent his time when he was at home, and the talke he had with the Sophiſters, and the maſter rethoritians. For a miſchaunce fortuning on a time, at the game of throwing the darte, who ſhould throwe beſt, that he that threwe, dyd vnfortunately kill one *Epitimius* a THESSALIAN: *Xanthippus* went pratling vp and downe the towne, that his father *Pericles* was a whole daye diſputing with *Protagoras* the Rethoritian, to knowe which of the three by lawe and reaſon ſhould be condemned for this murther. The darte: he that threwe the darte: or the deuiſer of that game. Moreouer *Steſimbrotus* writeth, that the brute that ranne abroade through the cittie, howe *Pericles* dyd keepe his wife, was ſowen abroade by *Xanthippus* him ſelfe. But ſo it is, this quarrell & hate betwext the father and the ſonne continued without reconciliation vnto the death. For *Xanthippus* dyed in the great plague, and *Pericles* owne ſiſter alſo: moreouer he loſt at that time by the plague, the more parte of all his friends and kinſefolkes, and thoſe ſpecially that dyd him greateſt pleaſure in gouerning of the ſtate. But all this dyd neuer pull down his contenaunce, nor any thing abate the greatnes of his minde, what misfortunes ſoeuer he had ſuſteined. Neither ſawe they him weepe at any time, nor mourne at the funeralles of any of his kinſemen or friendes, but at the death of *Paralus*, his younger and lawfull begotten ſonne: for, the loſſe of him alone dyd only melt his harte. Yet he dyd ſtriue to ſhowe his naturall conſtancie, and to keepe his accuſtomed modeſtie. But as he would haue put a garland of flowers vpon his head, ſorowe dyd ſo pierce his harte when he ſawe his face, that then he burſt out in teares,

An eclypſe of the ſunne.

Pericles hard fortune.

Pericles deprined of his charge.

Pericles home troubles

Pericles conſtancy.

and

A and cryed a mayne: which they neuer ſawe him doe before, all the dayes of his life. Furthermore the people hauing proued other captaines and gouernours, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of iudgement and authoritie ſufficient, for ſo great a charge: In the ende, of them ſelues they called him againe to the pulpit for orations to heare their counſells, and to the ſtate of a captaine alſo to take charge of the ſtate. But at that time he kept him ſelfe cloſe in his houſe, as one bewayling his late grieuous loſſe and ſorowe. Howbeit *Alcibiades*, and other his familliar friendes, perſuaded him to ſhewe him ſelfe vnto the people: who dyd excuſe them ſelues vnto him, for their ingratitude towardes him. *Pericles* then taking the gouernment againe vpon him, the firſt matter he entred into was: that he prayed them to reuoke the ſtatute he had made for baſe borne children, fearing leaſt his lawfull
B heires would fayle, and ſo his houſe and name ſhould fall to the grounde. But as for that lawe, thus it ſtoode. *Pericles* when he was in his beſt authoritie, cauſed a lawe to be made, that they only ſhould be compted cittizens of ATHENS, which were naturall ATHENIANS borne by father and mother. Not long time after, it fortuned that the king of EGYPT hauing ſent a gift vnto the people of ATHENS, of forty thouſand buſhells of corne, to be diſtributed among the cittizens there: many by occaſion of this lawe were accuſed to be baſe borne, and ſpecially men of the baſer ſorte of people, which were not knowen before, or at the leaſt had no reckoning made of them, and ſo ſome of them were falſely and wrongfully condemned. Whereupon ſo it fell out, that there were no leſſe then fiue thouſand of them conuicted and ſolde for ſlaues: and they that remained as free men, and were iudged to be
C naturall cittizens, amownted to the number of fourteene thouſand and fortie perſones. Now this was much miſliked of the people, that a lawe enacted, and that had bene of ſuche force, ſhould by the ſelfe maker and deuiſer of the ſame be againe reuoked and called in. Howbeit *Pericles* late calamitie that fortuned to his houſe, dyd breake the peoples hardened hartes againſt him. Who thincking theſe ſorowes ſmarte, to be puniſhment enough vnto him for his former pryde, and iudging that by goddes diuine iuſtice and permiſſion, this plague and loſſe fell vpon him, and that his requeſt alſo was tollerable: they ſuffered him to enrolle his baſe borne ſonne in the regiſter of the lawfull cittizens of his familie, geuing him his owne name, *Pericles*. It is the ſelf ſame *Pericles*, who after he had ouercome the PELOPONNESIANS in a great battell by ſea, neere vnto the Iles ARGINVSES, was put to death by ſentence of the
D people, with the other captaines his companiõs. Now was *Pericles* at that time infected with the plague, but not ſo vehemently as other were, rather more temperatly: & by long ſpace of time, with many alterations and chaunges, that dyd by litle and litle decaye, and conſume the ſtrength of his bodie, and ouercame his ſences and noble minde. Therefore *Theophraſtus* in his moralles declareth, in a place where he diſputeth, whether mens manners doe chaunge with their misfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions doe ſo alter men, that they forget vertue, and abandon reaſon: that *Pericles* in this ſicknes ſhewed a friende of his that came to ſee him, I cannot tell what a preſeruing charme the women had tyed (as a carkanet) about his necke, to let him vnderſtand he was very ill, ſince he ſuffered them to apply ſuche a fooliſhe bable to him. In the ende, *Pericles* drawing faſt vnto his death, the Nobilitie
E of the cittie, and ſuch his friendes as were left aliue, ſtanding about his bed, beganne to ſpeake of his vertue, and of the great authoritie he had borne, conſidering the greatnes of his noble actes, and counting the number of his victories he had wonne (for he had wonne nine foughten battells being generall of the ATHENIANS, and had ſet vp ſo many tokens and triumphes in honour of his countrie) they reckoned vp among them ſelues all theſe matters, as if he had not vnderſtoode them, imagining his ſences had bene gone. But he contrarilie being yet of perfect memorie, heard all what they had ſayed, and thus he beganne to ſpeake vnto them. That he marueled why they had ſo highly prayſed that in him, which was common to many other captaines, and wherein fortune delt with them in equalitie a like, and all this while they had forgotten to ſpeake of the beſt & moſt notable thing that was in him, which
F was: that no ATHENIAN had euer worne blacke gowne through his occaſion. And ſuer ſo was he a noble and worthie perſone. For he dyd not only ſhewe him ſelfe mercifull and curteous, euen in moſt weightie matters of gouernment, among ſo enuious people and hatefull

A lawe at Athens for baſe borne children.

Pericles the baſe borne put to death.

Pericles ſicknes.

A philoſophicall queſtion touching change of mens mãners by misfortunes.

Pericles death.

A notable ſaying of Pericles at his death.

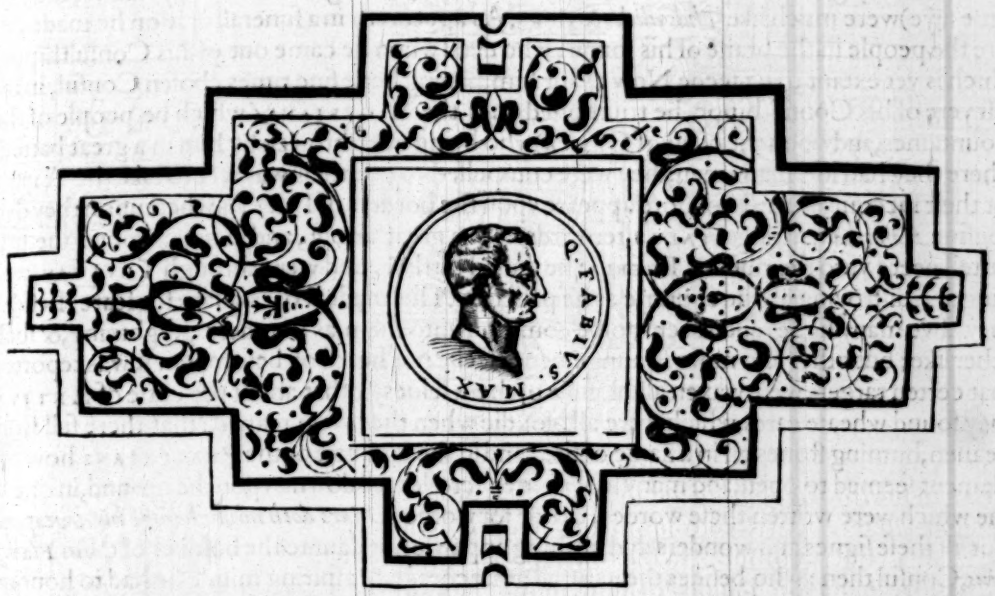
enemies: but he had this iudgement alſo to thincke, that the moſt noble actes he dyd were theſe, that he neuer gaue him ſelfe vnto hatred, enuie, nor choller, to be reuenged of his moſt mortall enemie, without mercy ſhewed towardes him, though he had committed vnto him ſuche abſolute power and ſole gouernment among them. And this made his ſurname to be *Olympius* (as to ſaye, diuine or celeſtiall) which otherwiſe for him had bene to prowde and arrogant a name, bicauſe he was of ſo good and gentle a nature, and for that in ſo great libertie he had kept cleane handes & vndefiled: euen as we eſteeme the goddes authors of all good, and cauſers of no ill, and ſo worthy to gouerne and rule the whole monarchie of the world. And not as Poets ſaye, which doe confounde our wittes by their follies, and fonde faynings, and are alſo contrarie to them ſelues, conſidering that they call heauen (which conteineth the goddes) the euerlaſting ſeate, which trembleth not, and is not driuen nor moued with windes, neither is darkened with clowdes, but is allwayes bright and cleare, and at all times ſhyning equally with a pure bright light, as being the only habitation and manſion place of the eternall God, only happy and immortall. And afterwardes they deſcribe it them ſelues, full of diſſentions, of enmities, of anger and paſſions, which doe nothing become wiſe and learned men. But this diſcourſe peraduenture would be better ſpoken of in ſome other booke. Nowe, the troubles the ATHENIANS felt immediatly after *Pericles* death, made them then lament the loſſe of ſo noble a member. For thoſe who vnpaciently dyd brooke his great authoritie while he liued, bicauſe it drowned their owne: when they came after his death to proue other ſpeakers and gouernours, they were compelled then to confeſſe, that no mans nature liuing could be more moderate nor graue, with lenitie and mercie, then his was. And that moſt hated power, which in his life time they called monarchie, dyd then moſt plainely appeare vnto them, to haue bene the manifeſt ramper and bullwarke of the ſafetie of their whole ſtate and common weale: ſuche corruption and vice in gouernment of the ſtate, dyd then ſpring vp immediatly after his death, which when he was aliue, he dyd euer ſuppreſſe and keepe vnder in ſuche ſorte, that either it dyd not appeare at all, or at the leaſt it came not to that hed and libertie, that ſuche faultes were committed, as were vnpoſſible to be remedied.

Pericles deſeruedly called Olympius.

The Athenians lamented the loſſe of Pericles being dead.

The ende of Pericles life.

THE LIFE OF
Fabius Maximus.



A HAVING already declared vnto you ſuch things worthy memorie as we could collect, and gather of the life of *Pericles*: it is nowe good time we ſhould proceede to write alſo of the life of *Fabius Maximus*. It is ſayed the firſt *Fabius*, from whom the houſe and familie of the *Fabians* dyd deſcend (being the greateſt & nobleſt houſe of all other in Rome) was begotten by *Hercules*, whom he gatte of a *Nymphe* (or as other ſaye, a woman of the coũtrie) by the riuer of Tyber. And ſome ſaye, that the firſt of this houſe, were called at the beginning *Fodians*, bicauſe they dyd hunte wilde beaſtes, with pittefalles and ditches. For vnto this preſent the Romaines call ditches, *Foſſæ*: and to digge *Fodere*. Since that time,
B the two ſecond letters haue bene chaunged, and they haue called them *Fabians*. But howſoeuer it was, this is certaine, that many noble men haue come out of that houſe: and among other, there was one of that houſe called *Fabius Rullus*, whom the Romaines for his noble actes dyd ſurname *Maximus*, very great. After him *Fabius Maximus*, whoſe life we haue now in hande, was the fourth lineally deſcended of the ſame line, and he was ſurnamed *Verrucoſus*, bicauſe of a certen birth marke he had vpon one of his lippes, like a litle warte. And he was alſo ſurnamed *Ouicula*, a litle lamme, for his ſoftnes, ſlownes, and grauity of his doings whileſt he was a childe. But bicauſe of nature he was dull, ſtill, and very ſilent, and that he was ſeldome ſeene to playe at any paſtime among the boyes, and for that they ſawe he was but of ſlowe capacitie, and hard to learne and conceyue, and withall that the boyes might doe to him what
C they would, he was ſo lowly to his fellowes: this made men iudge that looked not into him, that he would proue a very foole and nigeot. Yet other were of contrarie opinion of him: who conſidering more deepely the man, perceyued in his nature a certen ſecret conſtancie & the maieſtie of a lyon. But *Fabius* ſelfe when he was called to ſerue the common weale, dyd quickely ſhewe to the world, that which they tooke for dullnes in him, was his grauitie, which neuer altered for no cauſe or reſpect: and that which other iudged feareſullnes in him, was very wiſedome. And where he ſhewed him ſelfe not haſtie, nor ſodaine in any thing: it was found in him an aſſured and ſetled conſtancie. Wherefore when he came to conſider the great ſoueraintie of their common weale, and the continuall warres it was in: he dyd vſe his bodie to all hardnes, and brought vp him ſelfe therewithall, that he might be the better able to ſerue

Fabius Rullus Maximus. Fabius Maximus called Verrucoſus & Ouicula.

in the field: and he gaue him selfe much to eloquence also, as a necessary instrument to persuade souldiers vnto reason. His tongue likewise dyd agree with his conditions, and manner of life. For he had no manner of affectation, nor counterfeate finenes in his speach, but his words were euer very graue and profounde, and his sentences euen grafte in him by nature, and (as some saye) were much like *Thucydides* sayings. As appeareth in a funerall oration he made before the people in the praise of his sonne, who dyed when he came out of his Consulshippe, which is yet extant to be seene. Now as for him, hauing bene fiue times chosen Consul, in his first yere of his Consulshippe, he triumphed ouer the LIGVRIANS (which be people of the mountaines, and vpon the coast of GENVA) who being ouerthrowen by him in a great battell, where they had lost many men, they were compelled to goe their waye, & to take the ALPES for their succour, & durst no more appeare vpon the borders of ITALIE, whereupon they dyd confine. *Hannibal* entring ITALY afterwards with a great armie, and hauing wonne the first battell neere vnto the riuer of TREBIA: he passed further, and went through THVSCAN, wasting and distroying all the countrie as he passed by. This made ROME quake for feare. Besides they sawe many signes and tokens, some common vnto them, as thundering, lightning, & such other like: but other also more straunge, neuer seene nor heard of before. For it was reported that certen targets were waxen all bloudie of them selues, & that about the cittie of ANTIVM they found wheate eares, which were all bloudie when they were reaped: that there fell from heauen, burning stones all in a flame of fire: and in the countrie of the PHALERIANS how the element seemed to open, and many litle written scrolles fell downe vpon the ground, in one of the which were written these wordes, worde for worde: *Mars doth nowe handle his weapons.* But all these signes and wonders dyd nothing appawle nor daunte the boldnes of *Caius Flaminius*, Consul then: who besides the naturall great corage, & aspiring minde he had to honour, yet was it beyond all reason increased in him, by the wonderfull good successe he had before. For, notwithstanding the Senate called him home againe, and that his fellowe Consul stoode against his intent: he for all that dyd geue battell to the GAVLES, in despight of them all, and wanne the victorie. Likewise, though all these signes & wonders in the ayer, dyd greatly trouble, and amaze multitudes of people: yet did they nothing trouble *Fabius*, for he sawe no apparant cause to be troubled withall. But he vnderstanding the small number of his enemies, and the lacke of money that was among them: gaue counsell, and was of opinion they should paciently forbeare a litle, and not to hazard battell against a man, whose armie hadde bene long trained in warres, and by many foughten fields was growen valliant and expert. Moreouer, he thought good they should send ayde to their subiects, and other their allies and confederates, as neede required, to keepe their cities still vnder their obedience: and in the meane season by tract of time, to weare out *Hanniballs* force and power, which was like strawe set a fire, that straight geueth forth a blase, and yet hath no substaunce to holde fire long. When *Fabius* had thus sayed enough to persuade *Flaminius*, yet it would not sincke into *Flaminius* heade: for, sayeth he, I will not tarie vntill the warres come to ROME gates, neither will I be brought to fight vpon the walles of the cittie, to defend it, and as *Camillus* dyd, that fought within the cittie selfe in olde time. Whereupon he commaunded his captaines to set out their bandes to the field, and he him selfe tooke his horse backe: which vpon the sodaine, without any cause was so afeard, and tooke so on with him selfe, that he cast the Consul to the grounde with his heade forward. For all this fall he would not chaunge his minde, but helde on his iorney toward *Hannibal*, and presented him battell in THVSCAN, by the lake called *Thrasimena*, which is the lake of PERVSIA. This battell was so fiercely fought on both sides, that notwithstanding there was such a terrible earthquake therewhile, that some cities were ouerthrowen and turned topsi turuey, some riuers had their streames turned against their course, and the foote of the mountaines were torne in sonder, and broken open: yet not one of them that were fighting, heard any such thing at all. *Flaminius* the Consul selfe was slaine at that battell, after he had in his owne persone done many a valliant acte, and many of the worthiest gentlemen and valliantest souldiers of his armie laye dead about him: the residue being fled, the slaughter was great, for the bodies slaine were fifteene thousand, and so many prisoners left aliue. After this ouerthrowe, *Hannibal* made all the searche he could possible to finde the bodie of *Flaminius*,

Fabius fiue times Consul.

Hannibal destroyeth the countrie of Thuscan.

Wonders.

Flaminius rashenes.

Fabius wise counsell.

The Romaines slaine by the lake of Thrasimena.

Flaminius the Consul slaine.

A *nius*, to burie him honorably, bicauſe of his valliantnes: but he could neuer be founde amongeſt the dead bodies, neither was it euer hearde what became of it. Now as touching the firſt ouerthrowe at TREBIA, neither the generall that wrote it, nor the poſt that brought the firſt newes to ROME, tolde the trothe of it as it was, but fayned that the ende was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the beſt. But of this battell, ſo ſone as the *Prætor Pomponius* had receyued the newes, he called all the people to counſell, where without diſguiſing or diſſembling at all, he playnely ſayed thus vnto them: My Lordes, we haue loſt the battell, our army is ouerthrowen, and the Conſul him ſelfe is ſlaine in the field: wherefore conſider what you haue to doe, & prouide for your ſafety. Theſe wordes ſpoken to the people, as it had bene a boyſterous ſtorme of weather that had fallen on them from
B the ſea, to put them in daunger, dyd ſo terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole cittie for feare: that they were all in a maze, and knewe not what to determine. Yet in the ende they all agreed, that it ſtoode them vpon to haue a chief magiſtrate, called in Latin *Dictatura*, that ſhould be a man of corage, and could ſtowtely vſe it without ſparing or fearing any perſone. And for this, *Fabius Maximus* was thought the only man mete to be choſen, as he, whoſe noble corage and graue behauiour was aunſwerable, to the dignitie and ſoueraintie of the office: and moreouer, that to his grauity and wiſedome there was ioyned (by reaſonable age) ſtrength of bodie, and valliantnes with experience. This counſell being confirmed by them all, *Fabius* was choſen *Dictator*, who named *Lucius Minutius* generall of the horſemen. Then he firſt required the Senate, that they would graunte him he might
C haue his horſe in the warres: the which was not lawfull for the *Dictator*, but expreſſely forbidden by an auncient order. Either bicauſe they thought the chiefeſt force of their armie dyd conſiſt in their footemen, which cauſed the making of this lawe: whereby the generall ſhould be amongeſt them in the daye of the battell, and in no wiſe ſhould forſake them. Or els bicauſe the authoritie of this magiſtrate in all other things was ſo great, that it was in manner after the ſtate of a King: yet all this notwithſtanding, they were willing thereunto, and that the *Dictator* ſhould haue abſolute power ouer the people. *Fabius* at his firſt comming, bicauſe he would ſhewe the maieſtie and dignitie of his office, and that euery man ſhould be the more obedient and readie at his commaundement: when he went abroade, he had foure and twentie ſergeants before him, carying the bundells of roddes, and axes.
D And when one of the Conſulls came to him, he ſent a ſergeant to commaund his bundell of roddes that were caried before him, to be put downe, and all other tokens of dignitie to be layed a ſide: and that he ſhould come and ſpeake with him, as a priuate man. And firſt to make a good foundation, and to beginne with the ſeruice of the goddes: he declared vnto the people, that the loſſe they had receyued, came through the raſhenes and willfull negligence of their captaine, who made no reckoning of the goddes nor religion: and not through any defaulte and cowardlines of the ſouldiers. And for this cauſe he dyd perſuade them not to be afrayed of their enemies, but to appeaſe the wrath of the goddes, and to ſerue and honour them. Not that he made them hereby ſuperſtitious, but dyd confirme their valiancy with true religion and godlines: and beſides dyd vtterly take awaye and aſwage their feare
E of their enemies, by geuing them certaine hope and aſſuraunce of the ayde of the goddes. Then were the holy bookes of the *Sibylles* propheſies peruſed, which are kept very ſecret: and therein they founde certaine auncient prophecies and oracles, which ſpake of the preſent misfortunes of the time. But what were conteined therein, it is not law full to be vttered to any perſone. Afterwards the *Dictator*, before the open aſſembly of the people, made a ſolemne vowe vnto the goddes, that he would ſacrifice all the profits and fruites that ſhould fall the next yere, of ſheepe, of ſowes, of milche kyne, and of goates in all the mountaines, champion countrie, riuers, or meadowes of ITALIE. And he would celebrate playes of muſike, & ſhewe other ſightes in the honour of the goddes, and would beſtowe vpon the ſame the ſumme of three hundred three & thirtie Seſtercians, & three hundred three & thirtie Romaine pence, &
F a third parte ouer. All which ſumme reduced into Græcian money, amounteth to foure ſcore three thouſand, fiue hundred, and foure ſcore, and three ſiluer drachmas, & two obolos. Now it were a hard thing to tell the reaſon why he doth mention this ſumme ſo preciſely, and why

Fabius Dictator.

The Dictator might not ride in the warres.

The maieſtie of Fabius the Dictator.

Fabius religion.

The Sibylles bookes of prophecies.

Fabius vowe.

he dyd deuide it by three, vnles it were to extolle the power of the number of three, bicauſe it is a perfect number by the nature, and is the firſt of the odde numbers, which is the beginning of diuers numbers, and conteineth in it ſelf the firſt differences, and the firſt elements and principles of all the numbers vnited and ioyned together. So *Fabius* hauing brought the people to hope, and truſt to haue the ayde and fauour of the goddes: made them in the ende the better diſpoſed to liue well afterwardes. Then *Fabius* hoping after victorie, and that the goddes would ſend good lucke and proſperitie vnto men, through their valliantnes and wiſdome: dyd ſtraight ſet forwards vnto *Hannibal*, not as minded to fight with him, but fully reſolued to weare out his ſtrength and power, by delayes and tract of time: and to increaſe his pouertie by the long ſpending of his owne money, and to conſume the ſmall number of his people, with the great number of his ſouldiers. *Fabius* camped allwayes in the ſtrong and highe places of the mountaines, out of all daunger of his enemies horſemen, and coaſted ſtill after the enemie: ſo that when *Hannibal* ſtayed in any place, *Fabius* alſo ſtayed: if *Hannibal* remoued, he followed him ſtraight, and would be allwayes neere him, but neuer forſooke the hilles, neither would he come ſo neere him, as that he ſhould be inforced to fight againſt his will. Yet allwayes he followed the enemie at his tayle, and made him euer afeard of him, thincking ſtill that he ſought to get the vantage, to geue the charge vpon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this ſorte: he became diſliked of euery bodye. For euery man both in his owne campe, and abroade, ſpake very ill of him openly: and as for his enemies, they tooke him for no better, then a rancke coward, *Hannibal* only excepted. But he perceyuing his great reache and policie, and foreſeeing the manner of fight, ſawe there was no remedy, but by playne force or ſlight to bring him to the fight: for otherwiſe his delaye would ouerthrowe the CARTHAGINIANS, when they ſhould not come to handy ſtrokes with him, wherein only conſiſted all their hope and ſtrength, and in the meane time his ſouldiers ſhould fall away, and dye, and his money was ſcante, and him ſelfe ſhould growe the weaker. Thereupon *Hannibal* beganne to bethinke him, and deuiſe all the ſtratageames and policies of warre he could imagine: and like a cunning wreſtler, to ſeeke out all the trickes he could to geue his aduerſarie the falle. For ſodainely, he would goe and geue alarom to his campe: by and by againe he would retire. Another time he would remoue his campe, from one place to another, and geue him ſome aduantage, to ſee if he could plucke his lingring deuiſe out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for *Fabius*, he continued ſtill reſolute in his firſt determination: that delaye of fight was the beſt waye ſo to ouerthrowe him. Howbeit *Minutius*, generall of his horſemen, dyd trouble him muche. For he being earneſtly bent to fight without diſcretion, and brauing of a luſtie corage, crept into opinion with the ſouldiers, by his whotte furie and deſire to fight. Which wrought muche in them, and ſo ſturred vp their corages, that they mocked *Fabius* altogether: and called him *Hannibalis* ſchoolemaſter: and contrariwiſe they commended *Minutius*, for a valliant captaine, and worthie ROMAINE. This made *Minutius* looke highe, and haue a prowde opinion of him ſelfe, mocking *Fabius* bicauſe he euer lodged on the hilles, with ſaying, the *Dictator* would make them goodly ſportes, to ſee their enemies waſte and burne ITALY before their face. Moreouer, he asked *Fabius* friendes, whether he would in the ende lodge his campe in the skye, that he dyd clyme vp ſo highe vpon mountaines, miſtruſting the earthe: or els that he was ſo affrayed, his enemies would finde him out, that he went to hyde him ſelfe in the clowdes. *Fabius* friendes made reporte of theſe ieaſtes, and aduiſed him rather to hazard battell, then to beare ſuche reproachefull wordes as were ſpoken of him. But *Fabius* aunſwered them. If I ſhould yeld to that you counſell me, I ſhould ſhewe my ſelfe a greater coward then I am taken for now: by leauing my determination, for feare of their mockes and ſpightfull wordes. For it is no ſhame for a man to ſtand fearefull, and iealous, of the welfare and ſafetie of his countrie: but otherwiſe to be afeard of the wagging of euery ſtrawe, or to regard euery common prating, it is not the parte of a worthie man of charge, but rather of a baſe minded perſone, to ſeeke to pleaſe thoſe whom he ought to commaunde and gouerne, bicauſe they are but fooles. After this, *Hannibal* chaunced to

Fabius doings againſt Hannibal.

Minutius generall of the horſemen, diſpiſed Fabius counſell.

fall

A fall into a great errour. For intending to leaue *Fabius* to bring his armie into the playnes, where there was plentie of vittells, and ſtore of paſture to feede his horſe and cattell: he commaunded his guydes to bring him ſtraight after ſupper, into the playne of CASINVM. They miſtaking his wordes, and not vnderſtanding well what he ſayed, bicauſe his ITALIAN tongue was but meane: tooke one thing for another, and ſo brought him and his armie to the ende of a feild neere the cittie of CASILINVM, through the middeſt of the which ron-neth a riuer, the ROMAINES call *Vulturnus*. Nowe the countrie lying by it, was a valley com-paſſed in with mountaines round about, ſauing that the riuer went to the ſea: where leauing his owne banckes, it ſpreadeth abroade into the mariſſes, and banckes of ſande very deepe, and in the ende fell into that parte of the ſea which is moſt daungerous, and there was B neither ſuccour nor couert. *Hannibal* being now fallen as it were into the bottome of a ſacke, *Fabius* that knewe the countrie, and was very perfect in all the wayes thereaboutes, followed him ſteppe by ſteppe, and ſtopped his paſſage, where he ſhould haue come out of the valley, with foure thouſand footemen, which he planted there to keepe the ſtraight, and diſpoſed the reſt of his armie vpon the hanginges of the hilles, in the moſt apt and fit places all about. Then with his light horſe men he gaue a charge, vpon the rereward of his enemies battell: which put all *Hannibals* armie by and by out of order, and ſo there were ſlaine eight hundred of his men. Whereupon *Hannibal* would haue remoued his campe thence immediatly, and knowing then the faulte his guydes had made, taking one place for another, and the daunger wherein they had brought him: he roundely truſſed them vp, C and honge them by the neckes. Now to force his enemies to come downe from the toppes of the hilles, and to winne them from their ſtrength, he ſawe it was vnpoſſible, and out of all hope. Wherefore, perceyuing his ſouldiers both afrayed and diſcouraged, for that they ſawe them ſelues hemmed in on all ſides, without any order to eſcape: *Hannibal* determi-ned to deceyue *Fabius* by a deuiſe. He cauſed ſtraight two thouſand oxen to be choſen out of the heard, which they had taken before in their ſpoyles, and tyed to their hornes light bundells of reedes, and ſallowe faggottes, or bunches of the dead cuttings of vines: and commaunded the drouers that had the charge of them, that when they ſawe any ſignall or token lift vp in the ayer in the night, they ſhould then ſtraight ſet fire on thoſe bundels and bunches, and driue vp the beaſtes to the hilles, toward the wayes where the enemies laye. D Whileſt theſe things were a preparing, he on the other ſide ranged his armie in order of battell: and when night came, cauſed them to marche fayer and ſoftely. Now theſe beaſtes, whileſt the fyre was but litle that burnt vpon their hornes, went but fayer and ſoftly vp the hill from the foote of the mountaines from whence they were driuen. In ſo muche as the heard men that were on the toppe of the mountaines, wondred maruelouſly to ſee ſuche flames and fires about the hornes of ſo many beaſtes, as if it had bene an armie marching in order of battell with lightes and torches. But when their hornes came to be burnt to the ſtumpes, and that the force of the fyre dyd frye their very fleſhe: then beganne the oxen to fight together, and to ſhake their heades, wherby they dyd ſet one another a fyre. Then left they their ſofte pace, & went no more in order as they dyd before, but for the extreme payne E they felt, beganne to runne here and there in the mountaines, carying fyre ſtill about their hornes, and in their tayles, and ſet fyre of all the boughes and coppeſies they paſſed by. This was a ſtraunge ſight to looke vpon, and dyd muche amaſe the ROMAINES that kept the paſſages of the mountaines, for they thought they had bene men that ranne here and there with torches in their handes. Whereupon they were in a maruelous feare and trouble, ſup-poſing they had bene their enemies that ranne thus towards them, to enuironne them of all ſides: ſo as they durſt no more keepe the paſſages which they were commaunded, but forſa-king the ſtraightes, beganne to flye towards their mayne and great campe. Thereupon *Hanni-bals* light horſe men immediatly poſſeſſed the ſtraights that were kept: by reaſon whereof, all the reſt of his armie marched out at their eaſe and leyſure, without feare or daunger, not-F withſtanding that they were loden and troubled with maruelous great ſpoyles, and of all kynde of ſortes. *Fabius* then perceyued very well the ſame night, that it was but a ſlight of *Hannibal*: for ſome of the oxen that fled here and there fell vpon his armie. Whereupon

Hannibal fell into great er-rour.

Caſilinum a cittie.
Vulturnus fl.

Hannibal ſet vpon by Fa-bius.

Hannibals ſtratageame.

fearing to fall vpon ſome ambuſhe by reaſon of the darke night, he kept his men in battell raye, without ſturring, or making any noiſe. The next morning by breake of daye, he beganne to followe his enemie by the tracke, and fell vpon the tayle of the rereward, with whom he skirmiſhed within the ſtraites of the mountaines: and ſo dyd diſtreſſe ſomewhat *Hannibals* armie. *Hannibal* thereupon ſent out of his vauntgarde a certaine number of Spaniards (very luſty and nymble fellowes, that were vſed to the mountaines, and acquainted with climing vp vpon them) who comming downe, and ſetting vpon the ROMAINES that were heauy armed, ſlue a great number of them, and made *Fabius* to retire. Thereupon they deſpiſed *Fabius* the more, and thought worſe of him then they dyd before: bicauſe his pretence and determination was not to be brought to fight with *Hannibal*, but by wiſedome and policie to ouerthrowe him, where as he him ſelfe by *Hannibal* was firſt finely handled and deceyued. *Hannibal* then to bring *Fabius* further in diſliking and ſuſpition with the ROMAINES, commaunded his ſouldiers when they came neere any of *Fabius* landes, that they ſhould burne and deſtroye all round about them, but gaue them in charge in no wiſe to medle with *Fabius* landes, nor any thing of his, and dyd purpoſely appointe a garriſon to ſee that nothing of *Fabius* ſhould miſcarie, nor yet take hurte. This was ſtraight caried to ROME, which dyd thereby the more incenſe the people againſt him. And to helpe it forward, the Tribunes neuer ceaſed crying out vpon him in their orations to the people, and all by *Metellus* ſpeciall procurement and perſuaſion: who of him ſelfe had no cauſe to miſlike with *Fabius*, but only bicauſe he was *Minutius* kinſeman (generall of the horſemen) and thought that the ill opinion they bare to *Fabius*, would turne to the prayſe and aduauncement of *Minutius*. The Senate alſo were muche offended with *Fabius*, for the compoſition he made with *Hannibal*, touching the priſoners taken of either ſide. For it was articled betweene them, that they ſhould chaunge priſoners, deliuering man for man, or els two hundred and fiftie ſiluer drachmas for a man, if the one chaunced to haue moe priſoners then the other. When exchaunge was made betweene them, it appeared that *Hannibal* had left in his handes of ROMAINE priſoners, two hundred and fortie moe, then *Fabius* had to exchaunge of his. The Senate cõmaunded there ſhould be no money ſent to redeeme them, and greatly founde faulte with *Fabius* for making this accorde: bicauſe it was neither honorable, nor profitable for the common weale to redeeme men that cowardly ſuffered them ſelues to be taken priſoners of their enemies. *Fabius* vnderſtanding it, dyd paciently beare this diſpleaſure conceyued againſt him by the Senate. Howbeit hauing no money, and meaning to keepe his worde, and not to leaue the poore cittizens priſoners behinde him: he ſent his ſonne to ROME, with commiſſion to ſell his landes, and to bring him money immediatly. The young man went his waye to ROME, and ſold his fathers farmes, and brought him money forthwith to the campe: *Fabius* therewith redeemed the priſoners, and ſent their ranſome vnto *Hannibal*. Many of the priſoners whom he had redeemed, offred to repaye him their ranſome: but he would neuer take any thing againe, and gaue them all their ranſome freely. Afterwards being called to ROME by the prieſtes to doe certaine ſolemne ſacrifices, he left the armie in charge with *Minutius*, to gouerne the ſame in his abſence, with condition not to ſet vpon the enemie, nor to fight with him at all: the which not only by his authoritie he dyd expreſſely forbid him, but alſo as his very friende, he dyd warne and intreate him in no wiſe to attempt. Howbeit *Minutius* litle regarding his commaundementes or requeſtes, ſo ſone as *Fabius* backe was turned, beganne to be ſomewhat luſtie, and doing with his enemies. So one daye amongeſt the reſt, *Minutius* perceyuing *Hannibal* had ſent a great parte of his armie abroade to forrage and get vittells: came and ſet vpon them that remained behinde, and draue them into their campe, with great ſlaughter, and dyd put them in a maruelous feare that were ſaued, as men that looked for no leſſe, but to haue bene beſieged in their campe. Afterwardes alſo, when their whole armie came together againe: he retired backe in ſpight of them all, and loſt not a man. This exploite ſet *Minutius* in a pryde, and brought the ſouldiers to be more raſhe then they were before. The newes of this ouerthrowe went with ſpeede to ROME, and there they made it a great deale more then it was. *Fabius* hearing of it, ſayed: he was more afeard of *Minutius* proſperitie, then of his owne aduerſitie.

Hannibals craftines againſt Fabius.

Fabius chaũgeth priſoners with Hãnibal.

Fabius redeemeth the priſoners with his money.

Fabius leaueth Minutius his lieftenant in the field.

Minutius raſhenes.

A uerſitie. But the common people reioyced maruelosly, and made great ſhewe of ioye vp and downe the market place. Whereupon *Metellus* one of the Tribunes going vp into the pulpit, made an oration vnto the people, in the which he highely magnified *Minutius*, and commended his corage: and contrarily charged *Fabius* no more of cowardlines, but with flat treaſon. Furthermore, he dyd accuſe the Nobilitie and greateſt men of ROME, ſaying: that from the firſt beginning they had layed a platte to drawe theſe warres out at length, only to deſtroye the peoples power and authoritie, hauing brought the whole common weale, to the ſtate of a monarchy, and into the handes of a priuate perſone. Who by his remiſſenes and delayes, would geue *Hannibal* leyſure to plante him ſelfe in ITALIE, and by time geue open paſſage to the CARTHAGINIANS, at their pleaſure to ſend

B *Hannibal* a ſecond ayde and armie, to make a full conqueſt of all ITALIE. *Fabius* hearing theſe wordes, roſe vp ſtraight, and ſpake to the people, and taried not about the aunſwering of the accuſations the Tribune had burdened him withall, but prayed them they would diſpatche theſe ſacrifices and ceremonies of the goddes, that he might ſpedilie returne againe to the campe, to puniſhe *Minutius*, for breaking his commaundement, in fighting with the enemie. He had no ſoner ſpoken theſe wordes, but there roſe a maruelous tumulte and hurly burley preſently among the people, for the daunger *Minutius* ſtoode in then: bicauſe the *Dictator* had abſolute power and authoritie to impriſone and put to death, whom he thought good, without ordinary courſe of lawe or araynement. Moreouer, they dyd iudge, ſince *Fabius* had alate left his accuſtomed mildnes and affabilitie, that he would growe to ſuch ſeueritie in his

C anger, that it would be a hard thing to appeaſe him. Wherefore euery man held their peace for feare, ſauing only *Metellus* the Tribune. He hauing authoritie by vertue of his office, to ſaye what he thought good, and who only of all other kept ſtill his place and authoritie, when any *Dictator* was choſen: then all the officers that were put down, inſtantly beſought the people not to forſake *Minutius*, nor to ſuffer the like to be done to him, as *Manlius Torquatus* dyd alate to his ſonne, who ſtrake of his head, after he had valliantly fought with his enemies and ouercomed them, for breaking his commaundement. And beganne to perſuade them further, to take this tyrānicall power of the Dictatorſhippe from *Fabius*: and to put their affayers into the handes of him, that would and could tell howe to bring them ſafely to paſſe. The people were tickled maruelouſly with theſe ſeditious wordes, but yet they durſt not force *Fabius*

D to reſigne his Dictatorſhippe, though they bare him great grudge, and were angrie with him in their hartes. Howbeit they ordeined that *Minutius* thenceforth ſhould haue equall power and authoritie with the *Dictator* in the warres, a thing that was neuer ſeene nor heard of before, and yet the very ſame done in that ſorte againe, after the battell of Cannes. For *Marcus Iunius* being at that time *Dictator* in the campe, they dyd chooſe another *Dictator* at ROME, which was *Fabius Buteo*, to name and create newe Senators in the place of thoſe that were ſlaine in the battell. But after he had named them, and reſtored the full number againe of the counſell of the Senate: he diſcharged the ſelfe ſame daye the ſergeants that caried the axes before him, and ſent awaye the traine that waited vpon him, and dyd ſo put him ſelfe in preaſe of the people in the market place, and followed his owne peculiar buſines as a priuate per-

E ſone. Nowe the ROMAINES imagined, that when *Fabius* ſhould ſee howe they had made *Minutius* equall in authoritie with him, it would greue him to the harte for very anger: but they came ſhorte to iudge of his nature, for he dyd not thincke that their folly ſhould hurte or diſhonour him at all. But as wiſe *Diogenes* aunſwered one that ſayed vnto him, looke, they mocke thee: tuſhe (ſayd he) they mocke not me. Meaning thereby, that he tooke them to be mocked, that were offended with their mockes. Thus *Fabius* tooke euery thing quietly, that the people offered him, and dyd comfort him ſelfe with the philoſophers rules and examples: who doe mainteine, that an honeſt and wiſe man, can no waye be iniured nor diſhonoured. For all the diſpleaſure he receyued by the peoples follie, was in reſpect of the common wealth: bicauſe they had put a ſworde into a mad mans hande,

F in geuing *Minutius* authoritie to followe his raſhe humour, and fonde ambition in the warres. Wherefore, fearing leaſt he being blinded with vaine glorie, and preſumptuous opinion of him ſelfe, ſhould raſhely (and vpon a head) haſten to doe ſome great

Fabius accuſed of treaſon by Metellus the Tribune.

The crueltie of Manlius Torquatus to his ſonne after his victorie.

The Dictator and generall of the horſemen made equall in authoritie.

Diogenes wordes.

hurte before he came to the campe: he departed ſodainely out of ROME without any mans knowledge, to returne againe to the cãpe, where he found *Minutius* ſo prowde & ſtowte, that he was not to be delt with. For he would nedes haue the authoritie to commaund the whole armie when it came to his turne. But *Fabius* would not conſent to that, but deuided the one halfe of the armie betweene them: thincking it better he ſhould alone commaunde the one halfe, then the whole army by turnes. So he choſe for him ſelfe, the firſt and third legion: and gaue vnto him, the ſeconde and fourth, & deuided alſo betwene them the ayde of their friends. And when *Minutius* made his boaſte, that the maieſtie of the higheſt magiſtrate was brought lower for his ſake: *Fabius* tolde him that he might thincke, if he were wiſe, he had not to fight with him, but with *Hannibal*: and if he would nedes contend againſt his companion, yet he ſhould haue a ſpeciall regard and conſideration, that hauing wonne nowe the cittizens good willes, by whom he was ſo much honoured, he ſhould haue no leſſe care of their healthe and ſafety, then he had, who was nowe troden vnder foote, and ill intreated by them. *Minutius* tooke his leſſon, for a counterfeate mocke, after olde mens manners & facion: & ſo taking the one half of the armie vnto him, went and lodged alone by him ſelf. *Hannibal* hearing of their iarre and ſquaring together, ſought ſtraight oportunitie to make their diſcord finely to ſerue his turne. Nowe there was a hill betwene both their campes not very harde to be wonne, and it was an excellent place to lodge a campe ſafely in, and was very fitte and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, dyd ſeeme a farre of to be very playne & euen ground, bicauſe they had no couert of wodde to ſhadowe them, yet were there many ditches and litle vallies in them: wherefore *Hannibal* though he might eaſely haue taken it at his pleaſure if he had liſted, dyd let it alone in the middeſt betwene them, for a bayte to drawe out his enemies to the battell. Nowe when *Hannibal* ſawe *Fabius* and *Minutius* lodged a ſonder, he placed certaine bandes in the night, among thoſe ditches and valleyes. Afterwardes the next morning by breake of daye, he ſent a ſmall number of men openly to winne this hill: hoping by this pollicie to traine *Minutius* out to the field, as it fell out in deede. For firſt *Minutius* ſent thither his light horſemen, and afterwardes all his men at armes: and laſtely perceyuing that *Hannibal* him ſelfe came to relieue his men that were vpon the hill, he him ſelf marched forward alſo with all the reſt of his armie in order of battell, & gaue a whotte charge vpon them that defended the hill, to driue them thence. The fight continued equall a good ſpace betwene them both, vntill ſuch time as *Hannibal* ſaw his enemie come directly within his daunger, and ſhewed the rereward of his battell naked vnto his men, whom before he had layed in ambuſhe: he ſtraight raiſed the ſignall he had geuen them. They vpon that diſcouered all together, and with great cries dyd ſet vpon the rereward of the ROMAINES, & ſlue a great number of them at the firſt charge: and dyd put the reſte in ſuche a feare and diſorder, as it is vnpoſſible to expreſſe it. Then was *Minutius* raſhe brauerie and fonde boaſtes muche cooled, when he looked firſt vpon one captaine, then vpon another, and ſawe in none of them any corage to tarie by it, but rather that they were all readie to ronne away. Which if they had done, they had bene caſt awaye euery man: for the NVMIDIANS finding they were the ſtronger, dyd diſperſe themſelues all about the plaine, killing all ſtragglers that fled. *Minutius* ſouldiers being brought to this daunger and diſtreſſe, which *Fabius* foreſawe they would fall into, and hauing vpon this occaſion his armie readie ranged in order of battell, to ſee what would become of *Minutius*, not by reporte of meſſengers, but with his owne eyes: he got him to a litle hill before his campe, where when he ſawe *Minutius* and all his men compaſſed about on euery ſide, & euen ſtaggering & ready to flye, & heard beſides their cries not like men that had hartes to fight, but as men ſcared, and ready to flye for feare to ſaue them ſelues: he clapped his hande on his thighe, and fetched a great ſighe, ſaying to thoſe that were about him. O goddes, howe *Minutius* is gone to caſt him ſelfe awaye, ſoner then I looked for, and later then he deſired? But in ſpeaking theſe wordes, he made his enſignes marche on in haſte, crying out alowde. O my friends, we muſt diſpatche with ſpeede to ſuccour *Minutius*: for he is a valliãt man of perſone, & one that loueth the honour of his countrie. And though with ouermuch hardines he hath ventred to farre, & made a faulte, thinking to haue put the enemies to flight: time ſerueth not now to accuſe him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he preſẽtly brake the

Minutius pride.

Hannibal layed ambuſh for Minutius.

Fabius foreſeeth in the warre.

A the NYMIDES, and diſparſed them, that laye waiting in the fields for the ROMAINES, which they thought would haue fled. Afterwardes he went further, and dyd ſet vpon them that had geuen charge vpon the rereward of *Minutius* battell, where he ſlue them that made head againſt him. The reſidue, fearing leaſt they ſhould fall into the daunger they had brought the ROMAINES vnto: before they were enuironned in of all ſides, dyd turne taile ſtraight to *Fabius*. Now *Hannibal* ſeeing this chaunge, and conſidering howe *Fabius* in perſone, with more corage then his age required, dyd make a lane in the middeſt of thoſe that fought againſt the ſide of the hill, to come to the place where *Minutius* was: he made the battell to ceaſe, and commaunded to ſounde the retreate, and ſo drue backe his men againe into his campe, the ROMAINES being very glad alſo they might retire with ſafetie. They ſaye *Hannibal* in his reti-
B ring, ſayed merylie to his friends: haue not I tolde you (Sirs) many a time and ofte, of the hanging clowde we ſawe on the toppe of the mountaines, howe it would breake out in the ende with a tempeſt that would fall vpon vs? After this battell, *Fabius* hauing ſtript thoſe that were left dead in the field, retired againe to his owne campe, & ſpake not an ill word of *Minutius* his companion. *Minutius* then being come to his cāpe, aſſembled his ſouldiers, & ſpake thus to them. My friends, not to erre at all, enterpriſing great matters, it is a thing paſſing mans nature: but to take warning hereafter, by faultes that are paſte and done, it is the parte of a wiſe and valliant man. For my ſelfe, I acknowledge I haue no leſſe occaſion to prayſe fortune, then I haue alſo cauſe to complaine of her. For that which long time could neuer teach me, I haue learned by experience in one litle pece of a daye: and that is this. That I am not able to com-
C maunde, but am my ſelfe fitter to be gouerned and commaunded by another: and that I am but a ſoole to ſtande in mine owne conceipt, thinking to ouercome thoſe, of whom it is more honour for me to confeſſe my ſelfe to be ouercome. Therefore I tell you, that the *Dictator Fabius* henceforth ſhalbe he, who alone ſhall commaund you in all things. And to let him knowe that we doe all acknowledge the fauour which we haue preſently receyued at his hands: I will leade you to geue him thankes, & will my ſelfe be the firſt man to offer to obey him in all that he ſhall commaund me. Theſe wordes being ſpoken, he commaunded his enſigne bearers to followe him, & he him ſelfe marched formeſt towards *Fabius* campe. When he came thither, he went directly to the *Dictators* tente: whereat euery man wondered, not knowing his intent. *Fabius* came out to mete him. *Minutius* after he had ſet downe his enſignes at his feete, ſayed
D with a lowde voyce, O father: and his ſouldiers vnto *Fabius* ſouldiers, O maſters, which name the bondemen that are infranchiſed, doe vſe to them that haue manumiſed them. Afterwards euery man being ſilent, *Minutius* beganne alowde to ſaye vnto him. My lorde *Dictator*, this daye you haue wonne two victories. The one of *Hannibal*, whom valliantly you haue ouercome: the ſecond, of my ſelfe your companion, whom alſo your wiſedome and goodnes hath vanquiſhed. By the one, you haue ſaued our liues: and by the other, you haue wiſely taught vs. So haue we alſo bene ouercome in two ſortes: the one by *Hannibal* to our ſhame, and the other by your ſelfe, to our honour and preſeruation. And therefore doe I nowe call you my father, finding no other name more honorable to call you by, wherewith I might honour you: acknowledging my ſelfe more bounde vnto you for the preſent grace and fauour I haue re-
E ceyued of you, then vnto my naturall father that begatte me. For by him only I was begotten: but by you, mine, and all theſe honeſt cittizens liues haue bene ſaued. And hauing ſpoken theſe wordes, he embraced *Fabius*: and ſo dyd the ſouldiers alſo, hartely embrace together, and kiſſe one another. Thus the ioye was great through the whole campe, and one were ſo glad of another, that the teares trickled downe their chekes for great ioye. Nowe when *Fabius* was afterwardes put out of his office of Dictatorſhippe, there were new Conſuls choſen againe: the two firſt followed directly *Fabius* former order he had begōne. For they kept themſelues from geuing *Hannibal* any battell, and dyd allwayes ſend ayde to their ſubiects and friends, to keepe them from rebellion: vntill that *Terentius Varro* (a man of meane birth, and knowen to be very bold and raſhe) by flattering of the people, wanne credit among them to
F be made Conſul. Then they thought that he by his raſhnes and lacke of experience, would incontinently hazard battell: bicauſe he had cried out in all the aſſemblies before, that this warre would be euerlaſting, ſo long as the people dyd chuſe any of the *Fabians* to be their ge-

Fabius reſcueth Minutius, generall of the horſemen.

The great modeſtie of Fabius. Minutius oration to his ſouldiers.

The wiſedom of Minutius acknowledging his fault.

Minutius wordes to Fabius.

The raſhnes of Terentius Varro. Terentius Varro, Paulus AEmilius Conſuls.

neralles,and vawnted him ſelfe openly,that the firſt daye he came to ſee his enemies,he would A
ouerthrowe them.In geuing out theſe braue wordes,he aſſembled ſuch a power,that the Romaines neuer ſawe ſo great a number together,againſt any enemie that euer they had: for he
The Romaines cãpe vnder Terentius Varro,88000 men. put into one campe,foure ſcore and eight thouſand fighting men. This made *Fabius* and the
other Romaines,men of great wiſedome and iudgement,greatly affrayed: bicauſe they ſawe
no hope for Rome to riſe againe, if it fortuned that they ſhould loſe ſo great a number of
goodly youth. Therefore *Fabius* talked with the other Conſul, called *Paulus Æmilius*, a man
very skilfull and expert in warres, but ill beloued of the common people, whoſe furie he yet
Fabius counſell to Paulus Æmilius. feared,for that they had condemned him a litle before to paye a great fine to the treaſurie:and
after he had ſomwhat comforted him,he beganne to perſuade and encorage him to reſiſt the
fonde raſhnes of his companion,telling him,that he ſhould haue aſmuch to doe with *Terentius Varro* for the preſeruation and ſafety of his countrie, as to fight with *Hannibal* for defence B
of the ſame.For they were both Marſhall men, and had a like deſire to fight: the one bicauſe
he knewe not wherein the vantage of his ſtrength conſiſted,and the other bicauſe he knewe
very well his weaknes.You ſhall haue reaſon to beleeue me better,for matters touching *Hannibal*,then *Terentius Varro*.For I dare warrant you,if you keepe *Hannibal* from battell but this
yere: he ſhall of neceſſitie,if he tarie,conſume him ſelf, or els for ſhame be driuen to flye with
his armie.And the rather,bicauſe hetherto(though he ſeeme to be lorde of the field) neuer
one yet of his enemies came to take his parte: and moreouer bicauſe there remaines at this
daye in his campe not the third parte of his armie, he brought with him out of his countrie.
Vnto theſe perſuaſions,the Conſul(as it is reported)aunſwered thus.When I looke into my C
ſelfe, my lorde *Fabius*, me thinkes my beſt waye were rather to fall vpon the enemies pikes,
then once againe to light into the hands & voyces of our cittizens. Therefore,ſith the eſtate
of the common wealth ſo requireth it, that it behoueth a man to doe as you haue ſayed: I
will doe my beſt indeuour to ſhewe my ſelfe a wiſe captaine, for your ſake only, rather then
for all other that ſhould aduiſe me to the cõtrarie. And ſo *Paulus* departed from Rome with
this minde.But *Terentius* his companion would in any caſe,they ſhould cõmaund the whole
armie by turnes,eche his daye by him ſelfe: and went to encampe harde by *Hannibal*,by the
riuer of Aufide,neere vnto the village called Cannes. Nowe when it came to his daye to
Aufidius fl. cõmaund by turnes,early in the mourning he cauſed the ſignall of battell to be ſet out,which
was a coate armour of skarlet in graine,that they dyd laye out vpon the pauilion of the ge- D
nerall: ſo that the enemies at the firſt ſight,begãne to be afeard,to ſee the luſtines of this newe
come generall, and the great number of ſouldiers he had alſo in his hoſte, in compariſon of
them that were not halfe ſo many. Yet *Hannibal* of a good corage, commaunded euery man
to arme, and to put them ſelues in order of battell: and him ſelfe in the meane time taking
his horſe backe,followed with a fewe,gallopped vp to the toppe of a litle hill not very ſteepe,
from whence he might plainely diſcerne all the Romaines campe, and ſawe howe they dyd
range their men in order of battell.Nowe one *Giſcon* (a man of like ſtate and nobilitie as him
ſelfe)being with him at that time, tolde him, that the enemies ſeemed a farre of to be a mar-
uelous number.But *Hannibal* rubbing his forehead,aunſwered him.Yea, ſayed he, but there
is another thing more to be wondered at then you thinke of *Giſcon*.*Giſcon* ſtraight asked him: E
What? mary ſayeth he this: that of all the great number of ſouldiers you ſee yonder, there
is not a man of them called *Giſcon* as you are.This mery aunſwer deliuered contrarie to their
expectation that were with him, looking for ſome great waightie matter, made them all
laughe a good. So downe the hill they came laughing alowde, and tolde this prety ieaſte to
all they met as they rode, which ſtraight from one to another ranne ouer all the campe, in ſo
much as *Hannibal* him ſelfe could not holde from laughing. The Carthaginian ſouldiers
perceyuing this,beganne to be of a good corage,imagining that their generall would not be
ſo merylie diſpoſed as to fall a laughing,being ſo neere daunger,if he had not perceyued him
ſelfe a great deale to be the ſtronger, and that he had good cauſe alſo to make no reckoning
Hannibals ſtratagemes at the battell of Cannes. of his enemies.Furthermore,he ſhewed two policies of a skilfull captaine in the battell. The F
firſt was,the ſituation of the place,where he put his men in order of battell, ſo as they had the
winde on their backes: which raging like a burning lightning, raiſed a ſharpe duſt out of
the

A the open ſandy valley, and paſſing ouer the CARTHAGINIANS ſquadron, blewe full in the ROMAINES faces, with ſuch a violence, that they were compelled to turne their faces, & to trouble their owne rankes. The ſeconde policie was, the forme and order of his battell. For he placed on either ſide of his winges, the beſt and valliantest ſouldiers he had in all his armie: and dyd fill vp the middeſt of his battell with the worſte of his men, which he made like a pointe, and was farder out by a great deale, then the two winges of the fronte of his battell. So he commaunded thoſe of the winges, that when the ROMAINES had broken his firſt fronte, and followed thoſe that gaue backe, whereby the middeſt of his battell ſhould leaue an hollowe place, and the enemies ſhould come in ſtill increaſing within the compaſſe of the two winges: that then they ſhould ſet vpon them on both ſides, and charge their flanks immediatly, and ſo
B incloſe them in behind. And this was cauſe of a greater ſlaughter. For when the midle battell beganne to geue backe, and to receyue the ROMAINES within it, who purſued the other very whotly, *Hannibals* battell chaunged her forme: & where at the beginning it was like a pointe, it became nowe in the middeſt like a creſſant or halfe moone. Then the captaines of the choſen bandes that laye out in both the winges, made their men to turne, ſome on the left hand, and ſome on the right, and charged the ROMAINES on the flankes, and behinde, where they were all naked: ſo they killed all thoſe that could not ſaue them ſelues by flying, before they were enuironned. They ſaye alſo, that there fell out another miſchief by misfortune, vnto the horſemen of the ROMAINES, and by this occaſion. The horſe of *Paulus Æmilius* the Conſul being hurte, dyd throwe his maſter on the grounde: whereupon thoſe that were next him,
C dyd light from their horſe backs to helpe him. The reſidue of the horſemen that were a great waye behinde him, ſeeing them light, thought they had bene all commaunded to light: hereupon euery man forſooke their horſe, and fought it out a foote. *Hannibal* when he ſawe that, ſayed: yea marie, I had rather haue them ſo, then deliuered me bounde hande and foote. But for thoſe matters, the hiſtoriographers doe dilate more at large. Furthermore, of the two Cõſuls, *Varro* ſaued him ſelfe by his horſe, with a fewe following him, within the cittie of VENVSA. *Paulus* being in the middeſt of the throng of all the armie, his bodie full of arrowes that ſtucke faſt in his woundes, and his harte ſore loden with grieuous ſorowe and anguiſhe to ſee the ouerthrowe of his men: was ſet downe by a rocke, looking for ſome of his enemies,
D to come and ryd him out of his payne. But fewe could knowe him, his head and face was of ſuch a gore bloude: inſomuch as his friends and ſeruants alſo paſſed by him, and knewe him not. And there was but one young gentleman of a noble houſe of the *Patricians*, called *Cornelius Lentulus*, that knewe him, who dyd his beſt endeuour to ſaue him. For he lighted a foote preſently, & brought him his horſe, praying him to get vp vpon him, to proue if he could ſaue him ſelfe for the neceſſitie of his countrie, which nowe more then euer had neede of a good and wiſe captaine. But he refuſed the gentlemans offer and his intreatie, and compelled him to take his horſe backe againe, though the teares ranne downe his chekes for pittie: and raiſing him ſelfe vp to take him by the hande, he ſayed vnto him. I pray you tell *Fabius Maximus* from me, and witneſſe with me, that *Paulus Æmilius* euen to his laſt hower hath followed his counſaill, and dyd neuer ſwarue from the promiſe he made him: but that firſt he was forced
E to it by *Varro*, and afterwardes by *Hannibal*. When he had deliuered theſe wordes, he bad *Lentulus* farewell: and ronning againe into the furie of the ſlaughter, there he dyed among his ſlaine companions. It is thought there were ſlaine at this battell, fiftie thouſand ROMAINES, & foure thouſand taken priſoners: and other tenne thouſand that were taken priſoners in two campes after the battell. When this noble victorie was gotten, *Hannibals* friendes gaue him counſaill to followe his good fortune: and to enter ROME after the ſcattered number that fled thither: ſo as within fewe dayes following he might ſuppe in their capitoll. A man cannot eaſely geſſe what was the cauſe that ſtayed him, that he went not, vnles it was (as I thinke) ſome good fortune, or fauorable God toward the ROMAINES that withſtoode him, and made him afeard and glad to retire. Whereupon they ſaye, that one *Barca* a CARTHAGINIAN, in
F his anger ſayed to *Hannibal*: Syr, you haue the waye to ouercome, but you cannot vſe victorie. Notwithſtanding, this victorie made a maruelous chaunge for him. For hereupon, all ITALY in manner came in to ſubmit them ſelues to him: where before he had no towne at

Hannibals order of battell at Cannes.

The ſlaughter of the Romaines at the battell of Cannes.

Paulus AEmilius ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.

50000. *Romaines ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.*

All Italy reuolted and ſubmitted thẽ ſelues to Hannibal.

cõmaundemẽt,nor any ſtorehouſe or porte through all ITALIE,yea he did maruelous hardly, A
& with much a doe vittell his armie with that he could daylie robbe & ſpoyle,hauing no certẽ
place to retire vnto,nor groũded hope to entertain theſe warres,but kept the field with his ar-
mie,remouing from place to place, as they had bene a great number of murderers & theeues
together. For the moſt parte of the coũtrie,dyd yeld immediatly vnto him: as the cittie of CA-
PVA,being the chiefeſt and greateſt cittie of all ITALIE but ROME, and dyd receyue *Hannibal*,
and were at his deuotion. Thus we maye plainely ſee,that as the poet *Euripides* ſayeth: it is a
great miſchief not onely to be driuen to make triall of friendes, but proofe alſo of captaines
wiſdom. For that which before they accompted cowardlines and fainte harte in *Fabius*, im-
mediatly after the battell, they thought it more then mans reaſon, and rather a heauenly wiſ-
dome and influence, that ſo long foreſawe the things to come, which the parties ſelues that B
afterwards felt them,gaue litle credit vnto before. Vpon this occaſion, ROME repoſed incon-
tinently all their hope and truſte in *Fabius*,and they repaired to him for coũſell,as they would
haue ronne vnto ſome temple or altar for ſanctuarie. So as the firſt & chiefeſt cauſe of ſtaying
the people together from diſperſing them ſelues abroade, as they dyd when ROME was taken
by the GAVLES: was the only opinion & confidence they had in *Fabius* wiſedome. For where
before he ſeemed to be a coward, and timerous, when there was no daunger nor misfortune
happened: then when euery man wept and cried out for ſorowe,which could not helpe, and
that all the world was ſo troubled that there was no order taken for any thing, he contrarily
went alone vp and downe the cittie very modeſtly, with a bold conſtant countenaunce, ſpea-
king curteouſly to euery one, and dyd appeaſe their womaniſhe cries and lamentations, and C
dyd forbid the common aſſemblies & fonde ceremonies,of lamenting the dead corſe at their
burialls. Then he perſuaded the Senate to aſſemble in counſell, and dyd comforte vp thoſe
that were magiſtrates, and he alone was the only force and power of the cittie: for there was
not a man that bare any office,but dyd caſt his eye vpon *Fabius*,to knowe what he ſhould doe.
He it was that cauſed the gates of the cittie ſtraight to be warded, and to keepe thoſe in for
going their waye,that would haue forſaken the cittie. He moreouer dyd appointe the time
and place of mourning,& dyd commaund whoſoeuer was diſpoſed to mourne,that he ſhould
doe it priuately in his owne houſe, and to continue only but thirtie dayes. Then he willed all
mourning to be left of, and that the cittie might be cleane from ſuch vncleane things. So
the feaſt of *Ceres* falling about that time, he thought it better to leaue of the ſacrifices & pro- D
ceſſion they were wont to keepe on *Ceres* daye: then by their ſmall number that were left,and
ſorowe of thoſe that remained,to let their enemies vnderſtand their exceeding great loſſe. For
the goddes delite to be ſerued with glad and reioycing hartes,and with thoſe that are in pro-
ſperitie. But all this notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer the prieſtes would haue done, either to pa-
cifie the wrath of the goddes,or to turne awaye the threatnings of theſe ſiniſter ſignes, it was
forthwith done. For they dyd ſende to the oracle of *Apollo*, in the cittie of DELPHES,one of
Fabius kinſemen ſurnamed *Pictor*. And two of the *Veſtall Nunnes* being deflowred: the one was
buried aliue according to the lawe and cuſtome,and the other made her ſelf awaye. But here-
in the great corage and noble clemency of the ROMAINES,is maruelouſly to be noted and re-
garded. For the Conſul *Terentius Varro* returning backe to ROME, with the ſhame of his ex- E
treme misfortune & ouerthrowe,that he durſte not looke vpon any man: the Senate notwith-
ſtanding,and all the people following them,went to the gates of the cittie to meete him, and
dyd honorably receyue him. Nay furthermore, thoſe that were the chief magiſtrates and Se-
nators,among whom *Fabius* was one,when ſilence was made,they commended *Varro* much:
bicauſe he did not deſpaire of the preſeruation of the common weale after ſo great a calami-
tie,but dyd returne againe to the cittie,to helpe to reduce things to order,in vſing the autho-
ritie of the lawe,and the ſeruice of the cittizens,as not being altogether vnder foote,but ſtan-
ding yet in reaſonable termes of good recouery. But when they vnderſtoode that *Hannibal* af-
ter the battell was gone into other partes of ITALIE: then they beganne to be of good chere
againe,and ſent a newe armie and generalles to the field,among which,the two chief generals F
were,*Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*, both which by contrary meanes in manner,
wanne a like glorie and reputation. For *Marcellus* (as we haue declared in his life) was a man

Fabius conſtancie after the ouerthrow at Cannes.

Fabius order for mourning.

The magnanimitie of the Romaines after the ouerthrowe at Cannes.

Fabius Maximus, and Claudius Marcellus generalles.

of

A of ſpeedy execution, of a quicke hande, of a valliant nature, and a right martiall man, as *Homer* calleth them, that valliantly put them ſelues in any daunger: by reaſon whereof, hauing to deale with another captaine a like venturous and valliant as him ſelfe, in all ſeruice and execution, he ſhewed the ſelfe boldnes and corage that *Hannibal* dyd. But *Fabius* perſiſting ſtill vpon his firſt determination, dyd hope that though he dyd not fight with *Hannibal*, nor ſturre him at all, yet continuall warres would conſume him and his armie in the end, and bring them both to nought: as a commō wreſtler that forceth his bodie aboue his naturall ſtrength, doth in the ende become a lame and brooſed man. Hereupon *Poſſidonius* writeth, that the one was called the Romaines ſworde, and the other their target. And that *Fabius* conſtancie and reſolutnes in warres to fight with ſecuritie, and to commit nothing to hazard & daunger, being

Poſſidonius wordes of Fabius & Marcellus.

B mingled with *Marcellus* heate and furie: was that only, which preſerued the Romaines empire. For *Hannibal* meting allwayes in his waye the one that was furious, as a ſtrong ronning ſtreame, founde that his army was continually turmoyled and ouerharried: & the other that was ſlowe as a litle prety riuer, he founde that his army ranne ſoftely vnder him without any noyſe, but yet continually by litle and litle it dyd ſtill conſume & diminiſhe him, vntill he ſawe him ſelfe at the laſt brought to that paſſe, that he was weary with fighting with *Marcellus*, and affrayed of *Fabius* bicauſe he fought not. For during all the time of theſe warres, he had euer theſe two captaines almoſt againſt him, which were made either Prætors, Conſuls, or Proconſuls: for either of them both had bene fiue times before choſen Conſul. Yet as for *Marcellus*: *Hannibal* had layed an ambuſhe for him in the fifte and laſt yere of his Conſul-

Marcellus ſlaine by an ambuſhe of Hannibals.

C ſhippe, where he ſet vpon him on a ſodaine, and ſlue him. But as for *Fabius*, he layed many baytes for him, and dyd what he could by all the skill and reache he had, by ambuſhes, and other warlike policies to entrappe him: but he could neuer drawe him within his daunger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a litle trouble, and was in good hope then to haue made him falle vpon his ambuſhe he had layed for him: and by this policie. He had counterfeated letters written and ſent vnto him from the cittie of Metapont, to praye him to come to them, and they would deliuer their cittie into his handes: and withall, that ſuch as were priuie to the contentes of the ſame, deſired no other thing but his repaire thither. Theſe letters pretily quickned *Fabius*, inſomuch as he was determined one night to haue taken parte of his armie, & to haue gone to them. But bicauſe the ſignes of the birdes dyd promiſe him no good

Hannibals ambuſh layed for Fabius.

D ſucceſſe, he left of his purpoſe. Sone after he vnderſtoode they were counterfeate letters, made by *Hannibals* fine deuiſe to haue drawen him out, & to haue intrapped him, for whom him ſelfe laye in perſone in ambuſhe neere the cittie, looking and waiting for his comming: but the goddes who would haue him ſaued, were only to be thāked for his happy ſcape. Furthermore, concerning the reuolte of the citties that were ſubiect vnto them, and the riſing of their allies & friends againſt them: *Fabius* thought it farre better to intreate them curteouſly, making them aſhamed without occaſion to rebell againſt them, rather then openly to ſuſpect them, and to deale ſtraightly with thoſe that were ſo to be ſuſpected. Now for this matter, it is reported that *Fabius* had a ſouldier in his campe that was a Marsian borne by nation, a valliant man of his perſone, & alſo of as noble a houſe, as any that were of all the allies of the

Fabius lenitie in correcting of faultes.

E Romaines: who had practiſed with other his fellowes of the bande he ſerued in, to goe ſerue the enemie. *Fabius* hearing of this practiſe he went about, gaue him no ill countenaunce for it, but calling him to him, he ſayed. I muſt confeſſe there is no reckoning made of you, as your good ſeruice doth deſerue: wherefore for this time (ſayeth he) I blame the pety captaines only, which in ſuch ſorte doe beſtowe their good will and fauour at aduenture, and not by deſerte. But henceforth it ſhalbe your owne faulte if you doe not declare your minde vnto me, and betweene you and me make me priuie of your lacke & neceſſitie. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes to him, he gaue him a very good horſe for ſeruice, and dyd rewarde him with other honorable giftes, as men of good ſeruice & deſert haue commonly beſtowed on them: and this dyd ſo encorage the ſouldier thenceforth, that he became a very faithfull and ſer-

Note how Fabius reclaimed an euill ſouldier.

F uiceable ſouldier to the Romaines. For *Fabius* thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of horſes, & ſuch like as take vpon them to tame brute beaſtes, ſhould ſonner make them leaue their ſauage & churliſhe nature, by gentle vſage and manning of them: then by beating, and

Neceſſarie rules for a captaine.

ſhackling of them, And ſo a gouernour of men, ſhould rather correct his ſouldier by paciẽce, A
gentlenes, and clemency: then by rigour, violence, or ſeueritie. Otherwiſe he ſhould handle
them more rudely, and ſharpely, then husbandmen doe figge trees, oliue trees, & wilde pome-
garnets: who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, doe alter their harde and wilde
nature, & cauſe them in the end to bring forth good figges, oliues & pomegarnets. Another
time certaine captaines of his brought him worde, that there was one of their ſouldiers which
would euer goe out of the cãpe, & leaue his enſigne. He asked them, what manner of man he
was. They aunſwered him all togeather, that he was a very good ſouldier, and that they could
hardly finde out ſuche another, in all their bandes as he: and therewithall they tolde him, of
ſome notable ſeruice they had ſeene him doe in perſone. Whereupon *Fabius* made a diligent
enquierie to know what the cauſe was, that made him goe ſo oft out of the campe: in the end, B
he founde he was in loue with a young woman, and that to goe ſee her, was the cauſe he dyd
ſo ofte leaue his enſigne, and dyd put his life in ſo great daunger, for that ſhe was ſo farre of.
When *Fabius* vnderſtoode this, he ſent certaine ſouldiers (vnknowing to the ſouldier) to bring
the woman awaye he loued, and willed them to hyde her in his tente: and then called he the
ſouldier to him, that was a LVCANIAN borne, and taking him a ſide, ſayed vnto him thus. My
friend, it hath bene tolde me, how thou haſt lyen many nightes out of the campe, againſt the
lawe of armes, and order of the ROMAINES, but therewithall I vnderſtande alſo that other-
wiſe thou art an honeſt man, and therefore I pardone thy faultes paſte, in conſideration of thy
good ſeruice: but from henceforth I will geue thee in cuſtodie to ſuch a one, as ſhall make me
accompt of thee. The ſouldier was blancke, when he heard theſe wordes. *Fabius* with that, C
cauſed the woman he was in loue with, to be brought forth, and deliuered her into his hands,
ſaying vnto him. This woman hereafter ſhall aunſwer me thy bodie to be forth comming in
the campe amongeſt vs: and from henceforth thy deedes ſhall witneſſe for the reſte, that thy
loue vnto this woman, maye be no cloke of thy departing out of the campe for any wicked
practiſe or intent. Thus much we finde written concerning this matter. Moreouer, *Fabius* af-

How Fabius wanne Tarẽtum againe.

ter ſuche a ſorte, recouered againe the cittie of TARENTVM, and brought it to the obedience
of the ROMAINES, which they had loſt by treaſon. It fortuned there was a young man in his
campe, a TARENTINE borne, that had a ſiſter within TARENTVM, which was very faithfull to
him, and loued him maruelous dearely: now there was a captaine, a BRVTIAN borne, that fell
in loue with her, and was one of thoſe to whom *Hannibal* had committed the charge of the D
cittie of TARENTVM. This gaue the young ſouldier the TARENTINE, very good hope, and
waye, to bring his enterpriſe to good effect: whereupon he reuealed his intent to *Fabius*, and
with his priuitie fled from his campe, and got into the cittie of TARENTVM, geuing it out in
the cittie, that he would altogether dwell with his ſiſter. Now for a fewe dayes at his firſt com-
ming, the BRVTIAN captaine laye alone by him ſelfe, at the requeſt of the mayde his ſiſter,
who thought her brother had not knowen of her loue: and ſhortely after the young fellowe
tooke his ſiſter aſide, and ſayed vnto her. My good ſiſter, there was a great ſpeache in the RO-
MAINES campe, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefeſt captaines of the garriſon: I praye
thee if it be ſo, let me knowe what he is. For ſo he be a good fellowe, and an honeſt man (as
they ſaye he is) I care not: for warres that turneth all things topſi turuey, regardeth not of E
what place or calling he is of, and ſtill maketh vertue of neceſſitie, without reſpect of ſhame.
And it is a ſpeciall good fortune, at ſuch time as neither right nor reaſon rules, to happen yet
into the handes of a good and gratious lorde. His ſiſter hearing him ſpeake theſe wordes, ſent
for the BRVTIAN captaine to bring him acquainted with her brother, who liked well of both
their loues, and indeuoured him ſelf to frame his ſiſters loue in better ſorte towards him, then
it was before: by reaſon whereof, the captaine alſo beganne to truſt him very muche. So this
young TARENTINE ſawe it was very eaſie, to winne and turne the minde of this amarous and
mercenarie man, with hope of great giftes that were promiſed him, and *Fabius* ſhould per-
forme. Thus doe the moſt parte of writers ſet downe this ſtorie. Howbeit ſome writers ſaye,
that this woman who wanne the BRVTIAN captaine, was not a TARENTINE, but a BRVTIAN F
borne, whom *Fabius* it is ſayed, kept afterwards for his concubine: and that ſhe vnderſtanding
the captaine of the BRVTIANS (who laye in garriſon within the cittie of TARENTVM) was

alſo

A also a BRVTIAN borne, and of her owne natiue countrie: made *Fabius* priuie to her intent, and with his consent, she comming to the walles of the cittie, spake with this BRVTIAN captaine, whom she handled in such sorte, that she wanne him. But whilest this geare was a brewing, *Fabius*, bicause he would traine *Hannibal* out of those quarters, wrote vnto the souldiers of RHEGIO: which belonged to the ROMAINES, that they should enter the borders of the BRVTIANS, and laye seige to the cittie of CAVLONIA, and rase it to the grounde. These RHEGIAN souldiers were about the number of eight thousand, and the most of them traitours, and ronneagates, from one campe to another: and the worst sorte of them, and most defamed of life, were those that *Marcellus* brought thither out of SICILE, so that in losing them all, the losse were nothing to the common weale, and the sorrowe muche lesse. So *Fa-*
B *bius* thought, that putting these fellowes out for a praye to *Hannibal* (as a stale to drawe him from those quarters) he should plucke him by this meanes from TARENTVM: and so it came to passe. For *Hannibal* incontinently went thence with his armie to intrappe them: and in the meane time *Fabius* wēt to laye seige to TARENTVM, where he had not lien six dayes before it, but the young man (who together with his sister had drawen the BRVTIAN captaine to this treason) stale out one night to *Fabius*, to enforme him of all, hauing taken very good markes of that side of the walle the BRVTIAN captaine had taken charge of, who had promised him to keepe it secret, & to suffer them to enter, that came to assaulte that side. Yet *Fabius* would not grounde his hope altogether vpon the BRVTIANS executing this treason, but went him self in persone to vewe the place appointed, howbeit without attempting any thing for that time:
C and in the meane season, he gaue a generall assault to all partes of the cittie (aswell by sea as by lande) with great showtes & cries. Then the BRVTIAN captaine seeing all the cittizens and garrison ronne to that parte, where they perceyued the noyse to be greatest: made a signall vnto *Fabius*, that now was the time. Who then caused scaling ladders to be brought a pace, whereupon him selfe with his companie scaled the walles, and so wanne the cittie. But it appeareth here, that ambition ouercame him. For first he commaunded they should kill all the BRVTIANS, bicause it should not be knowen he had wonne the cittie by treason. But this bloudie policie failed him: for he missed not only of the glorie he looked for, but most deser-
D uedly he had the reproche of crueltie and falsehood. At the taking of this cittie, a maruelous number of the TARENTINES were slaine, besides there were solde thirtie thousand of the chiefest of them, & all the cittie was sacked: and of the spoyle thereof was caried to the common store treasure at ROME, three thousand talents. It is reported also, that when they dyd spoyle and carie awaye all other spoyles leste behinde, the recorder of the cittie asked *Fabius*, what his pleasure was to doe with the goddes, meaning the tables, and their images: and to that *Fabius* aunswered him. Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their goddes that be angrie with them. This notwithstanding, he caried from thence *Hercules* statue, that was of a monstruous bignes, and caused it to be set vp in the Capitoll, and withall dyd set vp his owne image in brasse a horse backe by him. But in that act he shewed him self farre harder harted, then *Marcellus* had done, or to saye more truely, thereby he made the world knowe how muche *Marcellus* curtesie, clemencie, and bowntie was to be wondred at: as we haue written in his life.
E Newes being brought to *Hannibal*, that TARENTVM was besieged, he marched presently with all speede possible to raise the seige: and they saye he had almost come in time, for he was with in 40. furlonges of the cittie when he vnderstoode the trothe of the taking of it. Then sayed he out alowd, sure the ROMAINES haue their *Hannibal* to: for as we wanne TARENTVM, so haue we lost it. But after that, to his friends he sayed priuately (and that was the first time they euer heard him speake it) that he sawe long before, and now appeared plainely, that they could not possibly with this small power keepe ITALIE. *Fabius* made his triumphe and entrie into ROME the seconde time, by reason of taking of this cittie: and his seconde triumphe was muche more honorable then the first, as of a valliant captaine that held out still with *Hanni-*
F *bal*, and easely met with all his fine policies. muche like the slight trickes of a cunning wrestler, which caried not now the former roughenes and strength any more, bicause that his armie was geuen to take their ease, and growen to delicacie, partely through the great riches they had gotten, and partely also for that it was sore wasted and diminished,

Tarentum wonne by a womans meanes.

Fabius tooke the cittie of Tarentum. Fabius ambition cause of foule murder.

Fabius seconde triumphe.

through the ſundrie foughten battells and blowes they had bene at. Now there was one A
Marcus Liuius a ROMAINE, that was gouernour of TARENTVM at that time, when *Hannibal*
tooke it, and neuertheles kept the caſtell ſtill out of *Hannibals* handes, and ſo held it vntill
the cittie came againe into the handes of the ROMAINES. This *Liuius* ſpighted to ſee ſuche
honour done to *Fabius*, ſo that one daye in open Senate, being drowned with enuie and am-
bition, he burſt out and ſayed: that it was him ſelfe, not *Fabius*, that was cauſe of taking of
the cittie of TARENTVM againe. *Fabius* ſmiling to heare him, aunſwered him openly: in
Fabius witti aunſwer. deede thou ſayeſt true, for if thou haddeſt not loſt it, I had neuer wonne it againe. But the
ROMAINES in all other reſpects dyd greatly honour *Fabius*, and ſpecially for that they choſe
his ſonne Conſul. He hauing alreadie taken poſſeſſion of his office, as he was diſpatching
certen cauſes touching the warres, his father (whether it was for debilitie of his age, or to B
proue his ſonne) tooke his horſe to come to him, and rode through the preaſe of people
that thronged about him, hauing buſines with him. But his ſonne ſeeing him comming a
farre of, would not ſuffer it, but ſent an officer of his vnto him, to commaund him to light
A ſtraunge of his horſe, and to come a foote if he had any thing to doe with the Conſul. This com-
commaundement of the ſonne to the father. maundement miſliked the people that heard it, and they all looked vpon *Fabius*, but
ſayed not a worde: thinking with them ſelues, that the Conſul dyd great wronge to his fa-
thers greatnes. So he lighted ſtraight, and went a good rounde pace to embrace his ſonne,
The father obeyeth his ſonnes authoritie & commendeth him. and ſayed vnto him. You haue reaſon ſonne, and doe well to ſhewe ouer whom you com-
maund, vnderſtanding the authoritie of a Conſul, which place you haue receiued. For it is
the direct courſe, by the which we and our auncеſters haue increaſed the ROMAINE empire: C
preferring euer the honour and ſtate of our countrie, aboue father, mother, or children. And
truely they ſaye, that *Fabius* great grandfather being the greateſt and moſt noble perſone of
ROME in his time, hauing fiue times bene Conſul, and had obteined many triumphes, for
diuers honorable and ſundrie victories he had wonne: was contented after all theſe, to be
his ſonnes lieutenaunt, and to goe to the warres with him, he being choſen Conſul. And laſt
of all, the Conſul his ſonne returning home to ROME a conquerour, in his triumphing char-
ret drawen with foure horſes, he followed him a horſe backe alſo, in troupe with the reſt:
thinking it honour to him, that hauing authoritie ouer his ſonne in the right of a father, and
being alſo the nobleſt man of all the cittizens, ſo taken and reputed, neuertheles he willingly
ſubmitted him ſelfe to the lawe and magiſtrate, who had authoritie of him. Yet beſides all D
this, he had farre more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, then thoſe already ſpoken
of. But it fortuned that this ſonne of *Fabius* died before him, whoſe death he tooke paciētly,
like a wiſe man, and a good father. Now the cuſtome being at that time, that at the death of
a noble man, their neereſt kinſeman ſhould make a funerall oration in their prayſe at their
obſequies: he him ſelfe made the ſame oration in honour of his ſonne, and dyd openly
ſpeake it in the market place, and moreouer wrote it, and deliuered it out abroade. About
this time, *Cornelius Scipio* was ſent into SPAYNE, who draue out the CARTHAGINIANS
from thence, after he had ouerthrowen them in many battells, and had conquered many
great cities, and greately aduaunced the honour and eſtimation of the ſtate of ROME: for
the which at his returne, he was aſmuche, or rather more honoured, beloued and eſteemed, E
Scipio Conſul. then any other that was in the cittie of ROME. Hereupon *Scipio* being made Conſul,
conſidered that the people of ROME looked for ſome great matter at his handes, aboue
all other. Therefore he thought, to take vpon him to fight againſt *Hannibal* in ITALIE,
he ſhould but followe the olde manner, and treade to muche in the ſteppes of the olde
man: whereupon he reſolued immediately to make warres in AFRICKE, and to burne
and deſtroye the countrie euen vnto CARTHAGE gates, and ſo to transferre the warres
out of ITALIE into LIBYA, procuring by all poſſible deuiſe he could, to put it into the
peoples heades, and to make them like of it. But *Fabius* contrarilie, perſuading him ſelfe
Fabius was againſt the counſell and deuiſe of Scipio African. that the enterpriſe this young raſhe youthe tooke in hande, was vtterly to ouerthrowe
the common weale, or to put the ſtate of ROME in great daunger: deuiſed to put ROME F
in the greateſt feare he could poſſible, without ſparing ſpeache or dede he thought
might ſerue for his purpoſe, to make the people chaunge from that minde. Now

he

A he could ſo cunningly worke his purpoſe, what with ſpeaking and doing, that he had drawen all the Senate to his opinion. But the people iudged, it was the ſecret enuie he bare to *Scipioes* glorie, that drue him to encounter this deuiſe, only to bleamiſh *Scipioes* noble fortune, fearing, leaſt if he ſhould happen to doe ſome honorable ſeruice (as to make an end altogether of this warre, or otherwiſe to draw *Hannibal* out of ITALIE) that then it would appeare to the world, he had bene to ſofte, or to negligent, to drawe this warre out to ſuche a length. For my parte, me thinkes the only matter that moued *Fabius* from the beginning to be againſt *Scipio*, was the great care he had of the ſafetie of the cõmon weale, by reaſon of the great daũger depending vpon ſuch a reſolution. And yet I doe thinke alſo, that afterwards he went further then he ſhould, contending to ſore againſt him (whether it was through ambition or obſtinacie)
B ſeeking to hinder and ſuppreſſe the greatnes of *Scipio*: conſidering alſo he dyd his beſt to perſuade *Craſſus*, *Scipioes* companion in the Conſulſhippe, that he ſhould not graunte vnto him the leading of the armie, but if he thought good to goe into AFRICKE, to make warres vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, that he ſhould rather goe him ſelf. And moreouer, he was the let that they gaue him no money for maintenaunce of theſe warres. *Scipio* hereupon being turned ouer to his owne credit, to furniſh him ſelfe as he could: he leauied great ſummes of money in the citties of THVSCAN, who for the great loue they bare him, made contribution towardes his iorney. And *Craſſus* remained at home, both bicauſe he was a ſofte, and no ambitious, nor contentious man of nature: as alſo, bicauſe he was the chiefeſt Prelate and highe biſhoppe, who by the lawe of their religion, was conſtrained to kepe ROME. *Fabius* ſeeing his labour loſt
C that waye, tooke againe another courſe to croſſe *Scipio*, deuiſing to ſtaye the young men at home, that had great deſire to goe this iorney with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all aſſemblies of the Senate & people, that *Scipio* was not contented only to flye *Hannibal*, but that he would carie with him beſides the whole force of ITALY that remained: alluring the youthe with ſweete baytes of vaine hope, and perſuading them to leaue their wiues, their fathers, mothers, and their countrie, euen now when their enemie knocked at ROME gates, who dyd euer conquer, and was yet neuer conquered. Theſe wordes of *Fabius* dyd ſo dampe the ROMAINES, that they appointed *Scipio* ſhould furniſhe his iorney only with the armie that was in SICILIA, ſauing that he might ſupply to them if he would, three hundred of the beſt ſouldiers that had ſerued him faithfully in SPAYNE. And ſo it doth appeare euen to this
D preſent, that *Fabius* both dyd and ſayed all things, according to his wonted manner, and naturall diſpoſition. Now *Scipio* was no ſooner arriued in AFRICKE, but newes were brought to ROME incontinently, of wonderfull exploytes, and noble ſeruice done beyond meaſure: and of great ſpoyles taken by him, which argued the trothe of the newes. As, the king of the NVMIDIANS taken priſoner, two campes of the enemies burnt & deſtroyed at a time, with loſſe of a great number of people, armour, and horſes, that were conſumed in the ſame: letters and poſtes for life ronning in the necke one of another from CARTHAGE to call *Hannibal* home,
E and to praye him to hunte no longer after vayne hope that would neuer haue ende, haſting him ſelfe with all ſpeede poſſible to come to the reſcue of his countrie. Theſe wonderfull great fortunes of *Scipio*, made him of ſuche renowme and fame within ROME, that there was
E no talke but of *Scipio*. *Fabius* notwithſtanding deſiſted not to make a newe requeſt, being of opinion they ſhould ſend him a ſucceſſour, alledging no other cauſe nor reaſon, but a common ſpeache of euery bodie: that it was a daungerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, ſo great exceeding proſperitie and good ſucceſſe, bicauſe it is a rare matter to ſee one man happie in all things. Theſe wordes dyd ſo muche miſlike the people, that they thought him an enuious troubleſome man, or els they thought his age had made him fearefull: and that his corage failed with his ſtrength, fearing *Hannibal* more doubtfully then he needed. For now though *Hannibal* was forced to leaue ITALIE, and to returne into AFRICKE, yet *Fabius* would not graunte, that the peoples ioye and ſecuritie they thought they were in, was altogether cleare, and without feare and miſtruſte: but gaue it out that then
F they were in greateſt daunger, and that the common weale was breeding more miſchief now, then before. For when *Hannibal* (ſayed he) ſhall returne home into AFRICKE, and come before CARTHAGE walles, the ROMAINES ſhall be leſſe able to abide him there,

Craſſus, highe biſhoppe of Rome.

The famous actes done in Afrikke by Scipio Africanus.

then they haue bene before: and *Scipio* moreouer, ſhall meete with an armie yet warme, and A
embrued with the bloude of ſo many Prætors, Dictators, and Conſuls of ROME, which they
haue ouercome, and put to the ſword in ITALIE. With theſe vncomfortable ſpeaches, he ſtill
troubled & diſquieted the whole cittie, perſuading them that notwithſtanding the warre was
transferred out of ITALIE into AFRICKE, yet that the occaſion of feare was no leſſe neere
vnto ROME, then it was euer before. But within ſhorte ſpace after, *Scipio* hauing ouercome
Hannibal in plaine battell in the field, and troden vnder foote the glory and pryde of CAR-
THAGE, he brought a greater ioye to ROME, then they euer looked for: and by this noble vi-
ctorie of his, he ſhored vp again the declining ſtate of the empire of ROME, which a litle before
was falling downe right. Howbeit *Fabius* liued not to the ende of this warre, nor euer heard
while he liued the ioyfull newes of *Hannibals* happy ouerthrowe, neither were his yeres pro- B
longed to ſee the happy aſſured proſperitie of his countrie: for about that time that *Hannibal*
The death of Fabius Max. departed out of ITALIE, a ſicknes tooke him, whereof he dyed. The ſtories declare, that the
THEBANS buried *Epaminondas*, at the common charges of the people: bicauſe he dyed in ſo
The funeralls of Epaminondas. great pouertie, that when he was dead, they founde nothing in the houſe but a litle iron ſpit.
Now the ROMAINES buried not *Fabius* ſo, at the common charge of the cittie, but euery man
of beneuolence gaue towards his funerall charges, a pece of coyne that caried the leaſt value
of their currant money: not for that he lacked abillitie to bring him to the grounde, but only
to honour his memorie: in making his obſequies at their charges, as of one that had bene
their common father. So had his vertuous life, an honorable ende and buriall.

THE COMPARISON OF
Pericles with Fabius.

HERE haue you heard what is written, of theſe two great perſones. C
And foraſmuche as they haue both left behinde them, many noble
examples of vertue, aſwell in martiall matters, as in ciuill gouernmẽt,
let vs beginne to compare them together. Firſt of all, *Pericles* begãne
to gouerne the common weale at what time the people of ATHENS
were in their chiefeſt proſperitie, and of greater power and wealth,
then euer they had bene of before or ſince. The which might ſeeme
to be a cauſe of the continuall maintenance of the ſame in ſecuritie
without daunger of falling, not ſo muche for their worthines, as for
their common power and felicitie: where contrariwiſe *Fabius* acts fell out in the moſt diſho-
norable & vnfortunate time, that euer happened to his countrie, in the which he dyd not only
keepe the cittie in good ſtate from declining, but raiſed it vp, and deliuered it from calamitie,
and brought it to be better then he found it. Furthermore, *Cimons* great good fortune and ſuc-
ceſſe, the victories and triumphes of *Myronides*, and of *Leocrates*, and many notable valliant

dedes

A dedes of armes of *Tolmides*, gaue good cauſe to *Pericles*, to entertaine his cittie in feaſtes, and playes, whileſt he dyd gouerne the ſame: and he dyd not finde it in ſuch ill caſe and diſtreſſe, that he was driuen to defend it by force of armes, or to cõquer that againe which he had loſt. But *Fabius* in contrary manner, when he ſawe before him many ouerthrowes, great flying awaye, muche murder, great ſlaughters of the generalles of the ROMAINE armies, the lakes, the playnes, the woddes filled with ſcattered men, the people ouercome, the flouds and riuers ronning all a gore bloude (by reaſon of the great ſlaughter) and the ſtreame carying downe the dead bodies to the mayne ſea: dyd take in hande the gouernment of his countrie, and a courſe farre contrarie to all other: ſo as he dyd vnderproppe and ſhore vp the ſame, that he kept it from flat falling to the grounde, amongeſt thoſe ruines and ouerthrowes other had
B brought it to, before him. Yet a man maye ſaye alſo, that it is no great matter of difficultie to rule a cittie already brought lowe by aduerſitie, and which compelled by neceſſitie, is contented to be gouerned by a wiſe man: as it is to bridle and keepe vnder the inſolencie of a people, puſte vp with pryde, and preſumption of long proſperitie, as *Pericles* founde it amongeſt the ATHENIANS. The great multitude alſo of ſo many grieuous calamities, as lighted on the ROMAINES neckes at that time, dyd playnely ſhewe *Fabius* to be a graue and a conſtant man, which would neuer geue waye vnto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could euer be remoued from that he had at the firſt determined. The winning & recouering againe of TARENTVM, maye well be compared to the taking of SAMOS, which *Pericles* wanne by force: and the citties of CAMPANIA, vnto the Ile of EVBOEA: excepting the cittie of CAPVA,
C which the Conſuls *Fuluius* and *Appius* recouered againe. But it ſeemeth that *Fabius* neuer wanne battell, ſaue that only for which he triumphed the firſt time: where *Pericles* ſet vp nine triumphes, of battels and victories he had wonne, aſwell by ſea as by lande. And ſo alſo, they cannot alledge ſuch an acte done by *Pericles*, as *Fabius* dyd, when he reſcued *Minutius* out of the handes of *Hannibal*, and ſaued a whole armie of the ROMAINES: which doubtles was a famous acte, and proceeded of a noble minde, great wiſdome, and an honorable harte. But *Pericles*, againe dyd neuer commit ſo groſſe an errour as *Fabius* dyd when he, was outreached, & deceyued by *Hannibals* fine ſtratageame of his oxen: who hauing founde his enemie by chaunce to haue ſhut him ſelfe vp in the ſtraight of a vallye, dyd ſuffer him to eſcape in the night by a ſubtiltie, & in the daye by playne force. For he was preuented by ouermuch delaye,
D and fought withall by him he kept incloſed. Now if it be requiſite, a good captaine doe not only vſe well that he hath in his handes, but that he wiſely iudge alſo what will followe after, then the warres of the ATHENIANS fell out in ſuche ſorte, as *Pericles* ſayed they would come to paſſe: for with ambition to imbrace to muche, they ouerthrewe their eſtate. But the ROMAINES contrariwiſe, hauing ſent *Scipio* into AFRICKE to make warres with the CARTHAGINIANS, wanne all that they tooke in hande: where their generall dyd not ouercome the enemie by fortune, but by valliantnes. So that the wiſedome of the one is witneſſed, by the ruine of his countrie: and the errour of the other teſtified, by the happy euent of that he would haue let. Now the faulte is a like in a generall, to fall into daunger, for lacke of forecaſte: as for cowardlines to let ſlippe a fit oportunitie offred, to doe any notable pece of ſeruice. For like
E defaulte and lacke of experience, maketh the one to hardie, and the other to fearefull. And thus muche touching the warres. Now for ciuill gouernment: it was a fowle blotte to *Pericles*, to be the author of warres. For it is thought, that he alone was the cauſe of the ſame, for that he would not haue them yeld to the LACEDÆMONIANS in any reſpect. And yet me thinkes *Fabius Maximus* alſo would no more geue place vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, but ſtood firme & bold in all daũger, to mainteine thempire of his countrie againſt them. But the goodnes & clemency *Fabius* ſhewed vnto *Minutius*, doth much condẽne *Pericles* accuſations & practiſes, againſt *Cimon* and *Thucydides*: bothe of them being noble & good men, & taking parte with the Nobilitie, whõ he expulſed out of ATHENS, & baniſhed for a time. So was *Pericles* power & authoritie in the cõmon weale greater: by reaſon whereof he dyd euer foreſee,
F that no generall in all his time dyd raſhely attempt any thing hurteful vnto the cõmon weale, except *Tolmides* onely: who fled from him, & in deſpight of him went to fight with the BOEOTIANS where he was ſlaine. As for all other generals, they wholy put thẽſelues into his hãds, &

The gifte of a good generall.

The faultes of generalles.

The compariſon betwixt Pericles and Fabius for ciuill gouernments.

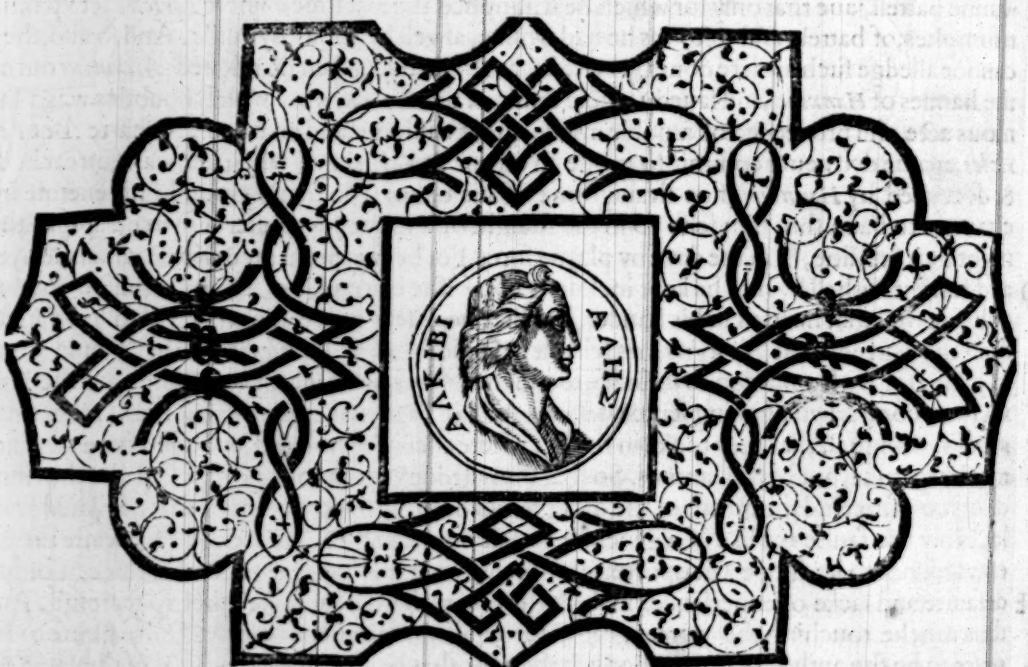
dyd obey him for the greatnes of his authoritie. But *Fabius*, although for his parte he neuer committed any faulte, and that he went orderly to worke in all gouernment: yet bicause he was not of power to keepe other from doing ill, it seemeth in this respect he was defectiue. For if *Fabius* had caried like authoritie in ROME, as *Pericles* dyd in ATHENS: the ROMAINES had not fallen into so great miserie as they dyd. And for liberalitie: the one shewed it, in refusing the money offred him: and the other, in geuing vnto those that needed, and redeeming his poore captiue contry men. And yet *Fabius* might dispend no great reuenue: for his whole receiptes came only to sixe talents. But for *Pericles*, it is hard to saye howe riche he was, who had comming in to him, great presents by his authoritie, aswel of the subiects, as of the friends and allies of the ATHENIANS, as also of Kings and straunge Princes: yet he neuer tooke bribe for all that, of any persone liuing. And to conclude, as for the sumptuous building of temples, the stately workes and common buildings: put all the ornaments together that euer were in ROME, before the times of the *Cæsars*, they are not to be compared with those, wherewith *Pericles* dyd beawtifie & adorne the cittie of ATHENS. For neither in qualitie nor quantitie was there any proportion or like comparison, betweene the exceeding sumptuousnes of the one, and of the other.

Fabius reuenues.

The buildings of Rome nothing comparable to Pericles workes.

The ende of Fabius Maximus life.

THE LIFE OF *Alcibiades.*



Alcibiades stocke.

ALCIBIADES by his fathers side, was aunciently descended of *Eurysaces*, that was the sonne of *Aiax*, and by his mothers side, of *Alcmæon*: for his mother *Dinomacha*, was the daughter of *Megacles*. His father *Clinias* hauing armed, and set forth a gallye, at his owne proper costes and charges, dyd winne great honour in the battell by sea, that was fought alongest the coaste of ARTEMISIVM, and he was slaine afterwardes in another battell fought at CORONEA, against the BOEOTIANS. His sonne *Alcibiades* tutours, were *Pericles*, and *Ariphron Xanthippus* sonnes: who were also his neere kinsemen. They saye, and truely: that *Socrates* good will and friendshippe dyd greatly further *Alcibiades* honour. For

Alcibiades tutours.

it

A it appeareth not, neither was it euer written, what were the names of the mothers of *Nicias*, of *Demosthenes*, of *Lamachus*, of *Phormion*, of *Thrasibulus*, & of *Theramenes*: all which were notable famous men in their time. And to the contrarie, we finde the nource of *Alcibiades*, that she was a LACEDÆMONIAN borne, and was called *Amicla*, and that his schoolemaster was called *Zopyrus*: of the which, *Antisthenes* mentioneth the one, and *Plato* the other. Now for *Alcibiades* beawtie, it made no matter if we speake not of it, yet I will a litle touche it by the waye: for he was wonderfull fayer, being a child, a boye, and a man, and that at all times, which made him maruelous amiable, and beloued of euery man. For where *Euripides* sayeth, that of all the fayer times of the yere, the Autumne or latter season is the fayrest: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proued true in *Alcibiades*, though in fewe other: for he was pas-

B sing fayer euen to his latter time, & of good temperature of bodie. They write of him also, that his tongue was somewhat fatte, and it dyd not become him ill, but gaue him a certen naturall pleasaunt grace in his talke: which *Aristophanes* mentioneth, mocking one *Theorus* that dyd counterfeat a lisping grace with his tongue.

This Alcibiades, with his fat lisping tongue,
into mine eares, this trusty tale, and songe full often songe.
Looke vpon Theolus (quoth he) lo there he bowes,
*beholde his comely crowebright face with fat and *flatling blowes.*
The sonne of Clinias, would lispe it thus somewhiles,
and sure he lisped neuer a lye, but rightly hyt his wiles.

C And *Archippus* another poet also, mocking the sonne of *Alcibiades*, sayeth thus,

Bicause he would be like his father euerie waye
in his long trayling gowne he would goe ietting daye by daye.
And counterfeate his speache, his countenaunce and face:
as though dame nature had him geuen, therein a perfect grace.
To lispe and looke aside, and holde his head awrye,
euen as his father lookt and lispt, so would he prate and prye.

For his manners they altered and chaunged very oft with time, which is not to be wondred at, seing his maruelous great prosperitie, as also aduersitie that followed him afterwards. But of all the great desiers he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition,

D seeking to haue the vpper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best persone: as appeareth by certaine of his dedes, and notable sayings in his youthe, extant in writing. One daye wrestling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to haue geuen him the fall: he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit so harde, as he would haue eaten it of. The other feeling him bite so harde, let goe his holde straight, and sayed vnto him: what *Alcibiades*, biteste thou like a woman? No mary doe I not (quoth he) but like a lyon. Another time being but a litle boye, he played at skayles in the middest of the streete with other of his companions, and when his turne came about to throwe, there came a carte loden by chaunce that waye: *Alcibiades* prayed the carter to staye a while, vntill he had played out his game, bicause the skailes were set right in the high way where the carte should passe ouer. The carter

E was a stubborne knaue, and would not staye for any requeste the boye could make, but draue his horse on still, in so much as other boyes gaue backe to let him goe on: but *Alcibiades* fell flat to the grounde before the carte, and bad the carter driue ouer and he durste. The carter being afeard, plucked backe his horse to staye them: the neighbours flighted to see the daunger, ranne to the boye in all haste crying out. Afterwards when he was put to schoole to learne, he was very obedient to all his masters that taught him any thing, sauing that he disdained to learne to playe of the flute or recorder: saying, that it was no gentlemanly qualitie. For, sayed he, to playe on the vyoll with a sticke, doth not alter mans fauour, nor disgraceth any gentleman: but otherwise, to playe on the flute, his countenaunce altereth and chaungeth so ofte, that his familliar friends can scant knowe him. Moreouer, the harpe or vyoll doth not let him

F that playeth on them, from speaking, or singing as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth so harde to it, that it taketh not only his wordes from him, but his voyce. Therefore, sayed he, let the children of the THEBANS playe on the flute, that cannot

The mothers of famous mē neuer known in what they were.

Alcibiades beawtie.

Alcibiades lisped by nature.

**The equinocatiō of these two Greeke wordes* Κοπα *and* Κολα, *is harde to be expressed in Inglishe, in stead whereof I haue set flatling blowes, for flattering browes, obseruing the grace of lisping, as neere as I could, like to the Latin and French translations, likewise Theolus for Theorus.*

Alcibiades ambitious.

Alcibiades studies.

A vile thing to playe of a flute.

tell howe to ſpeake: as for vs ATHENIANS, we haue (as our forefathers tell vs) for protectours A
and patrones of our countrie, the goddeſſe *Pallas*, and the god *Apollo*: of the which the one
in olde time (as it is ſayed) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skinne ouer his eares, that
played vpon the flute. Thus *Alcibiades* alledging theſe reaſons, partely in ſporte, and partely
in good earneſt: dyd not only him ſelfe leaue to learne to playe on the flute, but he turned his
companions mindes alſo quite from it. For theſe wordes of *Alcibiades*, ranne from boye to
boye incontinently: that *Alcibiades* had reaſon to deſpiſe playing of the flute, and that he
mocked all thoſe that learned to play of it. So afterwards, it fell out at ATHENS, that teaching
to playe of the flute, was put out of the number of honeſt and liberall exerciſes, and the flute
it ſelfe was thought a vile inſtrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accuſations
Antiphon wrote againſt *Alcibiades*, it is declared: that when he was a boye, he fled out of his B
tutours houſe, into the houſe of *Democrates* one of his louers, and howe *Ariphron* one of his
tutours thought to haue made a beadle crie him through the cittie. But *Pericles* would not
ſuffer him, ſaying: that if he were dead, they ſhould knowe it but one daye ſooner by crying
of him: and if he were aliue, that it would be ſuch a ſhame to him while he liued, that he had
bene better he had neuer bene heard of againe. The ſame *Antiphon* accuſeth him further, that
he had killed a ſeruaunt of his that attended on him, in the wreſtling place of *Sibyrtius*, with
a blowe of a ſtaffe. But there is no reaſon to credit his writing, who confeſſeth he ſpeaketh all
the ill he can of him, for the ill will he dyd beare him. Now ſtraight there were many great &
riche men that made muche of *Alcibiades*, and were glad to get his good will. But *Socrates*
Socrates loue to Alcibiades. loue vnto him had another ende and cauſe, which witneſſed that *Alcibiades* had a naturall in- C
clination to vertue. Who perceyuing that vertue dyd appeare in him, and was ioyned with
the other beawtie of his face and bodye, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignitie and au-
thoritie, and the great number of his companions, aſwell of the chiefeſt of the cittie, as of
ſtraungers, ſeeking to entiſe him by flatterie, and by many other pleaſures: he tooke vpon him
to protect him from them all, and not to ſuffer ſo goodly an ympe to loſe the hope of the
good fruite of his youthe. For fortune doth neuer ſo intangle nor ſnare a man without, with
that which they commonly call riches, as to let & hinder him ſo, that philoſophie ſhould not
take holde on him with her free, ſeuere, and quicke reaſons. So *Alcibiades* was at the begin-
ning, aſſayed with all delightes, and ſhut vp as it were in their companie that feaſted him with
all pleaſures, only to turne him that he ſhould not hearken to *Socrates* wordes, who ſought to D
bring him vp at his charge, and to teach him. But *Alcibiades* notwithſtanding, hauing a good
naturall wit, knewe what *Socrates* was, and went to him, refuſing the companie of all his riche
friendes and their flatteries, and fell in a kinde of familliar friendſhippe with *Socrates*. Whom
when he had heard ſpeake, he noted his wordes very well, that they were no perſuaſions of a
man ſeeking his diſhoneſty, but one that gaue him good counſell, & went about to reforme
his faultes and imperfections, and to plucke downe the pride and preſumption that was in
him: then, as the common prouerbe ſayeth,

Like to the crauen cocke, he drouvped dovvne his vvinges,
vvhich covvardly doth ronne avvaye, or from the pit out flinges.

And dyd thinke with ſelfe, that all *Socrates* loue and following of young men, was in dede a E
thing ſent from the goddes, and ordeined aboue for them, whom they would haue preſerued,
& put into the pathe waye of honour. Therefore be beganne to deſpiſe him ſelfe, and greatly
to reuerẽce *Socrates*, taking pleaſure of his good vſing of him, & much imbraced his vertue:
ſo as he had (he wiſt not howe) an image of loue grauen in his harte, or rather (as *Plato* ſayeth)
a mutuall loue, to wit, an holy & honeſt affection towards *Socrates*. Inſomuch as all the world
wondred at *Alcibiades*, to ſee him commonly at *Socrates* borde, to playe, to wreſtle, & to lodge
in the warres with *Socrates*: and contrarily to chide his other well willers, who could not ſo
much as haue a good looke at his handes, and beſides became daungerous to ſome, as it is
ſayed he was vnto *Anytus*, the ſonne of *Anthemion*, being one of thoſe that loued him well.
Anytus making good cheere to certen ſtraungers his friendes that were come to ſee him, F
Alcibiades inſolẽcie vnto Anytus. went and prayed *Alcibiades* to come and make merie with them: but he refuſed to goe. For
he went to make merie with certen of his companions at his own houſe, and after he had well

taken

A taken in his cuppes, he went to *Anytus* house to counterfeate the foole amongest them, and staying at the halle doore, and seeing *Anytus* table and cubberd full of plate of siluer & gold, he commaunded his seruants to take awaye half of it, and carie it home to his house. But when he had thus taken his pleasure, he would come no neerer into the house, but went his waye home. *Anytus* friendes and guestes misliking this straunge parte of *Alcibiades*, sayed it was shamefully and boldly done so to abuse *Anytus*. Nay, gently done of him, sayed *Anytus*: for he hath left vs some, where he might haue taken all. All other also that made much of him, he serued after that sorte. Sauing a straunger that came to dwell in ATHENS: who being but a poore man as the voyce went, sold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred stateres which he brought vnto *Alcibiades*, & prayed him to take it at his handes. *Alcibiades* beganne
B to be merie, and being very glad to vnderstand his good will towards him, tooke his honest offer, and prayed him to come to supper to him: so he welcomed him very hartely, and made him good cheere. When supper was done, he gaue him his money againe, and commaunded him not to faile the next morning to meete him where the farmes and landes of the cittie are wont to be let out to those that byd most, and charged him he should out byd all. The poore man would fayne haue excused him self, saying, the farmes were to great for him to hyre: but *Alcibiades* threatned to whippe him, if he would not doe it. For besides the desire he had to pleasure him, he bare a priuate grudge against the ordinary farmers of the cittie. The next morning the straunger was ready in the market place, where they dyd crie out the letting of their farmes, and he raised one to a talent more, then all other dyd offer. The other farmers
C were as mad with him as they could be, that they all dyd set vpon him, crying out: let him put in suertie straight, supposing he could haue founde none. The straunger was maruelous blancke thereat, and beganne to shrincke backe. Then cried *Alcibiades* out alowde to the officers that sate there to take the best offers: I will be his suertie, sayeth he, put me in the booke, for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him saye so, were at their wittes ende, and wiste not what to doe. For they being allwayes accustomed to paye their yerely rent as it went before, by the helpe of the rest of the yeres that followed after: perceyuing now that they should not be able to paye the arrerages of the rentes due to the common weale, and seeing no other remedie, they prayed him to take a pece of money, and to leaue the bargaine. Then *Alcibiades* would in no wise he should take lesse then a talent, which they gaue him willingly.
D So *Alcibiades* suffered the straunger then to departe, and made him gaine by his deuise. Now *Socrates* loue which he bare him, though it had many mightie and great aduersaries, yet it dyd staye much *Alcibiades*, somtime by his gentle nature, somtime by his graue counsell and aduise: so as the reason thereof tooke so deepe roote in him, and dyd so pearce his harte, that many times the teares ranne downe his cheekes. Another time also being caried awaye with the intisement of flatterers, that held vp his humour with all pleasure and delightes, he stale awaye from *Socrates*, and made him ronne after him to fetche him againe, as if he had bene a seruaunt that had ronne awaye from his masters house: for *Alcibiades* stoode in awe of no man but of *Socrates* only, and in deede he dyd reuerence him, and dyd despise all other. And therefore *Cleanthes* was wont to saye, that *Alcibiades* was held of *Socrates* by the eares: but that he
E gaue his other louers holde, which *Socrates* neuer sought for: for to saye truely, *Alcibiades* was muche geuen ouer to lust and pleasure. And peraduenture it was that *Thucydides* ment of him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of bodie, and dissolute of life. Those that marred *Alcibiades* quite, dyd still pricke forward his ambition and desire of honour, and dyd put him in the head to thrust him selfe into great matters betimes, making him beleeue that if he dyd but once beginne to shewe him selfe to deale in matters of state, he would not only bleamishe and deface all other gouernours, but farre excell *Pericles*, in authoritie and power among the GRÆCIANS. For like as iron by fire is made softe, to be wrought in to any forme, and by colde also doth shut and harden in againe: euen so *Alcibiades* being puffed vp with vanitie & opinion of him self, as ofte as *Socrates* tooke him in hande, was made faste & firme againe by his
F good persuasions, insomuch that when he sawe his owne faulte and follie, and how farre wide he had strayed from vertue, he became sodainely very humble and lowly againe. Now on a time when he was growen to mans state, he went into a grammer schoole, and asked the

Alcibiades liberall facte.

Alcibiades ranne from Socrates.

Alcibiades geue so pleasure.

Alcibiades strake a schoolemaster, bicause he had not Homer in his schoole.

schoolemaster for one of *Homers* bookes. The schoolemaster aũswered him, he had none of A
thē: *Alcibiades* vp with his fiste, & gaue him a good boxe on the eare, & went his waye. Another grammarian tolde him on a time he had *Homer* which he had corrected. *Alcibiades* replied, why what meaneſt thou, to ſtand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct *Homer*, and to teache young men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at *Pericles* gate, deſirous to ſpeake with him: aunſwer was made him, he was not at leyſure now, for that he was buſilie occupied by him ſelf, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the ATHENIANS. Why, ſayed he, going his waye: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreouer, being but a young boye, he was at the iorney

Alcibiades firſt ſouldier fare with Socrates.

of POTIDÆA, where he laye ſtill with *Socrates*, who would neuer let him be from him in all battells and skirmiſhes he was in: among which there was one, very whotte & bloody, where B
they both fought valliantly, and *Alcibiades* was hurte. But *Socrates* ſtepped before him, and

Alcibiades ſaued by Socrates.

dyd defend him ſo valliantly before them all, that he ſaued him and his weapon out of the enemies handes. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equitie and reaſon, was due vnto *Socrates*: but yet the captaines would faine haue iudged it on *Alcibiades* ſide, bicauſe he was of a noble houſe. But *Socrates*, bicauſe he would increaſe his deſire of honour, & would pricke him forward to honeſt and commendable things, was the very firſt that witneſſed *Alcibiades* had deſerued it: and therefore prayed the captaines to iudge him the crowne and complet armour. Afterwards, in the battell of DELION, the ATHENIANS hauing receyued the ouerthrowe, *Socrates* retired with a fewe other a foote. *Alcibiades* being a horſe backe, and o-

Alcibiades ſaued Socrates life after the ouerthrow at the battaill of Delion.

uertaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him againſt a C
troupe of his enemies that followed him, and ſlue many of his company. But that was a prety while after, and before he gaue a boxe of the eare vnto *Hipponicus*, *Callias* father: who was one of the greateſt men of power in the cittie, being a noble man borne, and of great poſſeſſions, which was done vpon a brauery and certaine luſtines, as hauing layed a wager with his companions he would doe it, and for no malice or quarrell that he bare the man. This light parte was ſtraight ouer all the cittie, and euery one that heard it, ſayed it was lewdly done. But *Alcibiades* the next morning went to his houſe, and knocking at his gate was let in: ſo he ſtripping him ſelfe before him, deliuered him his bodie to be whipped, and puniſhed at his pleaſure. *Hipponicus* pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gaue him his daughter *Hipparete*

Alcibiades maried.

afterwards in mariage. Howbeit ſome ſaye, it was not *Hipponicus* that gaue her to him: but D
Callias ſonne, with tenne talēts of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of his firſt child he had by her, he asked tenne talents more, ſaying: they were promiſed him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But *Callias* fearing leaſt this was an occaſiō ſought of him to lye in wayte to kill him for his goodes: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generall, if he dyed without heires ſpeciall of his bodie. This gētlewoman *Hipparete*, being an honeſt true wife to *Alcibiades*, miſliking her husband dyd ſo muche miſuſe her, as to entertaine common light ſtrumpets, aſwell cittizens as ſtraungers: ſhe went abroad one day to her brothers houſe, and tolde him of it. *Alcibiades* paſſed not for it, and made no further reckoning of the matter: but only bad his wife, if ſhe would, preſent her cauſe of diuorſe before the iudge. So ſhe went

Hipparete ſueth to be diuorced from Alcibiades.

thither her ſelfe, to ſue the diuorce betwene them, according to the lawe: but *Alcibiades* being E
there alſo, tooke her by the hande, & caried her through the market place home to his houſe, and no man durſt medle betwene them, to take her from him. And ſo ſhe continued with him all the dayes of her life, which was not long after: for ſhe dyed, when *Alcibiades* was in his iorney he made to EPHESVS. This force *Alcibiades* vſed, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuill, bicauſe it ſeemeth that the lawe was grounded vpon this cauſe: that the wife which would be diuorced from her husband, ſhould goe her ſelfe openly before the iudge to put vp her complainte, to the ende, that by this meanes, the husband might come to ſpeake

Alcibiades great dogge.

with his wife, and ſeeke to ſtaye her if he could. *Alcibiades* had a maruelous fayer great dogge, that coſt him three ſcore and tenne minas, and he cut of his taile that was his chief beawtie. F
When his friendes reproued him, and tolde him how euery man blamed him for it: he fell a laughing, and tolde them he had that he ſought. For, ſayeth he, I would haue the ATHENIANS rather prate vpon that, then they ſhould ſaye worſe of me. Moreouer, it is ſayed, the firſt time

that

A that *Alcibiades* ſpake openly in the common weale, and beganne to deale in matters, was vpon a gifte of money he gaue to the people, and not of any pretence, or former purpoſe he had to doe it. One daye as he came through the market place, hearing the people very lowde, he asked what the matter was: they tolde him it was about money certen men had geuen to the people. Then *Alcibiades* went to them, and gaue them money out of his owne purſe. The people were ſo glad at that, as they fell to ſhowting and clapping of their handes, in token of thankfullnes: and him ſelfe was ſo glad for companie, that he forgat a quayle he had vnder his gowne, which was ſo afeard of the noyſe, that ſhe tooke her flight away. The people ſeeing the quayle, made a greater noyſe then before, and many roſe out of their places to runne after her: ſo that in the ende, it was taken vp by a maſter of a ſhippe called *Antiochus*, who brought
B him the quayle againe, and for that cauſe *Alcibiades* dyd loue him euer after. Now albeit the nobilitie of his houſe, his goodes, his worthines, & the great number of his kinſemen & friends made his waye open to take vpon him gouernment in the common weale. Yet the only waye he deſired to winne the fauour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To proue he was eloquent, all the Comicall poets doe teſtifie it: and beſides them, *Demoſthenes* the prince of orators alſo doth ſaye, in an oration he made againſt *Midias*, that *Alcibiades* aboue all other qualities he had, was moſt eloquent. And if we maye beleeue *Theophraſtus*, the greateſt ſearcher of antiquities, & beſt hiſtoriographer aboue any other philoſopher: he hath written, that *Alcibiades* had as good a witte to deuiſe and conſider what he would ſaye, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit ſomtimes ſtudying what he ſhould ſaye, as alſo to deliuer
C good wordes, not hauing them very readilie at his tongues ende: he many times tooke breath by the waye, and pauſed in the middeſt of his tale, not ſpeaking a worde, vntill he had called it to minde, that he would ſaye. His charge was great, and muche ſpoken of alſo, for keeping of ronning horſes at games: not only bicauſe they were the beſt & ſwifteſt, but for the number of coches he had beſides. For neuer priuate perſone, no nor any prince, that euer ſent ſeuen ſo well appointed coches, in all furniture, vnto the games *Olympicall*, as he dyd: nor that at one courſe hath borne awaye the firſt, the ſecond, and the fourth priſe, as *Thucydides* ſayeth: or as *Euripides* reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euer ſtriued for victorie therein. For *Euripides* pronounced his praiſe, in a ſonge he made of him, as followeth:

Alcibiades largeſſe.

Alcibiades comming into the common weale.

Alcibiades maruelous eloquent.

Alcibiades witte and imperfection.

Alcibiades victorie at the games Olympicall.

D *O ſonne of Clinias, I vvill reſounde thy praiſe:*
for thou art bold in martiall dedes, and ouercommeſt all vvayes.
Thy victories therevvith, doe farre exceede the reſt,
that euer vvere in Greece ygot, therefore I compt them beſt.
For at th Olympike games, thou haſt vvith chariots vvonne,
the firſt price, ſeconde, thirde and all, vvhich there in race vvere ronne.
VVith praiſe and litle payne, thy head hath tvviſe bene crovvnde,
vvith oliue boughes for victorie, and tvviſe by trumpets ſounde.
The herauldes haue proclaimed thee victor by thy name:
aboue all thoſe, vvhich ranne vvith thee, in hope to get the game.

E Howbeit the good affection diuers citties did beare him, contending which ſhould gratifie him beſt, dyd muche increaſe his fame and honour. For the Ephesians dyd ſet vp a tente for him, very ſumptuouſly and richely furniſhed. Thoſe of the cittie of Chio, furniſhed him with prouinder for his horſe, and gaue him muttons beſides, and other beaſtes to ſacrifice withall. They of Lesbos alſo ſent him in wine and other prouiſion for vittells, to helpe him to defraye the great charges he was at in keeping open houſe, & feeding ſuch a nũber of mouthes daylie. Yet the ſpite they dyd beare him, or rather his breache of promiſe which he often made, with this magnificence and ſtate he ſhewed, gaue the people more cauſe to ſpeake of him then before. For they ſaye there was one *Diomedes* at Athens, a friend of *Alcibiades*, & no ill man, who deſired once in his life to winne a game at the playes *Olympicall*. This man
F being enformed that the Argives had a coche excellently furniſhed, belonging to their cõmon weale, and knowing that *Alcibiades* could doe very much in the cittie of Argos, bicauſe he had many friends in the ſame: he came to intreate *Alcibiades* to buye this coche for him.

Alcibiades a breaker of promiſe.

Alcibiades thereupon bought it, but kept it to him ſelfe, not regarding *Diomedes* requeſt he had made. *Diomedes* ſeeing that fell ſtarke mad for anger, and called the goddes & men to witneſſes, that *Alcibiades* did him open wrong: and it ſeemeth, that there fell out ſute in lawe vpon the ſame. For *Iſocrates* wrote an oration, and drue a plea in defence of *Alcibiades*, being yet but a childe, touching a couple of horſes: yet in this plea, his aduerſarie was called *Tiſias*, and not *Diomedes*. Furthermore, *Alcibiades* being yet but a young man, when he came to practiſe and pleade publikly, he put all other Oratours to ſilence, but only two that were euer againſt him: the one was *Phæax* the ſonne of *Eraſiſtratus*, and the other *Nicias*, the ſonne of *Niceratus*. Of theſe two, *Nicias* was a man growen, and had wonne the name & reputation of a good captaine. And *Phæax* beganne alſo to come forward as he dyd, being of a good and honorable houſe: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence ſpecially. For, he could more properly talke and diſcourſe among his friends priuately, then he had any good grace to open a matter openly before the people. For he had, as *Eupolis* ſayeth:

Alcibiades aduerſaries in the comm̃ wealth when he came to pleade.

Phæax lacked eloquẽce.

VVordes enouve, but no eloquence.

There is a certen oration extant in writing, againſt *Alcibiades* and *Phæax*: where among other accuſations is brought in, howe *Alcibiades* was ordinarily ſerued in his houſe, with gold & ſiluer plate that belonged to the cõmon weale, and which were vſed to be borne for ſtate & magnificence, in ſolemne proceſſions before them, and how he vſed them as boldly, as if they had bene his owne. Now there was one *Hyperbolus* in ATHENS at that time borne in the village of Perithoide: of whom *Thucydides* maketh mencion, as of a naughty wicked man, whoſe tongue was a fit inſtrument to deliuer matter to all the Comicall poets of that time, to poore out all their tawnts and mõckes againſt men. Howbeit he was ſo impudent a perſone, and cared ſo litle what men ſayed of him, that he paſſed not though he were defamed, neither dyd any thing greue him, whatſoeuer they reported of him: which ſome doe call boldnes, and corage, being no better in deede then plaine impudencie, extreme madnes, and deſperate follie. He would neuer pleaſe any man: & if the common people had any grudge to any noble man or magiſtrate, whom they would any waye accuſe, *Hyperbolus* wicked tongue was their inſtrument to vtter their ſpyte. Now the people (by *Hyperbolus* procurement) being aſſembled, were ready to proceede to the baniſhment of *Oſtraciſmon* by moſt voyces. The manner & cuſtome of this kynde of baniſhment was for a time to baniſh out of their cittie ſuch a one, as ſeemed to haue to great authoritie and credit in the cittie: and that was, rather to ſatisfie their enuie, then for to remedy their feare. And bicauſe it was manifeſt it would fall out to one of them three to be baniſhed (to wit, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, or *Phæax*) *Alcibiades* found meanes to ioyne all their three factions in one, becomming friends one to another: and hauing conferred with *Nicias* about it, he made *Hyperbolus* ſelf to be baniſhed, who was the chief inſtrument to prepare the waye of their baniſhment. Howbeit other ſaye, he ſpake not with *Nicias* about it, but with *Phæax*, and ioyning his parte with *Phæax*, he cauſed *Hyperbolus* to be baniſhed, who feared nothing leſſe: for it was neuer ſeene before, that a man of meane countenaunce, and of ſmall authoritie, fell into the happe of this baniſhment. As *Plato* the Comicall poet teſtifieth, ſpeaking of *Hyperbolus*.

Hyperbolus baniſhed for 10 yeres.

The manner of the puniſhment of the Oſtraciſmon.

Although for his deſerts, this payne to him is due,
or greater punishment prepard, the vvhich might make him rue:
Yet ſince he vvas by birth, a perſone meane and baſe,
ſuch punishment therefore dyd ſeeme (for him) to great of grace.
Since Oſtraciſmon vvas, not made at firſt to be,
nor yet deuiſde as punishment, for ſuche meane folke as he.

But of this matter, we haue ſpoken more at large before: and now to returne againe to *Alcibiades*. *Nicias* had great reputation among ſtraungers, and his enemies greued at it no leſſe, then at the honour the cittizens ſelues dyd vnto him. For his houſe was the common inne for all LACEDÆMONIANS when they came to ATHENS, and they euer laye with him: moreouer he had very well entertained the LACADÆMON priſoners that were taken at the ſorte of PYLE. And afterwards when peace was concluded betweene LACEDÆMON and ATHENS, and their priſoners redeliuered home againe by *Nicias* meanes only & procurement they

A they loued him more then euer they dyd before. This was blowen abroade through GREECE, that *Pericles* had kindled the warres amongeſt them, and *Nicias* had quenched it: ſo ſome called this peace *Nicium*, as one would ſaye, *Nicias* worke. But *Alcibiades* ſto- *Nicias peace.*
making this, and enuying *Nicias* glorie, determined to breake the peace whatſoeuer came *Alcibiades breaketh the*
of it. Wherefore to compaſſe this matter, knowing firſt of all that the ARGIVES had no *peace of the*
liking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but were their mortall enemies, and that they *Græcians.*
dyd but ſeeke matter to fall out with them: he ſecretly put them in hope of peace and league with the ATHENIANS. Moreouer he dyd perſuade them to it, both by letters and worde of mouthe, ſpeaking with the magiſtrates, and ſuche as had greateſt authoritie and credit amongeſt the people: declaring vnto them, that they ſhould not feare the LA-
B CEDÆMONIANS, nor yeld to them at all, but to ſticke to the ATHENIANS, who would ſone repent them of the peace they had made, and breake it with them. Afterwardes when the LACEDÆMONIANS had made league with the BOEOTIANS, and had redeliuered the cittie of PANACTVM to the ATHENIANS, all defaced and ſpoyled, contrarie to the league: *Alcibiades* perceyuing how the people were muche offended thereat, made them more earneſt againſt them, and therewithall brought *Nicias* in diſgrace with the people, and charged him with many matters of great likelyhood. As at that time, when he was generall: that he would neuer take any of the LACEDÆMONIANS, when they were ſhut vp within the Ile of SPHACTERIA, and muche leſſe diſtreſſe them when he might: and moreouer that when other had taken them priſoners by force,
C that he had founde the meanes to deliuer them, and ſend them home againe, to gratifie the LACEDÆMONIANS. Furthermore, that being their friende, he dyd not his duety to diſſwade the people from making of league offenſiue, and defenſiue with the BOEOTIANS and the CORINTHIANS: and againe alſo, if there were any people of GREECE that had a deſire to become friendes and allies with the ATHENIANS, that he dyd the beſt he could to let them, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had no liking of the matter. Now as *Nicias* was thus in diſgrace with the people, for the cauſes aboue ſayd: in the middeſt of this ſturre, ambaſſadours came by chaunce from LACEDÆMON to ATHENS, who at their comming gaue very good wordes, ſaying they had full power and commiſſion to compound all controuerſies, vnder reaſonable and equall conditions.
D The Senate heard them, and receaued them very curteouſly, and the people the next daye ſhould aſſemble in counſell to geue them audience: which *Alcibiades* fearing muche, he went to labour the ambaſſadours, and ſpake with them aparte in this ſorte. What meane you, my Lordes of SPARTA: doe ye not knowe that the Senate hath all- *Alcibiades*
wayes accuſtomed to be gracious and fauorable vnto thoſe that ſue vnto them for any *beguileth the*
matter, and that the people contrarilie are of a prowde nature, and deſirous to imbrace *Lacedæmo-*
all great matters? If therefore at the firſt ſight, ye doe geue them to vnderſtand that you *nians.*
are come hither with full power, to treate freely with them in all manner of cauſes: doe you not thinke that they make you ſtretche your authoritie farre, to graunte them all that they will demaunde. Therefore, my Lordes ambaſſadours, if you looke for indifferen-
E cie at the ATHENIANS handes, and that they ſhall not preaſe you to farre againſt your willes, to graunte them any thing of aduantage: I would wiſhe you a litle to couer your full commiſſion, and in open manner to propound certen articles, and reaſonable capitulations of peace, not acquainting them otherwiſe with your full power to agree in all things: and for my parte, I will aſſure you of my good will in fauour of the LACEDÆMONIANS. When he had tolde them this tale, he gaue them his faithfull promiſe, and vowed as it were to performe his worde. Hereupon *Alcibiades* turned the Ambaſſadours from the truſt they repoſed in *Nicias*, and wanne them on his ſide: in ſo muche as they gaue credit to no man but to him, wondering muche at his great wiſedome and readye wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man. The next morning the people were aſſembled
F to geue the ambaſſadours audience. They were ſent for, and brought into the market place. There *Alcibiades* gently asked them, what was the cauſe of their comming. They aunſwered: that they were come to treate of peace, but they had no power to determine any thing. Then

beganne *Alcibiades* to be angrie with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he any A
to them: calling them vnfaithfull, vnconſtant, and fickle men, that were come neither to doe,
nor ſaye any thing worth the hearing. The Senate alſo were offended with them, and the peo-
ple rated them very roughely: whereat *Nicias* was ſo aſhamed and amaſed withall, that he
could not tell what to ſaye, to ſee ſo ſodaine a chaunge, knowing nothing of *Alcibiades* ma-
lice and ſubtill practiſe with the ambaſſadours. So the ambaſſadours of LACEDÆMON were
Alcibiades choſen generall. diſpatched, without any thing done, and *Alcibiades* choſen generall: who preſently brought
the ARGIVES, the ELIANS, and the MANTINIANS in league with the ATHENIANS.
Though no man dyd commend this practiſe of his, in working it after this ſorte: yet was it a
maruelous thing of him to deuiſe to put all PELOPONNESVS in armes, and to procure ſuch
a number of ſouldiers againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he dyd before the cittie of MAN- B
TINEA, and to ſhifte of the miſeries of warre and hazard of battell, ſo farre from A-
THENS. Which if the LACEDÆMONIANS dyd winne, could not profit them muche: and
if they loſt it, they could hardely ſaue their cittie of SPARTA. After this battell of MAN-
TINEA, the thouſand men whom the cittie by an auncient order dyd keepe continually in
paye, aſwell in peace as in warre, within the cittie of ARGOS, thinking now oportunitie
ſerued them very trimly: attempted to take the ſoueraine authoritie from the common
people, and to make them ſelues Lords of the cittie. And to bring this to paſſe, the LACE-
DÆMONIANS comming in the meane time, dyd ayde them in their purpoſe, and ſo dyd
put downe the gouernment of the people: notwithſtanding, immediatly after the people
tooke armes againe, and became the ſtronger. *Alcibiades* comming thither euen at that C
time, dyd warrant them the victorie, and to ſet vp againe the authoritie of the people. Then
The walles brought to the ſea by the Argiues. he perſuaded them to make their walles longer to ioyne their cittie to the ſea, to the ende
they might more eaſely be ayded by ſea, by the ATHENIANS. He brought them alſo from
ATHENS, many carpinters, maſons, ſtone hewers, and other workemen: and to conclude,
he ſhewed them by all the meanes and wayes he could, that he dyd beare good will vnto
them, and thereby wanne him ſelfe no leſſe fauour particularly emong them, then gene-
rally he dyd good vnto his countrie. He dyd perſuade alſo the cittizens of PATRAS to ioyne
their towne to the ſea, by making long walles, which they built out euen to the clyffes of the
ſea. And when one ſayed vnto them, alas, poore people of PATRAS, what doe ye meane?
the ATHENIANS will eate you out. *Alcibiades* aunſwered him, it maye well be, but it ſhalbe D
by litle and litle, beginning firſt at the feete: but the LACEDÆMONIANS will deuoure you
all at once, and beginne at the head. Now although *Alcibiades* dyd make the cittie of A-
THENS ſtrong by ſea, yet he dyd not leaue to perſuade the ATHENIANS alſo, to make them
ſelues ſtrong by lande. For he dyd put the young men oftentimes in minde of the othe they
were made to ſweare in AGRAVLOS, and dyd aduiſe them to accompliſhe it in deede.
Which was, that they ſhould take all corne fields, vines, and olyue trees, to be the borders and
confines of ATTICA, whereby they were taught to reckon all lande theirs, that was manu-
red, and dyd bring forth fruite. Yet with all theſe goodly dedes and fayer wordes of *Alci-
biades*, and with this great corage and quicknes of vnderſtanding, he had many great faultes
and imperfections. For he was to daintie in his fare, wantonly geuen vnto light women, rio- E
Alcibiades ryot. tous in bankets, vaine and womaniſhe in apparell: he ware euer a long purple gowne that
ſwept the market place as he walked vp and downe, it had ſuche a traine, and was to riche
and coſtely for him to weare. And following theſe vaine pleaſures and delightes, when he
was in his galley, he cauſed the planckes of the poope thereof to be cutte and broken vp, that
he might lye the ſofter: for his bed was not layed apon the ouerloppe, but laye vpon girthes
ſtrained ouer the hole, cut out and faſtened to the ſides, and he caried to the warres with him
a gilded ſcutchion, wherein he had no cognizaunce nor ordinary deuiſe of the ATHE-
NIANS, but only had the image of *Cupide* in it, holding lightning in his hande. The no-
blemen, and beſt cittizens of ATHENS perceyuing this, they hated his facions and condi-
tions, and were muche offended at him, and were afeard withall of his raſhnes and inſolen- F
cie: he dyd ſo contemne the lawes and cuſtomes of their countrie, being manifeſt tokens
of a man that aſpired to be King, and would ſubuert and turne all ouer hand. And as for the
good will

A good will of the common people towards him, the poet *Aristophanes* doth plainely expresse it in these wordes:

The people most desire, vvhat most they hate to haue:
and vvhat their minde abhorres, euen that they seeme to craue.

And in another place he sayed also, aggrauating the suspition they had of him.

For state or common vveale, muche better should it be,
to keepe vvithin the countrie none suche lyons lookes as he.
But if they nedes vvill keepe, a lyon to their cost,
then must they nedes obeye his vvill, for he vvill rule the roste.

For to saye truely: his curtesies, his liberallities, and noble expences to shewe the peo-
B ple so great pleasure and pastime as nothing could be more: the glorious memorie of his aunceſters, the grace of his eloquence, the beawtie of his persone, the strength and valliantnes of his bodie, ioyned together with his wisedome and experience in marshall affayers: were the very causes that made them to beare with him in all things, and that the ATHENIANS dyd paciently endure all his light partes, and dyd couer his faultes, with the best wordes and termes they could, calling them youthfull, and gentlemens sportes. As when he kept *Agartharchus* the painter prisoner in his house by force, vntill he had painted all his walles within: and when he had done, dyd let him goe, and rewarded him very honestly for his paines. Againe when he gaue a boxe of the eare to *Taureas*, who dyd paye the whole charges of a companie of common players, in spite of him, to carie awaye the honour of the
C games. Also when he tooke awaye a young woman of MELIA by his authoritie, that was taken among certaine prisoners in the warres, and kept her for his concubine: by whom he had a childe, which he caused to be brought vp. Which they called a worke of charitie, albeit afterwards they burdened him, that he was the only cause of murdering of the poore MELIANS, sauing the litle children, bicause he had fauored and persuaded that vnnaturall and wicked decree, which another had propounded. Likewise where one *Aristophon* a painter, had painted a curtisan named *Nemea*, holding *Alcibiades* in her armes, and sitting in her lappe, which all the people ranne to see, and tooke great pleasure to behold it: the graue and auncient men, were angrie at these fooliſhe partes, accompting them impudent things, and done against all ciuill modestie and temperancie. Wherefore it seemed *Archestratus* words
D were spoken to good purpose, when he sayed, that GREECE could not abide two *Alcibiades* at once. And on a daye as he came from the counsaill and assembly of the cittie, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by meanes thereof had obteined the thing he desired, and was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: *Timon*, surnamed *Misanthropus* (as who would saye, *Loup-garou*, or the manhater) meeting *Alcibiades* thus accompanied, dyd not passe by him, nor gaue him waye (as he was wont to doe to all other men) but went straight to him, and tooke him by the hande, and sayed. O, thou dost well my sonne, I can thee thancke, that thou goest on, and climest vp still: for if euer thou be in authoritie, woe be vnto those that followe thee, for they are vtterly vndone. When they heard these wordes, those that stoode by fell a
E laughing: other reuiled *Timon*, other againe marked well his wordes, and thought of them many a time after, suche sundry opinions they had of him for the vnconstancie of his life, and waywardnes of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of SICILE, the ATHENIANS dyd marueloſly couet it in *Pericles* life, but yet they dyd not medle withall, vntill after his death: and then they dyd it at the first vnder culler of friendshippe, as ayding those citties which were oppressed, and spoyled by the SYRACVSANS. This was in manner a plaine bridge made, to passe afterwardes a greater power and armie thither. Howbeit the only procurer of the ATHENIANS, and persuader of them, to send small companies thither no more, but to enter with a great armie at once to conquer all the countrie together, was *Alcibiades*: who had so allured the people with his pleasaunt tongue, that vpon his persua-
F sion, they built castells in the ayer, and thought to doe greater wonders, by winning only of SICILIA. For where other dyd set their mindes apon the conquest of SICILE,

Alcibiades dishonestie & wantonesse.

Archestratus saying.

Alcibiades the author of the warres in Sicilia.

being that they only hoped after: it was to *Alcibiades*, but a beginning of further enterA
prises. And where *Nicias* commonly in all his perſuaſions, dyd turne the ATHENIANS from their purpoſe to make warres againſt the SYRACVSANS, as being to great a matter for them to take the cittie of SYRACVSA: *Alcibiades* againe had a further reache in his head, to goe conquer LIBYA, and CARTHAGE, and that being conquered, to paſſe from thence into ITALIE, and ſo to PELOPONNESVS: ſo that SICILIA ſhould ſerue but to furniſhe them with vittells, and to paye the ſouldiers for their conqueſtes which he had imagined. Thus the young men were incontinently caried awaye with a maruelous hope and opinion of this iorney, and gaue good eare to olde mens tales that tolde them wonders of the countries: inſomuche as there was no other paſtime nor exerciſe among the youth in their meetings, but companies of men to ſet rounde together, drawe plattes of SICILE, and deſB
cribe the ſituation of LIBYA and CARTHAGE. And yet they ſaye, that neither *Socrates* the philoſopher, nor *Meton* the aſtronomer dyd euer hope to ſee any good ſucceſſe of this iorney. For the one by the reuealing of his familliar ſpirite, who tolde him all things to come, as was thought, had no great opinion of it: & *Meton*, whether it was for the feare of the ſucceſſe of the iorney he had by reaſon, or that he knew by diuination of his arte what would followe, he coũterfeated the mad man, & holding a burning torche in his hand, made as though he would haue ſet his houſe a fyer. Other ſaye, that he dyd not coũterfeate, but like a mad mã in deede dyd ſet his houſe a fyre one night, and that the next morning betimes he went into the market place to praye the people, that in conſideration of his great loſſe and his grieuous calamitie ſo late happened him, it would pleaſe them to diſcharge his ſonne for going C
this voyage. So by this mad deuiſe, he obteined his requeſt of the people for his ſonne, whom he abuſed much. But *Nicias* againſt his will was choſen captaine, to take charge of men in theſe warres: who miſliked this iorney, aſwell for his companion and aſſociate in the charge of theſe warres, as for other misfortunes he foreſawe therein. Howbeit the ATHENIANS thought the warre would fall out well, if they dyd not commit it wholy to *Alcibiades* raſhnes and hardines, but dyd ioyne with him the wiſedome of *Nicias*: and appointed *Lamachus* alſo for their third captaine, whom they ſent thither, though he were waxen now ſomewhat olde, as one that had ſhewed him ſelfe no leſſe venturous and hardie in ſome battells, then *Alcibiades* him ſelfe. Now when they came to reſolue of the number of ſouldiers, the furniture and order of theſe warres, *Nicias* ſought crookedly to thwart this iorney, and to breake D
it of altogether: but *Alcibiades* withſtoode him, and gate the better hande of him. There was an orator called *Demoſtratus*, who moued the people alſo that the captaines whom they had choſen for theſe warres, might haue full power and authoritie to leauy men at their diſcretion, and to make ſuche preparation as they thought good: whereunto the people condeſcended, and dyd authoriſe them. But when they were euen readie to goe their waye, many ſignes of ill ſucceſſe lighted in the necke one of another: and amongeſt the reſt this was one. That they were commaunded to take ſhippe, on the daye of the celebration of the feaſt of *Adonia*, on the which the cuſtome is, that women doe ſet vp in diuers places of the cittie, in the middeſt of the ſtreates, images, like to dead corſes which they carie to buriall, and they repreſent the mourning and lamentations made at the funeralles of the E
dead, with blubbering, and beating them ſelues, in token of the ſorowe the goddeſſe *Venus* made, for the death of her friend *Adonis*. Moreouer, the *Hermes* (which are the images of *Mercurie*, and were wont to be ſet vp in euery lane and ſtreete) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled ſpecially in their faces: but this put diuers in great feare and trouble, yea euen thoſe that made no accompt of ſuche toyes. Whereupon it was alledged that it might be the CORINTHIANS that dyd it, or procured that lewde acte to be done, fauoring the SYRACVSANS, who were their neere kynſemen, and had bene the firſt fownders of them, imagining vpon this ill token, it might be a cauſe to breake of the enterpriſe, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this warre in hande. Neuertheles, the people would not allow this excuſe, neither hearken to their wordes that ſayed, F
they ſhould not reckon of any ſuch ſignes or tokens, and that they were but ſome light brained youthes, that being tippled, had played this ſhamefull parte in their brauerie, or for ſporte.

The diuination of Socrates & Meton.

Images hewẽ and mangled at Athens.

But

A But for all theſe reaſons, they tooke theſe ſignes very greuouſly, and were in deede not a litle afeard, as thinking vndoutedly that no man durſt haue bene ſo bolde to haue done ſuche an abhominable facte, but that there was ſome conſpiracie in the matter. Hereupon, they looked apon euery ſuſpition and coniecture that might be (how litle or vnlikely ſoeuer it were) and that very ſeuerely: and both Senate and people alſo met in counſell vpon it, very ofte, and in a fewe dayes. Now whileſt they were buſilie ſearching out the matter, *Androcles* a common counſeller, and orator in the common wealth, brought before the counſell certaine ſlaues and ſtraungers that dwelt in ATHENS: who depoſed that *Alcibiades*, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other images after that ſorte, and in a mockerie had counterfeated alſo in a banket that he made, the ceremonies
B of the holy myſteries, declaring theſe matters particularly. How one *Theodorus* counterfeated the herauld, that is wonte to make the proclamations: *Polytion* the torche bearer, and *Alcibiades* the prieſt, who ſheweth the holy ſignes and myſteries: and that his other companions were the aſſiſtantes, as thoſe that make ſute to be receyued into their religion and order, and into the brotherhood of their holy myſteries, whom for this cauſe they call *Myſtes*. Theſe very wordes are written in the accuſation *Theſſalus* (*Cimons* ſonne) made againſt *Alcibiades*, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddeſſes, *Ceres*, & *Proſerpina*. Whereat the people being maruelouſly moued and offended, and the orator *Androcles* his mortall enemie aggrauating & ſtirring them vp the more againſt him: *Alcibiades* a litle at the firſt beganne to be amaſed at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners which were
C prepared for the voyage of SICILIA, and the ſouldiers alſo that were gathered, dyd beare him great good will, and ſpecially how the ayde, and that bande that came from ARGOS, and *Mantinea* (being a thouſand footemen, well armed and appointed) dyd ſaye openly, how it was for *Alcibiades* ſake they dyd take vpon them ſo long a voyage beyond ſea, & that if they went about to doe him any hurte or wrong, they would preſently returne home againe from whence they came: he beganne to be of a good corage againe, and determined with this good fauorable oportunitie of time, to come before the counſell, to aunſwer to all ſuche articles and accuſations as ſhould be layed againſt him. Thereupon his enemies were a litle cooled, fearing leaſt the people in this iudgement would haue ſhewed him more fauour, bicauſe they ſtoode in nede of him. Wherefore to preuent this daunger, they
D had fed other Oratours who ſet a good face on the matter, as they had bene *Alcibiades* friends, and yet bare him no leſſe good will, then the ranckeſt enemies he had. Theſe fine fellowes roſe vp in open aſſembly, and ſayed: it was no reaſon, that he that was now choſen one of the generalles of ſo mightie and puiſſant an armie (being ready to hoyſe ſayle and the ayde alſo of their allies and friendes) ſhould be driuen to ſtaye now, and to loſe time and occaſion of well doing, whileſt they ſhould goe about to chooſe iudges, and appointe him his howres and time of aunſwer. Therefore, they ſayed, it was fit he ſhould take his iorney betimes, and when warres were done, that he ſhould preſent him ſelfe to requier iuſtice, and to purge him ſelfe of ſuche matters as ſhould be obiected againſt him. But *Alcibiades* ſmelling ſtreight their fetche, and perceyuing the practiſe of his ſtaye, ſtept vp,
E and declared how they dyd him great wrong, to make him departe with the charge of a generall of ſo great an armie, his minde being troubled with continuall feare of ſo grieuous curſes, as he ſhould leaue apon him: and that he deſerued death, if he could not purge and iuſtifie him ſelfe, of all the vniuſt and ſurmiſed accuſations againſt him. And if he had once clered him ſelfe of all thinges, and had publiſhed his innocencie: he ſhould then haue nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to thinke vpon, but to goe on luſtely to fight with his enemies, and to caſt behinde him the daunger of all his ſlaunderous detracters. But all this could not perſuade them. And ſo he was preſently commaunded in the behalfe of the people, to imbarke, & ſhippe awaye his men. Thus he was compelled to take the ſeas with his other companions, hauing in their nauie about a hundred and forty gallyes, all hauing three
F owers to a bancke: & fiue thouſand one hundred footemen very well armed and appointed, & throwers with ſlinges, archers, & other light armed men to the number of thirteene hundred, ſufficiently furniſhed of all warlicke and neceſſarie munition. Now after they were arriued

Alcibiades accuſed for prophaning the holy myſteries.

The craftie of Alcibiades enemies.

Alcibiades iorney into Sicile.

on the coaſte of ITALIE, they landed in the cittie of RHEGIO: where, holding counſell in A what ſorte they ſhould direct theſe warres, it was reſolued in the ende that they ſhould goe ſtraight vnto SICILIA. This opinion was followed, although *Nicias* dyd contrarie it, when *Lamachus* gaue his conſent thereunto: and at his firſt comming, he was the occaſion of winning the cittie of CATANA. But he neuer after dyd any exployte, for he was called home immediatly by the ATHENIANS, to come and aunſwer certaine accuſations layed to his charge. For as we tolde you before, there was at the beginning, certaine light ſuſpitions and accuſations put vp againſt him, by ſome ſlaues and ſtraungers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enforced them, and burdened him more cruelly, adding to his former faulte, that he had broken the images of *Mercurie*: and had committed ſacriledge in counterfeating in ieaſt and mockery the holy ceremonies of the myſteries: and blue into the eares of the people, B that both the one and the other proceeded of one ſet conſpiracie, to chaunge and alter the gouernment of the ſtate of the cittie. Vpon theſe informations, the people tooke it in ſo ill parte, that they committed all to priſone, that were in any ſorte accuſed or ſuſpected thereof, and would neuer let them come to their aunſwer: and moreouer dyd much repent them that they had not condemned *Alcibiades*, vpon ſo great complaintes and informations as were exhibited againſt him, while his offenſe was in queſtion before them. And the furie and hatred of the people was ſuch towards him, that if any of *Alcibiades* friends and acquaintance came within their daunger, they were the worſe handled for his ſake. *Thucydides* dyd not name his accuſers, but ſome other doe name *Dioclides* and *Teucer*: amongeſt whom, *Phrynicus* the Comicall poet is one, who diſcouereth it in his verſes, by bringing in one that ſpeaketh thus to C the image of *Mercury*.

Phrynicus the Comicall poet.

My good friend Mercury, I praye thee take good heede,
that thou fall not, and breake thy necke: for ſo thou mightſt me breede,
both daunger and diſtruſt, and though I giltles be,
ſome Dioclides falſely might accuſe and trouble me.
Mercury aunſwereth.
Take thou no thought for me, my ſelfe I ſhall vvell ſaue:
and vvill foreſee full vvell therevvith that Teucer (that falſe knaue)
ſhall not the money get, vvhich he by lavve hath vvonne,
for his promovvters bribing parte, and accuſation. D

And yet for all this, theſe tokens doe ſhowe no certaintie of any thing. For one of them being asked, howe he could knowe them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced theſe images? he aunſwered, that he knewe them well enough by the brightnes of the moone. And hereby it appeareth playnely that he was periured, bicauſe that the ſame night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a coniunction of the moone. This dyd a litle trouble and ſtaye men of iudgement: howbeit the common ſorte of people this notwithſtanding, dyd not leaue to be as ſharpe ſet, to receyue all accuſations and informations, that were brought in againſt him, as euer they were before. Now there was among the priſoners whoſe cauſe was hanging before them, the orator *Andocides* (whom *Hellanicus* the hiſtoriographer deſcribeth to deſcend of the race of *Vlyſſes*) whom they tooke to be a man that hated the go- E uernment of the common people, and bent altogether to fauour the ſmall number of the nobilitie. But one of the chiefeſt occaſions why he was ſuſpected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his houſe there was a fayer great image ſet vp in olde time, by the familie or tribe of the *Ægeides*, and that alone amongeſt all the reſt of ſo many famous images, was lefte whole and vnbroken: whereupon it is called at this daye, the *Mercury* of *Andocides*, and is ſo called generally of euery bodye, albeit the inſcription ſheweth the contrarie. *Andocides* being in priſone, chaunced to fall in acquaintaunce with one *Timæus*, with whom he was more familliar then with all the reſt, who was alſo priſoner with him for the ſelf cauſe. This *Timæus* was a man not ſo well knowen as he, but beſides, a wiſe man, and very hardie. He perſuaded him, and put into his head, that he ſhould accuſe him ſelfe, and certaine F other with him: for taking the matter vpon him, and confeſſing it, he ſhould receyue grace & pardone, according to the courſe and promiſe of the lawe. Where contrarilie, if he ſhould

Andocides the orator caſt into priſon.

ſtande

A ſtande vpon the curteſie of the iudges ſentence, he might eaſely endaunger him ſelf: bicauſe iudgements in ſuch caſes are vncertaine to all people, and moſt to be doubted and feared toward the riche. And therefore he told him it were his beſt waye, if he looked into the matter wiſely, by lying to ſaue his life, rather then to ſuffer death with ſhame, and to be condemned apon this falſe accuſation. Alſo he ſayed if he would haue regarde to the cõmon wealth, that it ſhould in like caſe be wiſely done of him, to put in daunger a fewe of thoſe (which ſtood doubtfull whether in trothe they were any of them or not) to ſaue from the furie of the people, and terrour of death, many honeſt men, who in deede were innocent of this lewde fact. *Timeus* wordes and perſuaſions wrought ſuch effect with *Andocides*, that they made him yeld vnto them, & brought him to accuſe him ſelfe, & certaine other with him: by meanes where-
B of *Alcibiades* according to the lawe had his pardone. But all ſuche as he named and accuſed, were euery man put to death, ſauing ſuche as ſaued them ſelues by ronning awaye. Furthermore, to ſhadowe his accuſation with ſome apparaunce of trothe, *Andocides* among thoſe that were accuſed, dyd accuſe alſo certen of his owne ſeruaunts. Now though the people had no more occaſion to occupie their buſie heades about the breakers of theſe images, yet was not their malice thus appeaſed againſt *Alcibiades*, vntill they ſent the galley called *Salaminiana*, commaunding thoſe they ſent by a ſpeciall cõmiſſion to ſeeke him out, in no caſe to attempt to take him by force, nor to laye holde on him by violence: but to vſe him with all the good wordes and curteous manner that they poſſibly could, & to will him only to appeare in perſone before the people, to aunſwer to certaine accuſations put vp againſt him. If otherwiſe
C they ſhould haue vſed force, they feared muche leaſt the armie would haue mutined on his behalfe within the countrie of their enemies, and that there would haue growen ſome ſedition amongeſt their ſouldiers. This might *Alcibiades* haue eaſely done, if he had bene diſpoſed. For the ſouldiers were very ſorie to ſee him departe, perceyuing that the warres ſhould be drawen out now in length, and be much prolonged vnder *Nicias*, ſeeing *Alcibiades* was taken from them, who was the only ſpurre that pricked *Nicias* forward to doe any ſeruice: and that *Lamachus* alſo, though he were a valliant man of his handes, yet he lacked honour and authoritie in the armie, bicauſe he was but a meane man borne, and poore beſides. Now *Alcibiades* for a farewell, diſapointed the ATHENIANS of winning the cittie of MESSINA: for they hauing intelligence by certaine priuate perſones within the cittie, that it would yeld vp into
D their handes, *Alcibiades* knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed them vnto thoſe that were the SYRACVSANS friendes: whereupon all this practiſe was broken vtterly. Afterwards when he came to the cittie of THVRIES, ſo ſone as he had landed, he went and hid him ſelfe incontinently in ſuche ſorte, that ſuch as ſought for him, could not finde him. Yet there was one that knewe him where he was, and ſayed: Why, how now *Alcibiades*, dareſt thou not truſt the iuſtice of thy countrie? Yes very well (q. he) and it were in another matter: but my life ſtanding vpon it, I would not truſt mine own mother, fearing leaſt negligẽtly ſhe ſhould put in the blacke beane, where ſhe ſhould caſt in the white. For by the firſt, condemnation of death was ſignified; and by the other, pardone of life. But afterwards, hearing that the ATHE-
NIANS for malice had condemned him to death: well, q. he, they ſhall knowe I am yet aliue.

Alcibiades ſent for to aunſwer to his accuſation.

E Now the manner of his accuſation and inditement framed againſt him, was found written in this ſorte. *Theſſalus* the ſonne of *Cimon*, of the village of LACIADES, hath accuſed, and doth accuſe *Alcibiades*, the ſonne of *Clinias*, of the village of SCAMBONIDES, to haue offended againſt the goddeſſes, *Ceres* & *Proſerpina*, counterfeating in mockery their holy myſteries, & ſhewing them to his familliar friends in his houſe, him ſelfe apparrelled and arrayed in a long veſtemẽt or cope, like vnto the veſtemẽt the prieſt weareth when he ſheweth theſe holy ſacred myſteries: & naming him ſelfe the prieſt, *Polytion* the torche bearer, and *Theodorus* of the village of PHYGEA the verger, & the other lookers on, brethern, and fellowe ſcorners with them, & all done in manifeſt contẽpt & deriſion, of holy ceremonies and myſteries of the *Eumolpides*, the religious prieſts & miniſters of the ſacred tẽple of the cittie of ELEVSIN. So *Alcibiades* for
F his contẽpt & not appearing, was condẽned, and his goodes confiſcate. Beſides this condemnation, they decreed alſo, that all the religious prieſtes & women ſhould bãne & accurſe him. But hereunto aunſwered, one of the *Nunnes* called *Theano*, the daughter of *Menon*, of the vil-

Alcibiades accuſation.

Alcibiades condemned being abſent.

lage of AGRAVLA, saying: that she was professed religious, to praye and to blesse, not to curse and banne. After this most grieuous sentence and condemnation passed against him, *Alcibiades*, departed out of the cittie of THVRIES, & went into the countrie of PELOPONNESVS, where he continued a good season in the cittie of ARGOS. But in the ende fearing his enemies, and hauing no hope to returne againe to his owne countrie with any safety: he sent vnto SPARTA to haue safe conduct and licence of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that he might come and dwell in their countrie, promising them he would doe them more good being now their friend, then he euer dyd them hurte, while he was their enemie. The LACEDÆMONIANS graunted his request, & receyued him very willingly into their cittie: where euen vpon his first comming, he dyd three things. The first was: That the LACEDÆMONIANS by his persuasion & procurement, dyd determine speedily to send ayde to the SYRACVSANS, whom they had long before delayed: & so they sent *Gylippus* their captaine, to ouerthrowe the ATHENIANS armie, which they had sent thither. The secõd thing he did for them, was: That he made them of GREECE to beginne warre apon the ATHENIANS. The third, & greatest matter of importance, was: That he dyd counsell them to fortifie the cittie of DECELEA, which was within the territories of ATTICA selfe: which consumed, and brought the power of the ATHENIANS lower, then any other thing whatsoeuer he could haue done. And if he were welcome, & well esteemed in SPARTA, for the seruice he dyd to the cõmon wealth: muche more he wanne the loue & good willes of priuate men, for that he liued after the LACONIAN manner. So as they that sawe his skinne scraped to the flesshe, & sawe him washe him selfe in cold water, & howe he dyd eate browne bread, & suppe of their blacke brothe: would haue doubted (or to saye better, neuer haue beleeued) that suche a man had euer kept cooke in his house, nor that he euer had seene so muche as a perfuming panne, or had touched clothe of tissue made at MILETVM. For among other qualities & properties he had (wherof he was full) this as they saye was one, whereby he most robbed mens hartes: that he could frame altogether with their manners and facions of life, transforming him selfe more easely to all manner of shapes, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white culler: but *Alcibiades* could put apon him any maners, customes or facions, of what nation soeuer, & could followe, exercise, & counterfeate them when he would, aswell the good as the bad. For in SPARTA, he was very paynefull, & in continuall exercise: he liued sparingly with litle, & led a straight life. In IONIA, to the cõtrary: there he liued daintely & superfluously, & gaue him self to all mirthe & pleasure. In THRACIA, he dranke euer, or was allwayes a horse backe. If he came to *Tissaphernes*, lieutenaunt of the mightie king of PERSIA: he farre exceeded the magnificence of PERSIA in pompe & sumptuousnes. And these things notwithstanding, neuer altered his naturall condition from one facion to another, neither dyd his manners (to saye truely) receyue all sortes of chaunges. But bicause peraduenture, if he had shewed his naturall disposition, he might in diuers places where he came, haue offended those whose companie he kept, he dyd with such a viser & cloke disguise him selfe, to fit their manners, whom he companied with, by transforming him selfe into their naturall countenaunce. As he that had seene him when he was at SPARTA, to haue looked apon the outward man, would haue sayed as the common prouerbe sayeth:

Alcibiades flyeth to Sparta.

Alcibiades more chaungeable then the camelion.

It is not the sonne of Achilles, but Achilles selfe:

Euen so it is euen he, whom *Lycurgus* brought vp. But he that had inwardly seene his naturall doings, and good will in deede lye naked before him: would haue sayed contrarilie, as they saye commonly in another language.

This woman is no chaungeling.

For he entertained Queene *Timæa*, King *Agis* wife of SPARTA, so well in his absence, he being abroade in the warres: that he got her with childe, & she her selfe denied it not. For she being brought a bed of a sonne, who was named *Leotychides*, openly to the world called him by that name: but when she was amongest her familliars & very friends, she called him sofetly *Alcibiades*, she was so farre in loue with him. And *Alcibiades* ieasting out the matter, sayed he had done it for no hurte, nor for any lust of flesshe to satisfie his desire: but only to leaue of his race, to reigne amongest the LACEDÆMONIANS. This matter was brought by diuers vnto

Alcibiades got Timæa, king Agis wife with childe.

king

A king *Agis* eares, who at the length beleeued it: but ſpecially when he beganne to make a reckoning of the time, how long it was ſence he laye with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible earthquake, he ranne out of his chamber for feare the houſe would fall on his head: ſo that it was tenne moneths after ere he laye again with her. Whereupon, her ſonne *Leotychides* being borne at the ende of tenne moneths, he ſayed he was none of his: and this was the cauſe that *Leotychides* dyd not ſuccede afterwards in the Kingdome, bicauſe he was not of the bloude royall. After the vtter ouerthrowe of the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, thoſe of the Iles of CHIO and LESBOS, with the CYZICENIANS, dyd ſend all about a tēne ambaſſadours to SPARTA: to let the LACEDÆMONIANS vnderſtand, they had good will to leaue the ATHENIANS, ſo they would ſend them ayde to defend them. The B BOEOTIANS fauored thoſe of LESBOS: *Pharnabazus*, the king of PERSIAES lieutenaunt, fauored the CYZICENIANS. This notwithſtanding, the LACEDÆMONIANS were better affected to helpe thoſe of CHIO firſt, by the perſuaſion of *Alcibiades*, who tooke their matters in hande. And he tooke ſea him ſelf and went into ASIA, where he almoſt turned the countrie of IONIA againſt the ATHENIANS: and keeping allwayes with the generalles of the LACEDÆMONIANS, he dyd muche hurte the ATHENIANS. Yet notwithſtanding, king *Agis* dyd beare him ill will, partely for the iniurie he dyd him in diſhonoring and defiling his wife, and partely alſo, for that he enuied his glorie: bicauſe the rumour rāne all about, that the moſt parte of the goodly exploytes of theſe warres dyd happen well, by *Alcibiades* meanes. Other alſo of the greateſt authoritie among the SPARTANS, that were moſt ambitious emong them, be- C ganne in their mindes to be angrie with *Alcibiades*, for the enuie they bare him: who were of ſo great power, that they procured their gouernours to write their letters to their captaines in the field, to kill him. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, dyd no whit deſiſt to doe all he could for the benefit of the LACEDÆMONIANS: yet he had an eye behind him, flying all occaſiōs to fall into their handes. So in the ende, for more ſuerty of his perſone, he went vnto *Tiſaphernes*, one of the king of PERSIAES lieutenantes, with whom he wanne incontinently ſuche credit, that he was the firſt & chiefeſt perſone he had about him. For this barbarous man being no ſimple perſone, but rather malicious, & ſubtill of nature, and that loued fine & crafty men: dyd wonder how he could ſo eaſely turne from one manner of liuing to another, and alſo at his quicke witte and vnderſtanding. Moreouer, his company and manner to paſſe the time awaye, was D commonly maruelous full of mirthe and pleaſure, and he had ſuche pleaſaunt comely deuiſes with him, that no man was of ſo ſullen a nature, but he would make him merie, nor ſo churliſhe, but he would make him gentle. So that both thoſe that feared him, and alſo enuied him: they were yet glad to ſee him, & it did them good to be in his companie, & vſe talke with him. In ſo muche as this *Tiſaphernes* (that otherwiſe was a churliſhe man, and naturally hated the GRECIANS) dyd geue him ſelfe ſo muche vnto *Alcibiades* flatteries, and they pleaſed him ſo well: that he him ſelfe dyd ſtudie to flatter *Alcibiades* againe, and make muche of him. For he called *Alcibiades* his fayer houſe of pleaſure, & goodly proſpect: notwithſtanding he had many goodly gardens, ſweete ſpringes, grene arbours and pleaſaunt meadowes, and thoſe in all royall and magnificent manner. *Alcibiades* deſpairing vtterly to finde any ſafetie or friend- E ſhippe emong the SPARTANS, and fearing on thother ſide king *Agis* alſo: he beganne to ſpeake ill of them, and to diſgrace all that they dyd, to *Tiſaphernes*. By this practiſe he ſtayed *Tiſaphernes* from ayding them ſo friendly as he might: moreouer, he dyd not vtterly deſtroye the ATHENIANS. For he perſuaded him that he ſhould furniſhe the LACEDÆMONIANS but with litle money, to let them diminiſhe and conſume by litle and litle: to the ende that after one had troubled and weakned the other, they both at the length ſhould be the eaſier for the King to ouercome. This barbarous man dyd eaſely conſent to this deuiſe. All the world then ſawe he loued *Alcibiades*, and eſteemed of him very muche: in ſo muche as he was ſought to, and regarded of all handes of the GRECIANS. Then were the ATHENIANS ſorie, and repented them when they had receyued ſo great loſſe & hurte, for that they had decreed ſo ſeuerely F againſt *Alcibiades*, who in like manner was very ſorowfull, to ſee them brought to ſo harde termes, fearing, if the cittie of ATHENS came to deſtruction, that he him ſelfe ſhould fall in the ende into the handes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who maliced him to the death. Now

Leotychides Alcibiades baſtarde.

The Lacedæmonians practiſe to kill Alcibiades.

Alcibiades flying the Lacedæmoniant goeth to Tiſaphernes.

Alcibiades called a pleaſaunt place and goodly proſpect.

The inconſtancie of the cōmon people.

about that time, all the power of the ATHENIANS were almoſt in the Ile of SAMOS, from whēce with their armie by ſea, they ſought to ſuppreſſe the rebelles that were vp againſt them, and to keepe all that which yet remained. For they were yet pretily ſtrong to reſiſt their enemies, at the leaſt by ſea: but they ſtoode in great feare of the power of *Tiſaphernes*, and of the hundred & fiftie gallyes which were reported to be comming out of the countrie of PHENICIA, to the ayde of their enemies, which if they had come, the cittie of ATHENS had bene vtterly ſpoyled, and for euer without hope of recouery. The which *Alcibiades* vnderſtanding, ſent ſecretly vnto the chiefeſt men that were in the armie of the ATHENIANS at SAMOS, to geue them hope he would make *Tiſaphernes* their friende: howbeit not of any deſire he had to gratifie the people, nor that he truſted to the communaltie of ATHENS, but only to the honorable, and honeſt cittizens, and that conditionally ſo as they had the harte and corage, to bridell a litle the ouer licentiouſnes and inſolencie of the common people, & that they would take vpon them the authoritie to gouerne, and to redreſſe their ſtate, and to preſerue the cittie of ATHENS, from finall and vtter deſtruction. Vpon this aduertiſement, all the heades & chief men dyd geue very good eare vnto it: ſauing only *Phrynichus*, one of the captaines, and of the towne of DIRADES. Who miſtruſting (that was true in deede) that *Alcibiades* cared not which ende went forward, nor who had the chief gouernment of ATHENS, the nobilitie, or the communaltie, and dyd but ſeeke all the deuiſes and wayes he could, to returne againe if it might be poſſible, in any manner of ſorte, and that he dyd but currie fauour with the Nobilitie, blaming and accuſing the people: he ſtoode altogether againſt the motion, whereupon *Alcibiades* deuiſe was not followed. And hauing now ſhewed him ſelfe open enemie to *Alcibiades*, he dyd ſecretly aduertiſe *Aſtiochus* then admirall to the LACEDÆMONIANS, of *Alcibiades* practiſe, and warned him to take heede of him, and to laye him vp ſafe, as a double dealer, and one that had intelligence with both ſides: but he vnderſtoode not how it was but one traitour to ſpeake to another. For this *Aſtiochus* was a follower of *Tiſaphernes* for his priuate commoditie: and perceyuing *Alcibiades* in ſuche credit with him, he dyd diſcouer to *Alcibiades* all that *Phrynichus* had aduertiſed him. *Alcibiades* ſtraight ſent men of purpoſe to SAMOS, vnto the captains there, to accuſe *Phrynichus* of the treaſon he had reuealed againſt them. Thoſe of the counſaill there, receyuing this intelligēce: were highly offended with *Phrynichus*. So, he ſeeing no better waye to ſaue him ſelfe for making of this faulte, went about to make amends with committing a worſe faulte. Thereupon he ſent againe to *Aſtiochus*, complaining muche he had diſcloſed him: and yet neuertheles he promiſed him, if he would keepe his counſaill, that he would deliuer the whole fleete and armie of the ATHENIANS into his handes. Howbeit this treaſon of *Phrynichus* dyd the ATHENIANS no hurte at all, by reaſon of *Aſtiochus* counter treaſon: for he dyd let *Alcibiades* againe vnderſtand what offer *Phrynichus* had made him. *Phrynichus* looking to be charged with this againe, the ſecond time before the counſell, by meanes of *Alcibiades* dyd firſt aduertiſe the chief of the armie of the ATHENIANS. That their enemies would come and ſet vpon them, and where, and howe: and gaue them therefore warning to keepe neere their ſhippes, to make a ſtrong watche, and to fortifie them ſelues with all ſpeede, the which forthwith they dyd. And as they were about it, there came other letters from *Alcibiades*, by the which he dyd warne them againe to take heede of *Phrynichus*, bicauſe he had practiſed againe with their enemies, to deliuer the whole armie of ATHENS into their handes. But they gaue no credit to his ſecond letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparations and mindes of the enemies, would ſerue his own turne with the falſe accuſing of *Phrynichus*. Notwithſtanding this, there was ſome falſehood in felllowſhippe: for one *Hermon*, openly in the market place, ſtabbed *Phrynichus* in with a dagger, & killed him. The facte being pleaded in lawe, and throughly conſidered of: the dead bodie by the ſentence of the people was condemned for a traitour: and *Hermon* the murtherer, and his fellowes, were crowned in recompence of their facte they had done to kill a traitour to the common wealth. Wherefore thoſe that were *Alcibiades* friends, being at that time the ſtronger, and greateſt men of the counſell in the armie at SAMOS: they ſent one *Piſander* to ATHENS, to attempt to alter the gouernment, and to encorage the noble men to take vpon them the authoritie, & to plucke it from the people: aſſuring them that *Tiſaphernes* would giue them ayde to doe it, by meanes of *Alcibiades*, who would

The murder of Phrynichus and his condemnation.

make

him their friende. This was the culler and cloke wherewith they ſerued their turnes, that dyd chaunge the gouernment of ATHENS, and that brought it into the handes of a ſmall number of nobilitie: for they were in all but foure hundred, and yet they called them ſelues fiue thouſand. But ſo ſone as they felt them ſelues ſtrong, and that they had the whole authoritie of gouernment, without contradiction in their handes: they made then no more reckoning of *Alcibiades*, and ſo they made warres more coldly and ſlackly then before. Partely bicauſe they miſtruſted their cittizens, who founde the chaunge of gouernment very ſtrange: and partely alſo bicauſe they were of opinion that the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at all times dyd moſt fauour the gouernment of Nobilitie) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now the common people that remained ſtill in the cittie, ſturred not, but were quiet againſt their willes, for feare of daunger, bicauſe there were many of them ſlaine, that boldely tooke apon them in open preſence to reſiſt theſe foure hundred. But thoſe that were in the campe, in the Ile of SAMOS, hearing theſe newes, were ſo grieuouſly offended: that they reſolued to returne incontinently againe, vnto the hauen of PIRÆA. Firſt of all, they ſent for *Alcibiades*, whom they choſe their captaine: then they commaunded him ſtraightly to leade them againſt theſe tyrantes, who had vſurped the libertie of the people of ATHENS. But neuertheles he dyd not therein, as another would haue done in this caſe, ſeeing him ſelfe ſo ſodainely crept againe in fauour with the common people: for he dyd not thinke he ſhould incontinently pleaſe and gratifie thē in all things, though they had made him now their generall ouer all their ſhippes and ſo great an armie, being before but a baniſhed man, a vacabond, and a fugitiue. But to the contrarie, as it became a generall worthie of ſuche a charge, he conſidered with him ſelfe, that it was his parte wiſely to ſtaye thoſe, who would in a rage and furie careleſly caſt them ſelues awaye, and not ſuffer them to doe it. And truely *Alcibiades* was the cauſe of the preſeruing of the cittie of ATHENS at that time, from vtter deſtruction. For if they had ſodainly (according to their determination) departed from SAMOS to goe to ATHENS: the enemies finding no man to let them, might eaſely haue wonne all the countrie of IONIA, of HELLESPONT, and of all the other Iles without ſtroke ſtriking, whileſt the ATHENIANS were buſie fighting one againſt another in ciuill warres, and within the compaſſe of their owne walles. This *Alcibiades* alone, & no other, dyd preuent, not only by perſuading the whole armie, and declaring the inconuenience thereof, which would fall out apon their ſodaine departure: but alſo by intreating ſome particularly aparte, and keeping a number backe by very force. To bring this about, one *Thraſibulus* of the towne of STIRA, dyd helpe him muche: who went through the armie, and cried out apon them that were bent to enterpriſe this iorney. For he had the biggeſt and lowdeſt voyce as they ſaye, of any man that was in all the cittie of ATHENS. This was a notable acte, and a great pece of ſeruice done by *Alcibiades*: that he promiſed fiue hundred ſaile of the PHENICIANS (which the LACEDÆMONIANS aſſuredly looked for, in their ayde from the king of PERSIA) ſhould not come at all, or els if they came, it ſhould be in the fauour of the ATHENIANS. For he departed immediatly, and went with great ſpeede to *Tiſaphernes*: whom he handled in ſuche ſorte, that he brought not the ſhippes that laye at rode before the cittie of ASPENDA, and ſo he brake promiſe with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Therefore *Alcibiades* was maruelouſly blamed and accuſed, both of the one & the other ſide, to haue altered *Tiſaphernes* minde, but chiefly of the LACEDÆMONIANS: who ſayed that he had perſuaded this barbarous captaine, he ſhould neither ayde the one nor the other, but rather to ſuffer them one to deuoure and deſtroye eache other. For it had bene out of doubt, if this great fleete and nauy of the Kings had come, to ioyne their force with either partie: that they had taken from the one of them, the ſigniorie and domination of the ſea. Shortely after, the foure hundred noble men that had vſurped the authoritie and gouernment of ATHENS, were vtterly driuen awaye and ouerthrowen, by meanes of the friendly ayde, & aſſiſtaunce that *Alcibiades* friends gaue thoſe that tooke the peoples parte. So the cittizens were very well pleaſed with *Alcibiades*, in ſo muche as they ſent for him to returne when he thought good. But he iudging with him ſelfe it would be no honour nor grace vnto him to returne without ſome well deſeruing, & before he had done ſome greater exployte, as only vpon the peoples fauour and good will, whereas otherwiſe his returne might be both glorious and triumphant: departed firſt from SAMOS

Alcibiades called home from exile.

Thraſibulus a man of the biggeſt voyce of all the Athenians.

The cittizens of Athēs ſent for Alcibiades to returne.

with a ſmall number of gallyes, and went ſailing vp and downe the Iles of COS and of GNIDOS. There he was aduertiſed, that *Mindarus*, the admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was gone with all his fleete vnto the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and that the captaines of the ATHENIANS gaue chaſe vnto him. Thereupon he went alſo and ſayled thither with ſpeede, to ayde the ATHENIANS: and by very good fortune came with eighteene gallyes euen at the very inſtant, whē they were both in the middeſt of their fight, with all their ſhippes before the cittie of ABYDOS. The battell was cruelly foughten betwene them from morning till night, both the one and the other hauing the better in one parte of the battell, and the worſt in another place. Now at the firſt diſcouerie of *Alcibiades* comming, both partes had in deede contrarie imaginations of him. For the enemies tooke harte vnto them: and the ATHENIANS beganne to be afeard. But *Alcibiades* ſet vp ſtraight his flagge in the toppe of the galley of his admirall, to ſhewe what he was. Wherewithall, he ſet vpon the PELOPONNESIANS that had the better, & had certen gallyes of the ATHENIANS in chaſe: whereupon the PELOPONNESIANS gaue ouer their chaſe, & fled. But *Alcibiades* followed them ſo luſtely, that he ranne diuers of them a ground, & brake their ſhippes, & ſlue a great number of men that lept into the ſea, in hope to ſaue them ſelues by ſwimming a lande. So notwithſtanding that *Pharnabazus* was come thither to ayde the LACEDÆMONIANS, and dyd his beſt indeuour to ſaue their gallyes by the ſea ſhore: yet the ATHENIANS in the end wāne thirtie gallyes of their enemies, and ſaued all their owne, and ſo dyd ſet vp certaine flagges of triumphe and victorie. *Alcibiades* hauing now happely gotten this glorious victorie, would nedes goe ſhewe him ſelfe in triumphe vnto *Tiſaphernes*. So hauing prepared to preſent him with goodly riche preſents, and appointed alſo a conuenient traine & number of ſayle mete for a generall, he tooke his courſe directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for. For *Tiſaphernes* ſtanding in great hazard of diſpleaſure, and feare of puniſhment at the Kings handes, hauing long time before bene defamed by the LACEDÆMONIANS, who had cōplained of him, that he dyd not fulfill the Kings commaundement, thought that *Alcibiades* was arriued in very happy howre: whereupon he kept him priſoner in the cittie of SARDIS, ſuppoſing the wrong he had done, would by this meanes eaſely diſcharge, and purge him to the King. Yet at the ende of thirtie dayes, *Alcibiades* by fortune got a horſe, and ſtealing from his keepers, fled vnto the cittie of CLAZOMENES: and this dyd more increaſe the ſuſpition they had of *Tiſaphernes*, bicauſe they thought that vnder hand he had wrought his libertie. *Alcibiades* toke then ſea again, and went to ſeeke out the armie of the ATHENIANS. Which when he had founde, & heard newes that *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* were together in the cittie of CIZICVM: he made an oration to his ſouldiers, & declared vnto them how it was very requiſite they ſhould fight with their enemies, both by ſea and by lande, and moreouer that they ſhould aſſault them within their fortes and caſtells, bicauſe otherwiſe they could haue no money to defraye their charges. His oration ended, he made them immediatly hoyſe ſayle, and ſo to goe lye at anker in the Ile of PROCONESVS: where he tooke order that they ſhould keepe in all the pinnaſes and brigantines emong the ſhippes of warre, that the enemie might haue no manner of intelligence of his cōming. The great ſhowers of rayne alſo, with thunder and darke weather that fell out ſodainely vpon it, dyd greatly further him in his attempt & enterpriſe: in ſo muche as not only his enemies, but the ATHENIANS that were there before, knewe nothing of his comming. So ſome made their reckoning, that they could doe litle or nothing all that daye: yet he made them ſodainely imbarke, and hoyſe ſayle. They were no ſooner in the mayne ſea, but they diſcried a farre of the gallyes of their enemies, which laye at rode before the hauen of CYZICVM. And fearing leaſt the great number of his fleete would make them flye, and take lande before he could come to them: he commaunded certaine captaines to ſtaye behinde, & to rowe ſoftely after him, and him ſelfe with fortie gallyes with him, went towards the enemies to prouoke them to fight. The enemies ſuppoſing there had bene no more ſhippes, then thoſe that were in ſight: dyd ſet out preſently to fight with them. They were no ſooner ioyned together, but *Alcibiades* ſhippes that came behinde, werē alſo deſcried: the enemies were ſo afeard thereat, that they caſt about, and fled ſtraight. *Alcibiades* leauing his fleete, followed the chaſe with twentie of the beſt gallyes he had, and draue them a lande. Thereupon he landed alſo, and purſued

Battell by ſea before the cittie of Abydos betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

Alcibiades victorie of the Lacedæmonians by ſea.

Alcibiades taken priſoner at Sardis, flyeth from Tiſaphernes.

A sued them so corageously at their heeles, that he slue a great nũber of them on the mayne lãde, who thought by flying to haue saued them selues. Moreouer, *Mindarus*, & *Pharnabazus*, being come out of the cittie to rescue their people, were ouerthrowen both. He slue *Mindarus* in the field, fighting valliantly: as for *Pharnabazus*, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS spoyled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deale of armour and riches, and tooke besides all their enemies shippes. After they tooke the cittie of CIZYCVM, *Pharnabazus* hauing left it. Then the PELOPONNESIANS being slaine, they had not only the possession of the whole countrie of HELLESPONT, which they kept: but they draue their enemies by force, out of all partes of the sea. There were at that time certaine letters intercepted, whereby a secretarie gaue aduertissement vnto the *Ephori* at SPARTA, of the ouerthrowe in this sorte. All B is lost, *Mindarus* is slaine, our people dye for hunger, and we knowe not what to doe. Now the souldiers of ATHENS that had bene at this iorney and ouerthrowe, grewe to suche a pryde and reputation of them selues, that they would not, and disdained also to serue with the other souldiers that had bene beaten many times, & went away with the worse. Where they to the contrarie had neuer bene ouercome, as a litle before it happened, that the captaine *Thrasyllus* had bene ouerthrowen by the cittie of EPHESVS. And for this ouerthrowe, the EPHESIANS had set vp a triumphe, and token of brasse, to the vtter shame and ignominie of the ATHENIANS. For the which *Alcibiades* souldiers did very muche rebuke *Thrasyllus* men, and dyd exceedingly extoll their captaine and them selues, and would neither encampe with them, neither haue to doe with them, nor yet keepe them companie. Vntill suche time as *Pharnabazus* C came with a great armie against them, aswell of footemen as horsemen, when they rãne a forraging apon the ABYDENIANS: and then *Alcibiades* went to the rescue of them, and gaue *Pharnabazus* battell, and ouerthrewe him once againe, and dyd together with *Thrasyllus* chase him euen vntill darke night. Then both *Alcibiades* and *Thrasyllus* souldiers dyd companie together, one reioycing with another: and so returned all with great ioye into one campe. The next morning *Alcibiades* set vp a triumphe for the victorie he had the daye before, and then went to spoyle and destroye *Pharnabazus* countrie, where he was gouernour, & no man durst once come out to meete him. In this rode there were taken prisoners, certaine priestes and Nunnes of the coũtrie: but *Alcibiades* freely deliuered them afterwards without ransome. And preparing to make warres against the CHALCEDONIANS, who were reuolted frõ the ATHE- D NIANS, & had receyued a garrison & gouernour of the LACEDÆMONIANS into their cittie: he was aduertissed that they had brought in all their goods & cattells out of the fieldes, & had deliuered them to the safe custodie of the BITHYNIANS, who were their neighbours & friẽds. Hereupon he led his armie into their borders, & sent a herauld before to summone the BITHYNIANS, to make amends for the wrõg they had done the ATHENIANS. The BITHYNIANS fearing least *Alcibiades* would set apon them, dyd straight deliuer him the goodes they had as afore in their custodie, & moreouer, made a league with the ATHENIANS besides. That done, he went & layed seige to the cittie of CHALCEDON, the which he enuironned all about from the one side of the sea to the other. *Pharnabazus* came thither, thincking to haue raised the seige. And *Hippocrates*, a captain of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that was gouernour of the cittie, E assembled all the force he was able to make within the same, & made a salye out also vpon the ATHENIANS at the very same time. Whereupon *Alcibiades* putting his men in order of battell, so as they might geue a charge vpon them both at one instant: he fought so valliantly, that he forced *Pharnabazus* to runne his waye with shame enough, & slue *Hippocrates* in the field, with a great number of his men. Then tooke he the seas againe, to goe towardes the countrie of HELLESPONT, to get some money, where vpon the sodaine he did take the cittie of SELYBREA: bicause he valliantly put him selfe in hazard before the time appointed him. For certain of his friẽds within, with whom he had secret practise, had geuen him a token, that when time serued, they would shewe a burning torche in the ayer at midnight: but they were cõpelled to shew this fyer in the ayer before they were readie, for feare least one of their cõfe- F deracie would bewraye the matter, who sodainly repẽted him. Now this torche burning in the ayer, was set vp before *Alcibiades* was readie with his cõpanie. But he perceyuing the signe set, tooke about thirtie men with him in his cõpanie, & rãne with them to the walles of the cittie,

Alcibiades victorie at Cyzicum.

Alcibiades victorie at Chalcedonia.

Alcibiades tooke the cittie of Selybrea.

hauing commaunded the reſt of his armie to followe him with all ſpeede poſſible. The gate A
was opened to him, and to his thirtie men: beſides them there followed twentie other light
armed men. Howbeit they were no ſoner entered the cittie, but they heard the cittizens ar-
med come againſt them: ſo that there was no hope to ſcape, if he dyd tarie their comming.
The preſent wit of Alcibiades. Neuertheles, cõſidering that vntill that preſent time he was neuer ouercome in battell, where
he had taken charge, it greued him very muche to flye: wherefore it ſtraight came in his head
to make ſilence by ſound of trumpet, and after ſilence made, he cauſed one of them that were
about him to make proclamation with a lowde voyce, that the SELYBRIANIANS ſhould not
take armes againſt the ATHENIANS. This cooled them a litle that would fayne haue bene
doing, bicauſe they ſuppoſed that all the armie of the ATHENIANS had bene already in the
cittie: the other on the contrarie ſide, were very glad to talke of peace, without any further B
daunger. And as they beganne to parle vpon compoſition, the reſt of *Alcibiades* armie was
come on. Now he thincking in deede (which was true) that the SELYBRIANIANS ſought no-
thing but peace, and fearing leaſt the THRACIANS which were many in number (& came with
good will to ſerue him in that iorney) would ſacke and ſpoyle the cittie, he made them all to
goe out againe: and ſo concluding peace with the chiefe of the SELYBRIANIANS, he dyd
them no more hurte, apon their hũble ſubmiſſion, but made them paye him a ſumme of mo-
ney, and ſo leauing a garriſon of the ATHENIANS within the cittie, he departed thence. Whi-
The Chalcedonians receyue the Athenians. leſt *Alcibiades* was in treatie with the SELYBRIANIANS, the other ATHENIAN captaines
that laye at the ſiege of CHALCEDON, made an agreement with *Pharnabazus*, that he ſhould
geue them a ſumme of money, & giue vp the towne into the ATHENIANS handes, to enioye C
it as they had before. And with expreſſe condition alſo, that the ATHENIANS ſhould make
no rodes into *Pharnabazus* dominions, to hurte or ſpoyle any of his: and likewiſe ſhould be
bounde to geue good ſafe conduyte vnto the ambaſſadours of the ATHENIANS, to goe and
come ſafe from time to time, to the king of PERSIA. The other captaines being ſworn to this
peace, *Pharnabazus* conditioned alſo, that *Alcibiades* at his returne ſhould likewiſe be ſworne
to the peace and conditions thereof. But *Alcibiades* ſayed, he would not be ſworne at all, vnles
Pharnabazus were firſt ſworne for his parte. Thus when othes were taken of either ſide, *Alci-
biades* went alſo againſt thoſe of BYZANTIVM, who in like caſe had rebelled againſt the A-
THENIANS. At his firſt comming thither, he enuironned the cittie round about with a walle.
Afterwards he practiſed with two ſecret friends of his, *Anaxilaus*, & *Lycurgus*, & certen other D
within the cittie, who promiſed him to deliuer it into his handes, ſo they might be aſſured he
would doe them no hurte. To culler this practiſe, he gaue it out, that he muſt nedes leaue the
Alcibiades ſtratageme at Bizantium. ſiege, & departe with ſpeede, for certain newes that were come out of IONIA: & thereupon he
imbarked preſently, & wẽt out of the hauen at none dayes with all his ſhippes, howbeit he re-
turned again the ſame night. And going a lande with the choyceſt & beſt armed men he had,
he approched the walles of the cittie, without any manner of noyſe, hauing left order with
them that remained in the ſhippes, that in the meane ſeaſon they ſhould rowe with all force
into the hauen, with as great cries and ſhowtes as might be, to feare and trouble the enemies:
partely to feare the BIZANTINES the more with their ſodaine cõming amõg them, & partely
that his cõfederates within the cittie, might with better oportunitie receyue him & his cõpa- E
nie, into the towne with the more aſſured ſafety, whileſt euery man ranne to the hauen, to reſiſt
them that were vpõ the gallyes. Neuertheles they wẽt not away vnfought with. For thoſe that
laye in garriſon within the cittie, ſome of thẽ PELOPONNESIANS, other BOEOTIANS, & other
MEGARIANS, dyd ſo valliãtly repulſe them that came out of their gallyes, that they draue thẽ
to retire abord againe. Afterwardes hearing how the ATHENIANS were entred: the cittie on
thother ſide, they put them ſelues in battell raye, & went to mete them. The battell was terrible
Alcibiades winneth Bizantium. of both partes: but *Alcibiades* in the ende obtained victorie, leading the right winge of his bat-
tell, & *Theramenes* the lefte. The victorie being gotten, he tooke 300. of his enemies priſoners,
who had eſcaped the furie of the battell. But after the battell, there was not a BYZANTINE put
to death, neither baniſhed, nor his good cõfiſcated: bicauſe it was capitulated by *Alcibiades* with F
his cõfederats, that neither he, nor his, ſhould hurt any of the BIZANTINES either in perſone or
goodes, nor any way ſhould riſle them. And *Anaxilaus* being afterwards accuſed of treaſon in

LACE-

A LACEDÆMON, for this practise: he aunswered, and iustified him self in suche sorte, that they could not finde he had committed the faulte layed vnto his charge. For he sayed, that he was no LACEDÆMONIAN, but a BYZANTINE: & that he sawe not LACEDÆMON in daunger, but BYZANTIVM, which the enemies had compassed about with a walle they had built, that it was vnpossible to bring any thing into the cittie. Moreouer he alleaged, that they hauing very smal store of corne within the cittie (as was true in dede) the PELOPONNESIANS, and BOEOTIANS, that laye there in garrison dyd eate it vp, while the poore BYZANTINES them selues, their wiues and children, dyed for very hunger. Therefore it could not be sayed of him, that he had betrayed his countrie, but rather that he had deliuered it from the miseries and calamities the warres brought vpon it: wherein he had followed the example of the honestest men of
B LACEDÆMON, who dyd acknowledge nothing honest and iuste, but that which was necessarie and profitable for their countrie. The LACEDÆMONIANS hearing his reasons he alleaged for his purgation, were ashamed to condemne him, and therefore they let him goe. Now *Alcibiades* desirous in the ende to see his natiue countrie againe (or to speake more truely, that his contrymen should see him) after he had so many times ouerthrowen their enemies in battell: he hoysed saile, and directed his course towardes ATHENS, bringing with him all the gallyes of the ATHENIANS richely furnished, and decked all about, with skutchines and targettes, and other armour and weapon gotten amongest the spoyles of his enemies. Moreouer, he brought with him many other shippes, which he had wonne & broken in the warres, besides many ensignes and other ornaments: all which being compted together one with the
C other, made vp the number of two hundred shippes. Furthermore, where *Duris* SAMIAN writeth (who challengeth that he came of his house) that at his returne one *Chrysogonus*, an excellent player of the flute (that had wonne certaine of the *Pythian* games) dyd playe suche a note, that at the sounde thereof the galley slaues would keepe stroke with their owers, and that *Callipides* another excellent player of tragedies, playing the parte of a comedie, dyd sturre them to rowe, being in suche players garments as euery master of suche science vseth commonly to weare, presenting him selfe in Theater or stage before the people to shewe his arte: and that the admirall galley wherein him self was, entred the hauen with a purple saile, as if some maske had come into a mans house after some great banket made: neither *Ephorus*, nor *Theopompus*, nor *Xenophon*, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, me thinkes it should not be true,
D that he returning from exile after so long a banishment, & hauing passed ouer such sorowes & calamities as he had susteined, would so prowdly & presumptuously shewe him selfe vnto the ATHENIANS. But merely contrarie, it is most certain, that he returned in great feare & doubt. For when he was arriued in the hauen of PIRÆA, he would not set foote a lande, before he first sawe his nephewe *Euryptolemus*, & diuers other of his friendes from the hatches of his shippe, standing apon the sandes in the hauen mouthe. Who were come thither to receyue and welcome him, & tolde him that he might be bolde to lande, without feare of any thing. He was no soner landed, but all the people ranne out of euery corner to see him, with so great loue and affection, that they tooke no heede of the other captaines that came with him, but clustred all to him only, & cried out for ioye to see him. Those that could come neere him, dyd welcome
E & imbrace him: but all the people wholy followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers vpon his head: & those that could not come neere him, sawe him a farre of, & the olde folkes dyd pointe him out to the yonger sorte. But this cōmon ioye was mingled notwithstanding, with teares & sorowe, when they came to thinke vpon their former misfortunes and calamities, & to cōpare them with their present prosperitie: waying with them selues also how they had not lost SICILIA, nor their hope in all things els had failed thē, if they had deliuered them selues & the charge of their armie into *Alcibiades* hands, when they sent for him to appeare in persone before them. Cōsidering also how he found the cittie of ATHENS in manner put from their seigniorie & cōmandement on the sea, & on the other side how their force by lāde was brought vnto such extremitie, that ATHENS scātly could defend her suburbes, the
F cittie self being so deuided & turmoiled with ciuill dissention: yet he gathered together those fewe, & small force that remained, & had now not only restored ATHENS to her former power & soueraintie on the sea, but had made her also a conquerer by lande. Now the decree for his

Alcibiades honorable returne into his countrie.

repaire home againe, was paſt before by the people, at the inſtant requeſt of *Callias*, the ſonne A
of *Calleſchrus*, who dyd preferre it: as he him ſelfe dyd teſtifie in his elegies, putting *Alcibiades*
in remembraunce of the good turne he had done him, ſaying:

I vvas the firſt that moued in open conference,
the peoples voyce to call thee home, vvhen thou vvert banisht hence.
So vvas I eke the firſt, vvhich thereto gaue conſent,
and therefore maye I boldly ſaye, by truthe of ſuche intent:
I vvas the only meane, to call thee home againe,
by ſuche requeſt ſo rightly made, to moue the peoples vayne.
And this maye ſerue for pledge, vvhat friendſhippe I thee beare:
faſt ſealed vvith a faithfull tongue, as plainely ſhall appeare. B

But notwithſtanding, the people being aſſembled all in counſaill, *Alcibiades* came before them, and made an oration: wherein he firſt lamented all his mishappes, and founde him ſelfe grieued a litle with the wronges they had offred him, yet he imputed all in the ende to his curſed fortune, and ſome ſpightfull god that enuied his glorie and proſperitie. Then he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to haue aduantage of them: and therewithall perſuaded the people to be of good corage, and afeard of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crownes of golde, and choſe him generall againe of ATHENS, with ſoueraine power and authoritie both by lande as by ſea. And at that very inſtant it was decreed by the people, that he ſhould be reſtored againe to all his goodes, and that the prieſtes *Eumolpides* ſhould abſolue him of all their curſes, and that the herauldes ſhould with C
open proclamation reuoke the execrations and curſinges they had thundered out againſt him before, by commaundement of the people. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing, ſauing *Theodorus* the biſhoppe, who ſayed: I dyd neither excommunicate him, nor curſe him, if he hath done no hurte to the common wealth. Now *Alcibiades* floriſhed in his chiefeſt proſperitie, yet were there ſome notwithſtanding that miſliked very muche the time of his landing: ſaying it was very vnluckie and vnfortunate. For the very daye of his returne and arriuall, fell out by chaunce on the feaſt which they call *Plynteria*, as you would ſaye, the waſhing daye, which they celebrate in honour of *Minerua*: on the which daye, the prieſtes that they call *Praxiergides*, doe make certen ſecret and hidden ſacrifices and ceremonies, being the fiue and twenty daye of the moneth of September, and doe take from the image of this goddeſſe, D
all her rayment and iuells, and keepe the image cloſe couered ouer. Hereupon the ATHENIANS doe aſcribe that daye, for a moſt vnfortunate daye, & are very circumſpect to doe any matter of importance on it. Moreouer, it was commonly ſcanned abroade of euery bodye, that it ſeemed the goddeſſe was not content, nor glad of *Alcibiades* returne: and that ſhe dyd hide her ſelfe, bicauſe ſhe would not ſee him, nor haue him come neere her. Notwithſtanding all theſe toyes and ceremonies, when *Alcibiades* found euery thing fall out well at his returne, and as he would haue wiſhed it: he armed a hundred gallyes preſently, to returne againe to the warres. Howbeit he wiſely regarded the time and ſolemnitie of celebration of theſe myſteries, and conſiderately ſtayed vntill they had finiſhed all. And it fell out, that after the LACEDÆMONIANS had taken and fortified the cittie of DECELEA, within the territorie of E
ATTICA, and that the enemies being the ſtronger in the field, dyd keepe the waye going from ATHENS to ELEVSIN, ſo as by no poſſible meanes they could make their ſolemne proceſſion by lande, with ſuche honour and deuotion as they were before accuſtomed to doe: and thereby all the ſacrifices, dawnces, and many other holy deuowte ceremonies they were wonte to doe by the waye, in ſinging the holy ſonge of *Iacchus*, came of very neceſſitie to be left of, and cleane layed a ſide. Then *Alcibiades* thought he ſhould doe a meritorious dede to the godds, and an acceptable to men, to bring the olde ceremonies vp againe vpon the ſaid feaſt: and thereupon purpoſed to accompanie the proceſſion, & defend it by power, againſt all inuaſion & diſturbaunce by the enemies. As one that foreſawe one of thoſe two things would come to paſſe. Either that *Agis* king of the LACEDÆMONIANS would not ſturre at all againſt the F
ſacred ceremonies, and by this meanes ſhould much imbaſe and diminiſhe his reputation and glorie: or if he dyd come out to the field, that he would make the battell very gratefull to the

goddes,

Alcibiades oration to the people.

Alcibiades choſen generall with ſoueraine authoritie.

Plynteria.

Alcibiades reſtored the olde ceremonies.

A goddes, conſidering it ſhould be in defence of their moſt holy feaſt and worſhippe, and in the ſight of his countrie, where the people ſhould ſee and witneſſe both, his valliantnes, and alſo his corage. *Alcibiades* being fully reſolued apon this proceſſion, went and made the prieſtes *Eumolpides*, their vergers, and other their miniſters and officers of theſe myſteries, priuie to his determination. Then he ſent out skowtes to watche on the ſide of the hilles thereabouts, and to viewe the waye of their perambulation. The next morning very early he ſent out light horſemen alſo to ſcowre the countrie. Then he made the prieſtes, the profeſſed, and all the miniſters of religion, goe in proceſſion, together with thoſe that followed the ſame: and he him ſelfe compaſſed them about with his armie on euery ſide, marching in battell raye, and very good order, and with great ſilence. This was an honorable and deuoute leading of an armie,
B and ſuche as if his greateſt enemies would confeſſe a trothe, they could not but ſaye, *Alcibiades* had as muche ſhewed the office of a highe biſhoppe, as of a noble ſouldier and good captaine. So he ended this proceſſion, returning to ATHENS in all ſafe order againe, and not an enemie that durſt once looke out into the field to ſet vpon him. Now this dyd more increaſe the greatnes of his minde, and therewith the peoples good opinion of his ſufficiencie, and wiſe conduction of an armie: in ſo much as they thought him vnuincible, hauing the ſoueraine power and authoritie of a generall. Furthermore, he ſpake ſo fayer to the poore people, and meaner ſorte, that they chiefly wiſhed and deſired he would take vpon him like a King: yea, and many went to him to perſuade him in it, as though he ſhould thereby withſtand all enuie, and driue awaye the lawes and cuſtomes of trying of matters by the voyces of
C the people, and all ſuche fond deuiſes, as dyd deſtroye the ſtate of the common weale. And furthermore, they ſayed it was very needefull that he alone ſhould take vpon him the whole rule and gouernment of the cittie, that he might diſpoſe all things according to his will, and not ſtande in feare of ſlaunderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether *Alcibiades* euer had any minde to vſurpe the Kingdome, the matter is ſomewhat doubtfull. But this is certaine, the greateſt men of the cittie, fearing leaſt in deede he ment ſome ſuche thing, dyd haſten his departure as ſone as they could poſſible, doing all other things according to his minde: and dyd aſſigne him ſuche aſſociates in his charge of generall, as he him ſelfe beſt liked. So in the *Alcibiades ſecond iorney.* ende, he departed with a fleete of a hundred gallyes, and firſt of all he fell with the Ile of ANDROS, where he ouercame by fight, the inhabitantes of the ſaid Ile, and certaine LACEDÆ-
D MONIANS that were amongeſt them: but he tooke not the cittie, which was one of the firſt matters his enemies dyd accuſe him for. For if euer man was ouerthrowen and enuied, for the eſtimation they had of his vallure and ſufficiency, truely *Alcibiades* was the man. For the notable and ſundry ſeruices he had done, wanne him ſuche eſtimation of wiſedome and valliantnes, that where he ſlacked in any ſeruice whatſoeuer, he was preſently ſuſpected, iudging the ill ſucceſſe not in that he could not, but for that he would not: and that where he vndertooke any enterpriſe, nothing could withſtand or lye in his waye. Hereupon the people perſuading them ſelues, that immediatly after his departure, they ſhould heare that the Ile of CHIO was taken, with all the countrie of IONIA: they were angrie they could haue no newes ſo ſodainely from him as they looked for. Moreouer, they dyd not conſider the
E lacke of money he had, and ſpecially making warre with ſuche enemies, as were euer relieued with the great king of PERSIANS ayde, and that for neceſſities ſake he was ſundrie times driuen to leaue his campe, to ſeeke money where he could get it, to paye his ſouldiers, and to mainteine his armie. Now for teſtimony hereof, the laſt accuſation that was againſt him, was only for this matter. *Lyſander* being ſent by the LACEDÆMONIANS for admirall and generall of their armie by ſea, vſed ſuche policie with *Cyrus*, the king of PERSIANS brother, that he got into his handes a great ſome of money: by meanes whereof he gaue vnto his mariners foure oboles a daye for their wages, where before they were wont to haue but three, and yet *Alcibiades* had muche a doe to furniſhe his with three only a daye. For this cauſe, to get money, *Alcibiades* ſailed into CARIA. But in the meane time *Antio-*
F *chus*, whom *Alcibiades* had left his lieutenaunt behind him, and had geuen him charge of all the ſhippes in his abſence, being a very skilfull ſea man, but otherwiſe a haſtie harebraynd foole, and of ſmall capacitie: he being expreſſely commaunded by *Alcibiades* not to fight in

Lacke of money, the occaſion of the ouerthrowe of the Athenian armie by ſea.

Antiochus rashnes, procured his owne death, and the ouerthrowe of the Athenians armie.

any case, though the enemies offred him battell, was so fooliſhe raſhe, and made so litle reckoning of his ſtraight commaundement, that he armed his owne gallye, whereof him ſelfe was captaine, and another beſides, and went to the cittie of EPHESVS, paſſing all alonge his enemies gallyes, reuiling & offering villany to thoſe that ſtoode apon the hatches of their gallyes. *Lyſander* being maruelouſly prouoked by thoſe wordes, went and encountered him at the firſt with a fewe ſhippes. The other captaines of the gallyes of the ATHENIANS, ſeeing *Antiochus* in daunger, went to ayde him, one after another. Then *Lyſander* of his parte alſo ſet out all his whole fleete againſt him, and in the end ouercame them, *Antiochus* ſelf was killed in the conflict, and many gallyes and men were taken priſoners: wherefore *Lyſander* ſet vp ſhewes of triumphe in token of victorie. *Alcibiades* hearing theſe ill fauored newes, returned preſently with all poſſible ſpeede to SAMOS: and when he came thither, he went with all the reſt of his fleete to offer *Lyſander* battell. But *Lyſander* quietly contenting him ſelfe with his firſt victorie: went not out againſt him. Now this victorie was no ſoner wonne, but one *Thraſybulus* the ſonne of *Thraſon*, *Alcibiades* enemie, went incontinently from the campe, and got him to ATHENS, to accuſe *Alcibiades* to the people: whom he informed how all went to wracke, and that he had loſt many ſhippes, for that he regarded not his charge, careleſly putting men in truſte, whom he gaue to great credit to, bicauſe they were good fellowes, and would drincke droncke with him, & were full of mariners mockes and knauiſhe ieaſtes, ſuch as they vſe commonly amongeſt them ſelues. And that he in the meane time tooke his pleaſure abroade, here, and there, ſcraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good cheere, and feaſting of the ABYDENIAN and IONIAN courtiſans, when the enemies armie was ſo neere theirs as it was. Moreouer, they layed to his charge, that he dyd fortifie a caſtell in the countrie of THRACIA, neere vnto the cittie of BISANTHE, for a place to retire him ſelfe vnto, either bicauſe he could not, or rather that he would not, liue any lenger in his owne countrie. Vpon thoſe accuſations, the ATHENIANS geuing ouer credit to the reporte: dyd immediatly chooſe newe captaines, and thereby declared their miſliking. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, and fearing leaſt they would doe him ſome worſe harme, dyd leaue ſtraight the ATHENIANS campe, and gathering a certaine number of ſtraungers together, went of him ſelfe to make warre apon certaine free people of the THRACIANS, who were ſubiect to no prince nor ſtate: where he got a maruelous maſſe of money together, by meanes whereof he dyd aſſure the GRÆCIANS inhabiting thoſe marches, from all inuaſion of forreine enemies. Now *Tydeus*, *Menander*, and *Adimanthus* the ATHENIANS captaines, being afterwards in a place commonly called the goates riuer, with all the gallyes the cittie of ATHENS had at that time apon that coaſt: vſed euery morning commonly to goe to the ſea, to offer battell to *Lyſander*, who rode at an ancker before the cittie of *Lampſacus*, with all the LACEDÆMONIANS armie by ſea, and commonly returned againe to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watche or warde, as men that were careles of their enemies. *Alcibiades* being on the lande nor farre of, and finding their great faulte and negligence: tooke his horſe, & went to them, and told them that they laye on an ill ſhore, where there was no good rode, nor towne, and where they were driuen to ſeeke their vittells, as farre as to the cittie of SESTOS, & that they ſuffered their mariners to leaue their ſhippes, & goe a lande when they laye at ancker, ſtraggling vp and downe the countrie as they would them ſelues, without regarde that there laye a great armie of their enemies before them, readie to be ſet out at their generalles commaundement: and therefore he aduiſed them to remoue thence, and to goe caſt ancker before the cittie of SESTOS. Howbeit the captaines would not be aduiſed by him: and that which was worſt of all, *Tydeus*, one of the captaines, ſtowtely commaunded him to get him awaye, as one that had nothing to doe with the matter, & that other had charge of the armie. Whereupon *Alcibiades* fearing they would purpoſe ſome treaſon againſt him, dyd departe preſently from them. And as he went his waye, he ſayed to ſome of his friendes which accompanied him out of the campe at his returne: that if the captaines of the ATHENIANS had not bene ſo rounde with him, he would haue forced the LACEDÆMONIANS to haue come to the battell in deſpight of their beardes, or els he would haue driuen them to forſake their ſhippes. Some tooke this for a glorious bragge: other thought he was like enough to haue done it, bicauſe he could haue brought

Lyſander being generall of the Lacedæmonians, ouercame the Athenians.

Alcibiades accuſed again by Thraſybulus.

Alcibiades put from his authoritie of generall.

Lyſander rode at ancker before Lampſacus

The Athenians regarded not Alcibiades good counſell.

A brought from lande a great number of THRACIANS, both archers and horſemen, with whom he might haue geuen a charge vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, and done great miſchief vnto their campe. But now, how wiſely *Alcibiades* dyd foreſee the faultes he tolde the ATHENIANS captaines of: their great misfortune & loſſe that followed incontinently, did to plainely witneſſe it to the worlde. For *Lyſander* came ſo fiercely apon them on a ſodaine, that of all the ſhippes they had in their whole fleete, only eight gallyes were ſaued, with whom *Conon* fled: and the other being not much leſſe then two hundred in number, were euery one of them taken and caried awaye, with three thouſand priſoners whom *Lyſander* put to death. Shortely after, he tooke the cittie ſelf of ATHENS, and raſed their long walles euen to the ground. After this great and notable victorie, *Alcibiades* fearing ſore the LACEDÆMONIANS, who then B without let or interruption of any, were only Lords and Princes by ſea and by lande: he went into the countrie of BITHYNIA, and cauſed great good to be brought after him, and tooke a maruelous ſũme of money with him, beſides great riches he left alſo in the caſtells of THRACIA, where he dyd remaine before. Howbeit he loſt much of his goodes in BITHYNIA, which certaine THRACIANS dwelling in that countrie had robbed him of, & taken from him. So he determined to repaire forthwith vnto king *Artaxerxes*, hoping that when the King had once proued him, he ſhould finde him a man of no leſſe ſeruice, then he had found *Themiſtocles* before him: beſides that the occaſion of his going thither, ſhould be muche iuſter then his was. For he dyd not goe thither, to make warre againſt the cittie of ATHENS and his countrie, as *Themiſtocles* did: but of a cõtrarie intent, to make interceſſion to the King, that it would pleaſe C him to ayde them. Now *Alcibiades* thinking he could vſe no better meane, then *Pharnabazus* helpe only, to ſee him ſafely conducted to the Kings courte: he propoſed his iorney to him, into the countrie of PHRYGIA, where he abode a certaine time to attẽd vpon him, & was very honorably entertained and receyued of *Pharnabazus*. All this while the ATHENIANS founde them ſelues deſolate, & in miſerable ſtate to ſee their empire loſt: but then much more, when *Lyſander* had taken all their liberties, and dyd ſet thirtie gouernours ouer their cittie. Now to late, after all was loſt (where they might haue recouered againe, if they had bene wiſe) they beganne together to bewaile and lament their miſeries and wretched ſtate, looking backe apon all their wilfull faultes and follies committed: emong which, they dyd reckon their ſecond time of falling out with *Alcibiades*, was their greateſt faulte. So they baniſhed him only of ma- D lice and diſpleaſure, not for any offenſe him ſelfe in perſone had committed againſt them, ſauing that his lieutenaunt in his abſence had ſhamefully loſt a fewe of their ſhippes: and they them ſelues more ſhamefully had driuen out of their cittie, the nobleſt ſouldier, and moſt skilfull captaine that they had. And yet they had ſome litle poore hope leſte, that they were not altogether caſt awaye, ſo long as *Alcibiades* liued, and had his health. For before, when he was a forſaken man, and led a baniſhed life: yet he could not liue idely, and doe nothing. Wherefore now much more, ſayed they to them ſelues: if there be any helpe at all, he will not ſuffer out of doubt the inſolencie & pryde of the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yet abyde the cruelties and outrages of theſe thirtie tyrauntes. And ſurely the common people had ſome reaſon to haue theſe thoughts in their heades, conſidering that the thirtie gouernours them E ſelues dyd what they could poſſiblie to ſpye out *Alcibiades* doinges, and what he went about. In ſo muche as *Critias* at the laſt, declared to *Lyſander*, that ſo long the LACEDÆMONIANS might reckon them ſelues Lordes ouer all GREECE, as they kept from the common people the rule and authoritie of the cittie of ATHENS. And further he added, that notwithſtanding the people of ATHENS could well awaye to liue like ſubiects vnder the gouernment of a fewe: yet *Alcibiades* whileſt he liued, would neuer ſuffer them ſo to be reigned ouer, but would attempt by all deuiſe he could to bring a chaunge and innouation emong them. Yet *Lyſander* would not credit theſe perſuaſions, before ſpeciall commandement was ſent to him from the Senate of LACEDÆMON, vpon his allegiaunce, that he ſhould deuiſe to kill *Alcibiades* by all meanes he could procure: either F bicauſe in trothe they feared the ſubtiltie of his wit, and the greatnes of his corage, to enterpriſe matters of great weight and daunger, or els that they ſought to gratifie king *Agis* by it. *Lyſander* being thus ſtraightly commaunded, dyd ſend and practiſe incontinently

The Athenians ouercome by Lyſander.

Athens taken by Lyſander.

Alcibiades flieth into the countrie of Bithynia.

Lyſander appointed 30. tyrannes ouer the cittizens of Athens.

To late repentaunce of the Athenians.

The Lacedemonians will Lyſander to kill Alcibiades.

with *Pharnabazus* to execute the facte: who gaue his brother *Magæus*, and his vncle *Susamithres*, commission to attempt the matter. Now was *Alcibiades* in a certen village of PHRYGIA, with a concubine of his called *Timandra*. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on his concubines apparell, and how she dandling him in her armes, had dressed his head, friseling his heare, and painted his face, as he had bene a woman. Other saye, that he thought *Magæus* strake of his head, and made his bodie to be burnt: and the voyce goeth, this vision was but a litle before his death. Those that were sent to kill him, durst not enter the house where he was, but set it a fire round about. *Alcibiades* spying the fire, got suche apparell and hanginges as he had, and threwe it on the fire, thincking to haue put it out: and so casting his cloke about his left arme, tooke his naked sworde in his other hande, and ranne out of the house, him selfe not once touched with fyer, sauing his clothes were a litle singed. These murderers so sone as they spied him, drewe backe, and stoode a sonder, and durst not one of them come neere him, to stande and fight with him: but a farre of, they bestowed so many arrowes and dartes of him, that they killed him there. Now when they had left him, *Timandra* went and tooke his bodie which she wrapped vp in the best linnen she had, and buried him as honorably as she could possible, with suche things as she had, and could get together. Some holde opinion that *Lais*, the only famous curtisan, which they saye was of CORINTHE (though in deede she was borne in a litle towne of SICILIA, called HYCCARA, where she was taken) was his doughter. Notwithstanding, touching the death of *Alcibiades*, there are some that agree to all the rest I haue written, sauing that they saye, it was neither *Pharnabazus*, nor *Lysander*, nor the LACEDÆMONIANS, which caused him to be slaine: but that he keeping with him a young gentlewoman of a noble house, whom he had stolen awaye, and intised to follie: her brethern to reuenge this iniurie, went to set fire vpon the house where he was, and that they killed him as we haue tolde you, thinking to leape out of the fyre.

Alcibiades dreame in Phrygia before his death.

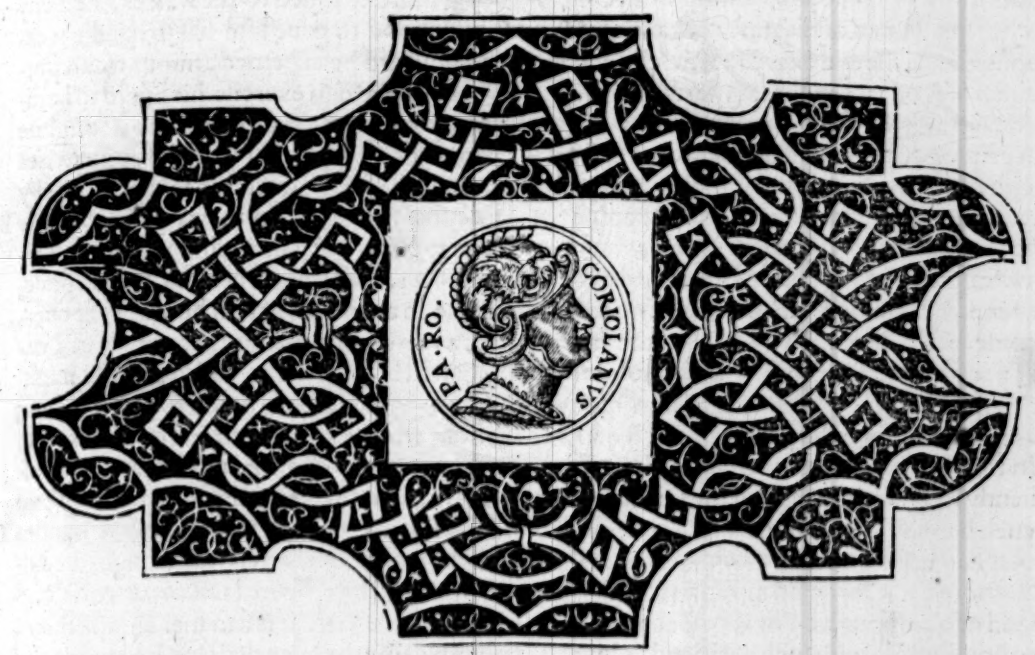
Alcibiades death.

Timandra the curtisan buried Alcibiades.

Lais a curtisan of Corinthe.

The ende of Alcibiades life.

THE LIFE OF CAIVS
Martius Coriolanus.



THE houſe of the *Martians* at ROME was of the number of the *Patricians*, out of the which hath ſprong many noble perſonages: whereof *Ancus Martius* was one, king *Numaes* daughters ſonne, who was king of ROME after *Tullus Hoſtilius*. Of the ſame houſe were *Publius*, and *Quintus*, who brought to ROME their beſt water they had by conducts. *Cenſorinus* alſo came of that familie, that was ſo ſurnamed, bicauſe the people had choſen him *Cenſor* twiſe. Through whoſe perſuaſion they made a lawe, that no man from thenceforth might require, or enioye the *Cenſorshippe* twiſe. *Caius Martius*, whoſe life we intend now to write, being left an orphan by his father, was brought vp vnder his mother a widowe, who taught vs by experience, that orphanage bringeth many diſcommodities to a childe, but doth not hinder him to become an honeſt man, and to excell in vertue aboue the common ſorte: as they that are meanely borne, wrongfully doe complayne, that it is the occaſion of their caſting awaye, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to ſee them well brought vp, and taught that were meete. This man alſo is a good proofe to confirme ſome mens opinions. That a rare and excellent witte vntaught, doth bring forth many good and euill things together: like as a fat ſoile bringeth forth herbes & weedes that lieth vnmanured. For this *Martius* naturall wit and great harte dyd maruelouſly ſturre vp his corage, to doe and attempt notable actes. But on the other ſide for lacke of education, he was ſo cholericke and impacient, that he would yeld to no liuing creature: which made him churliſhe, vnciuill, and altogether vnfit for any mans conuerſation. Yet men marueling much at his conſtancy, that he was neuer ouercome with pleaſure, nor money, and howe he would endure eaſely all manner of paynes and trauailles: thereupon they well liked and commended his ſtowtnes and temperancie. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one citizen vſeth to be with another in the cittie. His behauiour was ſo vnpleaſaunt to them, by reaſon of a certaine inſolent and ſterne manner he had, which bicauſe it was to lordly, was diſliked. And to ſaye truely, the greateſt benefit that learning bringeth men vnto, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compaſſe and rule of reaſon, to be ciuill and

The familie of the Martians.

Publius and Quintus Martius, brought the water by conducts to Rome.

Cenſorinus lawe.

Coriolanus wit.

The benefit of learning.

curteous,& to like better the meane ſtate,then the higher.Now in thoſe dayes,valliantnes was honoured in Rome aboue all other vertues: which they called *Virtus*, by the name of vertue ſelfe,as including in that generall name,all other ſpeciall vertues beſides.So that *Virtus* in the Latin,was aſmuche as valliantnes.But *Martius* being more inclined to the warres,then any other gentleman of his time: beganne from his Childehood to geue him ſelf to handle weapons,and daylie dyd exerciſe him ſelfe therein. And outward he eſteemed armour to no purpoſe,vnles one were naturally armed within. Moreouer he dyd ſo exerciſe his bodie to hardnes,and all kynde of actiuitie,that he was very ſwift in ronning,ſtrong in wreſtling,& mightie in griping,ſo that no man could euer caſt him. In ſo much as thoſe that would trye maſteries with him for ſtrength and nimblenes,would ſaye when they were ouercome: that all was by reaſon of his naturall ſtrength,and hardnes of warde,that neuer yelded to any payne or toyle he tooke apon him.The firſt time he went to the warres,being but a ſtrippling,was when *Tarquine* ſurnamed the prowde (that had bene king of Rome, and was driuen out for his pride, after many attemptes made by ſundrie battells to come in againe, wherein he was euer ouercome)dyd come to Rome with all the ayde of the Latines, and many other people of Italie: euen as it were to ſet vp his whole reſt apon a battell by them, who with a great & mightie armie had vndertaken to put him into his Kingdome againe,not ſo much to pleaſure him, as to ouerthrowe the power of the Romaines,whoſe greatnes they both feared and enuied. In this battell,wherein were many hotte and ſharpe encounters of either partie,*Martius* valliantly fought in the ſight of the Dictator: & a Romaine ſouldier being throwen to the groũd euen hard by him, *Martius* ſtraight beſtrid him, and ſlue the enemie with his owne handes that had before ouerthrowen the Romaine. Hereupon,after the battell was wonne, the Dictator dyd not forget ſo noble an acte,& therefore firſt of all he crowned *Martius* with a garland of oken boughs. For whoſoeuer ſaueth the life of a Romaine,it is a mãner among them, to honour him with ſuch a garland. This was, either bicauſe the lawe dyd this honour to the oke,in fauour of the Arcadians,who by the oracle of *Apollo* were in very olde time called eaters of akornes: or els bicauſe the ſouldiers might eaſely in euery place come by oken boughes: or laſtely,bicauſe they thought it very neceſſarie to geue him that had ſaued a cittizens life, a crowne of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated vnto *Iupiter*, the patron and protectour of their citties,and thought amongeſt other wilde trees to bring forth a profitable fruite,and of plantes to be the ſtrongeſt. Moreouer, men at the firſt beginning dyd vſe akornes for their bread, and honie for their drincke: and further, the oke dyd feede their beaſtes,and geue them birdes, by taking glue from the okes, with the which they made birdlime to catche ſeely birdes.They ſaye that *Caſtor*,and *Pollux*, appeared in this battell, and how incontinently after the battell, men ſawe them in the market place at Rome, all their horſes being on a white ſome: and they were the firſt that brought newes of the victorie, euen in the ſame place,where remaineth at this preſent a tẽple built in the honour of them neere vnto the fountaine.And this is the cauſe,why the daye of this victorie (which was the fiftenth of Iulye) is conſecrated yet to this daye vnto *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. Moreouer it is daylie ſeene, that honour and reputation lighting on young men before their time, and before they haue no great corage by nature: the deſire to winne more,dieth ſtraight in them,which eaſely happeneth,the ſame hauing no deepe roote in them before. Where contrariwiſe, the firſt honour that valliant mindes doe come vnto, doth quicken vp their appetite, haſting them forward as with force of winde,to enterpriſe things of highe deſeruing praiſe.For they eſteeme,not to receaue reward for ſeruice done, but rather take it for a remembraunce and encoragement, to make them doe better in time to come: and be aſhamed alſo to caſt their honour at their heeles,not ſeeking to increaſe it ſtill by like deſerte of worthie valliant dedes. This deſire being bred in *Martius*,he ſtrained ſtill to paſſe him ſelfe in manlines: and being deſirous to ſhewe a daylie increaſe of his valliantnes,his noble ſeruice dyd ſtill aduaunce his fame, bringing in ſpoyles apon ſpoyles from the enemie.Whereupon,the captaines that came afterwards(for enuie of them that went before) dyd contend who ſhould moſt honour him, and who ſhould beare moſt honorable teſtimonie of his valliantnes.In ſo much the Romaines hauing many warres and battells in thoſe dayes,*Coriolanus* was at them all: and there was not a battell fought, from whence

What this worde Virtus ſignifieth.

Coriolanus firſt going to the warres.

Coriolanus crowned with a garland of oken boughes.

The goodnes of the oke.

To ſoden honor in youth killeth further deſier of fame.

Coriolanus noble endeuour to continue well deſeruing.

A whence he returned not without ſome rewarde of honour. And as for other, the only reſpect that made them valliant, was they hoped to haue honour: but touching *Martius*, the only thing that made him to loue honour, was the ioye he ſawe his mother dyd take of him. For he thought nothing made him ſo happie and honorable, as that his mother might heare euery bodie praiſe and commend him, that ſhe might allwayes ſee him returne with a crowne vpon his head, and that ſhe might ſtill embrace him with teares ronning downe her cheekes for ioye. Which deſire they ſaye *Epaminondas* dyd auowe, and confeſſe to haue bene in him: as to thinke him ſelfe a moſt happie and bleſſed man, that his father and mother in their life time had ſeene the victorie he wanne in the plaine of LEVCTRES. Now as for *Epaminondas*, he had this good happe, to haue his father and mother liuing, to be partakers of his ioye and proſpe-
B ritie. But *Martius* thinking all due to his mother, that had bene alſo due to his father if he had liued: dyd not only content him ſelfe to reioyce and honour her, but at her deſire tooke a wife alſo, by whom he had two children, and yet neuer left his mothers houſe therefore. Now he being growen to great credit & authoritie in ROME for his valliantnes, it fortuned there grewe ſedition in the cittie, bicauſe the Senate dyd fauour the riche againſt the people, who dyd cõplaine of the ſore oppreſſion of vſerers, of whom they borowed money. For thoſe that had litle, were yet ſpoyled of that litle they had by their creditours, for lacke of abilitie to paye the vſerie: who offered their goodes to be ſolde, to them that would geue moſt. And ſuche as had nothing left, their bodies were layed holde of, and they were made their bonde men, notwithſtanding all the woundes and cuttes they ſhewed, which they had receyued in many bat-
C tells, fighting for defence of their countrie and common wealth: of the which, the laſt warre they made, was againſt the SABYNES, wherein they fought apon the promiſe the riche men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreate them more gently, and alſo vpon the worde of *Marcus Valerius* chief of the Senate, who by authoritie of the counſell, and in the behalfe of the riche, ſayed they ſhould performe that they had promiſed. But after that they had faithfully ſerued in this laſt battell of all, where they ouercame their enemies, ſeeing they were neuer a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would geue no eare to them, but make as though they had forgotten their former promiſe, and ſuffered them to be made ſlaues and bonde men to their creditours, and beſides, to be turned out of all that euer they had: they fell then euen to flat rebellion and mutine, and to ſturre vp daungerous
D tumultes within the cittie. The ROMAINES enemies hearing of this rebellion, dyd ſtraight enter the territories of ROME with a maruelous great power, ſpoyling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediatly made open proclamation by ſounde of trumpet, that all thoſe which were of lawfull age to carie weapon, ſhould come and enter their names into the muſter maſters booke, to goe to the warres: but no man obeyed their commaundement. Whereupon their chief magiſtrates, and many of the Senate, beganne to be of diuers opinions emong them ſelues. For ſome thought it was reaſon, they ſhould ſomewhat yeld to the poore peoples requeſt, and that they ſhould a litle qualifie the ſeueritie of the lawe. Other held hard againſt that opinion, and that was *Martius* for one. For he alleaged, that the credi-
E tours loſing their money they had lent, was not the worſt thing that was thereby: but that the lenitie that was fauored, was a beginning of diſobedience, and that the prowde attempt of the communaltie, was to aboliſh lawe, and to bring all to confuſion. Therefore he ſayed, if the Senate were wiſe, they ſhould betimes preuent, & quenche this ill fauored & worſe ment beginning. The Senate met many dayes in conſultation about it: but in the end they concluded nothing. The poore cõmon people ſeeing no redreſſe, gathered them ſelues one daye together, & one encoraging another, they all forſooke the cittie, & encamped them ſelues vpon a hill, called at this daye the holy hill, alongeſt the riuer of Tyber, offering no creature any hurte or violence, or making any ſhewe of actuall rebellion: ſauing that they cried as they went vp and down, that the riche men had driuen them out of the cittie, and that all ITALIE through they ſhould finde ayer, water, & ground to burie them in. Moreouer, they ſayed, to dwell at ROME
F was nothing els but to be ſlaine, or hurte with continuall warres, and fighting for defence of the riche mens goodes. The Senate being afeard of their departure, dyd ſend vnto them certaine of the pleaſanteſt olde men, and the moſt acceptable to the people among them. Of

Coriolanus & Epaminondas did both place their deſire of honour alike.

The obedience of Coriolanus to his mother.

Extremitie of vſerers complained of at Rome by the people.

Counſellers promiſes make men valliant, in hope of iuſt performance.

Ingratitude, and good ſeruice vnrewarded, prouoketh rebellion.

Martius Coriolanus againſt the people.

The people leaue the cittie and doe goe to the holy hill.

thoſe, *Menenius Agrippa* was he, who was ſent for chief man of the meſſage from the Senate. A
He, after many good perſuaſions and gentle requeſtes made to the people, on the behalfe of
the Senate: knit vp his oration in the ende, with a notable tale, in this manner. That on a time
An excellent tale tolde by Menenius Agrippa to pacifiethe people. all the members of mans bodie, dyd rebell againſt the bellie, complaining of it, that it only remained in the middeſt of the bodie, without doing any thing, neither dyd beare any labour to the maintenaunce of the reſt: whereas all other partes and members dyd labour paynefully, & was very carefull to ſatisfie the appetites and deſiers of the bodie. And ſo the bellie, all this notwithſtanding, laughed at their follie, and ſayed. It is true, I firſt receyue all meates that noriſhe mans bodie: but afterwardes I ſend it againe to the noriſhement of other partes of the ſame. Euen ſo (q he) ô you, my maſters, and cittizens of Rome: the reaſon is a like betweene the Senate, & you. For matters being well digeſted, & their coũſells throughly examined, touching the benefit of the common wealth: the Senatours are cauſe of the common cõmoditie B
that cõmeth vnto euery one of you. Theſe perſuaſions pacified the people, conditionally, that the Senate would graunte there ſhould be yerely choſen fiue magiſtrates, which they now call *Tribuni Plebis*, whoſe office ſhould be to defend the poore people from violence and oppreſſion. So *Iunius Brutus*, and *Sicinius Vellutus*, were the firſt Tribunes of the people that were
The firſt beginning of Tribuni plebis. choſen, who had only bene the cauſers & procurers of this ſedition. Hereupon the cittie being
Iunius Brutus, Sicinius Vellutus, the 2. firſt Tribunes. growen againe to good quiet and vnitie, the people immediatly went to the warres, ſhewing that they had a good will to doe better then euer they dyd, and to be very willing to obey the magiſtrates in that they would commaund, concerning the warres. *Martius* alſo, though it liked him nothing to ſee the greatnes of the people thus increaſed, conſidering it was to the C
preiudice, and imbaſing of the nobilitie, and alſo ſawe that other noble *Patricians* were troubled as well as him ſelfe: he dyd perſuade the *Patricians*, to ſhew them ſelues no leſſe forward and willing to fight for their countrie, then the common people were: and to let them knowe by their dedes and actes, that they dyd not ſo muche paſſe the people in power and riches, as they dyd exceede them in true nobilitie and valliantnes. In the countrie of the Volsces, againſt whom the Romaines made warre at that time, there was a principall cittie & of moſt
The cittie of Corioles beſieged by the Conſul Cominius. fame, that was called Corioles, before the which the Conſul *Cominius* dyd laye ſeige. Wherefore all the other Volsces fearing leaſt that cittie ſhould be taken by aſſault, they came from all partes of the countrie to ſaue it, entending to geue the Romaines battell before the cittie, and to geue an onſet on them in two ſeuerall places. The Conſul *Cominius* vn- D
derſtanding this, deuided his armie alſo in two partes, and taking the one parte with him ſelfe, he marched towards them that were drawing to the cittie, out of the countrie: and the other
Titus Lartius, a valliãt Romaine. parte of his armie he left in the campe with *Titus Lartius* (one of the vallianteſt men the Romaines had at that time) to reſiſt thoſe that would make any ſalye out of the cittie apon them. So the Coriolans making ſmall accompt of them that laye in campe before the cittie, made a ſalye out apon them, in the which at the firſt the Coriolans had the better, and draue the Romaines backe againe into the trenches of their campe. But *Martius* being there at that time, ronning out of the campe with a fewe men with him, he ſlue the firſt enemies he met withall, and made the reſt of them ſtaye vpon a ſodaine, crying out to the Romaines that had turned their backes, and calling them againe to fight with a lowde voyce. For he was euen ſuch E
The propertie of a ſouldier. another, as *Cato* would haue a ſouldier and a captaine to be: not only terrible, and fierce to laye about him, but to make the enemie afeard with the ſounde of his voyce, and grimnes of his countenaunce. Then there flocked about him immediatly, a great number of Romaines: whereat the enemies were ſo afeard, that they gaue backe preſently. But *Martius* not ſtaying ſo, dyd chaſe and followe them to their owne gates, that fled for life. And there, perceyuing that the Romaines retired backe, for the great number of dartes and arrowes which flewe about their eares frõ the walles of the cittie, & that there was not one man amongeſt them that durſt venter him ſelfe to followe the flying enemies into the cittie, for that it was full of men of warre, very well armed, and appointed: he dyd encorage his fellowes with wordes and dedes, crying out to them, that fortune had opened the gates of the cittie, more for the followers, thẽ F
the flyers. But all this notwithſtanding, fewe had the hartes to followe him. Howbeit *Martius* being in the throng emong the enemies, thruſt him ſelfe into the gates of the cittie, and entred

A tred the ſame emong them that fled, without that any one of them durſt at the firſt turne their face vpon him, or els offer to ſtaye him. But he looking about him, & ſeeing he was entred the cittie with very fewe men to helpe him, & perceyuing he was enuironned by his enemies that gathered round about to ſet apon him: dyd things then as it is written, wonderfull & incredible, aſwell for the force of his hande, as alſo for the agillitie of his bodie, and with a wonderfull corage & valliantnes, he made a lane through the middeſt of them, and ouerthrewe alſo thoſe he layed at: that ſome he made ronne to the furtheſt parte of the cittie, & other for feare he made yeld them ſelues, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes, *Lartius* that was gotten out, had ſome leyſure to bring the ROMAINES with more ſafety into the cittie. The cittie being taken in this ſorte, the moſt parte of the ſouldiers beganne incontinently to *The cittie of Corioles take.*
B ſpoyle, to carie awaye, & to looke vp the bootie they had wonne. But *Martius* was maruelous angry with them, and cried out on them, that it was no time now to looke after ſpoyle, & to ronne ſtraggling here and there to enriche them ſelues, whileſt the other Conſul and their fellowe cittizens peraduenture were fighting with their enemies: and howe that leauing the ſpoyle they ſhould ſeeke to winde them ſelues out of daunger and perill. Howbeit, crie, and ſaye to them what he could, very fewe of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking thoſe that willingly offered them ſelues to followe him, he went out of the cittie, and tooke his waye towardes that parte, where he vnderſtoode the reſt of the armie was: exhorting and intreating them by the waye that followed him, not to be fainte harted, and ofte holding vp his handes to heauen, he beſought the goddes to be ſo gracious and fauorable
C vnto him, that he might come in time to the battell, and in good hower to hazarde his life in defence of his country men. Now the ROMAINES when they were put in battell raye, and ready to take their targettes on their armes, and to guirde them vpon their arming coates, had a cuſtome to make their willes at that very inſtant, without any manner of wri- *Souldiers teſtaments.*
ting, naming him only whom they would make their heire, in the preſence of three or foure witneſſes. *Martius* came iuſt to that reckoning, whileſt the ſouldiers were a doing after that ſorte, and that the enemies were approched ſo neere, as one ſtoode in viewe of the other. When they ſawe him at his firſt comming, all bloody, and in a ſwet, and but with a fewe men following him: ſome thereupon beganne to be afeard. But ſone after, when they ſawe him ronne with a liuely cheere to the Conſul, and to take him by the hande, decla-
D ring howe he had taken the cittie of CORIOLES, and that they ſawe the Conſul *Cominius* alſo kiſſe and embrace him: then there was not a man but tooke harte againe to him, and beganne to be of a good corage, ſome hearing him reporte from poynte to poynte, the happy ſucceſſe of this exployte, and other alſo coniecturing it by ſeeing their geſtures a farre of. Then they all beganne to call vpon the Conſul to marche forward, and to delaye no lenger, but to geue charge vpon the enemie. *Martius* asked him howe the order of their enemies *By Coriolanus meanes, the Volſci were ouercome in battell.*
battell was, and on which ſide they had placed their beſt fighting men. The Conſul made him aunſwer, that he thought the bandes which were in the voward of their battell, were thoſe of the ANTIATES, whom they eſteemed to be the warlikeſt men, and which for valliant corage would geue no place, to any of the hoſte of their enemies. Then prayed *Mar-*
E *tius*, to be ſet directly againſt them. The Conſul graunted him, greatly prayſing his corage. Then *Martius*, when both armies came almoſt to ioyne, aduaunced him ſelfe a good ſpace before his companie, and went ſo fiercely to geue charge on the voward that came right againſt him, that they could ſtande no lenger in his handes: he made ſuche a lane through them, and opened a paſſage into the battell of the enemies. But the two winges of either ſide turned one to the other, to compaſſe him in betweene them: which the Conſul *Cominius* perceyuing, he ſent thither ſtraight of the beſt ſouldiers he had about him. So the battell was maruelous bloudie about *Martius*, and in a very ſhorte ſpace many were ſlaine in the place. But in the ende the ROMAINES were ſo ſtrong, that they diſtreſſed the enemies, and brake their arraye: and ſcattering them, made them flye. Then they prayed
F *Martius* that he would retire to the campe, bicauſe they ſawe he was able to doe no more, he was already ſo wearied with the great payne he had taken, and ſo fainte with the great woundes he had apon him. But *Martius* aunſwered them, that it was not for con-

querours to yeld, nor to be fainte harted: and thereupon beganne a freshe to chase those A
that fled, vntill suche time as the armie of the enemies was vtterly ouerthrowen, and numbers of them slaine, and taken prisoners. The next morning betimes, *Martius* went to the Consul, and the other ROMAINES with him. There the Consul *Cominius* going vp to his chayer of state, in the presence of the whole armie, gaue thankes to the goddes for so great, glorious, and prosperous a victorie: then he spake to *Martius*, whose valliantnes he commended beyond the moone, both for that he him selfe sawe him doe with his eyes, as also for that *Martius* had reported vnto him. So in the ende he willed *Martius*, he should choose out of all the hórses they had taken of their enemies, and of all the goodes they had wonne (whereof there was great store) tenne of euery sorte which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honorable offer he had B
made him, he gaue him in testimonie that he had wonne that daye the price of prowes aboue all other, a goodly horse with a cappariſon, and all furniture to him: which the whole armie beholding, dyd maruelously praise and commend. But *Martius* stepping forth, tolde the Consul, he most thanckefully accepted the gifte of his horse, and was a glad man besides, that his seruice had deserued his generalls commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenary reward, then an honorable recompence, he would none of it, but was contented to haue his equall parte with other souldiers. Only, this grace (sayed he) I craue, and beseeche you to graunt me. Among the VOLSCES there is an olde friende and hoste of mine, an honest wealthie man, and now a prisoner, who liuing before in great wealth in his owne countrie, liueth now a poore prisoner in the handes of C
his enemies: and yet notwithstanding all this his miserie and misfortune, it would doe me great pleasure if I could saue him from this one daunger: to keepe him from being solde as a slaue. The souldiers hearing *Martius* wordes, made a maruelous great showte among them: and they were moe that wondred at his great contentation and abstinence, when they sawe so litle couetousnes in him, then they were that highely praised and extolled his valliantnes. For euen they them selues, that dyd somewhat malice and enuie his glorie, to see him thus honoured, and passingly prayſed, dyd thincke him so muche the more worthy of an honorable recompence for his valliant seruice, as the more carelesly he refused the great offer made him for his profit: and they esteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse suche rewards, then that which made them to be offred him, D
as vnto a worthie persone. For it is farre more commendable, to vse riches well, then to be valliant: and yet it is better not to desire them, then to vse them well. After this showte and noyse of the assembly was somewhat appeased, the Consul *Cominius* beganne to speake in this sorte. We cannot compell *Martius* to take these giftes we offer him, if he will not receaue them: but we will geue him suche a rewarde for the noble seruice he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we doe order and decree, that henceforth he be called *Coriolanus*, onles his valliant acts haue wonne him that name before our nomination. And so euer since, he stil bare the third name of *Coriolanus*. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the ROMAINES haue, as *Caius*: was our Christian name now. The second, as *Martius*: was the name of the house and familie they came of. The third, was some addition geuen, either for some acte or E
notable seruice, or for some marke on their face, or of some shape of their bodie, or els for some speciall vertue they had. Euen so dyd the GRÆCIANS in olde time giue additions to Princes, by reason of some notable acte worthie memorie. As when they haue called some, *Soter*, and *Callinicos*: as muche to saye, sauiour and conquerour. Or els for some notable apparaunt marke on ones face, or on his bodie, they haue called him *Phiſcon*, and *Grypos*: as ye would saye, gorebelley, and hooke nosed: or els for some vertue, as *Euergetes*, and *Phyladelphos*: to wit, a Benefactour, and louer of his brethern. Or otherwise for ones great felicitie, as *Eudemon*: as muche to saye, as fortunate. For so was the second of the * *Battes* surnamed. And some Kings haue had surnames of ieast and mockery. As one of the *Antigones* that was called *Doſon*, to saye, the Geuer: who was euer promising, and neuer geuing. And one F
of the *Ptolomees* was called *Lamyros*: to saye, conceitiue. The ROMAINES vse more then any other nation, to giue names of mockerie in this sorte. As there was one *Metellus*

surnamed

The tenth parte of the enemies goods offered Martius for reward of his seruice, by Cominius the Consul.

Valiancie rewarded with honour in the fielde.

Martius noble aunswer & refusall.

Martius surnamed Coriolanus by the Consul.

How the Romaines came to three names.

Why the Græcians gaue Kings surnames.

* *These were the princes that built the cittie of Cyrene.*

A surnamed *Diadematus*, the banded: bicause he caried a bande about his heade of longe time, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne familie was called *Celer*: the quicke flye. Bicause a fewe dayes after the death of his father, he shewed the people the cruell fight of fensers at vnrebated swordes, which they founde wonderfull for the shortnes of time. Other had their surnames deriued of some accident of their birthe. As to this daye they call him *Proculeius*, that is borne, his father being in some farre voyage: and him *Posthumius*, that is borne after the deathe of his father. And when of two brethern twinnes, the one doth dye, and thother suruiueth: they call the suruiuer, *Vopiscus*. Somtimes also they geue surnames deriued of some marke or misfortune of the bodie. As *Sylla*, to saye, crooked nosed: *Niger*, blacke: *Rufus*, red: *Cæcus*, blinde: *Claudius*, lame. They dyd wisely
B in this thing to accustome men to thincke, that neither the losse of their sight, nor other such misfortunes as maye chaunce to men, are any shame or disgrace vnto them, but the manner was to aunswer boldly to suche names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories then this. Now when this warre was ended, the flatterers of the people beganne to sturre vp sedition againe, without any newe occasion, or iust matter offered of complainte. For they dyd grounde this seconde insurrection against the Nobilitie and *Patricians*, apon the peoples miserie & misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discorde and sedition betweene them and the Nobilitie. Bicause the most parte of the errable lande within the territorie of Rome, was become heathie and barren for lacke of plowing, for that they had no time nor meane to cause corne,
C to be brought them out of other countries to sowe, by reason of their warres which made the extreme dearth they had emõg them. Now those busie pratlers that sought the peoples good will, by suche flattering wordes, perceyuing great scarsitie of corne to be within the cittie, and though there had bene plenty enough, yet the common people had no money to buye it: they spread abroad false tales and rumours against the Nobilitie, that they in reuenge of the people, had practised and procured the extreme dearthe emong them. Furthermore, in the middest of this sturre, there came ambassadours to Rome from the cittie of Velitres, that offered vp their cittie to the Romaines, and prayed them they would send newe inhabitants to repleni she the same: bicause the plague had bene so extreme among them, & had killed such a number of them, as there was not left aliue the tenth persone of the people that had bene
D there before. So the wise men of Rome beganne to thincke, that the necessitie of the Velitrians fell out in a most happy hower, and howe by this occasion it was very mete in so great a scarsitie of vittailes, to disburden Rome of a great number of cittizens: and by this meanes as well to take awaye this newe sedition, and vtterly to ryd it out of the cittie, as also to cleare the same of many mutinous and seditious persones, being the superfluous ill humours that greuously fedde this disease. Hereupon the Consuls prickt out all those by a bill, whom they intended to sende to Velitres, to goe dwell there as in forme of a colonie: and they leauied out of all the rest that remained in the cittie of Rome, a great number to goe against the Volsces, hoping by the meanes of forreine warre, to pacifie their sedition at home. Moreouer they imagined, when the poore with the riche, and the
E meane sorte with the nobilitie, should by this deuise be abroad in the warres, & in one campe, and in one seruice, and in one like daunger: that then they would be more quiet and louing together. But *Sicinius* and *Brutus*, two seditious Tribunes, spake against either of these deuises, and cried out apon the noble men, that vnder the gentle name of a colonie, they would cloke and culler the most cruell and vnnaturall facte as might be: bicause they sent their poore cittizens into a sore infected cittie and pestilent ayer, full of dead bodies vnburied, and there also to dwell vnder the tuytion of a straunge god, that had so cruelly persecuted his people. This were (said they) euen as muche, as if the Senate should hedlong cast downe the peo-
F ple into a most bottomles pyt. And are not yet contented to haue famished some of the poore cittizens hertofore to death, & to put other of them euen to the mercie of the plague: but a freshe, they haue procured a voluntarie warre, to the ende they would leaue behind no kynde of miserie and ill, wherewith the poore syllie people should not be plagued, and only bicause they are werie to serue the riche. The common people being set on a broyle

Names of mockery amõg the Romaines.

Sedition at Rome, by reason of famine.

Velitres made a colonie to Rome.

Two practises to remoue the sedition in Rome.

Sicinius and Brutus Tribunes of the people, against both those deuises.

and brauerie with theſe wordes, would not appeare when the Conſuls called their names by a bill, to preſt them for the warres, neither would they be ſent out to this newe colonie: in ſo muche as the Senate knewe not well what to ſaye, or doe in the matter. *Martius* then, who was now growen to great credit, and a ſtowte man beſides, and of great reputation with the nobleſt men of ROME, roſe vp, and openly ſpake againſt theſe flattering Tribunes. And for the replenifhing of the cittie of VELITRES, he dyd compell thoſe that were choſen, to goe thither, and to departe the cittie, apon great penalties to him that ſhould diſobey: but to the warres, the people by no meanes would be brought or conſtrained. So *Martius* taking his friendes and followers with him, and ſuch as he could by fayer wordes intreate to goe with him, dyd ronne certen forreyes into the dominion of the ANTIATES, where he met with great plenty of corne, and had a maruelous great ſpoyle, aſwell of cattell, as of men he had taken priſoners, whom he brought awaye with him, and reſerued nothing for him ſelfe: Afterwardes hauing brought backe againe all his men that went out with him, ſafe and ſounde to ROME, and euery man riche and loden with ſpoyle: then the hometarriers and houſedoues that kept ROME ſtill, beganne to repent them that it was not their happe to goe with him, and ſo enuied both them that had ſped ſo well in this iorney, and alſo of malice to *Martius*, they ſpited to ſee his credit and eſtimation increaſe ſtill more and more, bicauſe they accompted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortely after this, *Martius* ſtoode for the Conſulſhippe: and the common people fauored his ſute, thinking it would be a ſhame to them to denie, and refuſe, the chiefeſt noble man of bloude, and moſt worthie perſone of ROME, and ſpecially him that had done ſo great ſeruice and good to the common wealth. For the cuſtome of ROME was at that time, that ſuche as dyd ſue for any office, ſhould for certen dayes before be in the market place, only with a poore gowne on their backes, and without any coate vnderneath, to praye the cittizens to remember them at the daye of election: which was thus deuiſed, either to moue the people the more, by requeſting them in ſuche meane apparell, or els bicauſe they might ſhewe them their woundes they had gotten in the warres in the ſeruice of the cōmon wealth, as manifeſt markes & teſtimonie of their valliantnes. Now it is not to be thought that the ſuters went thus loſe in a ſimple gowne in the market place, without any coate vnder it, for feare, and ſuſpition of the common people: for offices of dignitie in the cittie were not then geuen by fauour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and ſelling fell out in election of officers, and that the voyces of the electours were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten waye into the election of offices, it hath ronne from man to man, euen to the very ſentence of iudges, and alſo emong captaines in the warres: ſo as in the ende, that only turned common wealthes into Kingdomes, by making armes ſubiect to money. Therefore me thinckes he had reaſon that ſayed: he that firſt made banckets, and gaue money to the common people, was the firſt that tooke awaye authoritie, and deſtroyed common wealth. But this peſtilence crept in by litle and litle, and dyd ſecretly winne ground ſtill, continuing a long time in ROME, before it was openly knowen and diſcouered. For no man can tell who was the firſt man that bought the peoples voyces for money, nor that corrupted the ſentence of the iudges. Howbeit at ATHENS ſome holde opinion, that *Anytus*, the ſonne of *Anthemion*, was the firſt man that fedde the iudges with money, about the ende of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, being accuſed of treaſon for yelding vp the forte of PYLE, at that time, when the golden and vnfoiled age remained yet whole in iudgement at ROME. Now *Martius* following this cuſtome, ſhewed many woundes and cuttes apon his bodie, which he had receyued in ſeuenteene yeres ſeruice at the warres, and in many ſundrie battells, being euer the formeſt man that dyd ſet out feete to fight. So that there was not a man emong the people, but was aſhamed of him ſelfe, to refuſe ſo valliant a man: and one of them ſayed to another, we muſt needes chuſe him Conſul, there is no remedie. But when the daye of election was come, and that *Martius* came to the market place with great pompe, accompanied with all the Senate, and the whole Nobilitie of the cittie about him, who ſought to make him Conſul, with the greateſt inſtance and intreatie they could, or euer attempted for any man or matter: then the loue and good will of the common people,

Coriolanus offendeth the people.

Coriolanus inuadeth the Antiates, and bringeth rich ſpoyles home.

The manner of ſuyng for office at Rome.

Whereupon this manner of ſuyng was ſo deuiſed.

Offices geuen then by deſert, without fauour or corruption.

Banketts and money geuen: only deſtroyers of common wealth.

Anytus the Athenian, the firſt that with money corrupted the ſentence of the iudge, and voyces of the people.

A people, turned ſtraight to an hate and enuie toward him, fearing to put this office of ſoue- *See the fickle mindes of cõmon people.*
raine authoritie into his handes, being a man ſomewhat partiall toward the nobilitie, and of great credit and authoritie amongeſt the *Patricians*, and as one they might doubt would take away alltogether the libertie from the people. Whereupon for theſe cõſiderations, they refuſed *Martius* in the ende, and made two other that were ſuters, Conſuls. The Senate being maruelouſly offended with the people, dyd accompt the ſhame of this refuſall, rather to redownd to them ſelues, then to *Martius*: but *Martius* tooke it in farre worſe parte then the Senate, and was out of all pacience. For he was a man to full of paſſion and choller, and to muche geuen to ouer ſelfe will and opinion, as one of a highe minde and great corage, that lacked the grauity, and affabilitie that is gotten with iudgment of learning and reaſon, which only is to
B be looked for in a gouernour of ſtate: and that remembred not how wilfulnes is the thing of the world, which a gouernour of a cõmon wealth for pleaſing ſhould ſhõne, being that which *Plato* called ſolitarines. As in the ende, all men that are wilfully geuen to a ſelfe opinion & ob- *The fruites of ſelfe will and obſtinacie.*
ſtinate minde, and who will neuer yeld to others reaſon, but to their owne: remaine without cõpanie, & forſaken of all men. For a man that will liue in the world, muſt nedes haue patience, which luſty bloudes make but a mocke at. So *Martius* being a ſtowte man of nature, that neuer yelded in any reſpect, as one thincking that to ouercome allwayes, and to haue the vpper hande in all matters, was a token of magnanimitie, and of no baſe and fainte corage, which ſpitteth out anger from the moſt weake and paſſioned parte of the harte, much like the matter of an impoſtume: went home to his houſe, full fraighted with ſpite and malice againſt the
C people, being accompanied with all the luſtieſt young gentlemen, whoſe mindes were nobly bent, as thoſe that came of noble race, and commonly vſed for to followe and honour him. But then ſpecially they floct about him, and kept him companie, to his muche harme: for they dyd but kyndle and inflame his choller more and more, being ſorie with him for the iniurie the people offred him, bicauſe he was their captaine and leader to the warres, that taught them all marſhall diſcipline, and ſtirred vp in them a noble emulation of honour and valliantnes, and yet without enuie, praiſing them that deſerued beſt. In the meane ſeaſon, there came great plenty of corne to Rome, that had bene bought, parte in Italie, and parte *Great ſtore of corne brought to Rome.*
was ſent out of Sicile, as geuen by *Gelon* the tyranne of Syracvsa: ſo that many ſtoode in great hope, that the dearthe of vittells being holpen, the ciuill diſſention would alſo ceaſe.
D The Senate ſate in counſell apon it immediatly, the common people ſtoode alſo about the palice where the counſell was kept, gaping what reſolution would fall out: perſuading them ſelues, that the corne they had bought ſhould be ſolde good cheape, and that which was geuen, ſhould be deuided by the polle, without paying any pennie, and the rather, bicauſe certaine of the Senatours amongeſt them dyd ſo wiſhe and perſuade the ſame. But *Martius* ſtan- *Coriolanus oration againſt the inſolencie of the people.*
ding vp on his feete, dyd ſomewhat ſharpely take vp thoſe, who went about to gratifie the people therein: and called them people pleaſers, and traitours to the nobilitie. Moreouer he ſayed they nourriſhed againſt them ſelues, the naughty ſeede and cockle, of inſolencie and ſedition, which had bene ſowed and ſcattered abroade emongeſt the people, whom they ſhould haue cut of, if they had bene wiſe, and haue preuented their greatnes: and not to their owne
E deſtruction to haue ſuffered the people, to ſtabliſhe a magiſtrate for them ſelues, of ſo great power and authoritie, as that man had, to whom they had graunted it. Who was alſo to be feared, bicauſe he obtained what he would, and dyd nothing but what he liſted, neither paſſed for any obedience to the Conſuls, but liued in all libertie, acknowledging no ſuperiour to commaund him, ſauing the only heades and authours of their faction, whom he called his magiſtrates. Therefore ſayed he, they that gaue counſell, and perſuaded that the corne ſhould be geuen out to the common people *gratis*, as they vſed to doe in citties of Græce, where the people had more abſolute power: dyd but only nouriſhe their diſobedience, which would breake out in the ende, to the vtter ruine and ouerthrowe of the whole ſtate. For they will not thincke it is done in recompẽſe of their ſeruice paſt, ſithence they know well enough
F they haue ſo ofte refuſed to goe to the warres, when they were cõmaunded: neither for their mutinies when they wẽt with vs, whereby they haue rebelled & forſaken their coũtrie: neither for their accuſations which their flatterers haue preferred vnto them, & they haue receyued,

" and made good againſt the Senate: but they will rather iudge we geue and graunt them this, A
" as abaſing our ſelues,and ſtanding in feare of them,& glad to flatter them euery waye. By this
" meanes,their diſobedience will ſtill growe worſe and worſe: and they will neuer leaue to pra-
" ctiſe newe ſedition, and vprores. Therefore it were a great follie for vs, me thinckes to doe it
" yea,ſhall I ſaye more? we ſhould if we were wiſe,take from them their Tribuneſhippe, which
" moſt manifeſtly is the embaſing of the Conſulſhippe,& the cauſe of the diuiſion of the cittie.
" The ſtate whereof as it ſtandeth,is not now as it was wont to be, but becommeth diſmembred
" in two factions,which mainteines allwayes ciuill diſſention and diſcorde betwene vs, and will
" neuer ſuffer vs againe to be vnited into one bodie. *Martius* dilating the matter with many ſuch
like reaſons,wanne all the young men,and almoſt all the riche men to his opinion: in ſo much
they range it out,that he was the only man,and alone in the cittie, who ſtoode out againſt the B
people,& neuer flattered them. There were only a fewe olde men that ſpake againſt him,fea-
ring leaſt ſome miſchief might fall out apon it, as in dede there followed no great good after-
ward. For the Tribunes of the people, being preſent at this conſultation of the Senate, when
they ſawe that the opinion of *Martius* was confirmed with the more voyces,they left the Se-
nate, and went downe to the people, crying out for helpe, and that they would aſſemble to
ſaue their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ranne on head in tumult together,before whom the
wordes that *Martius* ſpake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people ſo ſtoma-
ked,that euen in that furie they were readie to flye apon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes
layed all the faulte and burden wholy vpon *Martius*, and ſent their ſergeantes forthwith to
arreſt him, preſently to appeare in perſone before the people, to aunſwer the wordes he had C
ſpoken in the Senate. *Martius* ſtowtely withſtoode theſe officers that came to arreſt him. Then
Sedition at Rome for Coriolanus. the Tribunes in their owne perſones, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to fetche him by
force,and ſo layed violent hands vpon him. Howbeit the noble *Patricians* gathering together
about him,made the Tribunes geue backe,and layed it ſore apon the Ædiles: ſo for that time,
the night parted them,& the tumult appeaſed. The next morning betimes, the Conſuls ſeing
the people in an vprore,ronning to the market place out of all partes of the cittie, they were
affrayed leaſt all the cittie would together by the eares: wherefore aſſembling the Senate in
all haſt,they declared how it ſtoode them vpon,to appeaſe the furie of the people,with ſome
gentle wordes, or gratefull decrees in their fauour: and moreouer, like wiſe men they ſhould
V conſider, it was now no time to ſtande at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for ho- D
nour againſt the communaltie: they being fallen to ſo great an extremitie, and offering ſuch
imminēt daunger. Wherefore they were to conſider temperately of things,& to deliuer ſome
preſent and gentle pacification. The moſt parte of the Senatours that were preſent at this
counſaill,thought this opinion beſt, & gaue their conſents vnto it. Whereupon the Conſuls
riſing out of counſaill, went to ſpeake vnto the people as gently as they could, and they dyd
pacifie their furie & anger,purging the Senate of all the vniuſt accuſations layed vpon them,
and vſed great modeſtie in perſuading them,and alſo in reprouing the faultes they had com-
mitted. And as for the reſt, that touched the ſale of corne: they promiſed there ſhould be no
diſliking offred them in the price. So the moſt parte of the people being pacified,and appea-
ring ſo plainely by the great ſilence and ſtill that was among them, as yelding to the Conſuls, E
and liking well of their wordes: the Tribunes then of the people roſe out of their ſeates, and
ſayed. Foraſmuche as the Senate yelded vnto reaſon,the people alſo for their parte,as became
them, dyd likewiſe geue place vnto them: but notwithſtanding, they would that *Martius*
ſhould come in perſone to aunſwer to the articles they had deuiſed. Firſt,whether he had not
Articles againſt Coriolanus. ſolicited and procured the Senate to chaunge the preſent ſtate of the common weale, and to
take the ſoueraine authoritie out of the peoples handes. Next,when he was ſent for by autho-
ritie of their officers,why he dyd contemptuouſly reſiſt and diſobey. Laſtely,ſeeing he had dri-
uen and beaten the Ædiles into the market place before all the worlde: if in doing this,he had
not done as muche as in him laye,to raiſe ciuill warres,and to ſet one cittizen againſt another.
All this was ſpoken to one of theſe two endes, either that *Martius* againſt his nature ſhould F
be conſtrained to humble him ſelfe,and to abaſe his hawty and fierce minde: or els if he con-
tinued ſtill in his ſtowtnes,he ſhould incurre the peoples diſpleaſure and ill will ſo farre, that
he

A he ſhould neuer poſſibly winne them againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out ſo, then otherwiſe: as in deede they geſt vnhappely, conſidering *Martius* nature and diſpoſition. So *Martius* came, and preſented him ſelfe, to aunſwer their accuſations againſt him, & the people held their peace, and gaue attentiue eare, to heare what he would ſaye. But where they thought to haue heard very humble and lowly wordes come from him, he beganne not only to vſe his wonted boldnes of ſpeaking (which of it ſelfe was very rough and vnpleaſaunt, and dyd more aggrauate his accuſation, then purge his innocencie) but alſo gaue him ſelfe in his wordes to thunder, and looke therewithall ſo grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the matter. This ſtirred coales emong the people, who were in wonderfull furie at it, & their hate and malice grewe ſo toward him, that they could holde no lenger, beare, nor indure his bra-

Coriolanus ſtowtnes in defence of himſelfe.

B uery and careles boldnes. Whereupon *Sicinius*, the cruelleſt and ſtowteſt of the Tribunes, after he had whiſpered a litle with his companions, dyd openly pronounce in the face of all the people, *Martius* as condemned by the Tribunes to dye. Then preſently he commaunded the Ædiles to apprehend him, and carie him ſtraight to the rocke Tarpeian, and to caſt him hedlong downe the ſame. When the Ædiles came to laye handes vpon *Martius* to doe that they were commaunded, diuers of the people them ſelues thought it to cruell, and violent a dede. The noble men alſo being muche troubled to ſee ſuch force and rigour vſed, beganne to crie alowde, helpe *Martius*: ſo thoſe that layed handes of him being repulſed, they compaſſed him in rounde emong them ſelues, and ſome of them holding vp their handes to the people, beſought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their wordes, nor crying out could

Sicinius the Tribune, pronounceth ſentence of death vpō Martius.

C ought preuaile, the tumulte and hurly burley was ſo great, vntill ſuche time as the Tribunes owne friendes and kinſemen weying with them ſelues the impoſſiblenes to conuey *Martius* to execution, without great ſlaughter & murder of the nobilitie: dyd perſuade and aduiſe not to proceede in ſo violent and extraordinary a ſorte, as to put ſuch a man to death, without lawfull proceſſe in lawe, but that they ſhould referre the ſentence of his death, to the free voyce of the people. Then *Sicinius* bethinking him ſelf a litle, dyd aske the *Patricians*, for what cauſe they tooke *Martius* out of the officers handes that went to doe execution? The *Patricians* asked him againe, why they would of them ſelues, ſo cruelly and wickedly put to death, ſo noble and valliant a Romaine, as *Martius* was, and that without lawe or iuſtice? Well, then ſayed *Sicinius*, if that be the matter, let there be no more quarrell or diſſention againſt the peo-

D ple: for they doe graunt your demaũde, that his cauſe ſhalbe heard according to the law. Therfore ſayed he to *Martius*, we doe will and charge you to appeare before the people, the third daye of our next ſitting and aſſembly here, to make your purgation for ſuch articles as ſhalbe obiected againſt you, that by free voyce the people maye geue ſentence apon you as ſhall pleaſe them. The noble men were glad then of the adiornment, and were muche pleaſed they had gotten *Martius* out of this daunger. In the meane ſpace, before the third day of their next ceſſion came about, the ſame being kept euery nineth daye continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latin, *Nundinæ*: there fell out warre againſt the Antiates, which gaue ſome hope to the nobilitie, that this adiornment would come to litle effect, thinking that this warre would hold them ſo longe, as that the furie of the people againſt him would be well

Coriolanus hath daye geuen him to aunſwer the people.

E ſwaged, or vtterly forgotten, by reaſon of the trouble of the warres. But contrarie to expectation, the peace was concluded preſently with the Antiates, and the people returned again to Rome. Then the *Patricians* aſſembled oftentimes together, to conſult how they might ſtande to *Martius*, and keepe the Tribunes from occaſion to cauſe the people to mutine againe, and riſe againſt the nobilitie. And there *Appius Clodius* (one that was taken euer as an heauy enemie to the people) dyd auowe and proteſt, that they would vtterly abaſe the authoritie of the Senate, and deſtroye the common weale, if they would ſuffer the common people to haue authoritie by voyces to geue iudgment againſt the nobilitie. On thother ſide againe, the moſt auncient Senatours, & ſuche as were geuen to fauour the cōmon people ſayed: that when the people ſhould ſee they had authoritie of life and death in their handes, they would

F not be ſo cruell & fierce, but gentle and ciuill. More alſo, that it was not for contempt of nobilitie or the Senate, that they ſought to haue the authoritie of iuſtice in their handes, as a preheminence and prerogatiue of honour: but bicauſe they feared, that them ſelues ſhould

be contemned and hated of the nobilitie. So as they were perſuaded, that ſo ſone as they gaue A
them authoritie to iudge by voyces: ſo ſone would they leaue all enuie and malice to condemne anye. *Martius* ſeeing the Senate in great doubt how to reſolue, partely for the loue and good will the nobilitie dyd beare him, and partely for the feare they ſtoode in of the people: asked alowde of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden him with? The Tribunes aunſwered him, that they would ſhewe howe he dyd aſpire to be King, and would proue that all his actions tended to vſurpe tyrannicall power ouer ROME. *Martius* with that, riſing vp on his feete, ſayed: that thereupon he dyd willingly offer him ſelf to the people, to be tried apon that accuſation. And that if it were proued by him, he had ſo muche as once thought of any ſuche matter, that he would then refuſe no kinde of puniſhment they would offer him: conditionally (q. he) that you charge me with nothing els beſides, and that B
ye doe not alſo abuſe the Senate. They promiſed they would not. Vnder theſe conditions the iudgement was agreed vpon, and the people aſſembled. And firſt of all the Tribunes would in any caſe (whatſoeuer became of it) that the people would proceede to geue their voyces by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the multitude of the poore needy people (and all ſuche rable as had nothing to loſe, and had leſſe regard of honeſtie before their eyes) came to be of greater force (bicauſe their voyces were numbred by the polle) then the noble honeſt cittizens, whoſe perſones and purſe dyd duetifully ſerue the common wealth in their warres. And then when the Tribunes ſawe they could not proue he went about to make him ſelf King: they beganne to broache a freſhe the former wordes that *Martius* had ſpoken in the Senate, in hindering the diſtribution of the corne at meane price vnto the common people, C
and perſuading alſo to take the office of Tribuneſhippe from them. And for the third, they charged him a newe, that he had not made the common diſtribution of the ſpoyle he had gotten in the inuading the territories of the ANTIATES: but had of his owne authoritie deuided it among them, who were with him in that iorney. But this matter was moſt ſtraunge of all to *Martius*, looking leaſt to haue bene burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Wherupon being burdened on the ſodaine, and hauing no ready excuſe to make euen at that inſtant: he beganne to fall a praiſing of the ſouldiers that had ſerued with him in that iorney. But thoſe that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out ſo lowde, and made ſuche a noyſe, that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voyces of the Tribes, there were three voyces odde, which condemned him to be baniſhed for life. Af- D
ter declaration of the ſentence, the people made ſuche ioye, as they neuer reioyced more for any battell they had wonne vpon their enemies, they were ſo braue and liuely, & went home ſo iocondly from the aſſembly, for triumphe of this ſentẽce. The Senate againe in contrary manner were as ſad and heauie, repenting them ſelues beyond meaſure, that they had not rather determined to haue done & ſuffered any thing whatſoeuer, before the cõmon people ſhould ſo arrogantly, and outrageouſly haue abuſed their authoritie. There needed no difference of garments I warrãt you, nor outward ſhowes to know a *Plebeian* from a *Patrician*, for they were eaſely decerned by their lookes. For he that was on the peoples ſide, looked cheerely on the matter: but he that was ſad, and honge downe his head, he was ſure of the noble mens ſide. Sauing *Martius* alone, who neither in his countenaunce, nor in his gate, dyd euer ſhowe him E
ſelfe abaſhed, or once let fall his great corage: but he only of all other gentlemen that were angrie at his fortune, dyd outwardly ſhewe no manner of paſſion, nor care at all of him ſelfe. Not that he dyd paciently beare and temper his good happe, in reſpect of any reaſon he had, or by his quiet condition: but bicauſe he was ſo caried awaye with the vehemencie of anger, and deſire of reuenge, that he had no ſence nor feeling of the hard ſtate he was in, which the common people iudge, not to be ſorow, although in dede it be the very ſame. For when ſorow (as you would ſaye) is ſet a fyre, then it is conuerted into ſpite and malice, and driueth awaye for that time all faintnes of harte and naturall feare. And this is the cauſe why the cholericke man is ſo altered, and mad in his actions, as a man ſet a fyre with a burning agewe: for when a mans harte is troubled within, his pulſe will beate maruelous ſtrongely. Now that F
Martius was euen in that taking, it appeared true ſone after by his doinges. For when he was come home to his houſe againe, and had taken his leaue of his mother and wife, finding them

weeping

Coriolanus accuſed that he ſought to be King.

Coriolanus baniſhed for life.

Coriolanus conſtãt minde in aduerſitie.

The force of anger.

A weeping, and ſhreeking out for ſorrowe, and had alſo comforted and perſuaded them to be content with his chaunce: he went immediatly to the gate of the cittie, accompanied with a great number of *Patricians* that brought him thither, from whence he went on his waye with three or foure of his friendes only, taking nothing with him, nor requeſting any thing of any man. So he remained a fewe dayes in the countrie at his houſes, turmoyled with ſundry ſortes and kynde of thoughtes, ſuche as the fyer of his choller dyd ſturre vp. In the ende, ſeeing he could reſolue no waye, to take a profitable or honorable courſe, but only was pricked forward ſtill to be reuēged of the ROMAINES: he thought to raiſe vp ſome great warres againſt them, by their neereſt neighbours. Whereupon, he thought it his beſt waye, firſt to ſtirre vp the VOLSCES againſt them, knowing they were yet able enough in ſtrength and riches to en-
B counter them, notwithſtanding their former loſſes they had receyued not long before, & that their power was not ſo muche impaired, as their malice and deſire was increaſed, to be reuenged of the ROMAINES. Now in the cittie of ANTIVM, there was one called *Tullus Aufidius*, who for his riches, as alſo for his nobilitie and valliantnes, was honoured emong the VOLSCES as a King. *Martius* knewe very well, that *Tullus* dyd more malice and enuie him, then he dyd all the ROMAINES beſides: bicauſe that many times in battells where they met, they were euer at the encounter one againſt another, like luſtie coragious youthes, ſtriuing in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. In ſo muche, as beſides the common quarrell betweene them, there was bred a maruelous priuate hate one againſt another. Yet notwithſtanding, conſidering that *Tullus Aufidius* was a man of a great minde,
C and that he aboue all other of the VOLSCES, moſt deſired reuenge of the ROMAINES, for the iniuries they had done vnto them: he dyd an acte that confirmed the true wordes of an auncient Poet, who ſayed:

Tullus Aufidius, a greate perſone emōg the Volſces.

It is a thing full harde, mans anger to vvithſtand,
if it be ſtiffely bent to take an enterpriſe in hande.
For then moſt men vvill haue, the thing that they deſire,
although it coſt their liues therefore, ſuche force hath vvicked ire.

And ſo dyd he. For he diſguiſed him ſelfe in ſuche arraye and attire, as he thought no man could euer haue knowen him for the perſone he was, ſeeing him in that apparell he had vpon his backe: and as *Homer* ſayed of *Vlyſſes*,

D *So dyd he enter into the enemies tovvne.*

It was euen twy light when he entred the cittie of ANTIVM, and many people met him in the ſtreetes, but no man knewe him. So he went directly to *Tullus Aufidius* houſe, and when he came thither, he got him vp ſtraight to the chimney harthe, and ſat him downe, and ſpake not a worde to any man, his face all muffled ouer. They of the houſe ſpying him, wondered what he ſhould be, and yet they durſt not byd him riſe. For ill fauoredly muffled and diſguiſed as he was, yet there appeared a certaine maieſtie in his countenance, and in his ſilence: whereupon they went to *Tullus* who was at ſupper, to tell him of the ſtraunge diſguiſing of this man. *Tullus* roſe preſently from the borde, and comming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then *Martius* vnmuffled him ſelfe, and after he had pauſed a while, ma-

Coriolanus diſguiſed, goeth to Antium, a cittie of the Volſces

E king no aunſwer, he ſayed vnto him. If thou knoweſt me not yet, *Tullus*, and ſeeing me, doſt not perhappes beleeue me to be the man I am in dede, I muſt of neceſſitie bewraye my ſelfe to be that I am. I am *Caius Martius*, who hath done to thy ſelf particularly, and to all the VOLSCES « generally, great hurte and miſchief, which I cannot denie for my ſurname of *Coriolanus* that I « beare. For I neuer had other benefit nor recompence, of all the true and paynefull ſeruice I « haue done, and the extreme daungers I haue bene in, but this only ſurname: a good memorie « and witnes, of the malice and diſpleaſure thou ſhowldeſt beare me. In deede the name only « remaineth with me: for the reſt, the enuie and crueltie of the people of ROME haue taken « from me, by the ſufferance of the darſtardly nobilitie and magiſtrates, who haue forſaken me, « & let me be baniſhed by the people. This extremitie hath now driuen me to come as a poore «

Coriolanus oration to Tullus Aufidius.

F ſuter, to take thy chimney harthe, not of any hope I haue to ſaue my life thereby. For if I had « feared death, I would not haue come hither to haue put my life in hazard: but prickt forward « with ſpite and deſire I haue to be reuenged of them that thus haue baniſhed me, whom now «

» I beginne to be auenged on, putting my perſone betweene thy enemies. Wherefore, if thou A
» haſt any harte to be wrecked of the iniuries thy enemies haue done thee, ſpede thee now, and
» let my miſerie ſerue thy turne, and ſo vſe it, as my ſeruice maye be a benefit to the VOLSCES:
» promiſing thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, then euer I dyd when I was
» againſt you, knowing that they fight more valliantly, who knowe the force of their enemie,
» then ſuch as haue neuer proued it. And if it be ſo that thou dare not, and that thou art wearye
» to proue fortune any more: then am I alſo weary to liue any lenger. And it were no wiſedome
» in thee, to ſaue the life of him, who hath bene heretofore thy mortall enemie, and whoſe ſer-
» uice now can nothing helpe nor pleaſure thee. *Tullus* hearing what he ſayed, was a maruelous
glad man, and taking him by the hande, he ſayed vnto him. Stande vp, ô *Martius*, and bee of
good chere, for in profering thy ſelfe vnto vs, thou doſt vs great honour: and by this meanes B
thou mayeſt hope alſo of greater things, at all the VOLSCES handes. So he feaſted him for
that time, and entertained him in the honorableſt manner he could, talking with him in no o-
ther matters at that preſent: but within fewe dayes after, they fell to conſultation together, in
what ſorte they ſhould beginne their warres. Now on thother ſide, the cittie of ROME was in
Great diſſen- maruelous vprore, and diſcord, the nobilitie againſt the communaltie, and chiefly for *Martius*
tion at Rome condemnation and baniſhment. Moreouer the prieſtes, the Soothe ſayers, and priuate men
about Mar- alſo, came and declared to the Senate certaine ſightes and wonders in the ayer, which they
tius baniſh- had ſeene, and were to be conſidered of: amongeſt the which, ſuch a viſion happened. There
ment. was a cittizen of ROME called *Titus Latinus*, a man of meane qualitie & condition, but other-
wiſe an honeſt ſober man, geuen to a quiet life, without ſuperſtition, and much leſſe to vanitie C
or lying. This man had a viſion in his dreame, in the which he thought that *Iupiter* appeared
vnto him, and commaunded him to ſignifie to the Senate, that they had cauſed a very vile
lewde daunſer to goe before the proceſſion: and ſayed, the firſt time this viſion had appeared
vnto him, he made no reckoning of it: and comming againe another time into his minde, he
made not muche more accompt of the matter then before. In the ende, he ſawe one of his
ſonnes dye, who had the beſt nature and condition of all his brethern: and ſodainely he him
ſelfe was ſo taken in all his limmes, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he tolde
the whole circumſtãce of this viſion before the Senate, ſitting vpon his litle couche or bedde,
whereon he was caried on mens armes: and he had no ſooner reported this viſion to the Se-
nate, but he preſently felt his bodie & limmes reſtored again, to their former ſtrẽgth & vſe. So D
raiſing vp him ſelf vpon his couche, he got vp on his feete at that inſtant, & walked home to his
houſe, without helpe of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent en-
quierie to vnderſtand the trothe: & in the ende they found there was ſuch a thing. There was
one that had deliuered a bõdman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other ſlaues
& bondemen, & had commanded them to whippe him vp & down the market place, & after-
wards to kill him: & as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they dyd ſo martyre
the poore wretch, that for the cruell ſmarte & payne he felt, he turned & writhed his bodie, in
ſtraũge & pittiefull ſorte. The proceſſion by chaunce came by euen at the ſame time, & many
that followed it, were hartely moued & offended with the ſight, ſaying: that this was no good
ſight to behold, nor mete to be met in proceſſiõ time. But for all this, there was nothing done E
ſauing they blamed & rebuked him, that puniſhed his ſlaue ſo cruelly. For the ROMAINES at
that time, dyd vſe their bondemen very gently, bicauſe they them ſelues dyd labour with their
owne hands, and liued with them, & emong them: and therefore they dyd vſe them the more
The Romai- gently and familliarly. For the greateſt puniſhment they gaue a ſlaue that had offended, was
nes manner of this. They made him carie a limmer on his ſhowlders that is faſtened to the axeltree of a
puniſhing coche, and compelled him to goe vp and downe in that ſorte amongeſt all their neighbours.
their ſlaues. He that had once abidden this puniſhement, and was ſeene in that manner, was proclaimed
Whereof and cried in euery market towne: ſo that no man would euer truſt him after, and they called
Furcifer came him *Furcifer*, bicauſe the LATINES call the wodd that ronneth into the axeltree of the coche,
Furca, as muche to ſaye, as a forke. Now when *Latinus* had made reporte to the Senate of the F
viſion that had happened to him, they were deuiſing whom this vnpleaſaunt daunſer ſhould
be, that went before the proceſſion. Thereupon certain that ſtoode by, remembred the poore

A slaue that was so cruelly whipped through the market place, whom they afterwardes put to death: and the thing that made them remember it, was the straunge and rare manner of his punishment. The priestes hereupon were repaired vnto for their aduise: they were wholy of opinion, that it was the whipping of the slaue. So they caused the slaues master to be punished, and beganne againe a newe procession, and all other showes and sightes in honour of *Iupiter*. But hereby appeareth plainely, how king *Numa* dyd wisely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the goddes, and specially this custome which he stablished, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishoppes, priestes, or other religious ministers goe about any diuine seruice, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out alowde, *Hoc age*: as to saye, doe this, or minde this. Hereby they are specially cõmaunded, B wholy to dispose them selues to serue God, leauing all other busines and matters a side: knowing well enough, that whatsoeuer most men doe, they doe it as in a manner constrained vnto it. But the ROMAINES dyd euer vse to beginne againe their sacrifices, processions, playes, and suche like showes done in honour of the goddes, not only vpon suche an occasion, but apon lighter causes then that. As when they went a procession through the cittie, and dyd carie the images of their goddes, and suche other like holy relikes vpon open hallowed coches or charrets, called in LATIN *Thensæ*: one of the coche horses that drue them stoode still, and would drawe no more: and bicause also the coche man tooke the raynes of the bridle with the left hande, they ordained that the procession should be begonne againe a newe. Of later time also, they dyd renewe and beginne a sacrifice thirtie times one after another, bicause they thought C still there fell out one faulte or other in the same, so holy and deuout were they to the goddes. Now *Tullus* and *Martius* had secret conference with the greatest personages of the cittie of ANTIVM, declaring vnto them, that now they had good time offered them to make warre with the ROMAINES, while they were in dissention one with another. They aunswered them, they were ashamed to breake the league, considering that they were sworne to keepe peace for two yeres. Howbeit shortely after, the ROMAINES gaue them great occasion to make warre with them. For on a holy daye common playes being kept in ROME, apon some suspition, or false reporte, they made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all the VOLSCES should auoyde out of ROME before sunne set. Some thincke this was a crafte and deceipt of *Martius*, who sent one to ROME to the Consuls, to accuse the VOLSCES falsely, aduertising D them howe they had made a conspiracie to set apon them, whileste they were busie in seeing these games, and also to set their cittie a fyre. This open proclamation made all the VOLSCES more offended with the ROMAINES, then euer they were before: and *Tullus* agrauating the matter, dyd so inflame the VOLSCES against them, that in the ende they sent their ambassadours to Rome, to summone them to deliuer their landes and townes againe, which they had taken from them in times past, or to looke for present warres. The ROMAINES hearing this, were maruelously netled: and made no other aunswer but thus. If the VOLSCES be the first that beginne warre: the ROMAINES will be the last that will ende it. Incontinently vpon returne of the VOLSCES ambassadours, and deliuerie of the ROMAINES aunswer: *Tullus* caused an assembly generall to be made of the VOLSCES, and concluded to make warre apon E the ROMAINES. This done, *Tullus* dyd counsell them to take *Martius* into their seruice, and not to mistruste him for the remembraunce of any thing past, but boldely to truste him in any matter to come: for he would doe them more seruice in fighting for them, then euer he dyd them displeasure in fighting against them. So *Martius* was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no lesse eloquent in tongue, then warlike in showe: and declared him selfe both expert in warres, and wise with valliantnes. Thus he was ioyned in commission with *Tullus* as generall of the VOLSCES, hauing absolute authoritie betwene thẽ to follow & pursue the warres. But *Martius* fearing least tract of time to bring this armie togither with all the munitiõ & furniture of the VOLSCES, would robbe him of the meane he had to execute his purpose and intent: left order with the rulers and chief of the F cittie, to assemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary prouision for the campe. Then he with the lightest souldiers he had, and that were willing to followe him, stale awaye vpon the sodaine, and marched with all speede, and entred the territories of ROME, before the

A ceremonie instituted by king Numa, touching religion.

The superstition of the Romaines.

Thensæ.

The Romaines gaue the Volsces occasion of warres.

Martius Coriolanus craftie accusation of the Volsces.

Coriolanus chosen generall of the Volsces with Tullus Aufidius against the Romaines.

Coriolanus inuadeth the territories of the Romaines.

ROMAINES heard any newes of his comming. In ſo much the VOLSCES found ſuch ſpoyle in the fields, as they had more then they could ſpend in their campe, and were wearie to driue and carie awaye that they had. Howbeit the gayne of the ſpoyle and the hurte they dyd to the ROMAINES in this inuaſion, was the leaſt parte of his intent. For his chiefeſt purpoſe was, to increaſe ſtill the malice and diſſention betweene the nobilitie, and the communaltie: and to drawe that on, he was very carefull to keepe the noble mens landes & goods ſafe from harme and burning, but ſpoyled all the whole countrie beſides, and would ſuffer no man to take or hurte any thing of the noble mens. This made greater ſturre and broyle betweene the nobilitie and people, then was before. For the noble men fell out with the people, bicauſe they had ſo vniuſtly baniſhed a man of ſo great valure and power. The people on thother ſide, accuſed the nobilitie, how they had procured *Martius* to make theſe warres, to be reuenged of them: bicauſe it pleaſed them to ſee their goodes burnt and ſpoyled before their eyes, whileſt them ſelues were well at eaſe, and dyd behold the peoples loſſes and misfortunes, & knowing their owne goodes ſafe and out of daunger: and howe the warre was not made againſt the noble men, that had the enemie abroad, to keepe that they had in ſafety. Now *Martius* hauing done this firſt exploite (which made the VOLSCES bolder, and leſſe fearefull of the ROMAINES) brought home all the armie againe, without loſſe of any man. After their whole armie (which was maruelous great, and very forward to ſeruice) was aſſembled in one campe: they agreed to leaue parte of it for garriſon in the countrie about, and the other parte ſhould goe on, and make the warre apon the ROMAINES. So *Martius* bad *Tullus* chooſe, and take which of the two charges he liked beſt. *Tullus* made him aunſwer, he knewe by experience that *Martius* was no leſſe valliant then him ſelfe, and howe he euer had better fortune and good happe in all battells, then him ſelfe had. Therefore he thought it beſt for him to haue the leading of thoſe that ſhould make the warres abroade: and him ſelfe would keepe home, to prouide for the ſafety of the cities and of his countrie, and to furniſhe the campe alſo of all neceſſary prouiſion abroade. So *Martius* being ſtronger then before, went firſt of all vnto the cittie of CIRCEES, inhabited by the ROMAINES, who willingly yelded them ſelues, and therefore had no hurte. From thence, he entred the countrie of the LATINES, imagining the ROMAINES would fight with him there, to defend the LATINES, who were their confederates, and had many times ſent vnto the ROMAINES for their ayde. But on the one ſide, the people of ROME were very ill willing to goe: and on the other ſide the Conſuls being apon their going out of their office, would not hazard them ſelues for ſo ſmall a time: ſo that the ambaſſadours of the LATINES returned home againe, and dyd no good. Then *Martius* dyd beſiege their cities, and hauing taken by force the townes of the TOLERINIANS, VICANIANS, PEDANIANS, and the BOLANIANS, who made reſiſtaunce: he ſacked all their goodes, and tooke them priſoners. Suche as dyd yeld them ſelues willingly vnto him, he was as carefull as poſſible might be, to defend them from hurte: and bicauſe they ſhould receyue no damage by his will, he remoued his campe as farre from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he tooke the cittie of BOLES by aſſault, being about an hundred furlonge from ROME, where he had a maruelous great ſpoyle, and put euery man to the ſword that was able to carie weapon. The other VOLSCES that were appointed to remaine in garriſon for defence of their countrie, hearing this good newes, would tary no lenger at home, but armed them ſelues, and ranne to *Martius* campe, ſaying they dyd acknowledge no other captaine but him. Hereupon his fame ranne through all ITALIE, and euery one praiſed him for a valliant captaine, for that by chaunge of one man for another, ſuche and ſo ſtraunge euents fell out in the ſtate. In this while, all went ſtill to wracke at ROME. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemie, they could not abyde to heare of it, they were one ſo muche againſt another, and full of ſeditious wordes, the nobilitie againſt the people, & the people againſt the nobilitie. Vntill they had intelligence at the length that the enemies had layed ſeige to the cittie of LAVINIVM, in the which were all the temples and images of the goddes their protectours, and from whence came firſt their auncient originall, for that *Æneas* at his firſt arriuall into ITALIE dyd build that cittie. Then fell there out a maruelous ſodain chaunge of minde among the people, & farre more ſtraunge & contrarie in the nobilitie. For the people thought good to repeale the condemnation and exile

A fine deuiſe to make the communaltie ſuſpect the nobilitie.

Great harte burning betweene the nobilitie and people.

Lauinium built by Æneas.

A exile of *Martius*. The Senate assembled vpon it, would in no case yeld to that. Who either dyd it of a selfe will to be contrarie to the peoples desire: or bicause *Martius* should not returne through the grace and fauour of the people. Or els, bicause they were throughly angrie and offended with him, that he would set apon the whole, being offended but by a fewe, and in his doings would shewe him selfe an open enemie besides vnto his countrie: notwithstanding the most parte of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in maruelous ill parte, and as if the iniurie had bene done vnto them selues. Reporte being made of the Senates resolution, the people founde them selues in a straight: for they could authorise and confirme nothing by their voyces, vnles it had bene first propounded and ordeined by the Senate. But *Martius* hearing this sturre about him, was in a greater rage with them then be-
B fore: in so muche as he raised his seige incontinently before the cittie of LAVINIVM, and going towardes ROME, lodged his campe within fortie furlonge of the cittie, at the ditches called *Cluiliæ*. His incamping so neere ROME, dyd put all the whole cittie in a wonderfull feare: howbeit for the present time it appeased the sedition and dissention betwext the Nobilitie and the people. For there was no Consul, Senatour, nor Magistrate, that durst once contrarie the opinion of the people, for the calling home againe of *Martius*. When they sawe the women in a maruelous feare, ronning vp and downe the cittie: the temples of the goddes full of olde people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the goddes: and finally, not a man either wise or hardie to prouide for their safetie: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reason to call home *Martius* againe, to reconcile them selues
C to him, and that the Senate on the contrary parte, were in maruelous great faulte to be angrie and in choller with him, when it stoode them vpon rather to haue gone out and intreated him. So they all agreed together to send ambassadours vnto him, to let him vnderstand howe his countrymen dyd call him home againe, and restored him to all his goodes, and besought him to deliuer them from this warre. The ambassadours that were sent, were *Martius* familliar friendes, and acquaintaunce, who looked at the least for a curteous welcome of him, as of their familliar friende and kynseman. Howbeit they founde nothing lesse. For at their comming, they were brought through the campe, to the place where he was set in his chayer of state, with a maruelous and an vnspeakable maiestie, hauing the chiefest men of the VOLSCES about him: so he commaunded them to de-
D clare openly the cause of their comming. Which they deliuered in the most humble and lowly wordes they possiblie could deuise, and with all modest countenaunce and behauiour agreable for the same. When they had done their message: for the iniurie they had done him, he aunswered them very hottely, and in great choller. But as generall of the VOLSCES, he willed them to restore vnto the VOLSCES, all their landes and cities they had taken from them in former warres: and moreouer, that they should geue them the like honour and freedome of ROME, as they had before geuen to the LATINES. For otherwise they had no other meane to ende this warre, if they dyd not graunte these honest and iust conditions of peace. Thereupon he gaue them thirtie dayes respit to make him
E aunswer. So the ambassadours returned straight to ROME, and *Martius* forthwith departed with his armie out of the territories of the ROMAINES. This was the first matter wherewith the VOLSCES (that most enuied *Martius* glorie and authoritie) dyd charge *Martius* with. Among those, *Tullus* was chief: who though he had receyued no priuate iniurie or displeasure of *Martius*, yet the common faulte and imperfection of mans nature wrought in him, and it grieued him to see his owne reputation bleamished, through *Martius* great fame and honour, and so him selfe to be lesse esteemed of the VOLSCES, then he was before. This fell out the more, bicause euery man honoured *Martius*, and thought he only could doe all, and that all other gouernours and captaines must be content with suche credit and authoritie, as he would please to countenaunce them with. From hence they deriued all their first accusations and secret murmurings
F against *Martius*. For priuate captaines conspiring against him, were very angrie with him: and gaue it out, that the remouing of the campe was a manifest treason, not of the townes, nor fortes, nor of armes, but of time and occasion, which was a losse of great

The Romaines send ambassadours to Coriolanus to treate of peace.

The first occasion of the Volsces enuy to Coriolanus.

Importaunce, bicauſe it was that which in treaſon might both loſe and binde all, and preſerue the whole. Now *Martius* hauing geuen the ROMAINES thirtie dayes reſpit for their aunſwer, and ſpecially bicauſe the warres haue not accuſtomed to make any great chaunges, in leſſe ſpace of time then that: he thought it good yet, not to lye a ſleepe and idle all the while, but went and deſtroyed the landes of the enemies allies, and tooke ſeuen great citties of theirs well inhabited, and the ROMAINES durſt not once put them ſelues into the field, to come to their ayde and helpe: they were ſo fainte harted, ſo miſtruſtfull, and lothe beſides to make warres. In ſo muche as they properly reſſembled the bodyes paralyticke, and loſed of their limmes and members: as thoſe which through the palſey haue loſt all their ſence and feeling. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, *Martius* being returned into the dominions of the ROMAINES againe with all his armie, they ſent another ambaſſade vnto him, to praye peace, and the remoue of the VOLSCES out of their countrie: that afterwardes they might with better leyſure fall to ſuche agreementes together, as ſhould be thought moſt mete and neceſſarie. For the ROMAINES were no men that would euer yeld for feare. But if he thought the VOLSCES had any grounde to demaunde reaſonable articles and conditions, all that they would reaſonably aske ſhould be graunted vnto, by the ROMAINES, who of them ſelues would willingly yeld to reaſon, conditionally, that they dyd laye downe armes. *Martius* to that aunſwered: that as generall of the VOLSCES he would replie nothing vnto it. But yet as a ROMAINE cittizen, he would counſell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reaſon, if they were wiſe: and that they ſhould returne againe within three dayes, deliuering vp the articles agreed vpon, which he had firſt deliuered them. Or otherwiſe, that he would no more geue them aſſuraunce or ſafe conduite to returne againe into his campe, with ſuche vaine and friuolous meſſages. When the ambaſſadours were returned to ROME, and had reported *Martius* aunſwer to the Senate: their cittie being in extreme daunger, and as it were in a terrible ſtorme or tempeſt, they threw out (as the common prouerbe ſayeth) their holy ancker. For then they appointed all the biſhoppes, prieſtes, miniſters of the goddes, and keepers of holy things, and all the augures or ſoothſayers, which foreſhowe things to come by obſeruation of the flying of birdes (which is an olde auncient kynde of prophecying and diuination amongeſt the ROMAINES) to goe to *Martius* apparelled, as when they doe their ſacrifices: and firſt to intreate him to leaue of warre, and then that he would ſpeake to his contrymen, and conclude peace with the VOLSCES. *Martius* ſuffered them to come into his campe, but yet he graunted them nothing the more, neither dyd he entertaine them or ſpeake more curteouſly to them, then he dyd the firſt time that they came vnto him, ſauing only that he willed them to take the one of the two: either to accept peace vnder the firſt conditions offered, or els to receyue warre. When all this goodly rable of ſuperſtition and prieſtes were returned, it was determined in counſell that none ſhould goe out of the gates of the cittie, and that they ſhould watche and warde vpon the walles, to repulſe their enemies if they came to aſſault them: referring them ſelues and all their hope to time, and fortunes vncertaine fauour, not knowing otherwiſe howe to remedie the daunger. Now all the cittie was full of tumult, feare, and maruelous doubt what would happen: vntill at the length there fell out ſuche a like matter, as *Homer* oftetimes ſayed they would leaſt haue thought of. For in great matters, that happen ſeldome, *Homer* ſayeth, and crieth out in this ſorte,

Another ambaſſade ſent to Coriolanus.

The prieſtes and ſoothſayers ſent to Coriolanus.

The goddeſſe Pallas ſhe, with her fayer gliſtering eyes,
dyd put into his minde ſuche thoughts, and made him ſo deuiſe.

And

A And in an other place:

But ſure ſome god hath t'ane, out of the peoples minde,
both vvit and vnderſtanding eke, and haue therevvith aſſynde
ſome other ſimple ſpirite, in ſteede thereof to byde,
that ſo they might their doings all, for lacke of vvit miſguyde.

And in an other place:

The people of them ſelues, did either it conſider,
or elſe ſome god inſtructed them, and ſo they ioynde together.

Many recken not of *Homer*, as referring matters vnpoſſible, and fables of no likelyhoode or trothe, vnto mans reaſon, free will, or iudgement: which in deede is not his meaning. But
B things true & likely, he maketh to depend of our owne free wil and reaſon. For he oft ſpeaketh theſe wordes:

I haue thought it in my noble harte.

And in an other place:

Achilles angrie vvas, and ſorie for to heare
him ſo to ſay, his heauy breſt vvas fraught vvith penſiue feare.

And againe in an other place:

Bellerophon (she) could not moue vvith her fayer tongue,
ſo honeſt and ſo vertuous, he vvas the reſt among.

But in wonderous and extraordinarie thinges, which are done by ſecret inſpirations and
C motions, he doth not ſay that God taketh away, from man his choyce and freedom of will, but that he doth moue it: neither that he doth worke deſire in vs, but obiecteth to our mindes certaine imaginations whereby we are lead to deſire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of ſucceſſe. For, either we muſt ſay, that the goddes meddle not with the cauſes and beginninges of our actions: or elſe what other meanes haue they to helpe and further men? It is apparaunt that they handle not our bodies, nor moue not our feete and handes, when there is occaſion to vſe them: but that parte of our minde from which theſe motions proceede, is induced thereto, or caried away by ſuch obiectes and reaſons, as God offereth vnto it. Now the Romaine Ladies and gentlewomen did viſite all the temples and goddes
D of the ſame, to make their prayers vnto them: but the greateſt Ladies (and more parte of them) were continuallie about the aulter of *Iupiter Capitolin*, emonge which troupe by name, was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne ſiſter. The ſelfe ſame *Publicola*, who did ſuch notable ſeruice to the Romaines, both in peace & warres: and was dead alſo certaine yeares before, as we haue declared in his life. His ſiſter *Valeria* was greatly honoured and reuerenced a- *Valeria Publicolaes ſiſter.*
monge all the Romaines: and did ſo modeſtlie and wiſelie behaue her ſelfe, that ſhe did not ſhame nor diſhonour the houſe ſhe came of. So ſhe ſodainely fell into ſuche a fanſie, as we haue rehearſed before, and had (by ſome god as I thinke) taken holde of a noble deuiſe. Whereuppon ſhe roſe, and thother Ladies with her, and they all together went ſtraight to the houſe of *Volumnia*, *Martius* mother: and comming in to her, founde her, and *Martius* *Volumnia, Martius mother.*
E wife her daughter in lawe ſet together, and hauinge her husbande *Martius* young children in her lappe. Now all the traine of theſe Ladies ſittinge in a ringe rounde about her: *Valeria* firſt beganne to ſpeake in this ſorte vnto her. We Ladies, are come to viſite you Ladies (my Ladie *Volumnia* and *Virgilia*) by no direction from the Senate, nor commaundement of other magiſtrate: but through the inſpiration (as I take it) of ſome god aboue. Who hauinge taken compaſſion and pitie of our prayers, hath moued vs to come vnto you, to intreate you in a matter, as well beneficiall for vs, as alſo for the whole citizens in gene- *The wordes of Valeria, vnto Volumnia and Virgilia.* „ „

" rall: but to your ſelues in eſpeciall (if it pleaſe you to credit me) and ſhall redounde to our A
" more fame and glorie, then the daughters of the SABYNES obteined in former age, when
" they procured louinge peace, in ſtead of hatefull warre, betwene their fathers and their huſ-
" bands. Come on good ladies, and let vs goe all together vnto *Martius*, to intreate him to
" take pitie vppon vs, and alſo to reporte the trothe vnto him, howe muche you are bounde
" vnto the citizens: who notwithſtandinge they haue ſuſteined greate hurte and loſſes by him,
" yet they haue not hetherto ſought reuenge apon your perſons by any diſcurteous vſage,
" neither euer conceyued any ſuche thought or intent againſt you, but doe deliuer ye ſafe
" into his handes, though thereby they looke for no better grace or clemency from him.
" When *Valeria* had ſpoken this vnto them, all thother ladyes together with one voyce con-
" firmed that ſhe had ſayed. Then *Volumnia* in this ſorte did aunſwer her. My good ladies, we B
The aunſwere of Volumnia to the Romaine ladies. are partakers with you of the common miſerie and calamitie of our countrie, and yet our
griefe exceedeth yours the more, by reaſon of our particular misfortune: to feele the loſſe
" of my ſonne *Martius* former valiancie and glorie, and to ſee his perſone enuironned nowe
" with our enemies in armes, rather to ſee him foorth comminge and ſafe kept, then of any
" loue to defende his perſone. But yet the greateſt griefe of our heaped mishappes is, to ſee
" our poore countrie brought to ſuche extremitie, that all the hope of the ſafetie and pre-
" ſeruation thereof, is nowe vnfortunately caſt vppon vs ſimple women: bicauſe we knowe
" not what accompt he will make of vs, ſence he hath caſt from him all care of his natu-
" rall countrie and common weale, which heretofore he hath holden more deere and pre-
" cious, then either his mother, wife, or children. Notwithſtandinge, if ye thinke we can C
" doe good, we will willingly doe what you will haue vs: bringe vs to him I pray you. For if
" we can not preuaile, we maye yet dye at his feete, as humble ſuters for the ſafetie of our
countrie. Her aunſwere ended, ſhe tooke her daughter in lawe, and *Martius* children with
her, and being accompanied with all the other ROMAINE ladies, they went in troupe toge-
ther vnto the VOLSCES campe: whome when they ſawe, they of them ſelues did both pitie
and reuerence her, and there was not a man amonge them that once durſt ſay a worde vnto
her. Nowe was *Martius* ſet then in his chayer of ſtate, with all the honours of a generall,
and when he had ſpied the women comming a farre of, he marueled what the matter ment:
but afterwardes knowing his wife which came formeſt, he determined at the firſt to perſiſt in
his obſtinate and inflexible rancker. But ouercomen in the ende with naturall affection, D
and being altogether altered to ſee them: his harte would not ſerue him to tarie their
comming to his chayer, but comming downe in haſt, he went to meete them, and firſt he
kiſſed his mother, and imbraced her a pretie while, then his wife and litle children. And na-
ture ſo wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eyes, and he coulde not keepe him
ſelfe from making much of them, but yeelded to the affection of his bloode, as if he had
bene violently caried with the furie of a moſt ſwift running ſtreame. After he had thus lo-
uingly receiued them, and perceiuinge that his mother *Volumnia* would beginne to ſpeake
to him, he called the chiefeſt of the counſell of the VOLSCES to heare what ſhe would
The oration of Volumnia, vnto her ſonne Coriolanus. ſay. Then ſhe ſpake in this ſorte. If we helde our peace (my ſonne) and determined not to E
ſpeake, the ſtate of our poore bodies, and preſent ſight of our rayment, would eaſely be- E
wray to thee what life we haue led at home, ſince thy exile and abode abroad. But thinke now
" with thy ſelfe, howe much more vnfortunatly, then all the women liuinge we are come he-
" ther, conſidering that the ſight which ſhould be moſt pleaſaunt to all other to beholde, ſpite-
" full fortune hath made moſt fearefull to vs: making my ſelfe to ſee my ſonne, and my daugh-
" ter here, her husband, beſieging the walles of his natiue countrie. So as that which is th only
" comforte to all other in their aduerſitie and miſerie, to pray vnto the goddes, and to call
" to them for aide: is the onely thinge which plongeth vs into moſt deepe perplexitie. For we
" can not (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie, and for ſafety of thy life
" alſo: but a worlde of grieuous curſes, yea more then any mortall enemie can heape vppon
" vs, are forcibly wrapt vp in our prayers. For the bitter ſoppe of moſt harde choyce is offered F
" thy wife & children, to forgoe the one of the two: either to loſe the perſone of thy ſelfe, or the
" nurſe of their natiue contrie. For my ſelfe (my ſonne) I am determined not to tarie, till fortune

in

A in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I cannot perſuade thee, rather to doe « good vnto both parties, then to ouerthrowe and deſtroye the one, preferring loue and na- « ture, before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou ſhalt ſee, my ſonne, and truſt vnto it, « thou ſhalt no ſoner marche forward to aſſault thy countrie, but thy foote ſhall treade vpon « thy mothers wombe, that brought thee firſt into this world. And I maye not deferre to ſee the « daye, either that my ſonne be led priſoner in triumphe by his naturall country men, or that he « him ſelfe doe triumphe of them, and of his naturall countrie. For if it were ſo, that my requeſt « tended to ſaue thy countrie, in deſtroying the VOLSCES: I muſt cõfeſſe, thou wouldeſt hardly « and doubtfully reſolue on that. For as to deſtroye thy naturall countrie, it is altogether vnmete « and vnlawfull: ſo were it not iuſt, and leſſe honorable, to betraye thoſe that put their truſt in « B thee. But my only demaunde conſiſteth, to make a gayle deliuerie of all euills, which deliue- « reth equall benefit and ſafety, both to the one and the other, but moſt honorable for the VOL- « SCES. For it ſhall appeare, that hauing victorie in their handes, they haue of ſpeciall fauour « graunted vs ſingular graces: peace, and amitie, albeit them ſelues haue no leſſe parte of both, « then we. Of which good, if ſo it came to paſſe, thy ſelfe is thonly authour, and ſo haſt thou « thonly honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrarie: thy ſelfe alone deſeruedly ſhall carie the « ſhamefull reproche and burden of either partie. So, though the ende of warre be vncertaine, « yet this notwithſtanding is moſt certaine: that if it be thy chaunce to conquer, this benefit « ſhalt thou reape of thy goodly cõqueſt, to be chronicled the plague & deſtroyer of thy coun- « trie. And if fortune alſo ouerthrowe thee, then the world will ſaye, that through deſire to re- « C uenge thy priuate iniuries, thou haſt for euer vndone thy good friendes, who dyd moſt louing- « ly and curteouſly receyue thee. *Martius* gaue good eare vnto his mothers wordes, without « interrupting her ſpeache at all: and after ſhe had ſayed what ſhe would, he held his peace a prety while, and aunſwered not a worde. Hereupon ſhe beganne againe to ſpeake vnto him, and ſayed. My ſonne, why doeſt thou not aunſwer me? doeſt thou thinke it good altogether « to geue place vnto thy choller and deſire of reuenge, and thinkeſt thou it not honeſtie for thee « to graunt thy mothers requeſt, in ſo weighty a cauſe? doeſt thou take it honorable for a no- « ble man, to remember the wronges and iniuries done him: and doeſt not in like caſe thinke it « an honeſt noble mans parte, to be thankefull for the goodnes that parents doe ſhewe to their « children, acknowledging the duety and reuerence they ought to beare vnto them? No man « D liuing is more bounde to ſhewe him ſelfe thankefull in all partes and reſpects, then thy ſelfe: « who ſo vnnaturally ſheweth all ingratitude. Moreouer (my ſonne) thou haſt ſorely taken of thy « countrie, exacting grieuous payments apon them, in reuenge of the iniuries offered thee: be- « ſides, thou haſt not hitherto ſhewed thy poore mother any curteſie. And therefore, it is not on- « ly honeſt, but due vnto me, that without compulſion I ſhould obtaine my ſo iuſt and reaſona- « ble requeſt of thee. But ſince by reaſon I cannot perſuade thee to it, to what purpoſe doe I de- « ferre my laſt hope? And with theſe wordes, her ſelfe, his wife and children, fell downe vpon « their knees before him. *Martius* ſeeing that, could refraine no lenger, but went ſtraight and « lifte her vp, crying out: Oh mother, what haue you done to me? And holding her hard by the right hande, oh mother, ſayed he, you haue wonne a happy victorie for your countrie, but E mortall and vnhappy for your ſonne: for I ſee my ſelf vanquiſhed by you alone. Theſe wordes being ſpoken openly, he ſpake a litle a parte with his mother and wife, and then let them re- turne againe to ROME, for ſo they dyd requeſt him: and ſo remaining in campe that night, the next morning he diſlodged, and marched homewardes into the VOLSCES countrie againe, who were not all of one minde, nor all alike contented. For ſome miſliked him, and that he had done. Other being well pleaſed that peace ſhould be made, ſayed: that neither the one, nor the other, deſerued blame nor reproche. Other, though they miſliked that was done, dyd not thincke him an ill man for that he dyd, but ſayed: he was not to be blamed, though he yelded to ſuche a forcible extremitie. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeyed his commaundement, more for reſpect of his worthines and valiancie, then for feare of his au- F thoritie. Now the cittizens of ROME plainely ſhewed, in what feare and daunger their cittie ſtoode of this warre, when they were deliuered. For ſo ſone as the watche vpon the walles of the cittie perceyued the VOLSCES campe to remoue, there was not a temple in the cittie but

Coriolanus compaſſion of his mother.

Coriolanus withdraweth his armie from Rome.

was presently set open, and full of men, wearing garlands of flowers vpon their heads, sacrificing to the goddes, as they were wont to doe vpon the newes of some great obteined victorie. And this common ioye was yet more manifestly shewed, by the honorable curtesies the whole Senate, and people dyd bestowe on their ladyes. For they were all throughly persuaded, and dyd certenly beleeue, that the ladyes only were cause of the sauing of the cittie, and deliuering them selues from the instant daunger of the warre. Whereupon the Senate ordeined, that the magistrates to gratifie and honour these ladyes, should graunte them all that they would require. And they only requested that they would build a temple of *Fortune* of the women, for the building whereof they offered them selues to defraye the whole charge of the sacrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the seruice of the goddes. Neuertheles, the Senate commending their good will and forwardnes, ordeined, that the temple and image should be made at the common charge of the cittie. Notwithstanding that, the ladyes gathered money emong them, and made with the same a second image of *Fortune*, which the ROMAINES saye dyd speake as they offred her vp in the temple, and dyd set her in her place: and they affirme, that she spake these wordes. Ladyes, ye haue deuoutely offered me vp. Moreouer, that she spake that twise together, making vs to beleeue things that neuer were, and are not to be credited. For to see images that seeme to sweate or weepe, or to put forth any humour red or blowdie, it is not a thing vnpossible. For wodde and stone doe commonly receyue certaine moysture, whereof is ingendred an humour, which doe yeld of them selues, or doe take of the ayer, many sortes and kyndes of spottes and cullers: by which signes and tokens it is not amisse we thincke, that the goddes sometimes doe warne men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statues doe somtimes put forth soundes, like vnto sighes or mourning, when in the middest or bottome of the same, there is made some violent separation, or breaking a sonder of things, blowen or deuised therein: but that a bodie which hath neither life nor soule, should haue any direct or exquisite worde formed in it by expresse voyce, that is altogether vnpossible. For the soule, nor god him selfe can distinctly speake without a bodie, hauing necessarie organes and instrumentes mete for the partes of the same, to forme and vtter distinct wordes. But where stories many times doe force vs to beleeue a thing reported to be true, by many graue testimonies: there we must saye, that it is some passion contrarie to our fiue naturall sences, which being begotten in the imaginatiue parte or vnderstanding, draweth an opinion vnto it selfe, euen as we doe in our sleeping. For many times we thinke we heare, that we doe not heare: and we imagine we see, that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously geuen to thinke apon heauenly things, so as they can no waye be drawen from beleeuing that which is spoken of them, they haue this reason to grounde the foundation of their beleefe vpon. That is, the omnipotencie of God which is wonderfull, and hath no manner of resemblaunce or likelines of proportion vnto ours, but is altogether contrarie as touching our nature, our moouing, our arte, and our force: and therefore if he doe any thing vnpossible to vs, or doe bring forth and deuise things, without mans common reache and vnderstanding, we must not therefore thinke it vnpossible at all. For if in other things he is farre contrarie to vs, muche more in his workes and secret operations, he farre passeth all the rest: but the most parte of goddes doings, as *Heraclitus* sayeth, for lacke of faith, are hidden and vnknowen vnto vs. Now when *Martius* was returned againe into the cittie of ANTIVM from his voyage, *Tullus* that hated and could no lenger abide him for the feare he had of his authoritie: sought diuers meanes to make him out of the waye, thinking that if he let slippe that present time, he should neuer recouer the like and fit occasion againe. Wherefore *Tullus* hauing procured many other of his confederacy, required *Martius* might be deposed from his estate, to render vp accompt to the VOLSCES of his charge and gouernment. *Martius* fearing to become a priuate man againe vnder *Tullus* being generall (whose authoritie was greater otherwise, then any other emong all the VOLSCES) aunswered: he was willing to geue vp his charge, and would resigne it into the handes of the lordes of the VOLSCES, if they dyd all commaund him, as by all their commaundement he receyued it. And moreouer, that he would not refuse euen at that present to geue vp an accompt vnto the people, if

The temple of Fortune built for the women.

The image of Fortune speaks to the ladyes at Rome.

Of the sweating or voyces of images.

Of the omnipotencie of God.

Tullus Aufidius seeketh to kill Coriolanus.

if they would tarie the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common counsaill, in which assembly there were certen oratours appointed, that stirred vp the common people against him: and when they had tolde their tales, *Martius* rose vp to make them aunswer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous people made a maruelous great noyse, yet when they sawe him, for the reuerence they bare vnto his valliantnes, they quieted them selues, and gaue still audience to alledge with leysure what he could for his purgation. Moreouer, the honestest men of the ANTIATES, and who most reioyced in peace, shewed by their countenaunce that they would heare him willingly, and iudge also according to their conscience. Whereupon *Tullus* fearing that if he dyd let him speake, he would proue his innocencie to the people, bicause emongest other things he had an eloquent tongue, besides that the first good seruice he had done to the people of the VOLSCES, dyd winne him more fauour, then these last accusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they layed to his charge, was a testimonie of the good will they ought him, for they would neuer haue thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the cittie of ROME, if they had not bene very neere taking of it, by meanes of his approche and conduction. For these causes *Tullus* thought he might no lenger delaye his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarie for the mutining and rising of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracie, beganne to crie out that he was not to be heard, nor that they would not suffer a traytour to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer the tribe of the VOLSCES, who would not yeld vp his estate and authoritie. And in saying these wordes, they all fell vpon him, and killed him in the market place, none of the people once offering to rescue him. Howbeit it is a clere case, that this murder was not generally consented vnto, of the most parte of the VOLSCES: for men came out of all partes to honour his bodie, and dyd honorably burie him, setting out his tombe with great store of armour and spoyles, as the tombe of a worthie persone and great captaine. The ROMAINES vnderstanding of his death, shewed no other honour or malice, sauing that they graunted the ladyes the request they made: that they might mourne tenne moneths for him, and that was the full time they vsed to weare blackes for the death of their fathers, brethern, or husbands, according to *Numa Pompilius* order, who stablished the same, as we haue enlarged more amplie in the description of his life. Now *Martius* being dead, the whole state of the VOLSCES hartely wished him aliue againe. For first of all they fell out with the ÆQVES (who were their friendes and confederates) touching preheminence and place: and this quarrell grew on so farre betwene them, that frayes and murders fell out apon it one with another. After that, the ROMAINES ouercame them in battell, in which *Tullus* was slaine in the field, and the flower of all their force was put to the sworde: so that they were compelled to accept most shamefull conditions of peace, in yelding them selues subiect vnto the conquerers, & promising to be obedient at their commandement.

Coriolanus murdered in the cittie of Antium.

Coriolanus funeralles.

The time of mourning appointed by Numa.

Tullus Aufidius slaine in battell.

THE COMPARISON OF ALcibiades with Martius Coriolanus.

The acts done by both.

NOW that we haue written all the dedes of worthie memorie, done by either of them both: we maye presently discerne, that in matters of warre, the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were a like hardie & valliant for their persones, as also wise and politike in the warres: vnles they will saye, that *Alcibiades* was the better captaine, as he that had foughten more battells with his enemies, both by sea and lande, then euer *Coriolanus* had done, and had allwayes the victorie of his enemies. For otherwise, in this they were much a like: that where they were both present & had, charge and power to commaund, all things prospered notably, and with good successe on the parte they were of: and also when they tooke the contrary side, they made the first haue the worse euery waye. Now for matters of gouernment, the noble men and honest cittizens dyd hate *Alcibiades* manner of rule in the common weale, as of a man most dissolute, and geuen to flatterie: bicause he euer studied by all deuise he could, to currie fauour with the common people. So dyd the ROMAINES malice also *Coriolanus* gouernment, for that it was to arrogant, prowde, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithstanding, he is lesse to be blamed, that seeketh to please and gratifie his common people: then he that despiseth and disdaineth them, and therefore offereth them wrong and iniurie, bicause he would not seeme to flatter them, to winne the more authoritie. For as it is an euill thing to flatter the common people to winne credit: euen so is it besides dishonesty, and iniustice also, to atteine to credit and authoritie, for one to make him selfe terrible to the people, by offering them wrong and violence. It is true that *Martius* was euer counted an honest natured man, plaine and simple, without arte or cunning: Howbeit *Alcibiades* merely contrarie, for he was fine, subtill, and deceiptfull. And the greatest faulte they euer burdened *Alcibiades* for, was his malice and deceipt, wherewith he abused the ambassadours of the LACEDÆMONIANS, & that he was a let that peace was not cõcluded, as *Thucydides* reporteth. Now, though by this acte he sodainly brought the cittie of ATHENS into warres, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearefull to the enemies, by making alliance with the MANTINIANS and the ARGIVES, who by *Alcibiades* practise entred into league with the ATHENIANS. And *Martius*, as *Dionysius* the historiographer writeth: dyd by craft and deceipt bring the ROMAINES into warres against the VOLSCES, causing the VOLSCES maliciously, and wrongfully to be suspected, that went to ROME to see the games played. But the cause why he dyd it, made the fact so much more fowle and wicked. For it was not done for any ciuill dissention, nor for any ielouzy and contention in matters of gouernment, as *Alcibiades* dyd: but only following his cholerike moode, that would be pleased with no thing, as *Dion* sayed, he would

The manners of Alcibiades & Coriolanus.

A would needes trouble and turmoile the moſt parte of ITALIE, and ſo beinge angrie with his countrie, he deſtroyed many other townes and cities that could not helpe it, nor doe with all. This is true alſo, that *Alcibiades* ſpite and malice did worke great miſchiefe and miſerie to his countrie: but when he ſaw they repented them of the iniurie they had done him, he came to him ſelfe, and did withdrawe his armie. An other time alſo, when they had baniſhed *Alcibiades*, he would not yet ſuffer the captaines of the ATHENIANS to runne into great errours, neither would he ſee them caſt away, by followinge ill counſell which they tooke, neither would he forſake them in any daunger they put them ſelues into. But he did the very ſame that *Ariſtides* had done in olde time vnto *Themiſtocles*, for which he was then, and is yet ſo greatly praiſed. For he went vnto the captaines that had charge then of the armie of the A-
B THENIANS, although they were not his friendes, and tolde them wherein they did amiſſe, and what they had further to doe. Where *Martius* to the contrarie, did firſt great hurte vnto the whole citie of ROME, though all in ROME had not generally offended him: yea, and when the beſt and chiefeſt parte of the citie were grieued for his ſake, and were very ſorie and angrie for the iniurie done him. Furthermore, the ROMAINES ſought to appeaſe one onely diſpleaſure and deſpite they had done him, by many ambaſſades, petitions and requeſtes they made, whereunto he neuer yelded, while his mother, wife, and children came, his harte was ſo hardned. And hereby it appeared he was entred into this cruell warre (when he would harken to no peace) of an intent vtterly to deſtroy and ſpoyle his countrie, and not as though he ment to recouer it, or to returne thither againe. Here was in deede the difference betwene them:
C that ſpialls being layed by the LACEDÆMONIANS to kill *Alcibiades*, for the malice they did beare him, as alſo for that they were affrayed of him, he was compelled to returne home againe to ATHENS. Where *Martius* contrariwiſe, hauing bene ſo honorably receiued and entertained by the VOLSCES, he could not with honeſtie forſake them, conſideringe they had done him that honour, as to chooſe him their generall, and truſted him ſo farre, as they put all their whole armie and power into his handes: and not as thother, whome the LACEDÆMONIANS rather abuſed, then vſed him, ſuffering him to goe vp and downe their citie (and afterwardes in the middeſt of their campe) without honour or place at all. So that in the ende *Alcibiades* was compelled to put him ſelfe into the handes of *Tiſaphernes*: vnleſſe they will ſay that he went thither of purpoſe to him, with intent to ſaue the citie of ATHENS from vt-
D ter deſtruction, for the deſire he had to returne home againe. Moreouer, we read of *Alcibiades*, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with money: and when he had it, he would moſt licentiouſly and diſhoneſtly ſpend it. Where *Martius* in contrarie maner would not ſo much as accept giftes lawefully offered him by his Captaines, to honour him for his valliantneſſe. And the cauſe why the people did beare him ſuch ill will, for the controuerſie they had with the Nobilitie about clearing of dettes, grew: for that they knewe well enough it was not for any gayne or benefit he had gotten thereby, ſo much as it was for ſpite and diſpleaſure he thought to doe them. *Antipater* in a letter of his, writing of the death of *Ariſtotle* the philoſopher, doth not without cauſe commend the ſingular giftes that were in *Alcibiades*, and this ineſpecially: that he paſſed all other for winning mens good willes. Wheras
E all *Martius* noble actes and vertues, wanting that affabilitie, became hatefull euen to thoſe that receiued benefit by them, who could not abide his ſeueritie and ſelfe will: which cauſeth deſolation (as *Plato* ſayeth) and men to be ill followed, or altogether forſaken. Contrariwiſe, ſeeing *Alcibiades* had a trimme enterteinment, and a very good grace with him, and could facion him ſelfe in all companies: it was no maruell if his well doing were glorioufly commended, and him ſelfe much honoured and beloued of the people, conſidering that ſome faultes he did, were oftetimes taken for matters of ſporte, and toyes of pleaſure. And this was the cauſe, that though many times he did great hurte to the common wealth, yet they did ofte make him their generall, and truſted him with the charge of the whole citie. Where *Martius*
F ſuing for an office of honour that was due to him, for the ſundrie good ſeruices he had done to the ſtate, was notwithſtanding repulſed, and put by. Thus doe we ſee, that they to whome the one did hurte, had no power to hate him: and thother that honoured his vertue, had no liking to loue his perſone. *Martius* alſo did neuer any great exployte, beinge generall of his

Alcibiades & Coriolanus manner for money.

Alcibiades & Coriolanus loue vnto their contrie.

contry men, but when he was generall of their enemies againſt his naturall contrie: whereas *Alcibiades*, being both a priuate perſone, and a generall, did notable ſeruice vnto the ATHENIANS. By reaſon whereof, *Alcibiades* whereſoeuer he was preſent, had the vpper hande euer of his accuſers, euen as he would him ſelfe, and their accuſations tooke no place againſt him: onleſſe it were in his abſcence. Where *Martius* being preſent, was condemned by the ROMAINES: and in his perſon murdered, and ſlaine by the VOLSCES. But here I can not ſay they haue done well, nor iuſtly, albeit him ſelfe gaue them ſome colour to doe it, when he openly denied the ROMAINE Ambaſſadors peace, which after he priuatly graunted, at the requeſt of women. So by this dede of his, he tooke not away the enmity that was betwene both people: but leauing warre ſtill betwene them, he made the VOLSCES (of whome he was generall) to loſe the oportunity of noble victory. Where in deede he ſhould (if he had done as he ought) haue withdrawen his armie with their counſaill & conſent, that had repoſed ſo great affiance in him, in making him their generall: if he had made that accompt of them, as their good will towards him did in duety binde him. Or elſe, if he did not care for the VOLSCES in the enterpriſe of this warre, but had only procured it of intent to be reuenged, and afterwards to leaue it of, when his anger was blowen ouer: yet he had nō reaſon for the loue of his mother to pardone his contrie, but rather he ſhould in pardoning his contrie, haue ſpared his mother, bicauſe his mother & wife were members of the bodie of his contrie and city, which he did beſiege. For in that he vncurteouſly reiected all publike petitions, requeſtes of Ambaſſadors, intreaties of the biſhoppes & prieſtes, to gratifie only the requeſt of his mother with his departure: that was no acte ſo much to honour his mother with, as to diſhonour his contrie by, the which was preſerued for the pitie and interceſſion of a woman, & not for the loue of it ſelfe, as if it had not bene worthie of it. And ſo was this departure a grace, to ſay truly, very odious and cruell, and deſerued no thankes of either partie, to him that did it. For he withdrew his army, not at the requeſt of the ROMAINES, againſt whom he made warre: nor with their conſent, at whoſe charge the warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill happe, the auſteritie of his nature, and his hawtie obſtinate minde, was the onely cauſe: the which of it ſelfe being hatefull to the worlde, when it is ioyned with ambition, it groweth then much more churliſh, fierce, and intollerable. For men that haue that fault in nature, are not affable to the people, ſeeming thereby as though they made no eſtimacion or regard of the people: and yet on thother ſide, if the people ſhould not geue them honour and reuerence, they would ſtraight take it in ſcorne, and litle care for the matter. For ſo did *Metellus*, *Ariſtides*, and *Epaminondas*, all vſed this manner: not to ſeeke the good will of the common people by flatterie and diſſimulation: which was in deede, bicauſe they deſpiſed that which the people coulde geue or take awaye. Yet would they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced, and ſet at any fines, or that they baniſhed them, or gaue them any other repulſe: but they loued them as wel as they did before, ſo ſoone as they ſhewed any token of repentaunce, & that they were ſorie for the wrong they had done them, and were eaſely made frendes againe with them, after they were reſtored from their baniſhment. For he that diſdaineth to make much of the people, and to haue their fauour, ſhoulde much more ſcorne to ſeeke to be reuenged, when he is repulſed. For, to take a repulſe and deniall of honour, ſo inwardly to the hart: commeth of no other cauſe, but that he did too earneſtly deſire it. Therefore *Alcibiades* did not diſſemble at all, that he was not very glad to ſee him ſelfe honored, and ſory to be reiected and denied any honour: but alſo he ſought all the meanes he could to make him ſelfe beloued of thoſe amongeſt whome he liued. Whereas *Martius* ſtowtnes, and hawty ſtomake, did ſtay him from making much of thoſe, that might aduaunce and honour him: and yet his ambition made him gnawe him ſelfe for ſpite and anger, when he ſawe he was deſpiſed. And this is all that reaſonably may be reproued in him: for otherwiſe he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperaunce, and cleane handes from taking of bribes and money, he may be compared with the moſt perfect, vertuous, and honeſt men of all GRÆCE: but not with *Alcibiades*, who was in that vndoutedly alwayes too licentious & loſely geuen, and had too ſmall regard of his credit and honeſtie.

Coriolanus notable abſtinence from bribes.

The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Paulus Æmilius.

A WHEN I firſt beganne to write theſe liues, my intent was to profit other: but ſince, continuing and going on, I haue muche profited my ſelf by looking into theſe hiſtories, as if I looked into a glaſſe, to frame and facion my life, to the mowld and patterne of theſe vertuous noble men. For ronning ouer their manners in this ſorte, and ſeeking alſo to deſcribe their liues: me thinkes I am ſtill conuerſaunt and familliar with them, and doe as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to peruſe their hiſtories, and to waye the vertues and qualities they haue had, and what ſingularitie eche of them poſſeſſed: and to chooſe and culle out the chiefeſt things of note in them, and their beſt ſpeB ches and doings moſt worthie of memorie: Then I crie out,

O godds, can there be more paſſing pleaſure in the vvorlde?

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man ciuill māners, & a ruled life, or to reforme the vice in man? *Democritus* the philoſopher writeth, that we ſhould praye we might euer ſee happy images and ſightes in the ayer, and that the good which is meete and proper to our nature, maye rather come to vs, then that is euill and vnfortunate: preſuppoſing a falſe opinion and doctrine in philoſophie, which allureth men to infinite ſuperſtitions. That there are good and bad images flying in the ayer, which geue a good or ill impreſſion vnto men, and incline men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of auncient hiſtories, and gathering theſe liues together which now I leaue before you, and by keeping allwayes in minde C the actes of the moſt noble, vertuous, and beſt geuen men of former age, and worthie memorie: I doe teache and prepare my ſelfe to ſhake of & baniſhe from me, all lewde and diſhoneſt condition, if by chaunce the companie and conuerſation of them whoſe companie I keepe, and muſt of neceſſitie haunte, doe acquainte me with ſome vnhappie or vngratious touche. This is eaſie vnto me, that doe diſpoſe my quiet minde, & not troubled with any paſſion, vnto the deepe conſideration of ſo many noble examples. As I doe preſent vnto you now in this volume, the liues of *Timoleon* the CORINTHIAN, and of *Paulus Æmilius* the ROMAINE, who had not only a good & an vpright minde with them, but were alſo fortunate and happie, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you ſhall hardly iudge, when you haue red ouer their liues, whether wiſedome, or good fortune brought them to atchieue to ſuche honora-

ble actes and exployctes as they dyd. Many (& the moſt parte of hiſtoriographers) doe write, A
that the houſe and familie of the *Æmilians* in Rome, was allwayes of the moſt auncient of the
nobilitie, which they call *Patricians*. Some writers affirme alſo, that the firſt of the houſe that
gaue name to all the poſteritie after, was *Marcus*, the ſonne of *Pythagoras* the wiſe, whom
The houſe of the AEmylians came of Pythagoras ſonne. king *Numa* for the ſweetnes and pleaſaunt grace of his tongue, ſurnamed *Marcus Æmilius*:
and thoſe ſpecially affirme it, that ſaye king *Numa* was *Pythagoras* ſcholler. Howſoeuer it was,
the moſt parte of this familie that obteined honour and eſtimation for their vertue, were euer
fortunate alſo in all their doings, ſauing *Lucius Paulus* only, who dyed in the battell of Cannes.
Lucius Paulus AEmylius Conſul, ſlaine at the battell of Cannes. But his misfortune doth beare manifeſt teſtimonie of his wiſedome and valliancy toge-
ther. For he was forced to fight againſt his will, when he ſawe he could not bridle the rath-
nes of his fellowe Conſul that would nedes ioyne battell, and to doe as he dyd, ſauing that he B
fled not as the other, who being firſt procurer of the battell, was the firſt that ranne awaye:
where he to the contrarie, to his power dyd what he could to let him, and dyd ſticke by it, &
AEmylia, the daughter of Lucius AEmylius, maried to Scipio the great. fought it valliantly vnto the laſt gaſpe. This *Æmylius* left a daughter behind him called *Æmy-
lia*, which was maried vnto *Scipio* the great: and a ſonne, *Paulus Æmylius*, being the ſame man
whoſe life we preſently treate of. His youth fortunately fell out in a floriſhing time of glorie
and honour, through the ſundrie vertues of many great and noble perſones liuing in thoſe
dayes, emong whom he made his name famous alſo: and it was not by that ordinarie arte and
courſe, which the beſt eſteemed young men of that age dyd take and followe. For he dyd not
vſe to pleade priuate mens cauſes in lawe, neither would creepe into mens fauour by fawning
vpon any of them: though he ſawe it a common practiſe, & policie of men, to ſeeke the peo- C
ples fauour and good willes by ſuche meanes. Moreouer, he refuſed not that common courſe
The vertues of Paulus AEmylius. which other tooke, for that it was contrarie to his nature, or that he could not frame with ei-
ther of both, if he had bene ſo diſpoſed: but he rather ſought to winne reputation by his ho-
neſtie, his valliantnes, and vpright dealing, as chooſing that the better waye, then either of
thother two, in ſo much as in maruelous ſhorte time he paſſed all thoſe that were of his age.
Paulus AEmylius made AEdilis and Augure. The firſt office of honour he ſued for, was the office of *Ædilis*, in which ſute he was preferred
before twelue other that ſued for the ſelfe ſame office: who were men of no ſmall qualitie, for
they all came afterwardes to be Conſuls. After this, he was choſen to be one of the number
of the prieſtes, whom the Romaines call *Augures*: who haue the charge of all the diuina-
tions and ſootheſayings, in telling of things to come by flying of byrdes, & ſignes in the ayer. D
He was ſo carefull, and tooke ſuche paynes to vnderſtand how the Romaines dyd vſe the
ſame, & with ſuche diligence ſought the obſeruation of the auncient religion of Romaines
in all holie matters: that where that prieſthood was before eſteemed but a title of honour, &
deſired for the name only: he brought it to paſſe, that it was the moſt honorable ſcience, & beſt
The philoſophers opinion of religion. reputed of in Rome. Wherein he confirmed the philoſophers opinion: that religion is the
knowledge how to ſerue God. For when he dyd any thing belonging to his office of prieſt-
hood, he dyd it with great experience, iudgment, and diligence, leauing all other thoughtes, &
without omitting any auncient ceremonie, or adding to any newe, contending oftentimes
Paulus diligence in the cõmõ wealth, euẽ in trifles. with his companions, in things which ſeemed light, and of ſmall moment: declaring vnto
them, that though we doe preſume the goddes are eaſie to be pacified, and that they readilie E
pardone all faultes & ſcapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for reſpect
of common wealths ſake, they ſhould not ſlightly, nor careleſly diſſemble or paſſe ouer faultes
committed in thoſe matters. For no man (ſayeth he) at the firſt that committeth any faulte,
doth alone trouble the ſtate of the common wealth: but withall, we muſt thincke he leaueth
the groundes of ciuill gouernment, that is not as carefull to keepe the inſtitutions of ſmall
matters, as alſo of the great. So was he alſo a ſeuere captaine, and ſtrict obſeruer of all marſhall
The diſcipline of warres. diſcipline, not ſeeking to winne the ſouldiers loue by flatterie, when he was generall in the
field, as many dyd in that time: neither corrupting them for a ſecond charge, by ſhewing him
ſelfe gentle and curteous in the firſt, vnto thoſe that ſerued vnder him: but him ſelfe dyd or-
derly ſhewe them the very rules and preceptes of the diſcipline of warres, euen as a prieſt that F
ſhould expreſſe the names and ceremonies of ſome holy ſacrifice, wherein were daunger to
omit any parte or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the lawe of armes apon rebel-

lious

A lious and disobedient souldiers, he kept vp thereby the state of the common weale the better: iudging, to ouercome the enemie by force, was but an accessorie as a man maye terme it, in respect of well training and ordering his cittizens by good discipline. While the ROMAINES were in warres against king *Antiochus* surnamed the great, in the South partes: all the chiefest captaines of ROME being employed that wayes, there fell out another in the necke of that, in the West partes towardes SPAYNE, where they were all vp in armes. Thither they sent *AEmylius* Prætor, not with sixe axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelue: so that vnder the name of Prætor, he had the authoritie and dignitie of a Consul. He twise ouercame the barbarous people in mayne battell, and slue a thirtie thousand of them, and got this victorie through his great skill
B and wisedome, in choosing the aduantage of place and time, to fight with his enemies, euen as they passed ouer a riuer: which easely gaue his souldiers the victorie. Moreouer he tooke there, two hundred and fiftie citties, all which dyd open, and gladly receyue him in. So, leauing all that countrie quiet and in good peace, and hauing receaued their fealtie by othe made betweene his handes, he returned againe to ROME, not enriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tooke litle regard to his expences, he spent so franckly, neither was his purse his master, though his reuenue was not great to beare it out: as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had, was litle enough to satisfie his wifes ioynter. His first wife was *Papyria*, the daughter of a noble Consul *Papyrius Masso*, and after they had liued a long time together, he was
C diuorsed from her, notwithstanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*. The iust cause of the diuorse betweene them, appeareth not to vs in writing: but me thinckes the tale that is tolde concerning the separation of a certaine mariage is true. That a certen ROMAINE hauing forsaken his wife, her friendes fell out with him, and asked him: what fault dost thou finde in her? is she not honest of her bodie? is she not fayer? doth she not bring thee goodly children? But he putting forth his foote, shewed them his shooe, and aunswered them. Is not this a goodly shooe? is it not finely made? and is it not newe? yet I dare saye there is neuer a one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to saye truely, great and open faultes are commonly occasions to make husbands put awaye their wiues: but yet oftentimes house-
D hold wordes ronne so betweene them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diuersitie of natures, which straungers are not priuie vnto) that in processe of time they doe beget suche a straunge alteration of loue and mindes in them, as one house can no lenger holde them. So *AEmylius*, hauing put awaye *Papyria* his first wife, he maried another that brought him two sonnes, which he brought vp with him selfe in his house, and gaue his two first sonnes (to wit, *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*) in adoption, to two of the noblest and richest families of the cittie of ROME. The elder of the twaine, vnto *Fabius Maximus*, he that was fiue times Consul: and the younger vnto the house of the *Cornelians*, whom the sonne of the great *Scipio* the AFRICAN dyd adopt, being his cosin germaine, and named him *Scipio*. Concerning his daughters, the sonne of *Cato* maried
E the one, and *AElius Tubero* the other, who was a maruelous honest man, and dyd more nobly mainteine him selfe in his pouertie, then any other ROMAINE: for they were sixteene persones all of one name, and of the house of the *AElians*, very neere a kynne one to the other, who had all but one litle house in the cittie, and a small farme in the countrie, wherewith they enterteined them selues, and liued all together in one house, with their wiues, and many litle children. Amongest their wiues, one of them was the daughter of *Paulus AEmylius*, after he had bene twise Consul, and had triumphed twise, not being ashamed of her husbands pouertie, but wondering at his vertue that made him poore. Whereas brethern and kynsemen, as the world goeth now, if they dwell not farre asonder, and in other countries, not one neere another, and that riuers parte them not, or
F walles deuide their landes, leauing great large wastes betweene them: they are neuer quiet, but still in quarrell one with another. Goodly examples doth this storie laye before the wise, and well aduised readers, to learne thereby howe to frame their life, and wisely

Paulus AEmylius sent Prætor into Spayne.

AEmylius skilful to choose place and time to fight.

Scipio the seconde, & Fabius Maximus, were the sonnes of P. AEmylius, by Papyria his first wife.

A prety tale of a Romaine that forsooke his wife.

The vertue of AElius Tubero, his pouertie and quiet life.

Vnnaturalitie amongest kinred infamous.

Æmylius Consul.

to behaue them ſelues. Now *Æmylius* being choſen Conſul, went to make warre with the LIGVRIANS, who dwelled in the ALPES, & which otherwiſe are called LIGVSTINES. Theſe are very valliãt & warlike men, & were very good ſouldiers at that time, by reaſon of their cõtinual warres againſt the ROMAINES, whoſe neere neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the furdeſt parte of ITALIE, that bordereth vpon the great ALPES, & the rowe of ALPES, whereof the foote ioyneth to the THVSCAN ſea, & pointeth towards AFRICKE, and are mingled with the GAVLES, & SPANYARDS, neighbours vnto that ſea coaſt: who ſcowring all the *Mediterranian* ſea at that time, vnto the ſtraight of *Hercules* pillers, dyd with their litle light pinnaſes of pirats, let all the trafficke & entercourſe of marchaundiſe. *Æmylius* being gone to ſeeke them in their countrie, they taried his comming with an armie of forty thouſand men: neuertheles, though he had but eight thouſand men in all, and that they were fiue to one of his, yet he gaue the onſet apon them, and ouerthrew them, and draue them into their citties. Then he ſent to offer them peace, for the ROMAINES would not altogether deſtroye the LIGVRIANS, bicauſe their countrie was as a rampeyr or bullwarke againſt the inuaſion of the GAVLES, who laye lurking for oportunitie and occaſion to inuade ITALIE: whereupon theſe LIGVRIANS yelded them ſelues vnto him, and put all their fortes and ſhippes into his handes. *Æmylius* deliuered vnto them their holdes againe, without other hurte done vnto them, ſauing that he raſed the walles of their fortifications: howbeit he tooke all their ſhippes from them, leauing them litle botes of three owers only, and no greater, & ſet all the priſoners at libertie they had taken, both by ſea and by lande aſwell ROMAINES as other, which were a maruelous number. Theſe were all the notable acts he dyd worthie memorie, in the firſt yere of his Conſulſhippe. Afterwards, he oftentimes ſhewed him ſelf very deſirous to be Conſul againe, & dyd put forth him ſelfe to ſue for it: but when he was denied it, he neuer after made ſute for it againe, but gaue him ſelfe only to ſtudie diuine things, and to ſee his children vertuouſly brought vp, not only in the ROMAINE tongue which him ſelfe was taught, but alſo a litle more curiouſly in the GRÆKE tongue. For he dyd not only retaine *Grammarians*, *Rethoricians*, and *Logitians*, but alſo painters, grauers of images, riders of horſes, and huntes of GRÆCE about his children: and he him ſelfe alſo (if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was euer with them in the ſchoole when they were at their bookes, and alſo when they otherwiſe dyd exerciſe them ſelues. For he loued his children as much, or more, then any other ROMAINE. Now concerning the ſtate of the commõ wealth, the ROMAINES were at warres with king *Perſeus*, & they much blamed the captaines they had ſent thither before, for that for lacke of skill and corage, they had ſo cowardly behaued them ſelues, as their enemies laughed them to ſcorne: and they receyued more hurte of them, then they dyd vnto the King. For not long before, they had driuen king *Antiochus* beyound mount *Taurus*, and had made him forſake the reſt of ASIA, and had ſhut him vp within the borders of SYRIA: who was glad that hẽ had bought that contrie with fifteene thouſand talẽts, which he payed for a fine. A litle before alſo, they had ouercome *Philip*, king of MACEDON, in THESSALY, and had deliuered the GRÆCIANS from the bondage of the MACEDONIANS. And moreouer, hauing ouercome *Hannibal* (vnto whom no Prince nor King that euer was in the worlde was comparable, either for his power or valiantnes) they thought this to great a diſhonour to them, that this warre they had againſt king *Perſeus*, ſhould hold ſo long of euen hande with them, as if he had bene an enemie equall with the people of ROME: conſidering alſo that they fought not againſt them, but with the refuſe and ſcattered people of the ouerthrowen armie his father had loſt before, and knew not that *Philip* had left his armie ſtronger, and more experte by reaſon of his ouerthrowe, then it was before. As I will briefly reherſe the ſtorie from the beginning. *Antigonus*, who was of the greateſt power of all the captaines & ſucceſſours of *Alexander* the great, hauing obteined for him ſelf & his poſteritie the title of a King, had a ſonne called *Demetrius*, of whõ came *Antigonus* the ſecond, that was ſurnamed *Gonatas*, whoſe ſonne was alſo called *Demetrius*, that raigned no long time, but dyed, and left a young ſonne called *Philippe*. By reaſon whereof, the Princes and Nobilitie of MACEDON, fearing that the Realme ſhould be left without heire: they preferred one *Antigonus*, coſin to the laſt deceaſed King, and made him marie the mother of *Philip* the leſſe, geuing him the name at the firſt of the Kings protectour only, and

Æmylius ouercommeth the Ligurians.

The cowardline ſ of the Romaines in Spayne.

The ſucceſſiõ of Antigonus king of Macedon.

lieutenaunt

A lieutenaunt generall of his maieſtie. But after, when they had founde he was a good and wiſe prince, and a good husband for the Realme, they then gaue him the abſolute name of a King, and ſurnamed him *Doſon*, to ſaye, the giuer: for he promiſed muche, and gaue litle. After him reigned *Philip*, who in his grene youth gaue more hope of him ſelfe, then any other of the Kings before: in ſo much they thought that one daye he would reſtore MACEDON her auncient fame and glorie, and that he alone would plucke downe the pride and power of the ROMAINES, who roſe againſt all the world. But after that he had loſt a great battell, and was ouerthrowen by *Titus Quintus Flaminius* neere vnto the cittie of SCOTVSA: then he beganne to quake for feare, and to leaue all to the mercie of the ROMAINES, thinking he eſcaped good cheape, for any light ranſome or tribute the ROMAINES ſhould impoſe apon him. Yet after-
B wards comming to vnderſtād him ſelfe, he grewe to diſdaine it much, thinking that to reigne through the fauour of the ROMAINES, was but to make him ſelfe a ſlaue, to ſeeke to liue in pleaſure at his eaſe, & not for a valliāt & noble prince borne. Whereupon he ſet all his minde, to ſtudie the diſcipline of warres, and made his preparations as wiſely and cloſely, as poſſiblie he could. For he left all his townes alongeſt the ſea coaſt, & ſtāding vpon any high wayes, without any fortification at all, & in manner deſolate without people, to the ende there might appeare no occaſion of doubt or miſtruſt in him: & in the meane time, in the highe countries of his Realme farre from great beaten wayes, he leauied a great number of men of warre, & repleniſhed his townes & ſtrong holdes that laye ſcatteringly abroad, with armour & weapon, money, & men, prouiding for warre, which he kept as ſecretly as he could. For he had prouiſion of armour in his armorie, to arme thirtie thouſand men, & eight million buſſhels of corne
C ſafely lokt vp in his fortes & ſtrōger places, & ready money, as much as would ſerue to entertaine tenne thouſand ſtraungers in paye, to defend his countrie for the ſpace of tenne yeres. But before he could bring that to paſſe he had purpoſed, he dyed for grief & ſorowe, after he knewe he had vniuſtly put *Demetrius* the beſt of his ſonnes to death, apon the falſe accuſation of the worſt, that was *Perſeus*: who as he dyd inherite the Kingdom of his father by ſucceſſion, ſo dyd he alſo inherite his fathers malice againſt the ROMAINES. But he had no ſhoulders to beare ſo heauy a burden, and eſpecially being as he was, a man of ſo vile and wicked nature: for among many lewde & naughty conditions he had, he was extreme couetous & miſerable.
D They ſaye alſo, that he was not legitimate, bicauſe *Philippes* wife had taken him from *Gnathainia* (a tailours wife borne at ARGOS) immediatly after he was borne, & dyd adopt the child to be hers. And ſome thinke that this was the chiefeſt cauſe why he practiſed to put *Demetrius* to death, fearing leaſt this lawful ſonne would ſeeke occaſiō to proue him a baſtard. Notwithſtanding, ſimple though he was, & of vile & baſe nature, he found the ſtrength of his Kingdom ſo great, that he was contented to take vpon him to make warre againſt the ROMAINES, which he mainteined a long time, and fought againſt their Conſuls, that were their generalles, and repulſed great armies of theirs both by ſea and lande, and ouercame ſome. As *Publius Licinius* among other, the firſt that inuaded MACEDON, was ouerthrowen by him in a battell of horſemen, where he ſlewe at that time two thouſand fiue hundred good men of his, and tooke ſixe hundred priſoners. And their armie by ſea, riding at ancker before the cittie of OREVM, he
E dyd ſodainly ſet apon, and tooke twenty great ſhippes of burden, and all that was in them, and ſoncke the reſt, which were all loden with corne: & tooke of all ſortes beſides, about foure & fiftie foyſtes, and galliots of fiftie owers a pece. The ſecond Conſul & generall he fought with all, was *Hoſtilius*, whom he repulſed, attempting by force to inuade MACEDON, by waye of the cittie of ELVMIA. Another time again, whē he entred in by ſtelth vpō the coaſt of THESSALY, he offred him battel, but the other durſt not abide it. Furthermore, as though the warre troubled him nothing at all, & that he had cared litle for the ROMAINES: he wēt and fought a battell in the meane time with the DARDANIANS, where he ſlue tēne thouſād of thoſe barbarous people, & brought a maruelous great ſpoyle awaye with him. Moreouer he procured the nation of the GAVLES dwelling vpō the riuer of *Danubie*, which they call *Baſtarnæ* (mē very war-
F like, & excellēt good horſemē) & did practiſe with the ILLYRIANS alſo by meane of their king *Gētius*, to make thē ioyne with him in theſe warres: ſo that there ranne a rumour all about, that for money he had gotten theſe GAVLES to come downe into ITALIE, from the highe contrie

Antigonus Doſon, king of Macedon.

Philip king of Macedon was ouercome in battell, by Titus Quintus Flaminius at the cittie of Scotuſa.

Philips ſecōd preparation for warres in Macedon.

Philips armorie.

The death of king Philip.

Perſeus extreme couetous.

King Perſeus maketh warre with the Romaines.

Publius Licinius Conſul, ouerthrowen by Perſeus.

Hoſtilius Cōſul repulſed out of Macedon.

Baſtarnæ, the Gaules dwelling apon the riuer of Danubie.

of GAVLE, all alongeſt the Adriatick ſea. The ROMAINES being aduertiſed of theſe newes, A
thought the time ſerued not now to diſpoſe their offices in warres any more by grace & fa-
uour vnto thoſe that ſued for them: but contrariwiſe, that they ſhould call ſome noble man
that were very skilfull, and a wiſe captaine, and could diſcretly gouerne and performe things
of great charge. As *Paulus AEmylius*, a man well ſtepped on in yeres, being three ſcore yere
olde: and yet of good power, by reaſon of the luſty young men his ſonnes, & ſonnes in lawe,
beſides a great number of his friends and kinſefolke. So all that bare great authoritie, dyd al-
together with one conſent counſaill him to obey the people, which called him to the Con-
ſulſhippe. At the beginning, in deede he delayed the people muche that came to importune
him, and vtterly denied them: ſaying, he was no meete man neither to deſire, nor yet to take
vpon him any charge. Howbeit in the ende, ſeeing the people dyd vrge it apon him, by knoc- B
king continually at his gates, and calling him alowde in the ſtreetes, willing him to come into
the market place, and perceyuing they were angrie with him, bicauſe he refuſed it: he was
content to be perſuaded. And when he ſtoode among them that ſued for the Conſulſhippe,
the people thought ſtraight that he ſtoode not there ſo muche for deſire of the office, as for
that he put them in hope of aſſured victorie, and happie ſucceſſe of this begonne warre: ſo
great was their loue towardes him, and the good hope they had of him, that they choſe him
Conſul againe the ſecond time. Wherefore ſo ſone as he was choſen, they would not pro-
ceede to drawing of lottes according to their cuſtome, which of the two Conſuls ſhould
happen to goe into MACEDON: but preſently with a full and whole conſent of them all, C
they gaue him the whole charge of the warres of MACEDON. So being Conſul now, and
appointed to make warre apon king *Perſeus*, all the people dyd honorably companie him
home vnto his houſe: where a litle girle (a daughter of his) called *Tertia*, being yet an infant,
came weeping vnto her father. He making muche of her: asked her why ſhe wept. The
poore girle aunſwered, colling him about the necke, and kiſſing him: Alas, father, wote you
what? our *Perſeus* is dead. She ment it by a litle whelpe ſo called, which was her playe fel-
lowe. In good hower, my girle, ſayed he, I like the ſigne well. Thus doth *Cicero* the orator re-
porte it in his booke of diuinations. The ROMAINES had a cuſtome at that time, that ſuche
as were elected Conſuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) ſhould make an oration of
thanckes vnto the people, for the honour and fauour they had ſhewed him. The people then
(according to the cuſtome) being gathered together to heare *AEmylius* ſpeake, he made this D
oration vnto them. That the firſt time he ſued to be Conſul, was in reſpect of him ſelfe, ſtan-
ding at that time in neede of ſuche honour: now he offred him ſelfe the ſecond time vnto it,
for the good loue he bare vnto them, who ſtoode in nede of a generall, wherefore he thought
him ſelfe nothing bounde nor beholding vnto them now. And if they dyd thincke alſo this
warre might be better followed by any other, then by him ſelfe, he would preſently with all
his harte reſigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any truſt or confidence in him, that they
thought him a man ſufficient to diſcharge it: then that they would not ſpeake nor medle in
any matter that concerned his duetie, and the office of a generall, ſauing only, that they
would be diligent (without any wordes) to doe whatſoeuer he commaunded, and ſhould
be neceſſarie for the warre and ſeruice they tooke in hande. For if euery man would be a E
commaunder, as they had bene heretofore, of thoſe by whom they ſhould be commaunded:
then the world would more laughe them to ſcorne in this ſeruice, then euer before had bene
accuſtomed. Theſe wordes made the ROMAINES very obedient to him, and conceyued good
hope to come, being all of thē very glad that they had refuſed thoſe ambitious flatterers that
ſued for the charge, & had geuē it vnto a man, that durſt boldly & franckly tell them the troth.
Marke how the ROMAINES by yelding vnto reaſon & vertue, came to cōmand all other, & to
make them ſelues the mightieſt people of the world. Now that *Paulus Æmylius* ſetting for-
ward to this warre, had winde at will, and fayer paſſage to bring him at his iorneis ende: I im-
pute it to good fortune, that ſo quickly and ſafely conueyed him to his campe. But for the
reſt of his exploytes he dyd in all this warre, when parte of them were performed by his F
owne hardines, other by his wiſedome and good counſell, other by the diligence of his
friendes in ſeruing him with good will, other by his owne reſolute conſtancy and corage in
extremeſt

AEmylius choſen Conſul the ſecond time, taketh charge of the warres of Macedon.

Good lucke pronūced by Tertia, a litle girle.

Paulus AEmylius oratiō of thanckes to the Romaines when he was Conſul, obſerſuing the cuſtome.

See what fruite ſouldiers reape, by obedience & reaſon.

A extremeſt daunger, and laſt, by his maruelous skill in determining at an inſtant what was to be done: I cannot attribute any notable acte or worthy ſeruice vnto this his good fortune, they talke of ſo much, as they maye doe in other captaines doings. Onles they will ſaye peraduenture, that *Perſeus* couetouſnes and miſerie was *Æmilius* good fortune: for his miſerable feare of ſpending money, was the only cauſe and deſtruction of the whole realme of MACEDON, which was in good ſtate and hope of continuing in proſperitie. For there came downe into the countrie of MACEDON at king *Perſeus* requeſt, tenne thouſand Baſtarnæ a horſe backe, and as many footemen to them, who allwayes ioyned with them in battell, all mercenary ſouldiers, depending vpon paye and enterteinment of warres, as men that could not plowe nor ſowe, nor trafficke marchandiſe by ſea, nor skill of graſing to gaine their liuing
B with: & to be ſhorte, that had no other occupation or marchãdiſe, but to ſerue in the warres, and to ouercome thoſe with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to incampe & lodge in the MEDICA, neere to the MACEDONIANS, who ſawe them ſo goodly great men, and ſo well trained & exerciſed in handling all kinde of weapons, ſo braue and luſtie in wordes and threates againſt their enemies: they beganne to plucke vp their hartes, & to looke bigge, imagining that the ROMAINES would neuer abide them, but would be afeard to looke them in the face, and only to ſee their marche, it was ſo terrible and fearefull. But *Perſeus*, after he had incoraged his men in this ſorte, and had put them in ſuche a hope and iollitie, when this barbarous ſupply came to aske him a thouſand crownes in hande for euery captaine, he was ſo damped & troubled withall in his minde, caſting vp the ſumme it came to, that his only co-
C uetouſnes and miſerie made him returne them backe, and refuſe their ſeruice: not as one that ment to fight with the ROMAINES, but rather to ſpare his treaſure, and to be a husband for them, as if he ſhould haue geuen vp a ſtraight accompt vnto them of his charges in this warre, againſt whom he made it. And notwithſtanding alſo his enemies dyd teache him what he had to doe, conſidering that beſides all other their warlike furniture & munition, they had no leſſe then a hundred thouſand fighting men lying in campe together, ready to execute the Conſuls commaundement. Yet he taking vpon him to reſiſt ſo puiſſant an armie, and to mainteine the warres, which forced his enemies to be at extreme charge in enterteining ſuch multitudes of men, and more then needed: hardly would depart with his gold and ſiluer, but kept it ſafe locked vp in his treaſurie, as if he had bene affrayed to touche it, and had bene none of
D his. And he dyd not ſhewe that he came of the noble race of theſe kings of LYDIA, and of PHOENICIA, who gloried to be riche: but ſhewed howe by inheritaunce of bloude he chalenged ſome parte of the vertue of *Philip*, and of *Alexander*, who both bicauſe they eſteemed to buye victorie with money, not money with victorie, dyd many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common ſaying in olde time, that it was not *Philip*, but his gold and ſiluer that wanne the citties of GRÆCE. And *Alexander* when he went to conquer the INDES, ſeeing the MACEDONIANS carie with them all the wealth of PERSIA, which made his campe very heauie, and ſlowe to marche: he him ſelfe firſt of all ſet fire of his owne cariage that conueyed all his neceſſaries, and perſuaded other to doe the like, that they might marche more lightly, and eaſelier goe on the iorney. But *Perſeus* contrarilie would not ſpend
E any parte of his goodes, to ſaue him ſelfe, his children and Realme, but rather yelded to be led priſoner in triumphe with a great ranſome, to ſhewe the ROMAINES howe good a husband he had bene for them. For he dyd not only ſend away the GAVLES without geuing them paye as he had promiſed, but moreouer hauing perſuaded *Gentius* king of ILLYRIA to take his parte in theſe warres, for the ſumme of three hũdred talents which he had promiſed to furniſh him with: he cauſed the money to be told, and put vp in bagges by thoſe whom *Gentius* ſent to receiue it. Whereupon *Gentius* thinking him ſelfe ſure of the money promiſed, committed a fond and fowle parte: for he ſtayed the ambaſſadours the ROMAINES ſent vnto him, and committed them to priſone. This parte being come to *Perſeus* eares, he thought now he needed not hier him with money to be an enemie to the ROMAINES, cõſidering he had waded ſo
F farre, as that he had already done, was as a manifeſt ſigne of his ill will towards them, and that it was to late to looke backe and repent him, now that his fowle parte had plonged him into certen warres, for an vncerten hope. So dyd he abuſe the vnfortunate King, and defrauded

Terſeus couetouſnes and miſerie, was the deſtruction of him ſelfe, and his realme of Maced.n.

Baſtarnæ a mercenary people.

Note, what became of Perſeus huſbandry.

AEmylius army againſt Perſeus, was a hundred thouſand mẽ.

Gentius king of the Illyriãs, ayded Perſeus.

Perſeꝰ double dealing with king Gentius.

him of the three hundred talents he had promiſed him. And worſe then this, ſhortely after A
he ſuffered *Lucius Anicius* the ROMAINE Prætor, whom they ſent againſt him with an armie,
to plucke king *Gentius*, his wife, and children, out of his Realme and Kingdome, and to carie
them priſoners with him. Now when *Æmylius* was arriued in MACEDON, to make warre a-
gainſt ſuch an enemie: he made no manner of reckoning of his perſone, but of the great pre-
paration and power he had. For in one campe he had foure thouſand horſemen, and no leſſe
then forty thouſand footemen, with the which armie he had planted him ſelfe alongeſt the
ſea ſide, by the foote of the mount *Olympus*, in a place vnpoſſible to be approched: and there
he had ſo well fortified all the ſtraites and paſſages vnto him with fortifications of woode, that
he thought him ſelfe to lye ſafe out of all daunger, and imagined to dalie with *Æmylius*, and
by tract of time to eate him out with charge. *AEmylius* in the meane ſeaſon laye not idle, B
but occupied his wittes throughly, and left no meanes vnattempted, to put ſome thing in
proofe. And perceyuing that his ſouldiers by ouermuche licentious libertie (wherein by
ſufferaunce they liued before) were angrie with delaying and lying ſtill, and that they dyd
buſilie occupie them ſelues in the generalles office, ſaying this, and ſuche a thing would be
done that is not done: he tooke them vp roundely, and commaunded them they ſhould
medle no more to curiouſly in matters that perteined not to them, and that they ſhould take
care for nothing els, but to ſee their armour & weapon ready to ſerue valliantly, & to vſe their
ſwordes after the ROMAINES facion, when their generall ſhould appoint and commaund
them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to looke to them ſelues, he commaunded
thoſe that watched ſhould haue no ſpeares nor pykes, bicauſe they ſhould be more wakefull, C
hauing no long weapon to reſiſt the enemie, if they were aſſaulted. The greateſt trouble his
army had, was lacke of freſhe water, bicauſe the water that ranne to the ſea was very litle,
and maruelous fowle by the ſea ſide. But *AEmylius* conſidering they were at the foote of
the mount *Olympus* (which is of a maruelous height, and full of wodde withall) coniectured,
ſeeing the trees ſo freſhe and grene, that there ſhould be ſome litle pretie ſpringes among
them, which ranne vnder the grounde. So he made them digge many holes and welles alon-
geſt the mountaine, which were ſtraight filled with fayer water, being pent within ground be-
fore for lacke of breaking open the heades, which then ranne downe in ſtreames, and met to-
gether in ſundrie places. And yet ſome doe denie, that there is any meeting of waters within
the grounde, from whence the ſpringes doe come. For they ſaye, that ronning out of the D
earth as they doe, it is not for that, that the water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in
any place, as meeting together in one place of long time: but that it ingendreth and riſeth at
the ſame time and place where it ronneth out, turning the ſubſtaunce into water, which is a
moiſt vapour, thickneth and waxeth cold by the coldnes of the earth, and ſo becommeth a
ſtreame, and ronneth downe. Euen ſo, ſaye they, as womens breſtes are not allwayes full of
milke, as milke pannes are that continually keepe milke, but doe of them ſelues conuert the
nutriment women take into milke, and after commeth forth at their nipples: the very like are
ſpringes and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountaines come, which haue no
meeting of hidden waters, nor hollowe places capable, readily to deliuer water from them,
as one would drawe it out of a pompe, or ſeſterne, from ſo many great brookes, and deepe E
riuers. But by their naturall coldnes and moiſture, they waxe thicke, and put forth the vapour
& ayer ſo ſtrong, that they turne it into water. And this is the reaſon why the places where
they digge and open the earth, doe put forth more abundaunce of water by opening the
grounde: like as womens breſtes doe geue more milke, when they are moſt drawen and
ſuckt, bicauſe in a ſorte they doe better feede the vapour within them, and conuert it thereby
into a ronning humour. Where, to the contrarie, thoſe partes of the earth that are not dig-
ged, nor haue no vent outward, are the more vnable, and leſſe mete to ingender water, hauing
not that prouocation and courſe to ronne, that cauſeth the bringing forth of moiſture. Yet
ſuch as mainteine this opinion, doe geue them occaſion that loue argument, to contrarie
them thus. Then we may ſaye by like reaſon alſo, that in the bodies of beaſtes there is no bloud F
long before, and that it ingendreth vpon a ſodaine, when they are hurte, by transferring of
ſome ſpirite or fleſhe that readilie chaungeth into ſome ronning licoure. And moreouer, they
are

King Gentius ouercome by Lucius Anicius Prætor.

Perſeus lye at the foote of the mount Olympus, with 4000 horſemē & 40000 footemen.

AEmylius admonition to his ſouldiers.

Paulus AEmylius would haue the watch to haue no ſpeares nor pikes.

The originall of ſpringes.

Fountaines compared to womes breſts.

A are confuted by the cõmon experience of theſe mine men, that digge in the mines for mettell, or that vndermine caſtells to winne them: who when they digge any great depth, doe many times meete in the bowells of the earth with ronning riuers, the water whereof is not ingendred by litle and litle, as of neceſſitie it ſhould be, if it were true, that vpon the preſent opening of the ground, the humour ſhould immediatly be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we ſee oftentimes that in cutting through a mountaine or rocke, ſodainely there ronneth out a great quantitie of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to returne to our hiſtorie againe. *Æmylius* laye there a conuenient time, & ſtirred not: and it is ſayed there were neuer ſeene two ſo great armies one ſo neere to the other, and to be ſo quiet. In the ende, caſting many things with him ſelfe, and deuiſing ſundrie practiſes, he was enformed of another
B waye to enter into MACEDON, through the countrie of PERRÆBIA, ouer againſt the temple called *Pythion*, & the rocke vpon which it is built, where there laye no garriſon: which gaue him better hope to paſſe that waye, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrownes & hardnes of the waye vnto it. So, he brake the matter to his coũſaill. Thereupon *Scipio* called *Naſica* (the ſonne adopted of that great *Scipio* the *African*, who became afterwards a great mã, & was preſidẽt of the Senate or counſell) was the firſt man that offred him ſelf to leade them, whom it would pleaſe him to ſend to take that paſſage, & to aſſault their enemies behind. The ſecond was *Fabius Maximus*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Æmylius*, who being but a very young man, roſe notwithſtanding, & offred him ſelf very willingly. *Æmylius* was very glad of their offers, & gaue them not ſo many men as *Polybius* writeth, but ſo many as *Naſica* him ſelf declareth, in a
C letter of his he wrote to a King, where he reporteth all the ſtorie of this iorney. There were 3000. ITALIANS leauied in ITALIE, by the cõfederats of the ROMAINES, who were not of the ROMAINE legions, & in the left winge about 5000. Beſides thoſe, *Naſica* tooke alſo 120. men at armes, & about 200. CRETANS & THRACIANS mingled together, of thoſe *Harpalus* had ſent thither. With this number *Naſica* departed from the campe, & tooke his waye toward the ſea ſide, & lodged by the tẽple of *Hercules*, as if he had determined to doe this feate by ſea, to enuiron the cãpe of the enemies behind. But when the ſouldiers had ſupped, & that it was darke night, he made the captaines of euery bande priuie to his enterpriſe, & ſo marched all night a contrary waye from the ſea, vntill at the length they came vnder the tẽple of *Pythion*, where he lodged to reſt the ſouldiers that were ſore trauelled all night. In this place, the mount *Olympus*
D is aboue tenne furlonge highe, as appeareth in a place ingrauen by him that meaſured it.

Scipio Naſica, and Fabius Maximus, offer themſelues to take the ſtraights.

Olympus mounte is iuſt, by meaſure made vvith line,
tvvelue hundred ſeuentie paces trodde, as meaſure can aſsigne.
The meaſure being made, right ore againſt the place,
vvhereas Apolloes temple ſtands, ybuilt vvith ſtately grace.
Euen from the leauell plott, of that ſame countries plaine.
vnto the toppe vvhich all on highe, doth on the hill remaine.
And ſo Xenagoras the ſonne of Eumelus,
in olden dayes by meaſure made, the ſame dyd finde for vs.
And dyd engraue it here in vvriting for to ſee,
E *vvhen as he tooke his lateſt leaue (Apollo god) of thee.*

The height of the mount Olympus.

Yet the *Geometricians* ſaye, that there is no mountaine higher, nor ſea deeper, then the length of tenne furlonges: ſo that I thinke this *Xenagoras* (in my opinion) dyd not take his meaſure at auenture, and by geſſe, but by true rules of the arte, and inſtrumentes Geometricall. There *Naſica* reſted all night. King *Perſeus* perceyuing in the meane time that *Æmylius* ſtirred not from the place where he laye, miſtruſted nothing his practiſe, and the comming of *Naſica* who was at hande: vntill ſuch time as a traitour of CRETA (ſtealing from *Naſica*) dyd reueale vnto him the pretended practiſe, as alſo the ROMAINES compaſſing of him about. He wondred muche at theſe newes, howbeit he remoued not his campe from the place he laye in, but diſpatched one of his captaines called *Milon*, with tenne thouſand ſtraungers, and two thou-
F ſand MACEDONIANS: and ſtraightly commanded him with all the poſſible ſpeede he could, to get the toppe of the hill before them. *Polybius* ſayeth, that the ROMAINES came and gaue them an alarom, when they were ſleeping. But *Naſica* writeth, that there was a maruelous

sharpe and terrible battell on the toppe of the mountaine: and sayed plainely, that a THRACIAN souldier comming towards him, he threwe his darte at him, and hitting him right in the brest, slue him starke dead: and hauing repulsed their enemies, *Milon* their captaine shamefully ronning awaye in his coate without armour or weapon, he followed him without any daunger, and so went downe to the valley, with the safety of all his companie. This conflict fortuning thus, *Perseus* raised his campe in great haste from the place where he was, and being disapointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wittes ende, and not knowing howe to determine. Yet was he constrained either to staye, and incampe before the cittie of PYDNE, there to take the hazard of battell: or els to deuide his armie into his citties & strong holdes, and to receyue the warres within his owne countrie, the which being once crept in, could neuer be driuen out againe, without great murder & bloudeshed. Hereupon his friends dyd counsell him, to choose rather the fortune of battell: alledging vnto him, that he was the stronger in men a great waye, & that the MACEDONIANS would fight lustely with all the corage they could, considering that they fought for the safety of their wiues and children, & also in the presence of their King, who should both see euery mans doing, and fight him selfe in persone also for them. The King moued by these persuasions, determined to venter the chaūce of battell. So he pitched his campe, and viewed the situation of the places all about, and deuided the companies amongest his captaines, purposing to geue a whotte charge vpon the enemies when they should drawe nere. The place and countrie was suche, as being all champion, there was a goodly valley to raunge a battell of footemen in, and litle prety hilles also one depending vpon another, which were very cōmodious for archers, naked men, and such as were lightly armed, to retire them selues vnto being distressed, & also to enuirōne their enemies behind. There were two small riuers also, *Æson* and *Leucus* that rāne through the same, the which though they were not very deepe, being about the later ende of the sommer, yet they would annoye the ROMAINES notwithstanding. Now when *Æmylius* was ioyned with *Nasica*, he marched on straight in battell raye towards his enemies. But perceyuing a farre of their battell marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the same: he wondred to behold it, and sodainly stayed his armie, considering with him selfe what he had to doe. Then the young captaines hauing charge vnder him, desirous to fight it out presently, went vnto him to praye him to geue the onset: but *Nasica* specially aboue the rest, hauing good hope in the former good lucke he had at his first encounter. *Æmylius* smiling, aunswered him: so would I doe, if I were as young as thou. But the sundry victories I haue wonne heretofore, hauing taught me by experience the faultes the vanquished doe commit: doe forbid me to goe so whottely to worke (before my souldiers haue rested, which dyd returne but now) to assault an armie set in suche order of battell. When he had aunswered him thus, he commaunded the first bands that were now in viewe of the enemies, should imbattell them selues, shewing a countenaunce to the enemie as though they would fight: and that those in the rereward should lodge in the meane time, and fortifie the campe. So, bringing the foremost men to be hindemost, by chaunging from man to man before the enemies were ware of it: he had broken his battell by litle and litle, and lodged his men, fortified within the campe without any tumult or noyse, and the enemies neuer perceyuing it. But when night came, and euery man had supped, as they were going to sleepe and take their rest: the moone which was at the full, and of a great height, beganne to darken, & to chaunge into many sortes of cullers, losing her light, vntill suche time as she vanished awaye, and was eclipsed altogether. Then the ROMAINES beganne to make a noyse with basons and pannes, as their facion is to doe in suche a chaunce, thinking by this sound to call her againe, and to make her come to her light, lifting vp many torches lighted, and firebrands into the ayer. The MACEDONIANS on thother side dyd no suche matter within their campe, but were all together striken with an horrible feare: and there ranne straight a whispering rumour through the people, that this signe in the element signified the eclipse of the King. For *Æmylius* was not ignoraunt of the diuersities of the eclipses, and he had heard saye the cause is, by reason that the moone making her ordinarie course about the world (after certen reuolutions of time) doth come to enter into the round shadowe of the earth, within the which she remaineth hidden: vntill suche time as hauing

Nasica wanne the straights of Macedon.

Perseus pitched his cāpe before the cittie of Pydne.

The riuers of AEson and Leucus.

AEmylius aunswer to Scipio Nasica, for geuing charge apon the enemies.

The skill and foresight of a wise captaine.

The eclipse of the moone.

The superstitiō of the Romaines when the moone is eclipsed.

The cause of an eclipse of the moone.

past

A past the darke region of the shadow, she cõmeth afterwards to recouer her light which she taketh of the sunne. Neuertheles, he being a godly deuout man, so sone as he perceyued the moone had recouered her former brightnes againe, he sacrificed eleuen calues. And the next morning also by the breake of day, making sacrifice to *Hercules*, he could neuer haue any signes or tokens that promised him good lucke, in sacrificing twenty oxen one after another: but at the one & twenteth, he had signes that promised him victorie, so he defended him self. Wherfore, after he had vowed a solemne sacrifice of a hundred oxen to *Hercules*, and also games of prices at the weapons, he commaunded his captaines to put their men in readines to fight: & so sought to winne time, tarying till the sunne came about in the after noone towardes the West, to the ende that the Romaines which were turned towardes the East, should not haue
B it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he reposed him selfe in his tent, which was all open behind towardes the side that looked into the valley, where the campe of his enemies laye. When it grewe towards night, to make the enemies set apon his men: some saye he vsed this policie. He made a horse be driuen towards them without a bridell, & certen Romaines followed him, as they would haue taken him againe: and this was the cause of procuring the skirmishe. Other saye, that the Thracians seruing vnder the charge of captaine *Alexander*, dyd set apon certen forragers of the Romaines, that brought forage into the campe: out of the which, seuen hundred of the Ligvrians ranne sodainly to the rescue, and relief comming still from both armies, at the last the mayne battell followed after. Wherefore *Æmilius* like a wise generall foreseeing by the daunger of this skirmishe, and the
C stirring of both campes, what the furie of the battell would come to: came out of his tent, and passing by the bandes, dyd encorage them, and prayed them to sticke to it like men. In the meane time, *Nasica* thrusting him selfe into the place where the skirmishe was whotteſt, perceyued the army of the enemies marching in battell, ready to ioyne. The first that marched in the voward, were the Thracians, who seemed terrible to looke apon, as he writeth him self: for they were mightie made men, and caried maruelous bright targets of steele before them, their legges were armed with greaues, and their thighes with tases, their coates were blacke, & marched shaking heauy halberds vpon their shoulders. Next vnto these Thracians, there followed them all the other straungers and souldiers whom the King had hiered, diuersely armed and set forth: for they were people of sundrie nations gathered together, emong whom
D the Pæonians were mingled. The third squadron was of Macedonians, and all of them chosen men, aswell for the flower of their youthe, as for the valliantnes of their persones: and they were all in goodly gilt armours, and braue purple cassocks apon them, spicke, and spanne newe. And at their backes came after them, the olde bandes to shewe them selues out of the campe, with targets of copper, that made all the plaine to shine with the brightnes of their steele and copper. And all the hilles and mountaines thereabouts dyd ringe againe like an Eccho, with the crie and noyse of so many fighting men, one incoraging another. In this order they marched so fiercely, with so great harte burning, & such swiftnes: that the first which were slaine at the incounter, fell dead two furlonges from the campe of the Romaines. The charge being geuen, and the battell begonne, *AEmylius* galloping to the voward of his bat-
E tell, perceyued that the captaines of the Macedonians which were in the first ranckes, had already thrust their pikes into the Romaines targets, so as they could not come neere them with their swordes: and that the other Macedonians carying their targets behinde them, had now plucked them before them, and dyd base their pikes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the targets of the Romaines. Which when he had considered, and of what strength and force his walle and rancke of targets was, one ioyning so neere another, and what a terrour it was to see a fronte of a battell with so many armed pikes and steele heades: he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any sight he euer sawe before. Neuertheles he could wisely dissemble it at that time. And so passing by the companies of his horsemen, without either curaces or helmet vpon his head, he shewed a noble cherefull coun-
F tenaunce vnto them that fought. But on the contrarie side, *Perseus* the king of Macedon, as *Polybius* writeth, so sone as the battell was begonne, withdrewe him self, and got into the cittie of Pydne, vnder pretence to goe to doe sacrifice vnto *Hercules*: who doth not accept the

AEmylius policie to procure shirmishe.

The army of the Macedonians, marching against the Romaines in battell.

The battell betwext Perseus and AEmylius.

Perseꝰ goeth out of the battell vnto Pydna.

fainte ſacrifice of cowards, neither doth receyue their prayers, bicauſe they be vnreaſonable. A
For it is no reaſon, that he that ſhooteth not, ſhould hyt the white: nor that he ſhould winne
Victorie wõne by labour, not by ſlothe. the victorie, that bideth not the battell: neither that he ſhould haue any good, that doeth no-
thing toward it: nor that a naughty man ſhould be fortunate, and proſper. The goddes dyd
fauour *Æmylius* prayers, bicauſe he prayed for victorie with his ſworde in his hande, and
fighting dyd call to them for ayde. Howbeit there is one *Poſidonius* a writer, who ſayeth he
was in that time, and moreouer, that he was at the battell: and he hath written an hiſtorie
conteining many bookes of the actes of king *Perſeus*, where he ſayeth that it was not for fainte
harte, nor vnder culler to ſacrifice vnto *Hercules*, that *Perſeus* went from the battell: but bicauſe
he had a ſtripe of a horſe on the thighe the daye before. Who though he could not very well
helpe him ſelf, and that all his friends ſought to perſuade him not to goe to the battell: yet he B
cauſed one of his horſe to be brought to him notwithſtanding (which he commonly vſed to
ryde vp and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell vnarmed, where an infinite
number of dartes were throwen at him from both ſides. And emong thoſe, he had a blowe
with a darte that hurte him ſomwhat, but it was ouerthwart, and not with the pointe, and dyd
hit him on the left ſide glawnſing wiſe, with ſuche a force, that it rent his coate, and raſed his
skinne vnderneath, ſo as it left a marke behinde a long time after. And this is all that *Poſido-*
nius writeth to defend and excuſe *Perſeus*. The Romaines hauing their hands full, and being
ſtayed by the battell of the Macedonians that they could make no breache into them:
Salius a captaine of the Pelignians tooke the enſigne, and threwe it among the enemies. there was a captaine of the Pelignians called *Salius*, who tooke the enſigne of his band, and C
caſt it among the preaſe of his enemies. Then all the Pelignians brake in apon them, with
a maruelous force & furie into that place: for all Italians thinke it to great a ſhame & diſ-
honour for ſouldiers, to loſe, or forſake their enſigne. Thus was there maruelous force of both
ſides vſed in that place: for the Pelignians proued to cut the Macedonians pikes with
their ſwordes, or els to make them geue backe with their great targets, or to make a breache
into them, and to take the pikes with their handes. But the Macedonians to the contrarie,
holding their pikes faſt with both hands, ranne them thorow that came neere vnto them: ſo
that neither target nor corſelet could hold out the force and violence of the puſhe of their
pikes, in ſo muche as they turned vp the heeles of the Pelignians and Terracinians, D
who like deſperate beaſtes without reaſon, ſhutting in them ſelues emong their enemies,
ranne wilfully vpon their owne deathes, and their firſt rancke were ſlaine euery man of them.
Thereupon thoſe that were behind, gaue backe a litle, but fled not turning their backes, and
only retired geuing backe, towardes the mountaine *Olocrus*. *Æmylius* ſeeing that (as *Poſidonius*
writeth) rent his arming coate from his backe for anger, bicauſe that ſome of his men gaue
backe: other durſt not fronte the battell of the Macedonians, which was ſo ſtrongly im-
battelled of euery ſide, and ſo mured in with a wall of pikes, preſenting their armed heades
on euerie ſide a man could come, that it was impoſſible to breake into them, no not ſo
muche as to come neere them only. Yet notwithſtanding, bicauſe the field was not alto-
gether plaine and euen, the battell that was large in the fronte, could not allwayes keepe that
walle, continuing their targets cloſe one to another, but they were driuen of neceſſitie to
breake and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battells, according to the great E
force of the ſouldiers: that in one place they thruſt forward, and in another they geue backe,
and leaue a hole. Wherefore *Æmylius* ſodainly taken the vauntage of this occaſion, deuided
his men into ſmall companies, and commaunded them they ſhould quickly thruſt in betwene
their enemies, and occupie the places they ſawe voyde in the fronte of their enemies, and that
they ſhould ſet on them in that ſorte, and not with one whole continuall charge, but occu-
pying them here and there with diuers companies, in ſundry places. *Æmylius* gaue this charge
vnto the priuate captaines of euery band and their lieutenaunts, and the captaines alſo gaue
the like charge vnto their ſouldiers that could skilfully execute their commaundement.
For they went preſently into thoſe partes where they ſawe the places open, and being once
entred in among them, ſome gaue charge vpon the flanckes of the Macedonians, where F
they were all naked and vnarmed: other ſet vpon them behind: ſo that the ſtrength of all the
corpes of the battell (which conſiſteth in keeping cloſe together) being opened in this ſorte,

A was straight ouerthrowen. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a fewe againſt a fewe: the MACEDONIANS with their litle ſhorte ſwordes, came to ſtrike vpon the great ſheldes of the ROMAINES, which were very ſtrong, and couered all their bodies downe to the foote. And they to the contrarie, were driuen of neceſſitie to receaue the blowes of the ſtrong heauy ſwordes of the ROMAINES, vpon their litle weake targettes: ſo that what with their heauines, and the vehement force wherewith the blowes lighted vpon them, there was no target nor corſelet, but they paſſed it through, and ranne them in. By reaſon whereof they could make no long reſiſtance, whereupon they turned their backes, and ranne awaye. But when they came to the ſquadron of the olde beaten ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there was the cruelleſt fight and moſt deſperate ſeruice, where they ſaye that *Marcus Cato* (ſonne of *The valliantnes of Marcius Cato.*
B great *Cato*, and ſonne in lawe of *Æmylius*) ſhewing all the valliantnes in his perſone that a noble minde could poſſibly performe, loſt his ſword which fell out of his hande. But he like a young man of noble corage, that had bene valliantly brought vp in all diſcipline, & knew how to follow the ſteppes of his father (the nobleſt perſone that euer man ſawe) was to ſhewe then his value and worthines: and thought it more honour for him there to dye, then liuing to ſuffer his enemies to enioye any ſpoyle of his. So, by & by he ranne into the ROMAINE army, to finde out ſome of his friendes, whom he tolde what had befalled him, and prayed them to helpe him to recouer his ſworde: whereto they agreed. And being a good company of luſty valliant ſouldiers together, they ruſhed ſtraight in among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and ſo dyd ſet apon them with ſuche force and furie, that they made a lane
C through the middeſt of them, and with great ſlaughter and ſpilling of bloude, euen by plaine force, they cleared the waye ſtill before them. Now when the place was voyded, they ſought for the ſworde, and in the ende founde it with great a doe, amongeſt a heape of other ſwords and dead bodies, whereat they reioyced maruelouſly. Then ſinging a ſonge of victorie, they went againe more fiercely then before to geue a charge vpon their enemies, who were not yet broken a ſonder: vntill ſuche time as at the length, the three thouſand choſen MACEDONIANS fighting valliantly euen to the laſt man, and neuer forſaking their rancks, were all ſlaine in the place. After whoſe ouerthrowe, there was a great ſlaughter of other alſo that fled: ſo that all the valley and foote of the mountaines thereaboutes was couered with dead bodies. *AEmilius victorie of Perſeus.*
The next daye after the battell, when the ROMAINES dyd paſſe ouer the riuer of *Leucus*, they
D founde it ronning all a bloude. For it is ſayed there were ſlaine at this field, of *Perſeus* men, aboue fiue and twentie thouſand: and of the ROMAINES ſide, as *Poſidonius* ſayeth, not aboue fixe ſcore, or as *Naſica* writeth, but foure ſcore only. And for ſo great an ouerthrowe, it is reported it was wonderfull quickly done, and executed. For they beganne to fight about three of the clocke in the after noone, and had wonne the victorie before foure, and all the reſt of *The battell fought and wonne in one hower.*
the daye they followed their enemies in chaſe, an hundred & twenty furlonges from the place where the battell was fought: ſo that it was very late, and farre forth night, before they returned againe into the campe. So ſuche as returned, were receyued with maruelous great ioye of their pages that went out with linckes and torches lighted, to bring their maſters into their tentes, where their men had made great bonfiers, and decked them vp with crownes and
E garlands of laurell, ſauing the generalles tent only: who was very heauy, for that of his two ſonnes he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be founde, which he loued beſt of the twaine, bicauſe he ſawe he was of a better nature then the reſt of his brethern. For *The valliantnes of Scipio the laſſe.*
euen then, being newe crept out of the ſhell as it were, he was maruelous valliant and hardie, and deſired honour wonderfully. Now *Æmylius* thought he had bene caſt awaye, fearing leaſt for lacke of experience in the warres, and through the raſhnes of his youthe, he had put him ſelfe to farre in fight amongeſt the preaſe of the enemies. Hereupon the campe heard ſtraight what ſorowe *AEmylius* was in, and how grieuouſly he tooke it. The ROMAINES being ſet at ſupper, roſe from their meate, and with torche light ſome ranne to *Æmylius* tent, other went
F out of the campe to ſeeke him among the dead bodies, if they might knowe him: ſo all the campe was full of ſorowe and mourning, the vallies & hilles all abouts dyd ringe againe with the cries of thoſe that called *Scipio* alowde. For euen from his childhood he had a naturall gift in him, of all the rare and ſingular partes required in a captaine & wiſe gouernour of the

common weale aboue all the young men of his time. At the laſt, when they were out of all hope of his comming againe, he happely returned from the chaſe of the enemies, with two or three of his familliars only, all bloudied with new bloude (like a ſwift running greyhownde fleſhed with the bloude of the hare) hauing purſued very farre for ioye of the victorie. It is that *Scipio* which afterwards deſtroyed both the citties of CARTHAGE and NVMANTIVM, who was the greateſt man of warre, and vallianteſt captaine of the ROMAINES in his time, and of the greateſt authoritie and reputation emong them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her ſpite, which ſhe dyd beare to ſo noble an exployte, ſuffered *Æmylius* for that time, to take his ful pleaſure of that noble victorie. And as for *Perſeus*, he fled firſt from the cittie of PYDNE, vnto the cittie of PELLA, with his horſemen, which were in manner all ſaued. Whereupon the footemen that ſaued them ſelues by flying, meeting them by the waye, called them traitours, cowards, and villanes: & worſe then that, they turned them of their horſe backes, and fought it out luſtely with them. *Perſeus* ſeeing that, and fearing leaſt this mutinie might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horſe out of the highe waye, and pulled of his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe, fearing leaſt they ſhould knowe him by theſe tokens: and bicauſe he might more eaſely ſpeake with his friends by the waye, he lighted a foote, and led his horſe in his hande. But ſuche as were about him, one made as though he would mende the latchet of his ſhooe, an other ſeemed to water his horſe, another as though he would drincke: ſo that one dragging after another in this ſorte, they all left him at the laſt, and ranne their waye, not fearing the enemies furie ſo muche, as their Kings crueltie: who being greued with his misfortune, ſought to laye the faulte of the ouerthrowe vpon all other, but him ſelfe. Now he being come into the cittie of PELLA by night, *Eucteus* and *Eudæus*, two of his treaſorers came vnto him, and ſpeaking boldly (but out of time) preſumed to tell him the great faulte he had committed, and dyd counſell him alſo what he ſhould doe. The King was ſo moued with their preſumption, that with his owne handes he ſtabbed his dagger in them both, and ſlue them outright. But after this facte, all his ſeruauntes and friendes refuſed him, and there only taried with him but *Euander* CRETAN, *Archedamus* ÆTOLIAN, and *Neo* BOEOTIAN. And as for the meane ſouldiers, there were none that followed him but the CRETANS, & yet it was not for the good will they dyd beare him, but for the loue of his golde and ſiluer, as bees that keepe their hiues for loue of the hony. For he caried with him a great treaſure, and gaue them leaue to ſpoyle certen plate and veſſell of golde and ſiluer, to the value of fiftie talents. But firſt of all, when he was come into the cittie of AMPHIPOLIS, and afterwards into the cittie of ALEPSE, and that the feare was well blowen ouer: he returned againe to his olde humour, which was borne and bred with him, and that was, auarice and miſerie. For he made his complainte vnto thoſe that were about him, that he had vnwares geuen to the ſouldiers of CRETA, his plate and veſſell of golde to be ſpoyled, being thoſe which in olde time belonged vnto *Alexander* the great: & prayed them with teares in his eyes that had the plate, they would be contented to chaunge it for ready money. Now ſuche as knewe his nature, founde ſtreight this was but a fraude and a CRETAN lye, to deceaue the CRETANS with: but thoſe that truſted him, and dyd reſtore againe the plate they had, dyd looſe it euery iotte, for he neuer payed them pennie of it. So he got of his friendes, the value of thirtie talents which his enemies ſone after dyd take from him. And with that ſumme he went into the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he tooke the ſanctuarie and priuiledge, of the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. They ſaye, that the MACEDONIANS of long continuaunce dyd naturally loue their Kings: but then ſeeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hartes failed them, and broke withall. For they all came and ſubmitted them ſelues vnto *Æmylius*, and made him lorde of the whole Realme of MACEDON in two dayes: and this doth ſeeme to confirme their wordes, who impute all *AEmilius* doings vnto his good fortune. And ſurely, the maruelous fortune he happened on in the cittie of AMPHIPOLIS, doth confirme it muche, which a man cannot aſcribe otherwiſe, but to the ſpeciall grace of the godds. For one daye beginning to doe ſacrifice, lightning fell from heauen, and ſet all the wodde a fire apon the aulter, & ſanctified the ſacrifice. But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For foure dayes after *Perſeus* had loſt the battell, & that the

Perſeus fled from Pydne to Pella.

Time, & durie, to be obſerued to the Prince.

Death, the indignation of the Prince.

The couetouſnes of the Cretans.

Miſers whine for their gooddes.

The Macedonians ſubmit them ſelues to AEmylius.

VVonders.

A the cittie of PELLA was taken, as the people of ROME were at the liſtes or ſhowe place, ſeing horſes ronne for games: ſodainly there roſe a rumour at the entring into the liſtes where the games were, how *Æmylius* had wonne a great battell of king *Perſeus*, and had conquered all MACEDON. This newes was rife ſtraight in euery mans mouthe, and there followed vpon it a maruelous ioye and great cheere in euery corner, with ſhowtes and clapping of handes, that continued all the daye through the cittie of ROME. Afterwards they made diligent enquierie, how this rumour firſt came vp, but no certaine authour could be knowen, and euery man ſayed they heard it ſpoken: ſo as in the ende it came to nothing, and paſſed awaye in that ſorte for a time. But ſhortely after, there came letters, and certen newes that made them wonder more then before, from whence the meſſenger came that reported the firſt newes of it: which

Newes brought to Rome out of Macedon in 4. dayes, of Aemylius victorie there: and no man knewe howe they came.

B could be deuiſed by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwards. We doe reade alſo of a battell that was fought in ITALIE, nere vnto the riuer of SAGRA, wherof newes was brought the very ſame daye vnto PELOPONNESVS. And of another alſo in like manner that was fought in ASIA againſt the MEDES, before the cittie of MYCALA: the newes whereof came the ſame daye vnto the campe of the GRÆCIANS, lying before the cittie of PLATOEES. And in that great iorney where the ROMAINES ouerthrewe the *Tarquines*, and the armie of the LATINES: immediatly after the battell was wonne, they ſawe two goodly young men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victorie to ROME, and they iudged they were *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. The firſt man that ſpake to them in the market place before the fountaine, where they watered their horſe being all of a white ſome, tolde them: that he wondred howe they

C could ſo quickly bring theſe newes. And they laughing came to him, and tooke him ſoftely by the beard with both their handes, and euen in the market place his heare being blacke before, was preſently turned yellowe. This miracle made them beleeue the reporte the man made, who euer after was called *Æenobarbus*, as you would ſaye, bearded as yellowe as golde. Another like matter that happened in our time, maketh all ſuche newes credible. For when *Antonius* rebelled againſt the emperour *Domitian*, the cittie of ROME was in a maruelous perplexitie, bicauſe they looked for great warres towards GERMANIE. But in this feare, there grewe a ſodaine rumour of victorie, and it went currantly through ROME, that *Antonius* him ſelfe was ſlaine, and all his armie ouerthrowen, & not a man left a liue. This rumour was ſo rife, that many of the chiefeſt men of ROME beleeued it, and dyd ſacrifice thereupon vnto the goddes,

Æenobarbus why ſo called.

D geuing them thankes for the victorie. But when the matter came to ſifting, who was the firſt authour of the rumour: no man could tell. For one put it ouer ſtill to another, and dyed ſo in the ende amongeſt the people, as in a bottomles matter, for they could neuer boult out any certen grounde of it: but euen as it came flying into ROME, ſo went it flying awaye againe, no man can tell howe. Notwithſtanding, *Domitian* holding on his iorney to make this warre, met with poſtes that brought him letters for the certen victorie: and remembring the rumour of the victorie that ranne before in ROME, he founde it true, that it was on the very ſame daye the victorie was gotten, and the diſtaunce betweene ROME & the place where the field was wonne, was aboue twenty thouſand furlõges of. Euery man in our time knoweth this to be true. But againe to our hiſtorie. *Cn. Octauius*, lieutenant of the armie of *Æmylius* by ſea,

Cn. Octauius, Æmylius lieutenaunt by ſea.

E came to ancker vnder the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he would not take *Perſeus* by force out of the ſanctuarie where he was, for the reuerence he dyd beare vnto the goddes *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: but he dyd beſiege him in ſuche ſorte, as he could not ſcape him, nor flye by ſea out of the Ilande. Yet he had ſecretly practiſed with one *Oroandes* a CRETAN, that had a brigantine, and was at a priſe with him for a ſumme of money to conuey him awaye by night: but the CRETAN ſerued him a right CRETANS tricke. For when he had taken a borde by night into his veſſell, all the Kings treaſure of golde and ſiluer, he ſent him worde that he ſhould not faile the next night following to come vnto the peere by the temple of *Ceres*, with his wife, his children and ſeruauntes, where in deede was no poſſibilitie to take ſhipping: but the next night following he hoyſed ſaile, and got him awaye. It was a pittiefull thing that *Per-*

The miſerable ſtate Perſeus was brought vnto, by the craft & ſubtilitie of a Cretan.

F *ſeus* was driuen to doe and ſuffer at that time. For he came downe in the night by ropes, out of a litle ſtraight windowe vpon the walles, and not only him ſelf, but his wife and litle babes, who neuer knewe before what flying and hardnes ment. And yet he fetched a more grieuous

bitter ſighe, when one tolde him on the peere, that he ſawe *Oroandes* the CRETAN vnder ſaile in the mayne ſeas. Then daye beginning to breake, and ſeeing him ſelfe voyde of all hope, he ranne with his wife for life to the wall, to recouer the ſanctuarie again, before the ROMAINES that ſawe him could ouertake him. And as for his children, he had geuen them him ſelfe into the hands of one *Ion*, whom before he had maruelouſly loued, and who then dyd traiterouſly betraye him: for he deliuered his children vnto the ROMAINES. Which parte was one of the chiefeſt cauſes that draue him (as a beaſt that will followe her litle ones being taken from her) to yeld him ſelfe into their hands that had his children. Now he had a ſpeciall confidence in *Scipio Naſica*, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeld him ſelfe: but it was aunſwered him, that he was not there. Then he beganne to lament his hard and miſerable fortune euery waye. And in the ende, conſidering howe neceſſitie enforced him, he yelded him ſelfe into the hands of *Cneus Octauius*, wherein he ſhewed plainely, that he had another vice in him more vnmanly and vile, then auarice: that was, a fainte harte, and feare to dye. But hereby he depriued him ſelf of others pittie & compaſſion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot denie and take from the afflicted, and ſpecially from them that haue a noble harte. For he made requeſt they would bring him vnto the generall *Æmylius*, who roſe from his chayer when he ſawe him come, and went to mete him with his friends, the water ſtanding in his eyes, to mete a great King, by fortune of warre, and by the will of the goddes, fallen into that moſt lamentable facte. But he to the contrarie, vnmanly, and ſhametully behaued him ſelfe. For he fell downe at his feete, and embraced his knees, and vttered ſuche vncomely ſpeache and vile requeſtes, as *AEmylius* ſelfe could not abide to heare them: but knitting his browes againſt him, being hartely offended, he ſpake thus vnto him. Alas poore mā, why doeſt thou diſcharge fortune of this faulte, where thou mighteſt iuſtly charge and accuſe her to thy diſcharge, doing things, for the which euery one iudgeth thou haſt deſerued thy preſent miſerie, & art vnworthie alſo of thy former honour? why doſt thou defame my victorie, & blemiſh the glory of my doings, ſhewing thy ſelf ſo baſe a mā, as my honour is not great, to ouercome ſo vnworthie an enemie? The ROMAINES haue euer eſteemed magnanimitie, euen in their greateſt enemies: but daſtardlines, though it be fortunate, yet is it hated of euery bodie. Notwithſtanding, he tooke him vp, and taking him by the hande, gaue him into the cuſtodie of *Ælius Tubero*. Then *AEmylius* went into his tent, & caried his ſonnes, & ſonnes in law with him, & other men of qualitie, and ſpecially the younger ſorte. And being ſet downe, he continued a great ſpace very penſiue with him ſelf, not ſpeaking a word: in ſo much as all the ſtanders by, wondered much at the matter. In the ende, he beganne to enter into diſcourſe & talke of fortune, & the vnconſtancy of theſe worldly things, & ſayed vnto them. Is there any man liuing, my friends, who hauing fortune at will, ſhould therefore boaſt and glorie in the proſperitie of his doings, for that he hath cōquered a contrie, cittie, or Realme: & not rather to feare the vnconſtancie of fortune? who laying before our eyes, & all thoſe that profeſſe armes at this preſent, ſo notable an example of the cōmon frayeltie of men, doth plainely teache vs to thincke, that there is nothing cōſtant or perdurable in this world. For when is it, that men maye thinke them ſelues aſſured, conſidering that when they haue ouercome others, then are they driuen to miſtruſt fortune moſt, & to mingle feare & miſtruſt, with ioye of victorie: if they will wiſely conſider the cōmon courſe of fatall deſtenie that altereth daylie, ſomtime fauoring one, otherwhile throwing down another? you ſee, that in an howers ſpace we haue trodē vnder our feete, the houſe of *Alexander* the great: who hath bene the mightieſt & moſt redouted prince of the world. You ſee a King, that not lōg ſince was folowed & accōpanied, with many thouſand ſouldiers of horſemen & footemen: brought at this preſent into ſuch miſerable extremitie, that he is inforced to receiue his meate & drinke daylie at the hands of his enemies. Should we haue any better hope then, that fortune will allwayes fauour our doings, more thē ſhe doth his now, at this preſent? no out of doubt. Therefore digeſting this matter well, you young men I ſaye, be not to bragge nor fooliſh prowde, of this conqueſt & noble victorie: but thinke what maye happē hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turne the enuie of this our preſent proſperitie. Such were *Æmylius* words to theſe young men, as it is reported, bridling by theſe & ſuch like perſuaſions, the luſty brauery of this youth, euen as with the bit & bridle of reaſon. Afterwards

King Perſe yeldeth him ſelf in Samothracia, vnto Cneus Octauius.

Perſeus vnprincely behauiour vnto AEmylius.

AEmylius oration vnto Perſeus priſoner.

AEmylius oration touching fortune and her vnconſtancie.

A wardes he put his armie into garrisons to refreshe them: and went him selfe in persone in the meane time to visite Græce, making it an honorable progresse, and also a commendable. For as he passed through their cities, he releued the people, reformed the gouernment of their state, and euer gaue them some gifte or present. Vnto some he gaue corne, which king *Perseus* had gathered for the warres: and vnto other he gaue oyles, meeting with so great store of prouision, that he rather lacked people to geue it vnto, to receyue it at his handes, then wanting to geue, there was so much. As he passed by the cittie of Delphes, he sawe there a great piller, foure square, of white stone, which they had set vp, to put king *Perseus* image of gold vpon it. Whereupon he commaunded them to set vp his in that place, saying: it was reason the conquered should geue place vnto the conquerours. And being in the cittie of Olym-

B pia, visiting the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, he spake this openly, which euer since hath bene remembred: that *Phidias* had rightly made *Iupiter*, as *Homer* had described him. Afterwardes when the tenne ambassadours were arriued that were sent from Rome to establish with him the realme of Macedon, he redeliuered the Macedonians their countrie and townes a-

C gaine, to liue at libertie, according to their lawes, paying yerely to the Romaines for tribute, a hundred talents: where before they were wont to paye vnto their Kings tenne times as muche. And he made playes and games of all sortes, and dyd celebrate sumptuous sacrifices vnto the goddes. He kept open courte to all commers, and made noble feastes, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the treasure *Perseus* had gathered together, sparing for no coste. But through his care and foresight there was suche a speciall good order taken, euery man so curteously receyued and welcommed, and so orderly marshalled at the table according to their estate and calling: that the Græcians wondred to see him so carefull in matters of sporte and pleasure: and that he tooke as great paynes in his owne persone, to see that small matters should be ordered as they ought: as he tooke great regard for discharge of more weighty causes. But this was a maruelous pleasure to him, to see that among such sumptuous sightes prepared to shewe pleasure to the persones inuited, no sight nor stately shewe dyd so delight them, as to enioye the sight and company of his persone. So he told them, that seemed to wonder at his diligence and care in these matters: that to order a feast well, required as great iudgement and discretion, as to set a battell: to make the one fearefull to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friendes. But men esteemed his bountie and magna-

D nimitie for his best vertue and qualitie. For he dyd not only refuse to see the Kings wonderful treasure of golde and siluer, but caused it to be told, and deliuered to the custodie of the treasurers, to carie to the coffers of store in Rome: and only suffered his sonnes that were learned, to take the bookes of the Kings librarie. When he dyd rewarde the souldiers for their valliant seruice in this battell, he gaue his sonne in lawe *Æmylius Tubero* a cuppe, weying fiue talents. It is the same *Tubero* we tolde you of before, who liued with sixteene other of his kynne all in one house, and of the only reuenue they had of a litle farme in the countrie. Some saye, that cuppe was the first pece of plate that euer came into the house of the *Ælians*, and yet it came for honour and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither them selues, nor their wiues, would euer haue, or weare, any gold or siluer. After he had wery well ordered

E and disposed all things, at the last he tooke leaue of the Græcians, and counselled the Macedonians to remember the libertie the Romaines had geuen them, and that they should be carefull to keepe it, by their good gouernment and concorde together. Then he departed from them, and tooke his iorney towardes the countrie of Epirvs, hauing receyued commission from the Senate of Rome, to suffer his souldiers who had done seruice in the battell, and ouerthrowe of king *Perseus*, to spoyle all the cities of that countrie. Wherefore that he might surprise them on a sodaine, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the cities that they should send him by a certaine daye, tenne of the chiefest men of euery cittie. Who when they were come, he commaunded them to goe and bring him by suche a daye, all the golde and siluer they had within their cities, aswell in their priuate houses, as in their

F temples and churches, and gaue vnto euerie one of them a captaine and garrison with them, as if it had bene only to haue receaued and searched for the gold and siluer he demaunded. But when the daye appointed was come, the souldiers in diuers places (and all at one time)

AEmylius honorable progresse in Grace.

AEmylius setteth Macedon as a staye.

AEmylius wordes about the care and good order at feasts.

AEmylius abstinence.

AEmylius cruell acte ſpoyling of Epirus.

ſet vpon their enemies, and dyd rifle and ſpoyle them of that they had, and made them alſo paye ranſome euery man: So as by this policie, there were taken and made ſlaues in one daye, a hundred and fiftie thouſand perſones, and three ſcore and tenne citties ſpoyled and ſacked euery one. And yet when they came to deuide the ſpoyle of this generall deſtruction of a whole Realme by the polle, it came not to euery ſouldiers parte, aboue eleuen ſiluer Drachmes a pece. Which made euery one to wonder greatly, and to feare alſo the terrour of the warres, to ſee the wealthe and riches of ſo great a Realme, to amowunte to ſo litle for euery mans ſhare. When *AEmylius* had done this facte againſt his owne nature, which was very gentle and curteous: he went vnto the ſea ſyde to the citty of ORICA, and there imbarked with his armie bownde for ITALIE. Where when he was arriued, he went vp the riuer of Tyber againſt the ſtreame, in king *Perſeus* chief galley, which had ſixteene owers on a ſide, richely ſet out with the armour of the priſoners, riche clothes of purple culler, and other ſuche ſpoyles of the enemies: ſo that the ROMAINES ronning out of ROME in multitudes of people to ſee this galley, and going ſide by ſide by her as they rowed ſoftely, *Æmylius* tooke as great pleaſure in it, as in any open games or feaſtes, or triumphe that had bene ſhewed in deede. But when the ſouldiers ſawe, that the golde and ſiluer of king *Perſeus* treaſure was not deuided amongeſt them according vnto promiſe, and that they had a great deale leſſe then they looked for, they were marueloufly offended, and inwardly grudged *AEmylius* in their hartes. Neuertheles they durſt not ſpeake it openly, but dyd accuſe him, that he had bene to ſtraight vnto them in this warre, and therefore they dyd ſhewe no great deſire, nor forwardnes, to procure him the honour of triumphe. Which *Seruius Galba* vnderſtanding, that had bene an olde enemie of his, notwithſtanding he had the charge of a thouſand men vnder him in this warre: he like an enuious viper tolde the people, howe *Æmylius* had not deſerued the honour of triumphe, and ſowed ſeditious wordes againſt him among the ſouldiers, to aggrauate their ill will the more againſt him. Moreouer, he craued a daye of the Tribunes of the people, to haue reſpit to bring forth ſuche matter as they determined to obiect againſt him: ſaying the time then was farre ſpent, the ſunne being but foure howers highe, and that it would require lenger time and leyſure. The Tribunes made him aunſwer, that he ſhould ſpeake then what he had to ſaye againſt him, or otherwiſe they would not graunte him audience. Hereupon he beganne to make a long oration in his diſpraiſe, full of railing wordes, and ſpent all the reſt of the daye in that rayling oration. Afterwardes when night came on, the Tribunes brake vp the aſſembly, and the next morning the ſouldiers being incoraged by *Galbaes* oration, and hauing confedered together, dyd flocke about *Galba*, in the mount of the Capitoll, where the Tribunes had geuen warning they would keepe their aſſembly. Now being broade daye, *AEmylius* triumphe was referred to the moſt number of voyces of the people, and the firſt tribe flatly dyd denie his triumphe. The Senate, and the reſidue of the people hearing that, were very ſorie to ſee they dyd *Æmylius* ſo open wrong and iniurie. The common people ſayed nothing to it, but ſeemed to be very ſorie, howbeit they ſought no redreſſe. The lordes of the Senate cried out apon them, & ſayd it was to much ſhame, and exhorted one another to bridell the inſolencie and boldnes of theſe ſouldiers, who would growe in the ende to ſuch tumulte and diſorder, that they would commit all miſchief and wickednes, if betimes they were not looked to, and preuented, ſeeing they dyd ſo openly ſtand againſt their generall, ſeeking to depriue him of the honour of his triumphe and victorie. So they aſſembled a good company of them together, and went vp to the Capitoll, and prayed the Tribunes they would ſtaye to take the voyces of the people, vntill they had acquainted them with ſuch needefull matter, as they had to open vnto them. The Tribunes graunted to it, and ſilence was made. Then *Marcus Seruilius*, who had bene Conſul, and had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his owne perſone, and had allwayes ſlaine as many of his enemies as chalenged him man for man: roſe vp, and ſpake in fauour of *AEmylius* in this manner. I knowe now (ſayed he) better then before, how noble and worthie a captaine *Paulus AEmylius* is, who hath atchieued ſuch glorie and honorable victorie, with ſo diſhonorable and diſobedient ſouldiers. And I can but wonder, that the people not long ſince reioyced, and made great accompt, of the victories and triumphes

AEmylius tooke ſhippe at the citie of Orica, and returned into Italie.

The enuie of Seruius Galba vnto AEmylius.

Contention about AEmylius triumphe.

Seruilius oration for the furtherance of AEmylius triumphe.

A triumphes wonne apon the ILLYRIANS and other nations of AFRICKE: and that now they
should for spite enuie his glorie (doing what lyeth in them to hinder) to bring a MACEDO-
NIAN king aliue in a triumphe, and to shewe the glorie and greatnes of king *Philip* and *Ale-*
xander the great, subdued by the ROMAINES force and power. What reason haue ye, that not
long since, apon a flying rumour that *AEmylius* had wonne the battell against *Perseus*, you
straight made sacrifices to the goddes with great ioye, praying them that you might be wit-
nesses of the trothe thereof: and now that the persone him selfe whom you made generall
is returned home, and doth deliuer you most assured victorie, you doe frustrate the goddes
most solemne thankes and honour due to them, and doe depriue your selues also of your
wonted glorie in such a case? as if you were afeard to see the greatnes of your prosperitie, or
B that you ment to pardone a King, your slaue and prisoner. And yet of the two, you haue more
reason to hinder the triumphe, as pittying the King: then enuying your captaine. But the ma-
lice of the wicked, through your pacience is growen to suche an insolent audacitie and bold-
nes, that we see men present here before vs, which neuer went frō the smoke of the chimney,
nor caried away any blowes in the field, being crammed at home like women & housedowes:
and yet they are so impudent and shameles, as they dare presume vnreuerently to your faces,
to prate of the office and duety of a generall of an armie, and of the desert of triumphe, be-
fore you I saye, who by experience of many a sore cut and wounde apon your bodies in the
warres, haue learned to knowe a good and valliant captaine, from a vile and cowardly persone.
And speaking these wordes, he cast open his gowne, and shewed before them all, the infinite
C scarres and cuttes he had receyued vpon his brest: and then turning him behinde, shewed all
suche places as were not fitte to be seene openly, and so turned him againe to *Galba*, and sayed
vnto him. Thou mockest me for that I shewe thee: but I reioyce before my countrie men and
cittizens: that for seruing my cōtrie night & daye a horse backe, I haue these wounds apon me
which thou seest. Now get thee about thy busines, & receiue their voyces: & I wil come after,
noting them that are naughtie and vnthankfull cittizens, who like to be soothed with flatterie,
and not stowtely commaunded, as behoueth a generall in the warre. These wordes so reined
the harde headed souldiers with the curbe of reason, that all the other tribes agreed in one,
and graunted *Æmylius* triumphe: the order and solemnitie whereof was performed in this
sorte. First, the people hauing set vp sundrie scaffoldes, aswel in the listes & field (called *Circos*
D by the LATINES) where the games and common running of horses and charrets are made, as
also about the market place, and in other streetes of the cittie, through the which, the shewe
of the triumphe should passe: they all presented them selues in their best gownes to see the
magnificence and state thereof. All the temples of the goddes also were set wide open, hanged
full of garlands of flowers, and all perfumed within: and there were set through all the quar-
ters of the cittie, numbers of sergeaunts and other officers holding tipstaues in their hands, to
order the stragling people, and to keepe them vp in corners and lanes endes, that they should
not pester the streetes, & hinder the triumphe. Furthermore, the sight of this triumphe was to
continue three dayes, whereof the first was scant sufficient to see the passing by of the images,
tables, & pictures, & statues of wonderfull bignes, all wonne and gotten of their enemies, and
E drawen in the showe, vpon two hundred & fiftie charrets. The second daye, there were caried
vpon a number of cartes, all the fairest and richest armour of the MACEDONIANS, aswell of
copper, as also of iron and steele, all glistering bright, being newly furbished, and arteficially
layed in order (and yet in such sorte, as if they had bene cast in heapes one vpon another, with-
out taking any care otherwise for the ordering and laying of them) fayer burganets vpon tar-
gets: habergions, or brigantines and corselets, vpon greaues: rounde targets of the CRE-
TANS, and iauelings of the THRACIANS, and arrowes amongest the armed pykes: all this ar-
mour and cariage, being bound one to another so trimly (neither being to lose, nor to straight)
that one hitting against another, as they drue them vpon the cartes through the cittie, they
made suche a sound and noyse, as it was fearefull to heare it: so that the only sight of these
F spoyles of the captiues being ouercome, made the sight so muche more terrible to behold it.
After these cartes loden with armour, there followed three thousand men, which caried the
ready money in seuen hundred & fiftie vessels, which wayed about three talēts a pece, & euery

A notable description of AEmylius triumphe.

one of them were caried by foure men: & there were other that caried great bowles of siluer, A cuppes & goblets facioned like hornes,& other pottes to drinke in,goodly to behold,aswel for their bignes,as for their great & singular imbossed workes about it. The third day early in the morning,the trūpets beganne to sound & set forwardes, sounding no marche nor swete note, to beawtifie triumphe withall: but they blewe out the braue alarom they sounde at an assault, to geue the souldiers corage for to fight. After them followed sixe score goodly fat oxen, hauing all their hornes gylte,& garlands of flowers & nosegayes about their heads, & there wēt by them certaine yong men,with aprons of nedle worke,girt about their midle, who led them to the sacrifice,& young boyes with them also, that caried goodly basons of gold & siluer,to cast & sprinkle the bloud of the sacrifices about. And after these,followed those that caried all coynes of gold deuided by basons & vessels,& euery one of them waying three talents as they B dyd before, that caried the great holy cuppe, which *Æmylius* had caused to be made of massi gold,set full of precious stones, waying the weight of tenne talents, to make an offering vnto the godds. And next vnto them went other that caried plate,made & wrought after antike facion,& notable cuppes of the auncient kings of MACEDON: as the cuppe called *Antigonus*,& another *Seleucus*:& to be shorte,all the whole cubberd of plate of gold & siluer of king *Perseus*. And next them came the charret of his armour,in the which was all king *Perseus* harnesse,& his royall bande (they call a *Diademe*) vpon his armour. And a litle space betweene them, followed next the Kings children, whom they led prisoners, with the traine of their schoolemasters & other officers,& their seruaunts,weeping & lamenting: who held vp their hands vnto the people that looked apon them,& taught the Kings young children to doe the like, to aske C mercie & grace at the peoples hands. There were three prety litle children, two sonnes and a daughter amongest them,whose tender yeres and lacke of vnderstanding, made them (poore soules) they could not feele their present miserie, which made the people so muche more to pittie them,when they saw the poore litle infants,that they knew not the chaūge of their hard fortune: so that for the cōpassion they had of thē,they almost let the father passe without looking vpon him. Many peoples harts did melt for very pittie,that the teares ranne downe their cheekes,so as this sight brought both pleasure & sorow,together to the lookers on,vntill they were past & gone a good way out of sight. King *Perseus* the father, followed after his children & their traine,& he was clothed in a blacke gowne,wearing a payer of slippers on his feete after his contrie māner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled minde,oppreste with sorow D of his most miserable state & fortune. He was followed with his kinsefolks,his familliar frends, his officers & household seruants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lamēting teares,& sorowfull eyes cast apon their vnfortunate master,how much they sorowed & bewailed his most hard & cursed fortune,litle accōpting of their own miserie. The voice goeth,that *Perseus* sent vnto *Æmylius* to intreate him,that he should not be led through the cittie in the showe & sight of the triūphe. But *Æmylius* mocking(as he deserued) his cowardly faint hart,aunswered:as for that,it was before,& is now in him,to doe if he wil. Meaning to let him vnderstād thereby,that he might rather chuse to dye,then liuing to receiue such opē shame. Howbeit his hart would not serue him,he was so cowardly,& made so effeminate,by a certen vaine hope he knew not what,that he was cōtented to make one amōg his own spoiles. E After all this,there followed 400. princely crownes of golde, which the citties and townes of GRÆCE had purposly sent by their ambassadours vnto *Æmylius*,to honour his victorie:& next vnto thē,he came him selfe in his charret triūphing, which was passing sumptuously set forth & adorned. It was a noble sight to behold:& yet the person of him self only was worth the looking on,without all that great pōpe & magnificēce. For he was apparelled in a purple gowne branched with gold,& caried in his right hand a lawrell boughe,as all his armie did besids:the which being deuided by bands & cōpanies,followed the triūphing charret of their captaine, some of the souldiers singing songes of victorie, which the ROMAINES vse to singe in like triumphes,mingling thē with mery pleasant toyes, reioycing at their captaine. Other of thē also dyd singe songs of triūphe, in the honour & praise of *Æmylius* noble cōqueste & victorie. He F was opēly praised,blessed,& honored of euery body,& neither hated nor enuied of honest mē. Sauing the ordinary vse of some god,whose propertie is allwayes to lessen or cut of some part

Perseus children.

king Perseus.

Æmylius scorneth Perseus cowardlines.

Foure hūdred crownes of gold sent vnto Æmylius by the citties of Græce.

of

A of mans exceding prosperitie & felicitie, mingling with mans life the sence & feeling of good & euill together: bicause that no liuing persone should passe all his time of life, without some aduersitie or misfortune, but that such (as *Homer* sayeth) should only thinke thē selues happie, to whom fortune hath equally sorted the good with the euill. And this I speake, bicause *Æmylius* had 4. sonnes, two of the which he gaue in adoptiō vnto the families of *Scipio* & of *Fabius*, as we haue sayed before: & two other which he had by his secōd wife, be brought vp with him in his owne house, & were both yet very young. Of the which the one dyed, being 14. yeres of age fiue dayes before his fathers triūphe: & the other dyed also, 3. dayes after the pompe of triumphe, at 12. yeres of age. When this sorowfull chaūce had betallen him, euery one in Rome did pittie him in their hartes: but fortunes spite & crueltie did more greue & feare them, to see
B her litle regard towards him, to put into a house of triūphe (full of honour & glorie, & of sacrifices & ioye) such a pittiefull mourning, & mingling of sorowes & lamētations of death, amōgest such songs of triumple & victorie. Notwithstāding this, *Æmylius* taking things like a wise man, thought that he was not only to vse constācie & magnanimitie, against the sword & pike of the enemie: but a like also against all aduersitie and enmitie of spiteful fortune. So, he wisely wayed & cōsidered his present misfortune, with his former prosperitie: & finding his misfortune cōterpeased with felicitie, & his priuate grieues cut of with cōmon ioye, he gaue no place to his sorowes & mischāces, neither blemished any way the dignity of his triūphe & victorie. For when he had buried the eldest of his two last sonnes, he left not to make his triūphant en-
C trie, as you haue heard before. And his secōd sonne also being deceased after his triumphe, he caused the people to assemble, & in face of the whole cittie he made an oration, not like a discōforted man, but like one rather that dyd cōforte his sorowfull contrymen for his mischāce. He told them, that concerning mens matters, neuer any thing dyd feare him: but for things aboue, he euer feared fortune, mistrusting her chaūge & incōstācy, & specially in the last warre, doubting for so great prosperitie as could be wished, to be payed home with an after intollerable aduersitie, & sinister chaunce. For as I went (sayed he) I passed ouer the gulfe of the Adriatike sea, from Brindes vnto Corfv in one daye. And from thence in fiue dayes after, I arriued in the cittie of Delphes, where I dyd sacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And within fiue other dayes, I arriued in my cāpe, where I found mine armie in Macedon. And after I had done the sacrifice, & due ceremonies for purifying of the same, I presently begāne to followe the purpose &
D cause of my cōming: so as in 15. dayes after, I made an honorable ende of all those warres. But yet, mistrusting fortune allwayes, seing the prosperous course of my affaires, & cōsidering that there were no other enemies, nor daūgers I neded to feare: I feared sorely she would chaunge at my returne, when I should be vpon the sea, bringing home so goodly & victorious an armie, with so many spoiles & so many Princes and Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was safely arriued in the hauen, & seing all the cittie at my returne full of ioye, & of feastes & sacrifices: I still suspected fortune, knowing her manner well enough, that she vseth not to gratifie men so franckly, nor to graunt them so great things clearly, without some certen sparke of enuie waiting on them. Neither dyd my minde being still occupied in feare of some thing to happen to the cōmon wealth, shake of this feare behind me: but that I sawe, this home mishappe & mise-
E rie lighted vpō me, enforcing me with mine owne hands in these holy dayes of my triūphe, to burie my two young sonnes one after another, which I only brought vp with me, for the succession of my name & house. Wherefore, me thinkes now I may saye, I am out of all daūger, at the least touching my chiefest & greatest misfortune: & doe beginne to stablish my selfe with this assured hope, that this good fortune henceforth shall remaine with vs euermore, without feare of other vnlucky or sinister chaunce. For she hath sufficiently contervailed the fauorable victorie she gaue you, with the enuious mishappe wherewith she hath plagued both me and mine: shewing the cōquerour & triūpher, as noble an exāple of mans miserie & weaknes, as the party cōquered, that had bene led in triūphe. Saūing that *Perseus* yet, conquered as he is, hath this cōforte left him: to see his childrē liuing, & that the cōquerour *Æmylius* hath lost his. And
F this was the summe of *Æmylius* notable oration he made vnto the people of Rome, proceeding of a noble & honorable disposed minde. And though it pittied him in his harte to see the straunge chaunge of king *Perseus* fortune, and that he hartely desired to helpe him, and to doe

Æmylius aduersitie.

Æmylius fortitude in his great aduersitie.

Æmylius oration in his trouble, for the death of his children.

him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but only to remoue him from the common prisone (which the ROMAINES call *Carcer*) into a more clenly and sweter house: where being straitly garded and looked vnto, he killed him selfe by abstinence from meate, as the most parte of historiographers doe write. Yet some writers tell a maruelous straunge tale, and manner of his death. For they saye the souldiers that garded him, kept him from sleepe, watching him straightly when sleepe tooke him, and would not suffer him to shut his eye liddes (only apon malice they dyd beare him, bicause they could not otherwise hurte him) keeping him awake by force, not suffering him to take rest: vntill suche time as nature being forced to geue ouer, he gaue vp the ghoste. Two of his sonnes dyed also: but the third called *Alexander*, became an excellent turner and ioyner, and was learned, and could speake the ROMAINE tongue very well, and dyd write it so trimly, that afterwards he was chauncelour to the magistrates of ROME, and dyd wisely and discretly behaue him selfe in his office. Furthermore, they doe adde to this goodly conquest of the realme of MACEDON, that *Æmylius* conquered another speciall good thing, that made him maruelously well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought so muche gold and siluer vnto the treasurie store of ROME, as the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, vntill the very time and yere that *Hircius* and *Pansa* were Consuls, which was about the beginning of the first warres of *Augustus* and *Antonius*. And yet *Æmylius* had one singular good gift in him: that though the people dyd greatly loue and honour him, yet he euer tooke parte with the Senate and nobilitie, and dyd neuer by worde nor dede any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or please them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he dyd euer leane to the nobilitie and good men. And this dyd *Appius* afterwards cast in his sonnes teethe, *Scipio Africanus*. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the office of Censor: *Appius* had about him to fauour his sute, all the Senate and Nobilitie, as of auncient time the familie of the *Appians* had euer held on their parte. And *Scipio Africanus*, though he was a great man of him selfe, yet he was in all times fauoured and beloued of the common people. Whereupon when *Appius* sawe him come into the market place, followed with men of small qualitie and base condition, that had bene slaues before, but otherwise could skilfully handle suche practises, bring the people together, and by oportunitie of cries and lowde voyces (if neede were) obteine what they would in the assemblies of the cittie: he spake out alowde, and sayed. O *Paulus AEmylius*, now hast thou good cause to sighe, and mourne in thy graue where thou lyest (if the dead doe know what we doe here on earth) to see *AEmylius* a common sergeant, and *Licinius* a pratling fellowe, howe they bring thy sonne vnto the dignitie of a Censor. And as for *Scipio*, he was allwayes beloued of the common people, bicause he dyd fauour them in all things. But *AEmylius* also, although he tooke euer the noble mens parte, he was not therefore lesse beloued of the common people, then those that allwayes flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to please them: which the common people did witnesse, aswell by other honours & offices they offred him, as in the dignitie of the Censor which they gaue him. For it was the holiest office of all other at that time, and of greatest power and authoritie, specially for inquierie and reformation of euery mans life and manners. For he that was Censor, had authoritie to put any Senatour of the counsell, and to disgrade him, if he dyd not worthely behaue him selfe according to his place and calling: and might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be most honest, and fittest for the place againe. Moreouer, they might by their authoritie, take from licentious young men, their horse which was kept at the charge of the common weale. Furthermore, they be the sessours of the people, and the muster masters, keping bookes of the number of persones at euery mustering. So there appeared numbred in the register booke *AEmylius* made then of them, three hundred, seuen and thirtie thousand, foure hundred, and two and fiftie men, and *Marcus AEmylius Lepidus* named president of the Senate, who had that honour foure times before, and dyd put of the counsell three Senatours, that were but meane men. And the like meane and moderation he & his companion, *Martius Philippus* kept, vpon viewe and muster taken of the ROMAINE horsemen. And after he had ordered and disposed the greatest matters of his charge and office, he fell sicke of a disease

The death of king Perseus.

A straunge kind of death.

The state of Perseus sonnes.

By AEmylius victorie, the people payed no more subsidie.

AEmylius chosen Cẽsor.

The office & authoritie of the Censor.

AEmylius sickenes.

A sease that at the beginning seemed very daungerous, but in the ende there was no other daunger, sauing that it was a lingring disease, and hard to cure. So, following the counsell of phisitians, who willed him to goe to a cittie in ITALY called VELIA, he tooke sea, and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleasaunt houses vpon the sea side, quietly and out of all noyse. But during this time of his absence, the ROMAINES wished for him many a time and ofte. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to see the playes and sportes, they cried out diuers times for him: whereby they shewed that they had a great desire to see him againe. Time being come about when they vsed to make a solemne yerely sacrifice, and *Æmylius* finding him selfe also in good perfect health: he returned againe to ROME, where he made the sacrifice with the other priestes, all the people of B ROME gathering about him, reioycing muche to see him. The next daye after, he made another particular sacrifice, to geue thankes vnto the goddes for recouerie of his healthe. After the sacrifice was ended, he went home to his house, & sate him downe to dinner: he sodainly fell into a rauing (without any perseuerance of sicknes spied in him before, or any chaunge or alteration in him) and his wittes went from him in suche sorte, that he dyed within three dayes after, lacking no necessarie thing that an earthly man could haue, to make him happy in this world. For he was euen honoured at his funeralles, and his vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither with gold, siluer, nor iuorie, nor with other suche sumptuousnes or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and good will of the people, all of them confessing his vertue and well doing: and this dyd not only his naturall country C men performe in memorie of him, but his very enemies also. For all those that met in ROME by chaunce at that time, that were either come out of SPAYNE, from GENVA, or out of MACEDON, all those that were young and strong, dyd willingly put them selues vnder the coffin where his bodie laye, to helpe to carie him to the churche: and the olde men followed his bodie to accompany the same, calling *Æmylius* the benefactour, sauiour, and father of their countrie. For he dyd not only intreate them gently, and graciously, whom he had subdued: but all his life time he was euer ready to pleasure them, and to set forwardes their causes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neere kinsemen. The inuentorie of all his goodes after his death, dyd scant amownte vnto the summe of three hundred, three score, and tenne thousand siluer Drachmes, which his D two sonnes dyd inherite. But *Scipio* being the younger, left all his right vnto his elder brother *Fabius*, bicause he was adopted into a very riche house, which was the house of the great *Scipio Africanus*.

AEmylius removed from Rome, and dwelt in the citty of Velia.

The death of AEmylius in Rome.

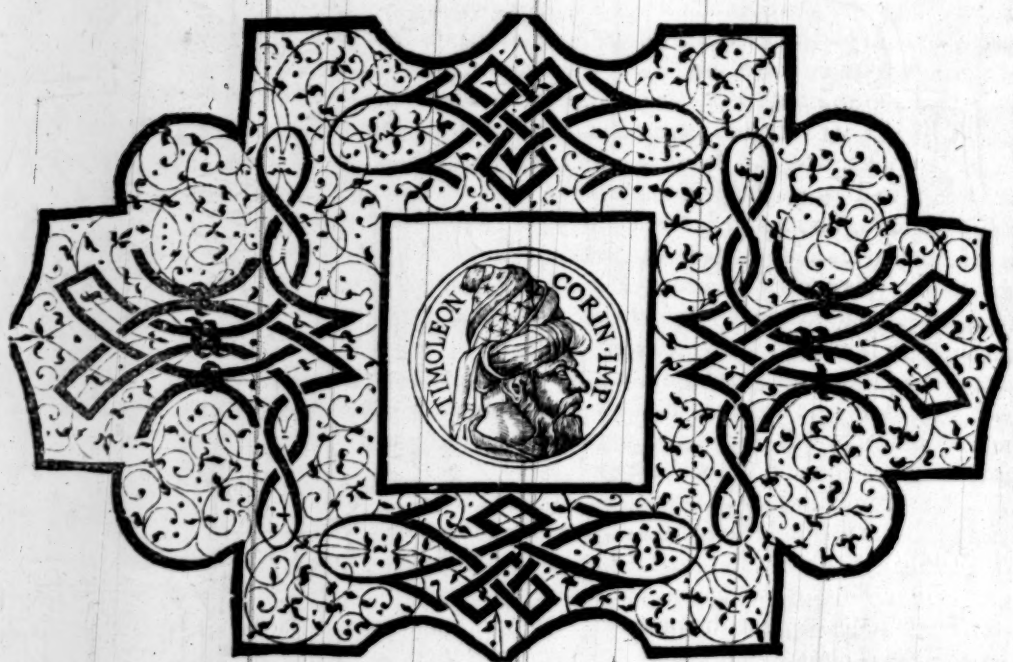
AEmylius funeralles.

AEmylius goodes what they came to.

Suche they saye was *Paulus Æmylius* conditions and life.

The ende of Paulus AEmylius life.

THE LIFE OF *Timoleon.*



The ſtate of the Syracuſans before Timoleons cõming.

BEFORE *Timoleon* was ſent into SICILE, thus ſtoode the ſtate of A the SYRACVSANS. After that *Dion* had driuen out the tyranne *Dionyſius*, he him ſelfe after was ſlaine immediatly by treaſon: and thoſe that ayded him to reſtore the SYRACVSANS to their libertie, fell out, and were at diſſention among them ſelues. By reaſon whereof, the cittie of SYRACVSA chaunging continually newe tyrannes, was ſo troubled and turmoiled with all ſorte of euills, that it was left in manner deſolate, and without inhabitants. The reſt of SICILE in like caſe was vtterly deſtroyed, and no cities in manner left ſtanding, by reaſon of the long warres: and thoſe fewe that remained, were moſt inhabited of forreine ſouldiers & ſtraungers (a company of loſe men gathered together that tooke paye of no prince nor cittie) B all the dominions of the ſame being eaſely vſurped, and as eaſie to chaunge their lorde. In ſo muche, *Dionyſius* the tyranne, tenne yeres after *Dion* had driuen him out of SICILE, hauing gathered a certen number of ſouldiers together againe, and through their helpe driuen out *Niſeus*, that raigned at that time in SYRACVSA: he recouered the Realme againe, and made him ſelfe King. So, if he was ſtraungely expulſed by a ſmall power out of the greateſt Kingdome that euer was in the worlde: likewiſe he more ſtraungely recouered it againe, being baniſhed and very poore, making him ſelfe King ouer them, who before had driuen him out. Thus were the inhabitants of the cittie compelled, to ſerue this tyranne: who beſides that of his owne nature he was neuer curteous nor ciuill, he was now growen to be farre more dogged and cruell, by reaſon of the extreme miſerie and misfortune he had endured. But the no- C bleſt cittizens repaired vnto *Icetes*, who at that time as lorde ruled the cittie of the LEONTINES, and they choſe him for their generall in theſe warres: not for that he was any thing better then the open tyrannes, but bicauſe they had no other to repaire vnto at that time, & they truſted him beſt, for that he was borne (as them ſelues) within the cittie of SYRACVSA, & bicauſe alſo he had men of warre about him, to make head againſt this tyranne. But in the meane time, the CARTHAGINIANS came downe into SICILE with a great armie, and inuaded the countrie. The SYRACVSANS being afrayed of them, determined to ſend ambaſſadours

Icetes, tyräne of the Leontines.

A dours into GRÆCE vnto the CORINTHIANS, to praye ayde of them againſt the barbarous people, hauing better hope of them, then of any other of the GRÆCIANS. And that not altogether bicauſe they were lineally deſcended from them, and that they had receyued in times paſt many pleaſures at their handes: but alſo for that they knewe that CORINTHE was a cittie, that in all ages and times, dyd euer loue libertie, and hate tyrannes, and that had allwayes made their greateſt warres, not for ambition of Kingdomes, nor of couetous deſire to conquer and rule, but only to defend and mainteine the libertie of the GRÆCIANS. But *Icetes* in another contrarie ſorte, he tooke apon him to be generall, with a minde to make him ſelfe king of SYRACVSA. For he had ſecretly practiſed with the CARTHAGINIANS, and openly notwithſtanding, in words he commended the counſell and determination of the SYRACVSANS, and ſent
B ambaſſadours from him ſelfe alſo with theirs, vnto PELOPONNESVS: not that he was deſirous any ayde ſhould come from them to SYRACVSA, but bicauſe he hoped if the CORINTHIANS refuſed to ſend them ayde (as it was very likely they would, for the warres and troubles that were in GRÆCE) that he might more eaſely turne all ouer to the CARTHAGINIANS, and vſe them as his friendes, to ayde him againſt the SYRACVSANS, or the tyrante *Dionyſius*. And that this was his full purpoſe, and intent, it appeared plainely ſone after. Now when their ambaſſadours arriued at CORINTHE, & had deliuered their meſſage, the CORINTHIANS, who had euer bene carefull to defend ſuch cities as had ſought vnto them, & ſpecially SYRACVSA: very willingly determined in counſaill to ſend them ayde, and the rather for that they were in good peace at that time, hauing warres with none of the GRÆCIANS. So their only ſtaye reſted,
C vpon chooſing of a generall to leade their armie. Now as the magiſtrates and gouernours of the cittie were naming ſuche cittizens, as willingly offred their ſeruice, deſirous to aduaunce them ſelues: there ſtept vp a meane commoner, who named *Timoleon*, *Timodemus* ſonne, a man that vntill that time was neuer called on for ſeruice, neither looked for any ſuche preferment. And truely it is to be thought it was the ſecret working of the gods, that directed the thought of this meane commoner to name *Timoleon*: whoſe election fortune fauored very much, and ioyned to his valliantnes and vertue, maruelous good ſucceſſe in all his doings afterwardes.

By what voice Timoleon came to be generall.

This *Timoleon* was borne of noble parents, both by father and mother: his father was called *Timodemus*, and his mother *Demareta*. He was naturally inclined to loue his countrie and commonweale: and was allwayes gentle and curteous to all men, ſauing that he mortally hated
D tyrantes and wicked men. Furthermore nature had framed his bodie apt for warres and for paynes: he was wiſe in his greneſt youth in all things he tooke in hande, and in his age he ſhewed him ſelfe very valliant. He had an elder brother called *Timophanes*, who was nothing like to him in condition: for he was a raſhe harebrayned man, & had a greedy deſire to reigne, being put into his head by a companie of meane men, that bare him in hande they were his friendes, and by certen ſouldiers gathered together, which he had allwayes about him. And bicauſe he was very hotte and forward in warres, his cittizens tooke him for a noble captaine, & a man of good ſeruice, and therefore oftentimes they gaue him charge of men. And therein *Timoleon* dyd helpe him muche to hide his faulte he committed, or at the leaſt made them ſeeme leſſe, & lighter then they were, ſtill increaſing that ſmall good gifte that nature brought
E forth in him. As in a battell the CORINTHIANS had againſt the ARGIVES and the CLEONEIANS, *Timoleon* ſerued as a priuate ſouldier amongeſt the footemen: and *Timophanes* his brother, hauing charge of horſemen, was in great daunger of being caſt away, if preſent helpe had not bene. For his horſe being hurte, threwe him on the grounde in the middeſt of his enemies. Whereupon parte of thoſe that were about him, were affrayed, and diſperſed them ſelues here and there: and thoſe that remained with him, being fewe in number, and hauing many enemies to fight withall, dyd hardly withſtand their force and charge. But his brother *Timoleon* ſeeing him in ſuche inſtant daunger a farre of, ranne with all ſpeede poſſible to helpe him, and clapping his target before his brother *Timophanes*, that laye on the grounde, receyuing many woundes on his bodie with ſworde and arrowes, with great difficultie he repulſed
F the enemies, and ſaued his owne and his brothers life. Now the CORINTHIANS fearing the like matter to come that before had happened vnto them, which was to loſe their cittie through default of their friends helpe: they reſolued in counſell, to entertaine in paye conti-

Timophanes, Timoleons brother, what he was.

Timoleon ſaued his brothers life.

The Corinthians entertained 400. straungers, & made Timophanes captaine of them to keepe their cittie.

nually foure hundred ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, whom they aſſigned ouer to *Timophanes* A charge. Who, abandoning all honeſtie and regarde of the truſt repoſed in him, dyd preſently practiſe all the wayes he could to make him ſelfe lorde of the cittie: and hauing put diuers of the chiefeſt cittizens to death without order of lawe, in the ende, he openly proclaimed him ſelfe King. *Timoleon* being very ſorie for this, and taking his brothers wickednes would be the very highe waye to his fall and deſtruction: ſought firſt to winne him with all the good words and perſuaſion he could, to moue him to leaue his ambitious deſire to reigne, and to ſalue (as neere as might be) his harde dealing with the cittizens. *Timophanes* ſet light by his brothers perſuaſions, and would geue no eare vnto them. Thereupon *Timoleon* then went vnto one *AEſchylus* his friend, and brother vnto *Timophanes* wife, and to one *Satyrus* a ſoothſayer (as *Theopompus* the hiſtoriographer calleth him, and *Ephorus* calleth him *Orthagoras*) with whom B he came againe another time vnto his brother: and they three comming to him, inſtantly beſought him to beleeue good counſell, and to leaue the Kingdome. *Timophanes* at the firſt dyd but laughe them to ſcorne, and ſported at their perſuaſions: but afterwards he waxed warme, and grew into great choller with them. *Timoleon* ſeeing that, went a litle a toſide, and couering his face fell a weeping: and in the meane ſeaſon, the other two drawing out their ſwordes, ſlue *Timophanes* in the place. This murder was ſtraight blowen abroade through the cittie, and the better ſorte did greatly commend the noble minde and hate *Timoleon* bare againſt the tyrante: conſidering that he being of a gentle nature, and louing to his kinne, dyd notwithſtanding regard the benefit of his countrie, before the naturall affection to his brother, and preferred duety and iuſtice, before nature and kinred. For, before he had ſaued his brothers life, fighting C for defence of his countrie: and now in ſeeking to make him ſelfe King, and to rule the ſame, he made him to be ſlaine. Suche then as miſliked popular gouernment and libertie, and allwayes followed the Nobilitie: they ſet a good face of the matter, as though they had bene glad of the tyrantes death. Yet ſtill reprouing *Timoleon* for the horrible murder he had committed againſt his brother, declaring howe deteſtable it was both to the gods and men: they ſo handled him, that it grieued him to the harte he had done it. But when it was told him that his mother tooke it maruelous euill, and that ſhe pronounced horrible curſes againſt him, and gaue out terrible wordes of him, he went vnto her in hope to comfort her: howbeit ſhe could neuer abide to ſee him, but allwayes ſhut her doore againſt him. Then he being wounded to the harte with ſorowe, tooke a conceit ſodainly to kill himſelfe by abſteining from meate: but his D friends would neuer forſake him in this deſpaire, and vrged him ſo farre by intreaty and perſuaſion, that they compelled him to eate. Thereupon he reſolued thenceforth to giue himſelf ouer to a ſolitarie life in the countrie, ſecluding him ſelfe from all companie and dealings: ſo as at the beginning, he dyd not only refuſe to repaire vnto the cittie, and all acceſſe of companie, but wandring vp and downe in moſt ſolitarie places, conſumed him ſelfe and his time with melancholie. And thus we ſee, that counſells and iudgements are lightly caried awaye (by prayſe or diſprayſe) if they be not ſhored vp with rule of reaſon, and philoſophie, and reſt confounded in them ſelues. And therefore it is very requiſite and neceſſarie, that not only the acte be good and honeſt of it ſelfe, but that the reſolution thereof be alſo conſtant, and not ſubiect vnto chaunge: to the ende we maye doe all things conſideratly. Leſt we be like vnto E likerous mowthed men, who as they deſire meates with a greedy appetite, and after are ſone weary, diſliking the ſame: euen ſo we do ſoddenly repent our actions, grounded vpon a weake imagination, of the honeſtie that moued vs thereunto. For repentaunce maketh the acte, which before was good, naught. But determination, grounded vpon certaine knowledge and truthe of reaſon, doth neuer chaunge, although the matter enterpriſed, haue not allwayes happy ſucceſſe. And therefore *Phocion* the ATHENIAN hauing reſiſted (as muche as in him laye) certen things which the generall *Leoſthenes* dyd, and which contrarie to his minde tooke good effect: and perceyuing the ATHENIANS dyd open ſacrifice vnto the goddes, to geue them thankes for the ſame, and muche reioyce at the victorie they had obteined. I would haue reioyced to (ſayed he) if I had done this: but ſo would I not for any thing, but I had geuen F the counſell. And after that ſorte, but more ſharpely dyd *Ariſtides* LOCRIAN (a very friend and companion of *Platoes*) aunſwer *Dionyſius* the elder, tyrante of SYRACVSA: who asked his

Timophanes ſlaine by his brothers procurement.

Our acts muſt be honeſt, and conſtant.

Phocions ſaying. Ariſtides graue ſaying.

good

A goodwill to marye one of his daughters. I had rather ſee my daughter deade (ſayde he) then maried vnto a tyranne. And within a certayne tyme after, the tyranne put all his ſonnes to deathe: and then he asked him in deriſion, to greeue him the more, if he were ſtill of his former opinion for the marying of his daughter. I am very ſorye, (ſayed he) with all my harte, for that thou haſt done: but yet I doe not repent me of that I haue ſayed. That peraduenture proceeded of a more perfect vertue. But to returne againe to *Timoleon*. Whether that inwarde ſorowe ſtrooke him to the harte for the deathe of his brother, or that ſhame did ſo abaſh him, as he durſt not abide his mother: twenty yeares after, he neuer did any notable or famous acte. And therefore, when he was named to be generall of the ayde that ſhoulde be ſent into SICILE, the people hauing willingly choſen and accepted of him: *Teleclides*, who B was chiefe gouernor at that time in the citie of CORINTHE, ſtanding vppon his feete before the people, ſpake vnto *Timoleon*, and did exhorte him to behaue him ſelfe like an honeſt man, and valiant Captaine in his charge. For, ſayd he, if you handle your ſelfe well, we will thinke you haue killed a tyranne: but if you doe order your ſelfe otherwiſe then well, we will iudge you haue killed your brother. Nowe *Timoleon* being buſie in leauying of men, and preparing him ſelfe: letters came to the CORINTHIANS from *Icetes*, whereby plainely appeared, that *Icetes* had caried two faces in one hoode, and that he was become a traytor. For he had no ſooner diſpatched his Ambaſſadors vnto them, but he ſtraight tooke the CARTHAGINIANS parte, and dealt openly for them, intending to driue out *Dionyſius*, and to make him ſelfe king of SYRACVSA. But fearing leaſt the CORINTHIANS would ſend ayde before he C had wrought his feate: he wrote againe vnto the CORINTHIANS, ſending them worde, that they ſhoulde not neede nowe to put them ſelues to any charge or daunger for comming into SICILE, and ſpecially, bicauſe the CARTHAGINIANS were very angrie, and did alſo lye in wayte in the way as they ſhould come, with a great fleete of ſhippes to meete with their armie: and that for him ſelfe, bicauſe he ſawe they taried long, he had made league and amitie with them, againſt the tyranne *Dionyſius*. When they had red his letters, if any of the CORINTHIANS were before but coldely affected to this iorney, choller did then ſo warme them againſt *Icetes*, that they franckly graunted *Timoleon* what he would aske, and did helpe to furniſhe him to ſet him out. When the ſhippes were ready rigged, and that the ſouldiers were furniſhed of all thinges neceſſary for their departure, the Nunnes of the goddeſſe *Proſerpina* D ſayed, they ſawe a viſion in their dreame, and that the goddeſſes *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* did appeare vnto them, apparrelled like trauellers to take a iorney: and tolde them, that they woulde goe with *Timoleon* into SICILE. Apon this ſpeache onely, the CORINTHIANS rigged a galley, they called, the galley of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*: and *Timoleon* him ſelfe before he would take the ſeas, went into the citie of DELPHES, where he made ſacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And as he entred within the Sanctuarie where the aunſweres of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderfull ſigne vnto him. For amongeſt the vowes and offerings that are hanged vppe vppon the walles of the Sanctuarie, there fell a bande directly vppon *Timoleons* heade, imbrodered all about with crownes of victorie: ſo that it ſeemed *Apollo* ſent him already crowned, before he had ſet out one foote towardes the iorney. He tooke E ſhippe, and ſayled with ſeuen gallyes of CORINTHE, two of CORPHVE, and tenne the LEVCADIANS did ſet out. When he was launched out in the mayne ſea, hauing a francke gale of winde and large, he thought in the night that the element did open, and that out of the ſame there came a maruelous great bright light ouer his ſhippe, and it was much like to a torche burning, when they ſhowe the ceremonies of the holy myſteries. This torche did accompanie and guide them all their voyage, and in the ende it vaniſhed away, and ſeemed to fall downe vppon the coaſt of ITALYE, where the Shippemaſters had determined to arriue. The wiſe mens opinions being asked what this might ſignifie: they aunſwered. That this wonderfull ſight did betoken the dreame, the Nunnes of the goddeſſe *Ceres* dreamed, and that the goddeſſes fauoring this iorney, had ſhewed them the waye, F by ſending of this light from heauen: bicauſe that the Ile of SICILE is conſecrated vnto the goddeſſe *Proſerpina*, and ſpecially for that they reporte her rauiſhement was in that Ile, and that the whole realme was aſſigned vnto her for her ioynter, at the day of her mariage.

Timoleō choſen generall to go into Sicile.

Icetes tyran of the Leontines, a traytor

A ſigne happened to Timoleon.

Timoleon tooke ſhippe towards Sicile

A burning torche appeared in the element vnto Timoleon.

Thus did this celeſtiall ſigne of the goddes bothe encorage thoſe that went this iorney, and deliuer them alſo aſſured hope, who ſayled with all poſſible ſpeede they coulde: vntill ſuch time, as hauing croſſed the ſeas, they arriued vpon the coaſt of ITALIE. But when they came thither, the newes they vnderſtoode from SICILE put *Timoleon* in great perplexitie, and did maruelouſly diſcourage the ſouldiers he brought with him. For *Icetes* hauing ouerthrowē the battell of the tyranne DIONYSIVS, and poſſeſſed the greateſt parte of the citie of SYRACVSA: he did beſeege him within the caſtell, and within that parte of the citie which is called the Ile, where he had pent him vp, and incloſed him in with walles rounde about. And in the meane time he had prayed the CARTHAGINIANS, that they would be carefull to keepe *Timoleon* from landing in SICILE, to the ende that by preuenting that ayde, they might eaſily deuide SICILE betwene them, and no man to let them. The CARTHAGINIANS following his requeſt, ſent twenty of their gallyes vnto RHEGIO, amonge which *Icetes* Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Timoleon*, with teſtimonie of his doinges: for they were fayer flattering wordes, to cloke his wicked intent he purpoſed. For they willed *Timoleon* he ſhoulde goe him ſelfe alone (if he thought good) vnto *Icetes*, to counſell him, and to accompanie him in all his doinges, which were nowe ſo farre onwardes in good towardnes, as he had almoſt ended them all. Furthermore, they did alſo perſwade him, he ſhoulde ſend backe his ſhippes and ſouldiers to CORINTHE agayne, conſidering that the warre was nowe brought to good paſſe, and that the CARTHAGINIANS woulde in no caſe that his men ſhould paſſe into SICILE, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the CORINTHIANS at their arriuall into the citie of RHEGIO, finding there theſe Ambaſſadors, and ſeeing the fleete of the CARTHAGINIANS ſhippes, which did ryde at ancker not farre of from them: it ſpyted them on the one ſide to ſee they were thus mocked and abuſed by *Icetes*. For euery one of them were maruelous angrye with him, and were greatly afeard alſo for the poore SICILIANS, whome to playnely they ſawe left a praye vnto *Icetes* for rewarde of his treaſon, and to the CARTHAGINIANS for recompence of the tyrannie, which they ſuffered him to eſtabliſh. So, on the other ſide they thought it impoſſible to concquer the ſhippes of the CARTHAGINIANS, which laye in wayte for them, and ſo neare vnto them: conſidering they were twyſe as many in number as they, and hard for them to ſubdue the armie alſo that was in the handes of *Icetes* in SICILE, conſidering that they were not come to him, but onely for the mayntenaunce of the warres. Notwithſtanding, *Timoleon* ſpake very curteouſly vnto thoſe Ambaſſadors, and captaynes of the CARTHAGINIANS ſhippes, letting them vnderſtande that he would doe as much as they would haue him: and to ſay truely, if he woulde haue done otherwiſe, he could haue wonne nothing by it. Neuertheles he deſired for his diſcharge, they woulde ſay that openly, in the preſence of the people of RHEGIO, (being a citie of GREECE, friend and common to both parties) which they had ſpoken to him in ſecrete: and that done, he would departe incontinently, alledging that it ſtoode him very much vppon for the ſafetie of his diſcharge, and that they them ſelues alſo ſhould more faithfully keepe that they promiſed vnto him touching the SYRACVSANS, when they had agreed vpon it, and promiſed it, before all the people of RHEGIO, who ſhould be witnes of it. Now, all this was but a fetche and policie deliuered by him, to ſhadowe his departure, which the Captaines and gouerners of RHEGIO did fauor, and ſeeme to helpe him in: bicauſe they wiſhed SICILE ſhould fall into the handes of the CORINTHIANS, and feared much to haue the barbarous people for their neighbours. For this cauſe they commaunded a generall aſſembly of all the people, during which tyme, they cauſed the gates of the citie to be ſhut: geuing it out, that it was bicauſe the Citizens ſhould not goe about any other matters in the meane time. Then when all the people were aſſembled, they beganne to make long orations without concluding any matter: the one leauing alwayes to the other a like matter to talke of, to the ende they might winne time, vntill the gallyes of the CORINTHIANS were departed. And ſtaying the CARTHAGINIANS alſo in this aſſemblye, they miſtruſted nothing, bicauſe they ſawe *Timoleon* preſent: who made a countenaunce, as though he woulde ryſe to ſay ſome thing. But in the meane tyme, ſome one did ſecretely aduertiſe *Timoleon*, that the other gallyes were vnder ſayle, and gone their waye, and that there

Icetes beſeegeth Dionyſ.

Icetes ſendeth Ambaſſadors vnto Timoleō

Timoleō craftier then the Carthaginians

Rhegio a citie of Greece.

A there was but one galley left, which taried for him in the hauen. Thereupon he ſodainly ſtale away through the preaſe, with the helpe of the RHEGIANS, being about the chayer where the orations were made: and trudging quickly to the hauen, he imbarked incontinently, and hoyſed ſaile alſo. And when he had ouertaken his fleete, they went all ſafe together to lande at the citie of TAVROMENION, which is in SICILE: there they were very well receiued by *Andromachus*, who long before had ſent for them, for he gouerned this citie, as if he had bene Lorde thereof. He was the father of *Timæus* the Hiſtoriographer, the honeſteſt man of all thoſe that did beare rule at that time in all SICILE. For he did rule his Citizens, in all iuſtice and equitie, and did alwaies ſhew him ſelfe an open enemy of tyrans. And following his affection therein, he lent his citie at that time vnto *Timoleon*, to gather people together, and perſwaded his Citi-

B zens to enter into league with the CORINTHIANS, and to ayde them, to deliuer SICILE from bondage, and to reſtore it againe to libertie. But the captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS that were at RHEGIO, when they knewe that *Timoleon* was vnder ſayle and gone, after the aſſemblie of the counſell was broken vppe: they were ready to eate their fingers for ſpyte, to ſee them ſelues thus finely mocked and deceiued. The RHEGIANS on the other ſide, were mery at the matter, to ſee howe the PHENICIANS ſtormed at it, that they had ſuch a fine parte played them. Howbeit in the ende, they determined to ſend an Ambaſſador vnto TAVROMENION, in one of their gallyes. This Ambaſſador ſpake very boldely, and barbarouſly vnto *Andromachus*, and in a choller: and laſt of all, he ſhewed him firſt the palme of his hande, then the backe of his hande, and did threaten him that his citie ſhoulde be ſo turned

C ouer hand, if he did not quickly ſend away the CORINTHIANS. *Andromachus* fell a laughing at him, and did turne his hande vppe and downe as the Ambaſſador had done, and bad him that he ſhoulde get him going, and that with ſpeede out of his citie, if he would not ſee the keele of his galley turned vpward. *Icetes* nowe vnderſtanding of *Timoleons* comming, and being affrayed, ſent for a great number of gallyes vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then the SYRACVSANS beganne to deſpayre vtterly, when they ſawe their hauen full of the CARTHAGINIANS galleyes, the beſt parte of their citie kept by *Icetes*, and the caſtell by the tyran *Dionyſius*. And on thother ſide, that *Timoleon* was not yet comen but to a litle corner of SICILE, hauing no more but the litle citie of TAVROMENION, with a ſmall power, and leſſe hope: bicauſe there was not aboue a thowſand footemen in all, to furniſhe theſe warres,

D neither prouiſion of vittells, nor ſo much money as woulde ſerue to entertayne and pay them. Beſides alſo, that the other cities of SICILE did nothing truſt him. But by reaſon of the violent extorcions they had alate ſuffered, they hated all Captaines and leaders of men of warre to the deathe, and ſpecially for the tretcherie of *Calippus* and *Pharax*, whereof the one was an ATHENIAN, and the other a LACEDÆMONIAN. Both of them ſayed they came to ſet SICILE at libertie, and to driue out the tyrans: and yet neuertheles they had done ſo much hurte vnto the poore SICILIANS, that the miſerie and calamitie which they had ſuffered vnder the tyrans, ſeemed all to be golde vnto them, in reſpect of that which the Captaines had made them to abyde. And they did not thinke them more happy, that had willingly ſubmitted them ſelues vnto the yoke of ſeruitude: then thoſe which they ſawe reſtored, and ſet

E at libertie. Therefore perſwading them ſelues, that this CORINTHIAN woulde be no better vnto them, then the other had bene before, but ſuppoſing they were the ſelfe ſame former craftes, and alluring baytes of good hope and fayer wordes, which they had taſted of before, to drawe them to accept newe tyrans: they did ſore ſuſpect it, and reiected all the CORINTHIANS perſwaſions. Sauing the ADRANITANS onely, whoſe litle citie being conſecrated to the god *Adranus*, (and greatly honored and reuerenced through all SICILE) was then in diſſention one againſt an other: in ſo muche as one parte of them tooke parte with *Icetes*, and the CARTHAGINIANS, and an other ſide of them ſent vnto *Timoleon*. So it fortuned, that bothe the one and the other, making all the poſſible ſpeede they coulde, who ſhoulde come firſt: arriued bothe in manner at one ſelfe tyme.

F *Icetes* had about fiue thowſande ſouldiers. *Timoleon* had not in all, aboue twelue hundred men, with the which he departed to goe towards the citie of ADRANVS, diſtant from TAVROMENION, about three hundred and fortie furlonges. For the firſt dayes iorney, he went

Timoleon lãdeth at Tauromenion in Sicile.

Andromachꝰ the father of Timæus the Hiſtoriographer, gouerner of the citie of Tauromenion.

The Carthaginians Ambaſſador did threaten to deſtroy the citie of Tauromenion, by ſhewing Andromachꝰ the palme and backe of his hand.

The god Adranus.

no great way, but lodged betymes: but the next morning he marched very haſtely, & had marueluous ill way. When night was come, and day light ſhut in, he had newes that *Icetes* did but newly arriue before ADRANVS, where he encamped. When the priuate captaines vnderſtood this, they cauſed the voward to ſtay, to eate & repoſe a litle, that they might be the luſtier, & the ſtronger to fight. But *Timoleon* did ſet ſtill forwards, & prayed them not to ſtay, but to goe on with all the ſpeede they could poſſible, that they might take their enemies out of order (as it was likely they ſhould) being but newly arriued, & troubled with making their cabbons, & preparing for ſupper. Therewithall as he ſpake theſe wordes, he tooke his target on his arme, and marched him ſelfe the formoſt man, as brauely and coragiouſly as if he had gon to a moſt aſſured victorie. The ſouldiers ſeeing him marche with that life, they followed at his heeles with like corage. So they had not paſſing thirty furlonges to goe, which when they had ouercomen, they ſtraight ſet apon their enemies, whome they found all out of order, and began to flye, ſo ſoone as they ſaw they were vpon their backes before they were aware. By this meanes there were not aboue three hundred men ſlayne, and twiſe as many moe taken priſoners, and ſo their whole campe was poſſeſſed. Then the ADRANITANS opening their gates, yelded vnto *Timoleon*, declaring vnto him with great feare, and no leſſe wonder, how at the very time when he gaue charge apon the enemies, the dores of the temple of their god opened of them ſelues, & that the Iaueling which the Image of their god did hold in his hand, did ſhake at the very ende where the iron head was, and how all his face was ſeene to ſweate. This (in my opinion) did not onely ſignifie the victorie he had gotten at that time, but all the notable exploytes he did afterwardes, vnto the which, this firſt encounter gaue a happye beginning. For immediatly after, many cities ſent vnto *Timoleon*, to ioyne in league with him. And *Mamercus*, the tyran of CATANA, a ſouldier, and very full of money, did alſo ſeeke his friendſhip. Furthermore, *Dionyſius* the tyran of SYRACVSA, being weary to follow hope any longer, and finding him ſelfe in maner forced vnto it by long continuaunce of ſeige: made no more reckoning of *Icetes*, when he knewe that he was ſo ſhamefully ouerthrowen. And contrariwiſe, much eſteeming *Timoleons* valiantnes, he ſent to aduertiſe him, that he was contented to yelde him ſelfe and the caſtell into the handes of the CORINTHIANS. *Timoleon* being glad of this good happe vnlooked for, ſent *Euclides* and *Telemachus*, two Captaines of the CORINTHIANS, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtell, with fowre hundred men, not all at a tyme, nor openly (for it was vnpoſſible, the enemies lying in wayte in the hauen) but by ſmall companies, and by ſtelthe, he conueyed them all into the caſtell. So the ſouldiers poſſeſſed the caſtell, and the tyrans pallace, with all the moueables and munition of warres within the ſame. There were a great number of horſe of ſeruice, great ſtore of ſtaues and weapons offenſiue of all ſortes, and engynes of batterie to ſhoote farre of, and ſundry other weapons of defence, that had bene gathered together of long tyme, to arme threeſcore and tenne thowſand men. Moreouer, beſides all this, there were two thowſand ſouldiers, whome with all the other thinges rehearſed, *Dionyſius* deliuered vp into the handes of *Timoleon*: and he him ſelfe, with his money and a few of his friendes, went his way by ſea, *Icetes* not knowing it, and ſo came to *Timoleons* campe. This was the firſt tyme that euer they ſawe *Dionyſius* a priuate man, in baſe and meane eſtate. And yet within fewe dayes after, *Timoleon* ſent him from thence vnto CORINTHE in a ſhippe, with litle ſtore of money. Who was borne and brought vp in the greateſt and moſt famous tyrannie, and kingdome, conquered by force, that euer was in the world: and which him ſelfe had kept by the ſpace of tenne yeares after the death of his father. Since *Dion* draue him out, he had bene maruelouſly turmoyled in warres, by the ſpace of twelue yeares: in which time, although he had done muche miſchiefe, yet he had ſuffered alſo a great deale more. For he ſawe the death of his ſonnes when they were men growen, and able to ſerue and cary armor. He ſaw his daughters rauiſhed by force, & deflowred of their virginitie. He ſaw his owne ſiſter (who was alſo his wife) firſt of all ſhamed, & cruelly handled in her perſon, with the greateſt villanies & moſt vile partes done vnto her, that his enemies could deuiſe: & afterwards horribly murdered with his childrē, & their bodies in the end throwen into the ſea, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Dion*. Now when *Dionyſius* was arryued in the cittie of CORINTHE, euery GRECIAN was wonderfull deſirous

Timoleon ouerthrew Icetes armie, & made him flye from Adranus

The Adranitans yeld vnto Timoleon.

Mamercus tyran of Catana.

Dionyſius the tyran, yeldeth him ſelfe and the caſtell of Syracuſa, vnto Timoleon.

Dionyſius the tyran of Syracuſa ſent to Corinthe.

The miſeries & calamities of Dionyſius the tyran.

to

A to go see him, and to talke with him. And some went thither very glad of his ouerthrow, as if they had troden him downe with their feete, whom fortune had ouerthrowen, so bitterly did they hate him. Other pittiyng him in their heartes, to see so great a chaunge, did behold him as it were with a certaine compassion, considering what great power, secret and diuine causes haue ouer mens weakenes and frailtie, and those thinges that daily passeth ouer our heades. For the world then, did neuer bring forth any worke of nature, or of mans hand so wonderful, as was this of fortune. Who made the world see a man, that before was in maner Lorde and King of all Sicile, sit then commonly in the cittie of Corinthe, talking with a vitailer, or sitting a whole day in a perfumers shoppe, or commonly drinking in some celler or tauerne, or to brawle and scolde in the middest of the streetes, with common whores in face of the B world, or els to teach common minstrels in euery lane & alley, and to dispute with them with the best reason he had, about the harmony & musike, of the songs they sang in the Theaters. Now some say he did this, bicause he knew not els how he should driue the time away, for that in dede he was of a base mynde, and an effeminate person, giuen ouer to all dishonest lusts and desires. Other are of opinio, he did it to be the lesse regarded, for feare lest the Corinthians should haue him in gealouzy and suspicion, Imagining that he did take the chaunge and state of his lyfe in grieuous part, and that he should yet looke backe, hoping for a tyme to recouer his state againe: and that for this cause he did it, and of purpose fained many thinges against his nature, seeming to be a starke nideotte, to see him do those thinges he did. Some notwithstanding haue gathered together certaine of his answers, which doe testifie that he did not all C these thinges of a base brutish mynde, but to fitte himselfe onely to his present misery and misfortune. For when he came to Leucades, an auncient cittie built by the Corinthians, as was also the citty of Syracusa: he told the inhabitants of the same, that he was like to yong boyes that had done a fault. For as they flye from their fathers being ashamed to come in their sight, & are gladder to be with their brethrē: euē so is it with me, said he: for it would please me better to dwell here with you, then to go to Corinthe our head citty. Another tyme, being at Corinthe, a stranger was very busie with him, (knowing how familiar *Dionysius* was with learned men and Philosophers, while he raigned in Syracusa) and asked him in the ende in derision: what benefite he got by *Platoes* wisedome and knowledge? he answered him againe: how thinkest thou, hath it done me no good, whē thou seest me beare so paciently this change D of fortune? *Aristoxenus* a musitian, and other, asking him what offence *Plato* had done vnto him: he answered. That tyrans state is euer vnfortunate, and subiect to many euills: but yet no euill in their state was comparable to this. That none of all those they take to be their most familiars, dare once tell them truely any thing: and that through their fault, he lest *Platoes* company. Another tyme there commeth a pleasaunt fellow to him, and thinking to mocke him finely, as he entred into his chamber, he shooke his gowne, as the manner is when they come to tyrans, to shewe that they haue no weapons vnder their gownes. But *Dionysius* encountred him as pleasantly, saying to him: do that whē thou goest hēce, to se if thou hast stollē nothing. And again, *Philip* King of Macedon, at his table one day discēding into talke of songs, verse, and tragedies, which *Dionysius* his father had made, making as though he wondred at thē, how E possibly he could haue leisure to do them: he answered him very trimly, and to good purpose. He did them euen at such tymes (quod he) as you and I, and all other great Lordes whom they recken happy, are disposed to be drunke, & play the fooles. Now for *Plato*, he neuer saw *Dionysius* at Corinthe. But *Diogenes Sinopian*, the first tyme that euer he met with *Dionysius*, sayd vnto him. O, how vnworthy art thou of this state. *Dionysius* stayed sodainely, and replied: Truly I thanke thee (*Diogenes*) that thou hast compassion of my misery. Why sayd *Diogenes* againe: Doest thou thinke I pitty thee? Nay it spiteth me rather to see such a slaue as thou (worthy to dye in the wicked state of a tyrant like thy father) to lyue in such securitie, and idle lyfe, as thou leadest amongst vs. When I came to compare these wordes of *Diogenes*, with *Philistus* wordes the Historiographer, bewailing the harde fortune of the daughters of the F Leptines, saying that they were brought from the toppe of all worldly felicity, honor, and goodes, (whereof tyrannicall state aboundeth) vnto a base, priuate, and humble life: me thinkes they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that soroweth for the losse of her

Dionysius brought to Corinthe.

The Inconstancie of fortune.

Notable sayings of Dionysius Syracusan.

The benefite of Philosophy.

A tyranes state vnfortunate.

This agreeth with AEsops wordes to Solon, who wished him cōming to princes, to please them, or not to come nere them.

See Solons life, and his answer to AEsop.

Diogenes saying to Dionysius the tyrane.

boxes of painting cullers, or for her purple gownes, or for other ſuche prety fine trimmes of golde, as women vſe to weare. So, me thinkes theſe things I haue intermingled concerning *Dionyſius*, are not impartinent to the deſcription of our liues, neither are they troubleſom nor vnprofitable to the hearers, oneles they haue other haſty buſines to let or trouble them. But now if the tyraunt *Dionyſius* wretched ſtate ſeeme ſtraunge, *Timoleons* proſperitie then was no leſſe wonderfull. For within fiftie dayes after he had ſet foote in SICILE, he had the caſtel of SYRACVSA in his poſſeſſion, and ſent *Dionyſius* as an exile to CORINTHE. This did ſet the CORINTHIANS in ſuche a iollitie, that they ſent him a ſupply of two thouſand footemen, and two hundred horſemen, which were appointed to land in ITALIE, in the countrie of the THVRIANS. And perceyuing that they could not poſſiblie goe from thence into SICILE, bicauſe the CARTHAGINIANS kept the ſeas with a great nauie of ſhippes, and that thereby they were compelled to ſtaye for better oportunitie: in the meane time they beſtowed their leyſure in doing a notable good acte. For the THVRIANS, being in warres at that time with the BRVTIANS, they dyd put their cittie into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as it had bene their owne natiue countrie. *Icetes* all this while dyd beſiege the caſtell of SYRACVSA, preuenting all he could poſſible, that there ſhould come no corne by ſea vnto the CORINTHIANS that kept within the caſtell: and he had hiered two ſtraunge ſouldiers, which he ſent vnto the cittie of ADRANVS, to kill *Timoleon* by treaſon, who kept no garde about his perſone, and continued amongeſt the ADRANITANS, miſtruſting nothing in the world, for the truſt and confidence he had in the ſafegard of the god of the ADRANITANS. Theſe ſouldiers being ſent to do this murther, were by chaunce enformed that *Timoleon* ſhould one day do ſacrifice vnto this god. So apon this, they came into the temple, hauing daggers vnder their gownes, & by litle and litle thruſt in through the preaſe, that they got at the length hard to the aulter. But at the preſent time as one encoraged another to diſpatche the matter, a third perſone they thought not of, gaue one of the two a great cut in the head with his ſworde, that he fell to the grounde. The man that had hurte him thus, fled ſtraight vpon it, with his ſworde drawen in his hande, and recouered the toppe of a highe rocke. The other ſouldier that came with him, and that was not hurte, got holde of a corner of the aulter, and beſought pardone of *Timoleon*, and told him he would diſcouer the treaſon practiſed againſt him. *Timoleon* thereupon pardoned him. Then he tolde him howe his companion that was ſlaine, and him ſelfe, were both hiered, and ſent to kill him. In the meane time, they brought him alſo that had taken the rocke, who cried out alowde, he had done no more then he ſhould doe: for he had killed him that had ſlaine his owne father before, in the cittie of the LEONTINES. And to iuſtifie this to be true, certaine that ſtoode by dyd affirme, it was ſo in deede. Whereat they wondred greatly to conſider the maruelous working of fortune, howe ſhe doth bring one thing to paſſe by meanes of another, & gathereth all things together, howe farre a ſonder ſoeuer they be, & linketh them together, though they ſeeme to be cleane contrary one to another, with no manner of likenes or coniunction betwene them, making the ende of the one, to be the beginning of another. The CORINTHIANS examining this matter throughly, gaue him that ſlue the ſouldier with his ſworde, a crowne of the value of tenne minas, bicauſe that by meanes of his iuſte anger, he had done good ſeruice to the God that had preſerued *Timoleon*. And furthermore, this good happe dyd not only ſerue the preſent turne, but was to good purpoſe euer after. For thoſe that ſawe it, were putte in better hope, and had thenceforth more care and regard vnto *Timoleons* perſone, bicauſe he was a holy man, one that loued the goddes, and that was purpoſely ſent to deliuer SICILE from captiuitie. But *Icetes* hauing miſſed his firſt purpoſe, and ſeeing numbers daylie drawen to *Timoleons* deuotion: he was mad with him ſelf, that hauing ſo great an armie of the CARTHAGINIANS at hand at his commaundement, he tooke but a fewe of them to ſerue his turne, as if he had bene aſhamed of his facte, and had vſed their frendſhippe by ſtelth. So he ſent hereupon for *Mago* their generall, with all his fleete. *Mago* at his requeſt brought an huge army to ſee to, of a hundred and fiftie ſayle, which occupied and couered all the hauen: and afterwards landed three ſcore thouſand men, whom he lodged euery man within the cittie of SYRACVSA. Then euery man imagined the time was now come, which olde men had threatned SICILE with many yeres before, and that continually

Timoleons proſperitie.

Icetes hireth two ſouldiers to kill Timoleon at Adranus.

The treaſon diſcouered to Timoleon by one of the ſouldiers.

The wonderfull worke of fortune.

Icetes bringeth Mago a Carthaginian with a great army to Syracuſa.

A nually: that one day it ſhoud be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous people. For in all the warres the CARTHAGINIANS euer had before in the countrie of SICILE, they could neuer come to take the cittie of SYRACVSA: and then through *Icetes* treaſon, who had receyued them, they were ſeene encamped there. On thother ſide, the CORINTHIANS that were within the caſtell, founde them ſelues in great diſtreſſe, bicauſe their vittells waxed ſcant, and the hauen was ſo ſtraightly kept. Moreouer, they were driuen to be armed continually to defend the walles, which the enemies battered, and aſſaulted in ſundry places, with all kyndes of engines of batterie, and ſundry ſortes of deuiſed inſtruments and inuentions to take cities: by reaſon whereof, they were compelled alſo to deuide them ſelues into many companies. Neuertheles, *Timoleon* without, gaue them all the ayde he could poſſible: ſending them corne
B from CATANA, in litle fiſher botes and ſmall crayers, which got into the caſtell many times, but ſpecially in ſtorme and fowle weather, paſſing by the gallyes of the barbarous people, that laye ſcatteringly one from another, diſperſed abroad by tempeſt, and great billowes of the ſea. But *Mago* and *Icetes* finding this, determined to goe take the cittie of CATANA, from whence thoſe of the caſtell of SYRACVSA were vittelled: and taking with them the beſt ſouldiers of all their armie, they departed from SYRACVSA, and ſayled towardes CATANA. Nowe in the meane ſpace, *Leon* CORINTHIAN, captaine of all thoſe that were within the caſtell, perceyuing the enemies within the cittie kept but ſlender warde: made a ſodaine ſalie out apon them, and taking them vnwares, ſlue a great number at the firſt charge, and draue awaye the other. So by this occaſion he wanne a quarter of the cittie, which they call ACRADINA,
C and was the beſt parte of the cittie, that had receyued leaſt hurte. For the cittie of SYRACVSA ſeemeth to be built of many townes ioyned together. So hauing found there great plenty of corne, golde, and ſiluer, he would not forſake that quarter no more, nor returne againe into the caſtell: but fortifying with all diligence the compaſſe and precinct of the ſame, and ioyning it vnto the caſtell with certen fortifications he built vp in haſte, he determined to keepe both the one and the other. Now were *Mago* and *Icetes* very neere vnto CATANA, when a poſt ouertooke them, purpoſely ſent from SYRACVSA vnto them: who brought them newes, that the ACRADINA was taken. Whereat they both wondred, and returned backe againe with all ſpeede poſſible (hauing failed of their purpoſe they pretended) to keepe that they had yet left in their handes. Now for that matter, it is yet a queſtion, whether we ſhould impute it vnto
D wiſedome and valliancie, or vnto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in my opinion, is altogether to be aſcribed vnto fortune. And this it is. The two thouſand footemen and two hundred horſemen of the CORINTHIANS, that remained in the cittie of the THVRIANS, partly for feare of the gallyes of the CARTHAGINIANS that laye in wayte for them as they ſhould paſſe, *Hanno* being their admirall: and partly alſo for that the ſea was very rough and highe many dayes together, and was allwayes in ſtorme and tempeſt: in the ende, they ventured to goe through the countrie of the BRVTIANS. And partly with their good will (but rather by force) they got through, and recouered the cittie of RHEGIO, the ſea being yet maruelous highe and rough. *Hanno* the admirall of the CARTHAGINIANS, looking no more then for their paſſage, thought with him ſelfe that he had deuiſed a maruelous fine policie, to deceyue
E the enemies. Thereuppon he willed all his men to put garlands of flowers of triumphe vpon their heades, and therewithall alſo made them dreſſe vp, and ſet forth his gallyes, with targets, corſelets, and brigantines after the GRÆCIANS facion. So in this brauery he returned backe againe, ſailing towards SYRACVSA, & came in with force of owers, rowing vnder the caſtells ſide of SYRACVSA, with great laughing, and clapping of hands: crying out alowde to them that were in the caſtell, that he had ouerthrowen their ayde which came from CORINTHE, as they thought to paſſe by the coaſt of ITALIE into SICILE, flattering them ſelues, that this dyd muche diſcorage thoſe that were beſieged. But whileſt he ſported thus with his fonde deuiſe, the two thouſand CORINTHIANS being arriued through the countrie of the BRVTIANS in the citie of RHEGIO, perceyuing the coaſte cleare, and that the paſſage by ſea was not kept, &
F that the raging ſeas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpoſe calme for them: they tooke ſeas forthwith in ſuch fiſher boates & paſſengers as they found readie, in the which they went into SICILE, in ſuche good ſafety, as they drue their horſe (holding them by the raynes) alon-

Leon captaine of the Corinthians within the caſtell. Leon wanne Acradina.

Contention of fortune and valliancie.

The ſtratagcame of Hanno the admirall of the Carthaginians.

geſt their boates with them. When they were all paſſed ouer, *Timoleon* hauing receiued them, went immediatly to take MESSINA, and marching thence in battell raye, tooke his way towards SYRACVSA, truſting better to his good fortune, then to his force he had: for his whole number in all, were not aboue foure thowſand fighting men. Notwithſtanding, *Mago* hearing of his comming, quaked for feare, & dowted the more vpon this occaſion. About SYRACVSA are certeyne marſhes, that receiue great quantitie of ſweete freſh water, aſwell of fountaynes and ſpringes, as alſo of litle ronning brookes, lakes, & riuers, which ronne that wayes towards the ſea: and therefore there are great ſtore of eeles in that place, and the fiſhing is great there at all tymes, but ſpecially for ſuch as delite to take eeles. Whereuppon the GRÆCIANS that tooke paye on both ſides, when they had leyſure, and that all was quiet betwene them, they intended fiſhing. Now, they being all contrey men, and of one language, had no priuate quarrell one with an other: but when tyme was to fight, they did their duties, and in tyme of peace alſo frequented familiarly togither, and one ſpake with an other, and ſpecially when they were buſie fiſhing for eeles: ſaying, that they maruelled at the ſcituacion of the goodly places thereabouts, and that they ſtoode ſo pleaſauntly and commodious apon the ſea ſide. So one of the ſouldiers that ſerued vnder the CORINTHIANS, chaunced to ſay vnto them. Is it poſſible that you that be GRÆCIANS borne, and haue ſo goodly a citie of your owne, & full of ſo many goodly commodities: that ye will giue it vppe vnto theſe barbarous people, the vile CARTHAGINIANS, and moſt cruell murderers of the worlde? where you ſhould rather wiſhe that there were many SICILIES betwixt them and GREECE. Haue ye ſo litle conſideration or iudgement to thinke, that they haue aſſembled an armie out of all AFRICKE, vnto *Hercules* pillers, and to the ſea ATLANTICKE, to come hether to fight to ſtabliſh *Icetes* tyrannie? who, if he had bene a wiſe and skilfull Captaine, would not haue caſt out his aunceſtors & founders, to bringe into his contrye the auncient enemies of the ſame: but might haue receiued ſuch honor and authoritie of the CORINTHIANS and *Timoleon*, as he could reaſonably haue deſired, and that with all their fauor and good wil. The ſouldiers that heard this tale, reported it agayne in their campe: Inſomuch they made *Mago* ſuſpect there was treaſon in hand, and ſo ſought ſome culler to be gon. But hereuppon, notwithſtanding that *Icetes* prayed him all he could to tary, declaring vnto him how much they were ſtronger then their enemies, and that *Timoleon* did rather preuayle by his hardines and good fortune, then exceede him in number of men: yet he hoyſed ſayle, and returned with ſhame enough into AFRICKE, letting ſlyppe the conqueſt of all SICILE out of his handes, without any ſight of reaſon or cauſe at all. The next day after he was gone, *Timoleon* preſented battell before the citie, when the GRÆCIANS and he vnderſtoode that the CARTHAGINIANS were fled, and that they ſaw the hauen ryd of all the ſhippes: and then beganne to ieaſt at *Magoes* cowardlines, and in deriſion proclaymed in the citie, that they would giue him a good reward that could bringe them newes, whether the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS were fled. But for all this, *Icetes* was bent to fight, & woulde not leaue the ſpoyle he had gotten, but defende the quarters of the citie he had poſſeſſed, at the ſwordes poynt, truſting to the ſtrength and ſcituacion of the places, which were hardly to be approached. *Timoleon* perceyuing that, deuided his armie, and he with one parte thereof did ſett vpon that ſide which was the hardeſt to approache, and did ſtand vpon the riuer of ANAPVS: then he appoynted an other part of his armie to aſſault all at one time, the ſide of ACRADINA, whereof *Iſias* CORINTHIAN had the leading. The thirde parte of his armie that came laſt from CORINTHE, which *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus* led: he appoynted to aſſault the quarter called EPIPOLES. Thus, aſſault being giuen on all ſides at one time, *Icetes* bandes of men were broken, and ranne their way. Now that the citie was thus wonne by aſſault, and come ſo ſodaynely to the handes of *Timoleon*, and the enemies being fled: it is good reaſon we aſcribe it to the valiantnes of the ſouldiers, and the captaines great wiſedom. But where there was not one CORINTHIAN ſlayne, nor hurt in this aſſault: ſure me thinkes herein, it was onely the worke and deede of fortune, that did fauor and protect *Timoleon*, to contende againſt his valiantnes. To the ende that thoſe which ſhould hereafter heare of his doings, ſhould haue more occaſion to wonder at his good happe: then to prayſe and commend his valiantnes. For the fame of this great exployte, did in few dayes not onely ronne through all ITALYE, but alſo through

Timoleon marcheth to Syracuſa.

Mago forſaketh Sicile vpō ſuſpect of treaſon.

Anapus fl.

Timoleon wynneth the citie of Syracuſa.

A through all GREECE. Insomuch as the CORINTHIANS, (who could scant beleeue their men were passed with safetie into SICILE) vnderstoode withall that they were safely arriued there, and had gotten the victorie of their enemies: so prosperous was their iorney, & fortune so spedely did fauor his noble actes. *Timoleon* hauing now the castell of SYRACVSA in his hands, did not followe *Dion*. For he spared not the castell for the beawtie and stately building thereof, but auoyding the suspicion that caused *Dion* first to be accused, and lastly to be slayne: he caused it to be proclaymed by trompett, that any SYRACVSAN whatsoeuer, should come with crowes of iron, and mattocks, to helpe to digge downe and ouerthrow the forte of the tyrans. There was not a man in all the citie of SYRACVSA, but went thither straight, and thought that proclamacion and day to be a most happy beginning, of the recouerie of their libertie. So they did

Timoleon ouerthroweth the castell of Syracusa.

B not onely ouerthrowe the castell, but the pallace also, and the tombes: and generally all that serued in any respect for the memorie of any of the tyrans. And hauing cleared the place in fewe dayes, and made all playne: *Timoleon* at the sute of the Citizens, made counsell halls, and places of iustice to be built there: and did by this meanes stablish a free state and popular gouernment, and did suppresse all tyrannicall power. Nowe, when he sawe he had wonne a citie that had no inhabitants, which warres before had consumed, and feare of tyrannie had emptied, so as grasse grewe so highe and rancke in the great markett place of SYRACVSA, as they grased their horses there, and the horsekeepers laye downe by them on the grasse as they fed: and that all the cities, a fewe excepted, were full of redde deare and wilde bores, so that men geuen to delite in hunting, hauing leysure, might finde game many tymes within the suburbes

Timoleon made Syracusa a popular gouernment.

The miserable state of Sicile.

C and towne dytches, hard by the walles: and that such as dwelt in castells and stronge holdes in the contrye, would not leaue them, to come and dwell in cities, by reason they were all growen so stowte, and did so hate and detest assemblies of counsell, orations, and order of gouernment, where so many tyrans had reigned. *Timoleon* thereuppon seeing this desolacion, and also so fewe SYRACVSANS borne that had escaped, thought good, and all his Captaines, to write to the CORINTHIANS, to send people out of GREECE to inhabite the citie of SYRACVSA agayne. For otherwise the contrye would growe barren and vnprofitable, if the grounde were not plowed. Besides, that they looked also for great warres out of AFRICKE: being aduertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had honge vp the body of *Mago* their generall vpon a crosse (who had slayne himselfe for that he could not aunswere the dishonor layed to his charge) and that

Mago slue himselfe, being called to aunswer his departure out of Sicile.

D they did leauy another great mightie armie, to returne againe the next yere following, to make warres in SICILE. These letters of *Timoleon* being brought vnto CORINTHE, and the Embassadors of SYRACVSA being arriued with them also, who besought the people to take care and protection ouer their poore citie, and that they would once againe be fownders of the same: the CORINTHIANS did not gredily desire to be Lordes of so goodly and great a citie, but first proclaymed by the trompett in all the assemblies, solemne feastes, and common playes of GREECE, that the CORINTHIANS hauing destroyed the tirannie that was in the citie of SYRACVSA, and driuen out the tyrannes, did call the SYRACVSANS that were fugitiues out of their contrye, home againe, and all other SICILIANS that liked to come and dwell there, to enioy all freedom and libertie, with promise to make iust and equall diuision of the landes a-

E mong them, the one to haue as much as the other. Moreouer they sent out postes and messengers into ASIA, and into all the Ilands where they vnderstoode the banished SYRACVSANS remayned: to perswade and intreat them to come to CORINTHE, and that the CORINTHIANS would giue them shippes, Captaines, and meanes to conduct them safely vnto SYRACVSA, at their owne proper costes and charges. In recompence whereof, the citie of CORINTHE receaued euery mans most noble praise and blessing, aswell for deliuering SICILE in that sorte from the bondage of tyrannes: as also for keeping it out of the handes of the barbarous people, and restored the naturall SYRACVSANS, and SICILIANS, to their home and contrye againe. Neuertheles, such SICILIANS as repayred to CORINTHE apon this proclamacion (them selues being but a small number to inhabite the contrye) besought the CORINTHIANS to

F ioyne to them some other inhabitantes, aswell of CORINTHE it selfe, as out of the rest of GREECE: the which was performed. For they gathered together about tenne thowsand persons, whom they shipped, and sent to SYRACVSA. Where there were already a great number

The Corinthians repleni-shed the citie of Syracusa, with three score thousand inhabitants.

of other comen vnto *Timoleon*, aswell out of SICILE it self, as out of al ITALIE besides: so that A the whole number (as *Athanis* writeth) came to three score thowsand persons. Amongst them he deuided the whole contrye, and sold them houses of the citie, vnto the value of a thowsand talents. And bicause he would leaue the olde SYRACVSANS able to recouer their owne, and make the poore people by this meanes to haue money in common, to defraye the common charges of the citie, as also their expences in time of warres: the statues or images were solde, and the people by most voyces did condemne them. For they were solemly indited, accused, & arraigned, as if they had bene men aliue to be condemned. And it is reported that the SYRACVSANS did reserue the statue of *Gelon*, an auncient tyranne of their citie, honoring his memorie, bicause of a great victorie he had wonne of the CARTHAGINIANS, neare the citie of HIMERA: and condemned all the rest to be taken away out of euery corner of the citie, and to B be sold. Thus beganne the citie of SYRACVSA to replenish againe, and by litle and litle to recouer it self, many people comming thither from all partes to dwell there. Thereupon *Timoleon* thought to set all other cities at libertie also, and vtterly to roote out all the tyrans of SICILE and to obteyne his purpose, he went to make warres with them at their owne dores. The first he went against, was *Icetes*: whome he compelled to forsake the league of the CARTHAGINIANS, and to promise also that he would rase all the fortresses he kept, and to liue like a priuate man within the citie of the LEONTINES. *Leptines* in like maner, that was tyran of the citie of APOLLONIA, and of many other litle villages thereabouts: when he saw him selfe in daunger to be taken by force, did yeld him selfe. Whereupon *Timoleon* saued his life, and sent him vnto CORINTHE: thinking it honorable for his contrye, that the other GRÆCIANS C should see the tyrans of SICILE in their chiefe citie of fame, liuing meanely and poorely like banished people. When he had brought this to passe, he returned forthwith to SYRACVSA about the establishment of the common weale, assisting *Cephalus* and *Dionysius*, two notable men sent from CORINTHE to reforme the lawes, and to helpe them to stablishe the goodliest ordinaunces for their common weale. And now in the meane time, bicause the souldiers had a minde to get some thing of their enemies, and to auoyd idlenes: he sent them out abroade to a contrye subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, vnder the charge of *Dimarchus*, and *Demaratus*. Where they made many litle townes rebell against the barbarous people, and did not onely liue in all aboundance of wealth, but they gathered money together also to mainteyne the warres. The CARTHAGINIANS on thother side, while they were busy about the matters, came D downe into LILYBEA, with an armie of three score and tenne thowsand men, two hundred galleyes, and a thowsand other shippes and vessells that caried engines of batterie, cartes, vittells, munition, and other necessary prouision for a campe, intending to make sporting warres no more, but at once to driue all the GRÆCIANS againe quite out of SICILE. For in deede it was an able armie to ouercome all the SICILIANS, if they had bene whole of them selues, and not diuided. Now they being aduertised that the SICILIANS had inuaded their contrye, they went towards them in great furie, led by *Asdrubal* & *Amilcar*, generalls of the armie. This newes was straight brought to SYRACVSA, and the inhabitants were so striken with feare of the report of their armie: that being a maruelous great number of them within the citie, scant three thowsand of them had the hartes to arme them selues, and to goe to the fielde with *Timoleon*. E Now the straungers that tooke pay, were not aboue foure thowsand in all: & of them, a thowsand of their hartes fayled, and left him in midd way, and returned home againe. Saying, that *Timoleon* was out of his wittes, and more rashe then his yeares required, to vndertake with fiue thowsand footemen, & a thowsand horse, to goe against threescore and tenne thowsand men: and besides, to cary that small force he had to defend him selfe withal, eight great dayes iorney from SYRACVSA. So, that if it chaunced they were compelled to flye, they had no place whether they might retyre them selues vnto with safetie, nor man that woulde take care to burye them, when they were slayne. Neuertheles, *Timoleon* was glad he had that proofe of them, before he came to battell. Moreouer, hauing incoraged those that remayned with him, he made them marche with speede towards the riuer of CRIMESVS, where he vnderstoode he should F meete with the CARTHAGINIANS. So getting vp vpō a litle hil, from whence he might se the campe of the enemies on the other side: by chaunce, certen moyles fell apon his armie, loden with

Leptines, tyran of Apollonia, yelded to Timoleon.

The armie & shippes of the Carthaginiās, against Timoleō, Asdrubal & Amilcar being generalls.

Timoleon wēt with 6000. men against the Carthaginians.

Crimesus fl.

A with ſmallage. The ſouldiers tooke a conceyt at the firſt apon ſight of it, and thought it was a token of ill lucke: bicauſe it is a maner we vſe, to hange garlands of this erbe, about the tombes of the dead. Hereof came the common prouerbe they vſe to ſpeake, when one lyeth a paſſing in his bed: he lacketh but ſmallage. Aſmuch to ſay, he is but a dead man. But *Timoleon* to draw them from this fooliſh ſuperſtition, & diſcorage they tooke, ſtayed the armie. And when he had vſed certen perſwaſions vnto them, according to the time, his leyſure, and occaſion: he told them that the garland of it ſelfe came to offer them victorie before hand. For, ſayd he, the CORINTHIANS doe crowne them that winne the ISTMIAN games (which are celebrated in their contrye) with garlands of ſmallage. And at that time alſo euen in the ſolemne ISTMIAN games, they vſed the garland of ſmallage for reward and token of victorie: and at this preſent
B it is alſo vſed in the games of NEMEA. And it is but lately taken vp, that they haue vſed braunches of pyne apple trees in the ISTMIAN games. Now *Timoleon* had thus incoraged his men, as you haue heard before: he firſt of all tooke of this ſmallage, and made him ſelfe a garland, & put it on his head. When they ſawe that, the Captaines and all the ſouldiers alſo tooke of the ſame, and made them ſelues the like. The ſoothſayers in like maner at the very ſame time, perceyued two eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding a ſnake in her talents, which ſhe pearced through and through, and the other as ſhe flewe, gaue a terrible cry. So they ſhewed them both vnto the ſouldiers, who did then all together with one voyce call vpon the gods for helpe. Now this fortuned about the beginning of the ſommer, and towards the later ende of Maye, the ſunne drawing towards the ſolſtyce of the ſommer: when there roſe a great myſt
C out of the riuer, that couered all the feilds ouer, ſo as they could not ſee the enemies campe, but onely heard a maruelous confuſed noyſe of mens voyces, as it had come from a great armie, and riſing vp to the toppe of the hil, they layed their targets downe on the grownd to take a litle breathe: and the ſunne hauing drawen and ſucked vp all the moyſt vapours of the myſte vnto the toppe of the hills, the ayer began to be ſo thicke, that the toppes of the mountaynes were all couered ouer with clowdes, and contrarily, the valley vnderneath was all cleare and fayer, that they might eaſily ſee the riuer of CRIMESVS, and the enemies alſo, how they paſſed it ouer in this ſort. Firſt, they had put their cartes of warre foremoſt, which were very hotly armed and well appoynted. Next vnto them there followed tenne thowſand footemen, armed with white targets vpon their armes: whom they ſeeing a farre of ſo well appoynted, they con-
D iectured by their ſtately marche and good order, that they were the CARTHAGINIANS them ſelues. After them, diuers other nations followed confuſedly one with an othet, and ſo they thronged ouer with great diſorder. There *Timoleon* conſidering the riuer gaue him oportunity to take them before they were halfe paſt ouer, and to ſet vpon what number he would: after he had ſhewed his men with his finger, how the battel of their enemies was deuided in two partes by meanes of the riuer, ſome of them being already paſſed ouer, & the other to paſſe: He commaunded *Demaratus* with his horſemen, to geue a charge on the voward, to keepe them from putting them ſelues in order of battell. And him ſelfe comming downe the hill alſo with all his footemen into the valley, he gaue to the SICILIANS the two winges of his battell, mingling with them ſome ſtraungers that ſerued vnder him: and placed with him ſelfe in the middeſt,
E the SYRACVSANS, with all the choyce & beſt liked ſtraungers. So he taried not long to ioyne, when he ſaw the ſmall good his horſemen did. For he perceyued they could not come to geue a luſty charge apon the battell of the CARTHAGINIANS, bicauſe they were paled in with theſe armed cartes, that ranne here and there before them: whereupon they were compelled to wheele about continually, (onles they would haue put them ſelues in daunger to haue bene vtterly ouerthrowen) and in their returnes to geue venture of charge, by turnes on their enemies. Wherefore *Timoleon* taking his target on his arme, cried out alowde to his footemen, to follow him coragiouſly, & to feare nothing. Thoſe that heard his voyce, thought it more then the voyce of a man, whether the furie of his deſire to fight did ſo ſtrayne it beyonde ordinary courſe, or that ſome god (as many thought it then) did ſtretch his voyce to cry out ſo lowde &
F ſenſibly. His ſouldiers aunſwered him againe with the like voyce: & prayed him to leade them without lenger delay. Then he made his horſemen vnderſtand, that they ſhould draw on the toneſide from the cartes, and that they ſhould charge the CARTHAGINIANS on the flanckes:

Smallage an ill ſigne.

Prouerbe.

Garlandes of ſmallage.

The order of the Carthaginians armie.

Timoleon geueth charge apon the Carthaginians as they came ouer the riuer of Crimeſus.

The fernice of the armed cartes.

Timoleons maruelous bigge voyce.

Timoleons order and fight.

and after he did set the formost rancke of his battell, target to target against the enemies, com- A
maunding the trumpets withall to sownd. Thus with great furie he went to geue a charge a-
pon them, who valiantly receyued the first charge, their bodies being armed with good iron
corselets, and their heades with fayer murrions of copper, besides the great targetts they had
also, which did easily receyue the force of their dartes, and the thrust of the pyke. But when
they came to handle their swordes, where agilitie was more requisite then force: a fearefull
A maruelous tempest of thunder, lightning, rayne, winde, and hayle, fell on the Carthaginians faces as they fought.
tempest of thunder, & flashing lightning withall, came from the mountaynes. After that came
darke thicke clowdes also (gathered together from the toppe of the hilles) and fell vppon the
valley, where the battell was fought, with a maruelous extreame shower of rayne, fierce vio-
lent windes, and hayle withall. All this tempest was vpon the GRÆCIANS backes, and full be- B
fore the barbarous people, beating on their faces, and did blindefold their eyes, and continual-
ly tormented them with the rayne that came full apon them with the winde, & the lightnings
so ofte flashing amongest them, that one vnderstoode not another of them. Which did mar-
uelously trouble them, and specially those that were but freshe water souldiers, by reason of the
terrible thunderclapps, and the noyse, the boysterous winde and hayle made vppon their har-
nes: for that made them they could not heare the order of their Captaines. Moreouer, the durt
did as much annoye the CARTHAGINIANS, bicause they were not nimble in their armor, but
heauely armed as we haue told you: and besides that also, when the playtes of their coates
were through wett with water, they did lode and hinder them so muche the more, that they
could not fight with any ease. This stoode the GRÆCIANS to great purpose, to throwe them
downe the easier. Thus when they were tombling in the durte with their heauy armor, vp they C
could rise no more. Furthermore, the riuer of CRIMESVS being risen highe through the great
rage of waters, and also for the multitude of people that passed ouer it, did ouerflowe the val-
ley all about: which being full of ditches, many caues, and hollow places, it was straight all
drowned ouer, and filled with many ronning streames, that ranne ouerthwart the feild, without
any certen channell. The CARTHAGINIANS being compassed all about with these waters,
they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being ouercome with the storme
that still did beate apon them, and the GRÆCIANS hauing slayne of their men at the first on-
set, to the number of foure hundred of their choycest men, who made the first fronte of their
battell: all the rest of their armie turned their backes immediatly, and fled for life. Insomuch,
some of them being followed very neare, were put to the sworde in the middest of the valley: D
other, holding one another hard by the armes together, in the middest of the riuer as they pas-
sed ouer, were caried downe the streame and drowned, with the swiftnes and violence of the
Timoleons victorie of the Carthaginians.
riuer. But the greatest number did thinke by footemanship to recouer the hilles thereabouts,
who were ouertaken by them that were light armed, and put to the sworde euery man. They
saye, that of tenne thowsande which were slayne in this battell, three thowsande of them were
meere naturall citizens of CARTHAGE, which was a very sorowfull and greeuous losse to the
city. For they were of the noblest, the richest, the lustiest, & valiantest men of all CARTHAGE.
For there is no chronicle that mentioneth any former warres at any tyme before, where there
dyed so many of CARTHAGE at one feild and battell, as were slayne at that present tyme. For
before that time, they did alwayes entertaine the FIBYANS, the SPANYARDS, and the NO- E
MADES, in all their warres: so as when they lost any battell, the losse lighted not on them, but
the straungers payed for it. The men of accompt also that were slayne, were easily knowen by
their spoyles. For they that spoyled them, stoode not trifling about getting of copper and iron
together, bicause they found gold and siluer enoughe. For the battell being wonne, the GRÆ-
CIANS passed ouer the riuer, and tooke the campe of the barbarous people, with all their cari-
ages and bagage. And as for pthe risoners, the souldiers stole many of them away, and sent
them going: but of them that came to short to make common diuision of the spoyle amonge
them, they were about fiue thowsand men, and two hundred cartes of warre that were taken
besides. Oh, it was a noble sight to behold the tent of *Timoleon* their generall, how they enuyro-
ned it all about with heapes of spoyles of euery sorte: amongest which there were a thowsand F
braue corselets guylt, and grauen, with maruelous curious workes, and brought thither with
them also tenne thowsand targets. So the conquerours being but a small number, to take the

spoyle

A ſpoile of a multitude that were ſlaine they filled their purſes euen to the toppe. Yet were they three daies about it, & in the end, the third day after the battel, they ſet vp a marke or token of their victorie. Thē *Timoleon* ſent vnto CORINTH, with the newes of this ouerthrow, the faireſt armors that were gotten in the ſpoyle: bicauſe he would make his countrie & natiue citie ſpoken of & commēded through the world, aboue al the other cities of GREECE. For that at CORINTH only, their chief tēples were ſet forth & adorned, not with ſpoiles of the GREECIANS, nor offerings gotten by ſpilling the blood of their owne nation & contrie: (which to ſay truely, are vnpleaſant memories) but with the ſpoiles taken from the barbarous people their enemies, with inſcriptions witneſſing the valliancie & iuſtice of thoſe alſo, who by victorie had obteined thē. That is to wit, that the CORINTHIANS & their captaine *Timoleon*, (hauing deliuered the
B GREECIANS dwelling in SICILE, from the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had geuen thoſe offerings vnto the gods, to geue thanks for their victory. That done, *Timoleon* leauing the ſtraungers he had in pay, in the contrie ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, to ſpoile & deſtroy it: he retorned with the reſt of his army vnto SYRACVSA. Where at his firſt cōming home, he baniſhed the thowſand ſouldiers that had forſaken him in his iorney, with expreſſe charge that they ſhould departe the cittie before ſunne ſette. So theſe thowſand cowardly and mutinous ſouldiers paſſed ouer into ITALIE, where, vnder promiſe of the countrie, they were al vnfortunately ſlayne by the BRVTIANS: ſuch was the iuſtice of the goddes to paie their iuſte rewarde of their treaſon. Afterwards, *Mamercus* the tyranne of CATANA, *Icetes* (whether it was for the enuie they did beare to *Timoleons* famous dedes, or for that they were affrayde of him) perceiuing tyrannes could looke for no peace at his handes: they made league with the
C CARTHAGINIANS, and wrote vnto them that they ſhould ſend another armie and captaine ſodainely, if they would not vtterly be driuē out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS ſent *Giſco* thither with threeſore & tenne ſaile, who at his firſt comming tooke a certen number of GRECIAN ſouldiers into pay, which were the firſt the CARTHAGINIANS euer retained in their ſeruice: for they neuer gaue thē pay vntil that preſent time, when they thought them to be men inuincible, and the beſt ſouldiers of the world. Moreouer, the inhabitantes of the territorie of MESSINA, hauing made a ſecret conſpiracie amongeſt them ſelues, did ſlay foure hundred men that *Timoleon* had ſent vnto them: & in the territories ſubiect vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, nere vnto a place they call HIERES, there was another ambuſh layd for *Euthimus* LEVCADI-
D AN, ſo as him ſelf & al his ſouldiers were cut in peces. Howbeit the loſſe of thē made *Timoleons* doings notwithſtanding more fortunate: for they were euen thoſe that had forcibly entred the tēple of *Apollo* in the cittie of DELPHES, with *Philodemus* PHOCIAN, & with *Onomarchus*, who were partakers of their ſacriledge. Moreouer, they were loſe people & abiectes, that were abhorred of euerie body, who vacabondlike wandred vp & downe the contry of PELOPONNESVS, when *Timoleon* for lacke of other was glad to take them vp. And when they came into SICILE, they alwaies ouercame in al battells they fought, whileſt they were in his company. But in the ende, when the furie of warres was pacified, *Timoleon* ſending them about ſome ſpeciall ſeruice to the ayde of ſome of his, they were caſt away euery man of them: and not all together, but at diuers times. So as it ſeemed that Goddes iuſtice, in fauor of *Timoleon*, did ſeparate them
E from the reſt, when he was determined to plague them for their wicked deſertes, fearing leaſt good men ſhould ſuffer hurt by puniſhing of the euill. And ſo was the grace & goodwill of the goddes wonderful towards *Timoleon*, not onely in matters againſt him, but in thoſe things that proſpered well with him. Notwithſtanding, the common people of SYRACVSA tooke the ieaſting wordes and writings of the tyrans againſt them, in maruelous euill part. For *Mamercus* amongeſt other, thinking well of him ſelfe, bicauſe he could make verſes & tragedies, hauing in certen battels gotten the better hand of the ſtraūgers, which the SYRACVSANS gaue pay vnto, he gloried very much. And when he offred vp the targets he had gotten of them, in the tēples of the gods: he ſet vp alſo theſe cutting verſes, in deriſion of them that were vanquiſhed.

F *VVith bucklers potlyd like, vvhich of no value vvere,*
vve haue theſe goodly targets vvonne, ſo richly trymmed here,
All gorgeouſly vvith golde, and eke vvith Iuorye,
vvith purple cullers finely vvrought, and deck vvith Ebonye.

Timoleon baniſheth the thouſand trayterous ſouldiers out of Sicile.

Giſco ſent frō Carthage with 70 ſaile into Sicile.

Meſſina riſeth againſt Timoleon.

Mamercus verſes, tyrāne of Catana.

Theſe thinges done, *Timoleon* led his armie before the citie of CALAVRIA, & *Icetes* there- *Calauria, a citie of Sicile.*

while entred the cõfines of the SYRACVSANS with a maine army,& caried away a maruelous great ſpoile. And after he had done great hurt, & ſpoiled the contry, he returned backe againe, & came by CALAVRIA, to deſpite *Timoleon*, knowing wel enough he had at that time but few men about him. *Timoleon* ſuffered him to paſſe by, but folowed him afterwards with his horſemen & lighteſt armed footemẽ. *Icetes* vnderſtanding that, paſſed ouer the riuer called DAMIRIAS, & ſo ſtaied on the other ſide as though he would fight, truſting to the ſwift rõning of the riuer, and the height of the bankes on either ſide of the ſame. Now the captaines of *Timoleons* bands fell out maruelouſly amongeſt them ſelues, ſtriuing for honor of this ſeruice, which was cauſe of delaying the battel. For none would willingly come behind, but euery man deſired to lead the voward, for honor to begin the charge: ſo as they could not agree for their going ouer, one thruſting another to get before his companion. Wherfore *Timoleon* fell to drawing of lots, which of them ſhould paſſe ouer firſt, & tooke a ring of euery one of them, and caſt them all within the lappe of his cloke: ſo rolling them together, by chaunce he pluckt one at the firſt, wheron was grauen the markes & tokens of a triumph. The young Captaines ſeeing that, gaue a ſhoute of ioy, & without tarying drawing of other lottes, they began euery man to paſſe the riuer as quickly as they could, & to ſet apõ the enemies as ſodainely. But they being not able to abide their force, ranne their wayes, and were faine to caſt their armor away to make more haſt: howbeit there were a thowſand of them lay dead in the feilde. And within few daies after, *Timoleon* leading his armie to the citie of the LEONTINES, tooke *Icetes* aliue there, with his ſonne *Eupolemus*, and the generall of his horſemen, who were deliuered into his hands by his owne ſouldiers. So *Icetes* & his ſonne were put to death, like the traitors & tyrannes: and ſo was *Euthydemus* alſo, who though he was a valliant ſouldier, had no better mercie ſhewed him, then the father & the ſonne, bicauſe they did burden him with certaine iniurious words he ſpake againſt the CORINTHIANS. For they ſay, that when the CORINTHIANS came firſt out of their contrie into SICILE to make wars againſt the tyrannes: that he making an oration before the LEONTINES, ſaid amõgeſt other things: that they ſhould not neede to be afraide, if

The vvomen of Corinthe vvere come out of their contrie.

Thus we ſee, that men do rather ſuffer hurt, then put vp iniurious words: & do pardone their enemies, though they reuenge by deds, bicauſe they can do no leſſe. But as for iniurious words, they ſeme to proceed of a deadly hate, & of a cancred malice. Furthermore, whẽ *Timoleon* was returned againe to SYRACVSA, the SYRACVSANS arrained the wiues of *Icetes*, and his ſonne, and their daughters: who being arrained, were alſo condemned to die by the iudgement of the people. Of al the actes *Timoleon* did, this of al other (in my opinion) was the fowleſt dede: for if he had liſted, he might haue ſaued the poore womẽ from death. But he paſſed not for them, & ſo left them to the wrath of the cittizens, who would be reuenged of them, for the iniuries that were done to *Dion*, after he had driuen out the tyranne *Dionyſius*. For it was *Icetes* that cauſed *Arete*, the wife of *Dion*, to be caſt into the ſea, his ſiſter *Ariſtomache*, and his ſonne that was yet a ſucking child, as we haue written in another place in the life of *Dion*. That done, he wẽt to CATANA againſt *Mamercus*, who taried him by the riuer of ABOLVS, where *Mamercus* was ouerthrowen in battel, & aboue two thowſand men ſlaine, the greateſt part wherof were the CARTHAGINIANS, whõ *Giſco* had ſent for his reliefe. Afterwards he graũted peace to the CARTHAGINIANS, vpon earneſt ſute made vnto him, with conditiõ, that they ſhould kepe on thother ſide of the riuer of LYCVS, & that it ſhould be lawful for any of thinhabitãts there that would, to come & dwel in the territory of the SYRACVSANS, & to bring away with thẽ their goodes, their wiues & their children: and furthermore, that from thenceforth the CARTHAGINIANS ſhould renounce al league, cõfederacy, & alliance with the tyrannes. Wherupon *Mamercus* hauing no hope of good ſucceſſe in his doings, he would goe into ITALYE to ſtir vp the LVCANIANS againſt *Timoleon*, and the SYRACVSANS. But they that were in his company, returned backe againe with their gallies in the myd way: and when they were returned into SICILE, they deliuered vp the cittie of CATANA into the handes of *Timoleon*, ſo as *Mamercus* was conſtrained to ſaue him ſelfe, and to flye vnto MESSINA, to *Hippon* the tyranne thereof. But *Timoleon* followed him, and beſeged the cittie both by ſea and by lande. Whereat *Hippon* quaked for feare, and thought to flye by taking ſhippe, but he was taken ſtarting.

And

Damirias fl.

Sriſe among Timoleons captaines for paſſing ouer the riuer.

Timoleons deuiſe to draw lottes to pacifie the ſtriſe.

Timoleon taketh Icetes, & Eupolemus his ſonne aliue, and did put them to death.

Icetes wiues and children put to death.

The cruelti of Icetes towards Dion and his.

Mamercus ouercome in battel. Abolus fl.

Timoleon maketh peace with the Carthaginians. Lycus fl.

Catana yelded vp vnto Timoleon.

Hippon the tyranne of Meſſina.

A And the MESSENIANS hauing him in their hands, made all the childrē come from the ſchole to the THEATER, to ſee one of the goodlieſt ſightes that they could deuiſe: to wit, to ſee the tyran puniſhed, who was openly whipped, & afterwards put to death. Now for *Mamercus*, he did yeld him ſelf vnto *Timoleon*, to be iudged by the SYRACVSANS, ſo that *Timoleon* might not be his accuſer. So he was brought vnto SYRACVSA, where he attempted to make an oration to the people, which he had premeditated long before. But ſeeing that the people cryed out, and made a great noyſe, bicauſe they would not heare him, and that there was no likelyhoode they would pardone him: he ranne ouerthwart the THEATER, and knocked his head as hard as he could driue, vpon one of the degrees whereon they ſate there to ſee the ſportes, thinking to haue daſhed out his braynes, & haue rid him ſelf ſodainely out of his paine. But he was not happy to die ſo, for he was taken ſtraight being yet aliue, & put to death as theues & murderers are. Thus did *Timoleon* roote all tyrans out of SICILE, & make an end of all warres there. And wheras he found the whole ile, wilde, ſauage, & hated of the natural contrymen & inhabitants of the ſame, for the extreme calamities & miſeries they ſuffred: he brought it to be ſo ciuil, and ſo much deſired of ſtraungers, that they came farre & neare to dwell there, where the naturall inhabitants of the contry ſelfe before, were glad to flye and forſake it. For AGRIGENTVM, and GELA, two great cities, did witneſſe this, which after the warres of the ATHENIANS, had bene vtterly forſaken and deſtroyed by the CARTHAGINIANS, and were then inhabited againe. The one, by *Megellus* and *Pheriſtus*, two Captaines that came from ELEA: and the other by *Gorgos*, who came from the ile of CEO. And as nere as they could, they gathered againe together the firſt auncient Citizens and inhabitants of the ſame: whom *Timoleon* did not onely aſſure of peace and ſafetie to liue there, to ſettle them quietly together: but willingly did helpe them beſides, with all other thinges neceſſary, to his vttermoſt meane and abilitie, for which they loued and honored him as their father and founder. And this his good loue & fauor, was common alſo to all other people of SICILE whatſoeuer. So that in all SICILE there was no truce taken in warres, nor lawes eſtabliſhed, nor landes deuided, nor inſtitucion of any policie or gouernment thought good or auayleable, if *Timoleons* deuiſe had not bene in it, as chiefe director of ſuch matters: which gaue him a ſingular grace to be acceptable to the goddes, and generally to be beloued of al mē. For in thoſe dayes, there were other famous men in GREECE, that did maruelous great thinges: amongeſt whom were theſe, *Timotheus*, *Ageſilaus*, *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*, which *Epaminondas* *Timoleon* ſought to follow in all thinges, as neare as he could, aboue any of them all. But in all the actions of theſe other great Captaines, their glorie was alway mingled with violence, payne, & labor: ſo as ſome of them haue bene touched with reproche, and other with repentaunce. Whereas contrarywiſe, in all *Timoleons* doinges (that onely excepted, which he was forced to doe to his brother) there was nothing but they might with trothe (as *Timæus* ſayd) proclayme the ſaying of *Sophocles*:

Hippon put to death.

Mamercus the tyranne put to death.

Timoleō quieteth all Sicile.

Timoleon compared with the famouſeſt mē of Grece.

Oh mightie goddes of heauen, vvhat Venus ſtately dame,
or Cupid, (god) haue thus yput, their handes vnto this ſame?

And like as *Antimachus* verſes, and *Dionyſius* paynting, both COLOPHONIANS, are ful of ſynewes & ſtrength, & yet at this preſent we ſe they are things greatly labored, & trauelled with much payne: & that contrariwiſe in *Nicomachus* tables, and *Homers* verſes, beſides the paſſing workmāſhip & ſingular grace in thē, a man findeth at the firſt ſight, that they were eaſily made, & without great payne. Euen ſo in like manner, whoſoeuer will compare the paynefull bloudy warres & battels of *Epaminondas*, & *Ageſilaus*, with the warres of *Timoleon*, in the which, beſides equitie & iuſtice, there is alſo great eaſe & quietnes: he ſhall finde, waying things indifferently, that they haue not bene fortunes doings ſimply, but that they came of a moſt noble & fortunat corage. Yet he him ſelf doth wiſely impute it vnto his good happe, & fauorable fortune. For in his letters he wrote vnto his familiar frendes at CORINTHE, & in ſome other oratiōs he made to the people of SYRACVSA: he ſpake it many times, that he thanked the almighty gods, that it had pleaſed thē to ſaue & deliuer SICILE from bondage, by his meanes & ſeruice, & to geue him the honor & dignitie of the name. And hauing builded a temple in his houſe, he did dedicate it vnto fortune, & furthermore did conſecrate his whole houſe vnto her. For he dwelt in a houſe the SYRACVSANS kept for him & gaue him in recompence of the good ſeruice he had

Timoleon attributeth his good ſucceſſe vnto fortune.

Timoleon dwelleth ſtill with the Syracuſans.

done them in the warres, with a maruelous faire pleasaunt house in the contrie also, where he kept most whē he was at leisur. For he neuer after returned vnto CORINTHE againe, but sent for his wife and children to come thither, and neuer delt afterwards with those troubles that fell out amongest the GREECIANS, nether did make him selfe to be enuied of the cittizens: (a mischiefe that most gouernors and captains do fal into, through their vnsatiable desire of honor & authoritie:) but liued al the rest of his life after in SICILE, reioycing for the great good he had done, and specially to see so many cities and thowsands of people happy by his meanes.

Simonides saying. But bicause it is an ordinary matter, and of necessitie, (as *Simonides* saith) that not only al larkes haue a tuft vpon their heades, but also that in all citties there be accusers, where the people rule: there were two of those at SYRACVSA, that continually made orations to the people,

Timoleons accusers. who did accuse *Timoleon*, the one called *Laphystius*, and the other *Demænetus*. So this *Laphystius* appointing *Timoleon* a certen day to come & aunswere to his accusation before the people, thinking to conuince him: the cittizens began to mutine, & wold not in any case suffer the day of adiornement to take place. But *Timoleon* did pacifie them, declaring vnto them, that he had taken all the extreame paines & labor he had done, and had passed so many daungers, bicause euery cittizen & inhabitant of SYRACVSA, might franckly vse the libertie of their lawes. And another time *Demænetus*, in open assembly of the people, reprouing many thinges *Timoleon* did when he was generall: *Timoleon* aunswered neuer a word, but onely said vnto the people, that he thanked the goddes they had graunted him the thing he had so oft requested of them in his praiers, which was, that he might once see the SYRACVSANS haue full power and libertie to say what they would. Now *Timoleon* in all mens opinion, had done the noblest actes

Timoleons great praise. that euer GREECIAN captaine did in his time, and had aboue deserued the fame and glory of al the noble exploytes, whiche the rethoricians with all their eloquent orations perswaded the GREECIANS vnto, in the open assemblies, and common feastes and plaies of GREECE, out of the which fortune deliuered him safe and sound before the trouble of the ciuill warres that folowed sone after: and moreouer he made a great proofe of his valliancie and knowledge in warres, against the barbarous people and tyrannes, and had shewed him selfe also a iust and merciful man vnto al his frendes, and generally to al the GREECIANS. And furthermore, seeing he wonne the most part of all his victories & triumphes, with out the sheading of any one teare of his men, or that any of them mourned by his meanes, and also ryd all SICILE of all the miseries and calamities raigning at that time, in lesse then eight yeeres space: he beyng

Timoleon in his age lost his sight. nowe growen olde, his sight first beginning a litle to faile him, shortly after he lost it altogether. This happened, not through any cause or occasion of sickneese that came vnto him, nor that fortune had casually done him that iniurie: but it was in my opinion, a disease inheritable to him by his parētes, which by time came to laie hold on him also. For the voyce wēt, that many of his kin in like case had also lost their sight, which by litle & litle with age, was cleane takē from thē. Howbeit *Athanis* the Historiographer writeth, that during the warres he had against *Mamercus* & *Hippon*, as he was in his campe at MYLES, there came a white spott in his eyes, that dimmed his sight somwhat: so that euery man perceiued that he should lose his sight altogether. Notwithstanding that, he did not raise his seige, but continued his enterprise, vntill he tooke both the tyrans at last: & so soone as he returned to SYRACVSA againe, he did put him

The great honor the Syracusans did Timoleon being blind. self out of his office of general, praying the citizens to accept that he had already done, the rather bicause things were brought to so good passe, as they them selues could desire. Now, that he paciently tooke this misfortune to be blind altogether, peraduenture men may somewhat maruel at it: but this much more is to be wondred at, that the SYRACVSANS after he was blind, did so much honor him, & acknowledge the good he had done thē, that they went them selues to visite him oft, and brought straungers (that were trauellers) to his house in the city, & also in the contry, to make them see their benefactor, reioycing and thinking thē selues happy, that he had chosē to end his life with thē, & that for this cause he had despised the glorious retorne that was prepared for him in GREECE, for the great & happy victories he had wōne in SICILE. But amongest many other thinges the SYRACVSANS did, & ordeyned to honor

A lawe made to honor Timoleon. him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chiefest: that they made a perpetuall lawe, so oft as they should haue warres agaynst forreyne people, & not agaynst their owne contry men,

that

A that they ſhould euer chooſe a CORINTHIAN for their generall. It was a goodly thing alſo to ſee how they did honor him in the aſſemblies of their councell. For if any trifling matter fell in queſtion among them, they diſpatched it of them ſelues: but if it were a thing that required great counſaill and aduiſe, they cauſed *Timoleon* to be ſent for. So he was brought through the market place in his litter, into the Theater, where all the aſſembly of the people was, and caryed in euen ſo in his litter as he ſate: and then the people dyd all ſalute him with one voyce, and he them in lyke caſe. And after he had pawſed a while to heare the praiſes and bleſſinges the whole aſſembly gaue him, they dyd propounde the matter doubtfull to him, and he deliuered his opinion vpon the ſame: which being paſſed by the voyces of the people, his ſeruauntes caryed him backe againe in his litter through the Theater, and the citizens dyd wayte on him a litle way with cryes of ioye, and clapping of handes, and that done, they B dyd repayre to diſpatche common cauſes by them ſelues, as they dyd before. So his olde age being thus entertayned with ſuche honour, and with the loue and good wyll of euery man, as of a common father to them al: in the ende a ſickneſſe tooke him by the backe, whereof he dyed. So the SYRACVSANS had a certen tyme appoynted them to prepare for his funeralles, & their neighbours alſo therabouts to come vnto it. By reaſō wherof his funeral was ſo much more honorably performed in al thinges, & ſpecially for that the people apoynted the nobleſt younge gentelmen of the citie to carrie his coffyn vpon their ſhoulders, rychely furniſhed and ſet forth, whereon his body laye, and ſo dyd conuey him through the place, where the Palyce and Caſtell of the tyranne *Dionyſius* had been, which then was raſed to the C grounde. There accompanied his body alſo, many thowſandes of people, all crowned with garlandes of flowers, and apparreled in their beſt apparell: ſo as it ſeemed it had been the proceſſion of ſome ſolemne feaſt, and all their woordes were praiſinges and bleſſinges of the dead, with teares ronnyng downe their cheekes. which was a good teſtimonie they dyd not this as men that were glad to be diſcharged of the honor they dyd him, neither for that it was ſo ordayned: but for the iuſt ſorowe and griefe they tooke for his death, and for very hartie good loue they dyd beare him. And laſtly, the coffin being put vppon the ſtacke of wod where it ſhould be burnt, *Demetrius* one of the heralds that had the lowdeſt voyce, proclaymed the decree that was ordeined by the people, the effect whereof was this. The people of SYRACVSA hath ordained, that this preſent body of *Timoleon* CORINTHIAN, the ſonne of *Timodemus*, ſhould be buried at the charges of the common weale, vnto the D ſumme of two hundred MINAS, & hath honored his memorie with playes and games of muſicke, with ronning of horſes, and with other exerciſes of the bodie, whiche ſhalbe celebrated yeerely on the day of his death for euermore: and this, bicauſe he dyd driue the tyrannes out of SICILE, for that he ouercame the barbarous people, and bicauſe he repleniſhed many great cities with inhabitantes againe, which the warres had left deſolate and vnhabited: & laſtly, for that he had reſtored the SICILIANS againe to their libertie, & to liue after their owne lawes. And afterwards, his tombe was built in the market place, about the which a certen time after, they builded E certen cloyſters and gallaries to exerciſe the youth in, with exerciſe of their bodyes, and the places ſo walled in, was called *Timoleontium*: and ſo long as they dyd obſerue the lawes, and ciuill policie he ſtabliſhed amongeſt them, they liued long tyme in great continuall proſperitie.

The death of Timoleon.

Timoleons funeralles.

An honorable decree of the Syracuſians for the memorie of Timoleon.

Timoleons tombe built in the market place.

THE COMPARISON OF *Paulus Æmylius with Timoleon.*

The cõparison of Timoleon and Paulus AEmylius for their warres.

SYthe theſe two men were ſuche as the Hiſtoriographers haue deſcribed them to be: it is certayne, that comparing the one with the other, we ſhall fynde no great oddes nor difference betweene them. For fyrſt of all, the warres they made, haue been agaynſt great and famous enemies: the one againſt the MACEDONIANS, and the other agaynſt the CARTHAGINIANS, and both their victories very notable. For the one of them conquered the realme of MACEDON, whiche he tooke from the ſeuenth kyng that raigned by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, ſince the tyme of the great *Antigonus*: and the other draue al the tyrannes out of SICILE, and reſtored the whole Ile & Cities therin, vnto their former libertie. Vnles ſome wil alledge perhappes that there was this difference betweene them, that *AEmylius* fought agaynſt kyng *Perſeus*, when he had all his power whole and entier, and had fought with the ROMANS many tymes before, and had the better of them in all conflictes: where *Timoleon* ſet vppon *Dionyſius*, when he was in greateſt diſpayre, and in maner vtterly caſt away. On the contrarie ſyde, it may be obiected for *Timoleon*, that he ouercame manie tyrannes, and a myghtie great armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, with a verie ſmall number of men, and yet men of all ſortes: not as *AEmylius* with a great armie of well trayned and expert ſouldiers in warres, but with men gathered togeather at aduenture of all ſortes, being mercenarie hierlings, and fighting men for paie, loſe people, and men vnruly in warres, that woulde doo but what they liſted. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the meanes vnequall: there we muſt confeſſe that the praiſe is due vnto the generall. Bothe the one and the other kept their handes cleane from corruption, in the charge which they tooke vpon them. But it ſeemeth that *AEmylius* came ſo facioned and prepared, by the good ciuill lawe, and moral diſciplyne of his countrie: and that *Timoleon* came rawly thither, and afterwards facioned him ſelfe to be that he was. And this is to be proued: for that al the ROMAINS in that time were ſo ciuilly brought vp, and exceeded al other in ſtraight keeping the lawes of their countrie. Where to the cõtrarie, there was not one of the captaines of the GREECIANS that came then, or were ſent into SICILE, but fell ſtraight to corruption, when he had put his foote in SICILE, *Dion* onely excepted: and yet they had a certaine ſuſpicion of him, that he aſpired to the kingdome, and imagined in his head to ſtabliſhe a certaine Empire at SIRACVSA, like vnto that of LACEDAEMON. TIMAEVS the Hiſtoriographer writeth, that the SIRACVSANS ſent *Gilippus* with ſhame backe againe into his countrie, for his vnſaciable greedy couetouſnes, and for his great theftes, and bribes taken in his charge. Diuers other haue alſo writtẽ the great treaſons & falſehoddes *Pharax* SPARTAN, & *Calippus* ATHENIAN did cõmit, both of them ſeeking to make them ſelues lordes of SIRACVSA: and yet what men were they, and what meanes had they to haue ſuche a fooliſhe vaine hope & fancie in their heades? Conſidering

A sidering that the one dyd folowe and serue *Dionysius*, after that he was driuen out of SIRACVSA: and the other also was but a priuate captaine of a bande of footemen, of those that came in with *Dion*. *Timoleon* in contrary maner was sent, to be generall of the SIRACVSANS, vpon their great instance and sute. And he hauing no neede or hunte after it, but onely to keepe the power and authoritie they dyd willingly put into his handes: so soone as he had destroyed and ouerthrowen all suche as woulde vniustly vsurpe the gouernment, he dyd immediately of his owne good wyll, franckly resigne vp his office and charge. And sure, so is this a notable thyng to be commended, and estemed in *Paulus AEmylius*: who hauing conquered so great and riche a realme, he neuer increased his goodes the value of one farthing, nether dyd see nor handle any mony at all, although he was very liberall, and gaue largely vnto others. I *The wõderful continencie of AEmylius from bribes.*

B meane not in speaking this to vpbrayde or detect *Timoleon*, for that he accepted a fayre house the SIRACVSANS gaue him in the citie, and a goodly mannor also in the countrie: for in such cases there is no dishonesty in receiuing, but so is it greater honesty to refuse, then to take. But that vertue is most rare and singuler, where we see they will receiue nor take nothing, though they haue iustly deserued it. And if it be so, that the body is stronger & better cõpoũded, which best abideth chaunge of parching heate, and nipping cold: and that the mynde is much more stronger and stable, that swelleth not vp with pride of prosperitie, nor drowpeth for sorowe in aduersitie. Then it appeareth, that *AEmylius* vertue was so much more perfect, in that he shewed him selfe of no lesse graue and constant a mynde, in the pacience he endured for his losse and sorowe happened vnto him: (losyng at one tyme in manner, both his children) then he

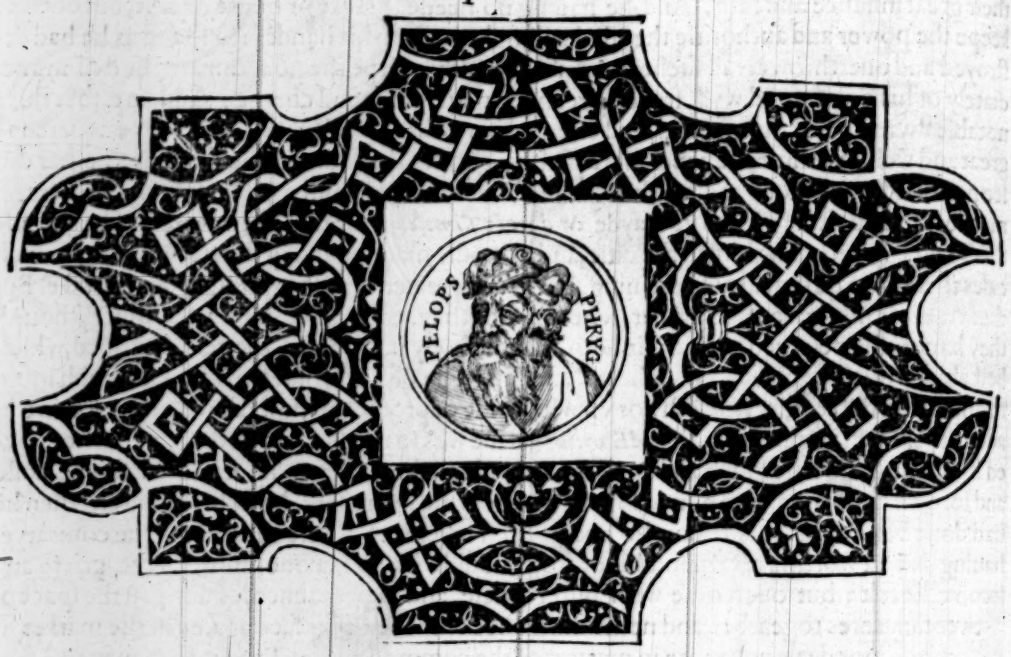
C had done before, in al his triumphe and greatest felicitie. VVhere *Timoleon* to the contrarye, hauing done a worthie act against his brother, could with no reasone suppresse the griefe and sorowe he felt: but ouercome with bitter griefe and repentaunce, continued the space of twentie yeeres togeather, and neuer durst once only shewe his face againe in the market place, nor deale any more in matters of the common weale. Truely, for a man to beware to doo euil, and to shonne from euil, it is a verie good and comely thyng: so also to be sorie, and a fearde of euerye reproche, and ill opinion of the worlde, it sheweth a simpleneſſe of nature, and a good and well disposed minde, but no manly corage.

Not to take giftes, commended for a singuler vertue.

AEmylius Constancie far exceeded Timoleons.

The ende of Timoleons life.

THE LIFE OF *Pelopidas.*



To be to bold & venturous is not good.

CAto the elder, aunſwered certaine on a time, that maruelouſly commended a bolde, a venturous, and deſperate man for the warres: that there was great oddes, to eſteeme manhodde ſo muche, and lyfe ſo litle. And ſurely it was wiſely ſpoken of him. The report goeth, that king *Antigonus* gaue paye to a ſouldier among other, that was very hardie and venturous, but he had a noughtie ſickly bodye. The king asked him one day, what he ayled to be ſo pale, and euill cullered? The ſouldier told him, he had a ſecret diſeaſe vpon him, that he might not tell him with reuerence. The king hearing him ſay ſo, commaunded his Phiſitions and Surgeons to looke to him, and if he were curable, that they ſhould heale him with all poſſible ſpeede: and ſo they dyd. After the ſouldier had his health againe, he would venter no more ſo deſperately in the warres, as he dyd before. Inſomuch, king *Antigonus* ſelfe perceiuing his ſlacknes, and drawing backe, rebuked him, and ſaid vnto him: that he wondred to ſee ſo great a chaunge and alteration in him. The ſouldier neuer ſhrinking at the matter, told him the troth plainely. Your ſelfe, and it pleaſe your maieſtie, is cauſe of my cowardlynes now, by healing my diſeaſe, that made my life lothſome to me. Much like were a SIBARITANS wordes, towching the life and manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS, That it was no maruaill they had ſuch a deſire to die in the warres, ſeeing they did it to ridde them ſelues of their troubles, and moſt miſerable and ſtraight life. But we muſt not wonder though the SYBARITANS, being womaniſh men, and altogeather geuen to pleaſure, did ſo thinke: that thoſe men hated their liues, who feared not death, for the deſire they had to doo good, and goodwill they had to doo their duetie. Which was contrarie in the LACEDÆMONIANS. For they were of opinion, that to liue and die willingly, was a vertue: as theſe funerall verſes doo witneſſe.

The aunſwere of a ſouldier to king Antigonus.

Diuers opinions of life & death.

The dead vvhich here doe reſt, did not in life eſteeme,
that life or death vvere (of them ſelues) or good or bad to deme.
But euen as life did end, or death vvas brought to paſſe,
ſo life or death, vvas good or bad, this their opinion vvas.

And

A And in deede to flye death, is no ſhame, ſo it proceede not of a cowardly hart: nether to deſire death is commendable, if it be with contempt and hate of life. This is the reaſon why *Homer* ſaith, the valliantest men are euer best armed, when they come to battaile. The lawe makers among the GREECIANS, doo euer puniſhe him that caſtes away his target, but neuer him that caſteth away his ſworde or lawnce. For euery man muſt firſt thinke to defende him ſelfe, before he ſeeke to hurt his enimie, and ſpecially ſuch as haue the whole ſtate of a realme in their handes, and be generalles of the feeld. For if the compariſon be true, that *Iphicrates* the ATHENIAN captaine made, that in an armie of men, the light horſemē reſemble the handes, the men of armes the feete, the battaill of footemen the ſtomake & breſt, the captaine, the head of a mans body: it ſeemeth then, that the venturous captaine putting B him ſelfe in daunger with out cauſe, is not onely careles of his owne life, but alſo of all theirs whoſe liues depende vpon his ſaftie. As contrarily, he being carefull of his owne perſon, cannot but be carefull of his ſouldiers that ſerue vnder him. Therefore *Callicratidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine, and a woorthie man otherwiſe, did vnwiſely aunſwere a ſoothſaier that bad him take hede to him ſelfe: for the ſignes and tokens of the ſacrifices did threaten his death. *Sparta*, ſaid he, ſtandeth not vpon one man alone. It is true, that to fight by ſea or by land man for man, *Callicratidas* was but one man of him ſelfe: but as captaine or lieuetenaunt generall, he had the whole power and force of the armie in his perſon. For he was not a man alone, when ſo manie mens liues were loſt with his. Now olde *Antigonus* was of a contrary minde. For he being redie to geue battell by ſea, about the Ile of ANDROS, made a better C aunſwer to one that ſaid vnto him: his enemies had moe ſhippes then him ſelfe. For how many ſhippes doeſt thou recken then my ſelfe, ſaid he? Therein he did wiſely to make great accompt of the worthines of a generall, ſpecially when it is ioyned with hardines, and experience. For the chiefeſt poynte of ſeruice, is to ſaue him, that ſaueth all other. For when *Chares* on a time ſhewed the ATHENIANS openly, the ſundrie woundes and cuttes he had receiued apō his body, & his target alſo thruſt through with many piks: *Timotheus* ſtraight ſaid vnto him, *Chares*, I am not of thy minde. For when I did beſege the citie of SAMOS, I was aſhamed to ſee a darte throwne from the walles, light hard by me, for that I ſhewed my ſelfe a raſhe young man, and more venturous then became a generall of ſo great an armie. For when it ſtandeth much apon the whole armie, and that it is neceſſarie the generall thereof doo put D him ſelfe in daunger: then he ſhould put him ſelfe forwarde, and occupie both handes and body without reſpect, not regarding their wordes that ſay, a good wiſe captaine ſhoulde die for age, or at the leaſt old. But where there is ſmal honor to be woone by very good ſucceſſe, and contrariewiſe muche loſſe and diſtruction by great miſfortune: no man of wiſedome or iudgement would wiſh a generall, to fight as a priuate ſouldier, to hazard the loſſe of a generall. I thought good therefore to make this preface before the liues of *Pelopidas*, and of *Marcellus*, both which were woorthie men, and died otherwiſe then they ſhoulde. For they both were valliant ſouldiers in the fielde, and did both of them honor their contrie with famous victories, and ſpecially againſt great and dreadfull enemies. For the one was the firſt (as they E ſaie) that ouerthrewe *Hanniball*, who was neuer ouercome by any before. And the other alſo ouercame the LACEDÆMONIANS in battell, that ruled al GREECE at that time both by ſea and by land. Yet they both careleſly loſt their liues, by venturing to boldely: when their contrie ſtoode in greateſt neede of ſuche men and captaines, as they were. This is the cauſe, why we folowing the reſemblaunce that was betweene them, haue compared their liues together. *Pelopidas*, the ſonne of *Hippoclus*, came of one of the nobleſt houſes of the citie of THEBES, as *Epaminondas* did. He being brought vp in great wealth, his father left him heire of all his landes and goodes, being but a young man. So he ſtraight ſhewed him ſelfe willing to doo good with his monie, to thoſe that needed helpe, and were worthie: to let the worlde F ſee, that his monie was not his maiſter. For as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, of theſe rich men, the moſt part of them do not vſe their goods, for extreame couetouſnes: other againe doo abuſe them, as being geuen to ouermuche pleaſures. So riche men became ſlaues all their life time, ſome to pleaſure, other to profit. Now, al *Pelopidas* other frendes woulde be beholding to him, and take very thanckfully his curteſie and liberalitie towardes them. But *Epaminondas* could neuer

why the Greecians do punish him that casteth away his target.

Iphicrates comparison of an armie of men.

A lieuetenans of an armie must be careful to saue him selfe.

Timotheus saying.

Pelopidas & Marcellus losi both their liues, by to much venturing.

Pelopidas stock & liberalitie.

Aristotles saying of rich men.

be brought to any thing at his handes. Howbeit *Pelopidas* selfe folowed *Epaminondas* maner: A
for he tooke a pride and pleasure to goe simply appareled, to fare meanely, to labor willingly, and to make warres openly as he did. He was euen such another, as *Euripides* the Poet described *Capaneus* to be: when he said of him:

He rich and vvelthie vvas, yet vvas he therevvithall,
no vvright that purchast vvorldly hate, nor insolent at all.

For he would haue been ashamed, that the poorest man of the cittie of THEBES, shoulde haue worne meaner apparell apon his backe, then himselfe. As for *Epaminondas*, his pouertie was not daintie to him, bicause his parentes were euer poore: and yet for all that he passed it ouer more easely, by studie of Philosophie, which he gaue him selfe vnto, and for that from his youth he liked to leade a spare life without excesse. Where *Pelopidas* matched B
in a noble house, and maryed highly, and had two children by his wife: neuertheless he had no minde to keepe or increase his goodes the more for that, but gaue him selfe altogeather to serue the common weale as long as he liued. By reason whereof his wealth decaied, and his best frendes grewe angrie with him, telling him how he did not well to make no more reckoning of a thing that was so necessarie, as to haue goodes. And he aunswered them: In dede they are necessarie, I doo confesse it, but yet for suche a one, as this poore, lame, and blynd man that standeth by. They both were a like borne to all vertue, sauing that *Pelopidas* tooke most pleasure in exercise of his body and strength, and *Epaminondas* in the exercise of his wit and learning. So as the pastyme eche of them tooke when they were at leasure, was, that the one delighted to wrastle, and to hunte, and liked any kinde of exercise of his body: and C
the other to heare, to studie, and alwaies to learne some thing of Philosophie. But among all the excellent giftes and good partes in either of them, and that most wanne them honor and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and singularly noted of wise men, for the perfect loue and frendshippe that was euer inuyolably kept betwene them, vntil their deathes: hauing been ioyned togeather in so many battels, warres, charges of armies, and otherwise in matters of state and gouernment. For if a man will consider, and looke into the doinges of *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, and *Cimon*, of *Pericles*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades*, how full of dissentions, enuies, & suspicions they were one against another in gouerning the common weale: and againe will consider the loue, honour, and kindnesse, that continued alwaies betwext *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*: no doubt they will saie these two are more worthie to be D
called brethren in warre, (as they saie) and companions in gouernment, then any of them we haue named before, whose care and studie was alwaies rather to ouercome one another, then to ouercome their enemies, and the onely cause thereof was their vertue. For their actes shewed they did not seeke glorie, nor riches for them selues (the couetousnes whereof doth allwaies breede quarrelles and enuy) but both of them from the beginning fell one in loue with an other, with a great kindenes and estimation of them selues, to see their contrie florishe, and growe to great honor through their seruice, and in their time: and so they reckoned all the good exploytes both of the one and the other, that tended to that ende, as their owne. The most part of writers thinke, this great and earnest loue thone did beare to an other, did growe first betwene them, in a iorney they made togeather vnto MANTINIA, to E
ayde the LACEDÆMONIANS, that were at that time confederates of the THEBANS. For they being both set in battell raye, one hard by another among the footmen, against the *Arcadians* that stoode before them: it fortuned that the point of the battell of the LACEDÆMONIANS in the which they were, gaue backe, and many of them ranne away. But they determyning to die rather then to flye, stoode close together, and fought with the enemies that came apon them: vntyll such time as *Pelopidas* being hurt in seuen places before, fell downe at the last vpon a heape of dead bodies, aswell of their owne souldiers, as of their enemies, euen one apon an other. Then *Epaminondas* thinking he had ben slaine, stept notwithstanding before him to defend his body & armor, & he alone fought against many, being willing to die, rather then to forsake *Pelopidas* lying amongest the dead bodies: vntyl him selfe F
being thrust into the brest with a pyke, and sore cut on his arme with a swoorde, was euen ready to geue ouer, when *Agesipolis* (king of the LACEDÆMONIANS,) came with the other

poynt

Pelopidas saying for the necessitie of monie.

The perfit frendshippe betwixt Pelopidas & Epaminondas.

The true cause of frendshippe.

Agesipolis, king of the Lacedæmonians.

A poynt of the battell in happie howre, who ſaued both their liues paſt all hope. Now after this battell, the LACEDÆMONIANS both in wordes and deedes did curteouſly intreate the THEBANS, as their frendes, and confederates. Notwithſtanding, in troth they beganne to feare the power and great corage of that cittie, and ſpecially the faction and aſſociates *Iſmenias* & *Androclidas* had ſet vp, whereof *Pelopidas* alſo was a cõpanion: bicauſe they thought it was populer, and inclined muche to deſire libertie. VVhereupon *Archias*, *Leontidas*, and *Philip*, al three great welthie men of the cittie of THEBES, and miſliking to be equall with other cittizens: did perſwade *Phæbidas*, a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that going and comming through the contrie of BOEOTIA with an armie, he would one day aſſaie to take the caſtell of THEBES called CADMEA, and driuing thoſe out of the cittie that would reſiſt him, he would B put the gouernment of the ſtate into the hands of a fewe of the nobleſt perſones, who would be at the deuotion of the LACEDÆMONIANS, & obey them in all thinges. *Phæbidas* brought it to paſſe, and did worcke his feate before the THEBANS miſtruſted any thing, apon a holy day called THESMOPHORIA. After he had wonne the caſtell, he apprehended *Iſmenias*, and ſent him to LACEDÆMON, where ſhortly after they put him to death. *Pelopidas*, *Pherenicus*, and *Androclidas*, with many other, ſaued them ſelues by flying, and were baniſhed THEBES by ſounde of Trompet. *Epaminondas* taried ſtil in THEBES, and no man tutched him, for they made ſmall accompt of him, bicauſe he was altogether geuen to his booke: and though his goodwill had ſerued him to haue done ſome feate, his pouertie made him vnable to doo any thing. The LACEDÆMONIANS vnderſtanding of the taking of the caſtel, did ſtraight put C *Phæbidas* out of his charge, and ſet a fine of a hundred thowſand DRACHMES apon his head: but yet they kept ſtill the caſtell of CADMEA in their handes with a great garriſon. All the other citties and people of GREECE did wonder much at it, that they ſhould allowe the fact, and puniſhe notwithſtanding the doer. So the THEBANS hauing loſt their auncient libertie, and being made ſubiect by both theſe, *Archias*, and *Leontidas*, ſo as all hope was taken from them euer to winde out of this tyrannie, or at any time to ouerthrowe it, ſeing it was maintained and defended by the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that they coulde not poſſibly take from them all the ſeigniorie and dominion they had throughout GREECE, aſwell by ſea as by lande: *Leontidas* and his followers notwithſtanding, when they vnderſtoode that they who were baniſhed frõ THEBES, were very wel receiued & entertained of the people at ATHENS, D and much made of alſo of the nobilitie, they ſought ſecretly by treaſon to haue them kylled. To do this feate, they ſent certaine men vnknowen vnto ATHENS, who by treaſon ſlue *Androclidas*, howbeit they miſſed the kylling of the other. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS wrote to the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould not receiue ſuche as were baniſhed from THEBES, nor that they ſhoulde fauor them, but driue them out of their cittie, as thoſe which by their allyes were luſtly proclaimed common enemies. The ATHENIANS notwithſtanding, being men alwaies ciuilly geuen, and inclined in nature to humanitie, as being borne and bred vp withall, and very deſyrous beſides to requite the THEBANS curteſy, who had bene the chiefeſt meanes and doers in reſtoring againe the populer ſtate and gouernment at ATHENS: they would by no meanes offer the THEBANS any ſuch iniurie, ſeing they had E ſtabliſhed a lawe and decree, that if any ATHENIAN paſſing to and fro through the contrie of BOEOTIA, did beare armor againſt the thirtie tyrannes, that were gouernors and oppreſſors of the libertie of ATHENS, there ſhould no BOEOTIAN ſeeme to ſee, or knowe any thing therof. In the meane time *Pelopidas*, though he were of the younger ſort, did procure ſtill euery one that was baniſhed, to ſeeke the libertie of his contrie, and openly made an oration to them all, declaring, that it were not onely a cowardly part, but alſo a wicked offence to the goddes, if they would ſuffer their contrie to remaine ſo in cõtinuall bondage, & ſtraungers to inhabite it with a garriſon, to make them ſubiect to the yoke: and they in the meane time to be contẽted to ſaue thẽ ſelues, to liue delicately and idely at ATHENS, to ſtudie to doe what ſhal pleaſe the ATHENIANS to commaund thẽ, & to be affraide of the orators, & thoſe which through F eloquence can perſwade the common people to doo what they luſt. Therefore he perſwaded them that they ſhould hazard all, being a matter of ſo great weight, and take example of *Thraſybulus* noble corage and hardynes: who departing from THEBES, did driue out the ty-

Cadmea, the caſtel of Thebes, taken by Phæbidas captaine of the Lacedæmonians.

Ismenias death.

Pelopidas, Pherenicus and Androclidas, baniſhed from Thebes.

Archias and Leontidas, gouerners of Thebes, vnder the Lacedæmonians.

Androclidas ſlayne.

The thanckfulnes of the Athenians vnto the Thebans.

Pelopidas counſel for the libertie of the Thebans.

rannes that did oppresse ATHENS: and euen so, we departing from ATHENS, should seeke to A
deliuer *Thebes* also from bōdage. When he had by these perswasions drawen them to his opinion, they secretely sent vnto their frendes that remayned still in THEBES, to let them vnderstand their minde and determination: who all lyked very well of their purpose. Insomuche, CHARON that was the chiefest man among them, promised to lende them his house to assemble in. *Philidas* also founde meanes to be secretarie to *Philip* and *Archias*, who were gouerners & captaines of the city at that time for the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Epaminondas* on thother side making no shewe of any thing, had of longe time practised to styrre vp the corage of the younge men of THEBES. For when they were at any games or exercises of bodye, he woulde euer procure them to wrastle with the LACEDÆMONIANS. And after he sawe them reioyce when they had cast them, and that they were the stronger: he would chide them, B
& tell them they might be ashamed, for lacke of corage, to suffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to hold their noses to the gryndstone, that were nothing like to them in strength. Now, the confederates appointed a day certen, to breake the ise of their pretended enterprise, & agreed that *Pherenicus*, with other that were banished, shoulde tarie at the village of THRIASIVM, and that they should sende the valliaunteste and lusteste young men before, to geue the venter to enter the cittie: adding this therewithall, that if the enemies fortuned to surprise them, all the other of the conspiracie ioyntly togeather, should be ready to geue order, that their fathers, mothers, and children, should lacke nothing necessarie for them. *Pelopidas* was the first man offered him selfe to vndertake the enterprise: & after him *Melon*, *Damoclidas*, & *Theopompus*, all three, men of the greateste houses of THEBES, who loued maruelously togeather, and for no C
respect would euer offend one another, although from the beginning there was euer emulation among them for honor & glory, by striuing who should exceede other in vertue & valliantnes. Now they were twelue of them, who taking leaue of the rest, sent a foote post before to *Charon*, to aduertise him of their comming: and they them selues went on their iorney casting litle short clokes apon them, and taking houndes with them, and hunters staues in their handes, bicause their enterprise should not be mistrusted by those that met them on the way, and that they should thinke them hunters vp and downe the feildes for their pleasure. So, whē their messenger they sent came to the cittie, and had tolde *Charon* that they were comming: he neuer shronke from his worde, though the daunger towarde was great, but like a stowt and honest man did abide by his promise he made, and tolde him they should be most hartely welD
com to his house. But another man called *Hipposthenidas*, very honest otherwise, & one that loued his contry and the preseruation thereof, and a good frend of those also that were banished: fainting straight apon the sodaine report of these newes, and his minde was troubled, and his hart fayled him so, as his nose fell a bleeding, to thinke apon the greatnes of the instant daunger he was like to fal into, hauing neuer cast before with him selfe, how by this enterprise they shoulde put all the empire of the LACEDÆMONIANS in hazard of vtter destruction, and laye a plat besides to ouerthrowe all their owne common weale and state, by laying al their hope apon a fewe banished men, hardly able to wade through with their enterprise. Whereupon, so sone as he was come home, he secretly dispatched a messenger, one of his familliar frends, E
vnto *Melon* & *Pelopidas*, to will them they should deferre their enterprise for better oportunitie, & so to returne backe again to ATHENS. *Chlidon* was the man he sent of this message, who presently went home to his house: and taking his horse out of the stable, bad his wife fetche him the brydell quickly. The brydell not being readily to be founde, she told him she had lent it out to one of their neighbours. Then they fell a chiding togethe about it, and at length brake out to fowle wordes, and lastely his wife fell a cursing of him, and prayed the goddes he might haue ill lucke in his iorney, and those that sent him. *Chlidon* hauing spent the most part of the day, chiding and brawling with his wife about the brydell, and furthermore misliking the tokens of his wiues cursing and banning of him: he determined not to goe a foote out of the dores of that arrant, and so went about some other busines. Thus had this noble enterprise in manner bene altogeather dashed, before it was fully begonne. Now those that F
were in *Pelopidas* companie, chaunged apparell with the contrie men, bicause they woulde not be knowen, and did deuide them selues, for that they would not come into the cittie all togeather

Conspiracie against the Lacedæmonians, for the libertie of Thebes.

Charon keps promise, with daunger of life.

Pelopidas cōmeth into Thebes disgised in cloynes apparel.

A tõgether,but at diuers gates, beinge day light. At that time it was a meruelous winde and great ſnowe, and the weather was ſo boyſterous, that euery man got him within dores: which fell out happily for the conſpirators, that they were not knowen when they came into the cittie. So their frendes and confederates within the citie receaued them as they came, and brought them to *Charons* houſe: where were aſſembled together, with thoſe that were baniſhed, eight and forty perſones only. Now for the tyrans, thus ſtoode the matter with them. *Philidas* their ſecretary was of the conſpiracy, as we haue told you before, and he knewe all the practiſe. Wherefore he had longe before ſolemnely bidden *Archias* and his companie, to ſupper to his houſe that verie night, to be mery together, & had promiſed to entertaine them with women to welcome them with all: of purpoſe, that when they had in their full cuppes, and were in the middeſt of all their
B pleaſure, the conſpirators might then vſe them as they woulde. So they beinge ſette at table, before they were ſped of their cuppes, one came to them, and told them truely of the treaſon (not the particularities, neither as a thinge certaine, but of a rumor onely that ranne abroade in the towne) howe the baniſhed men were hidden in *Charons* houſe. *Philidas* woulde haue paſſed the matter ouer. Howbeit *Archias* would nedes ſende one of his garde ſtraight for *Charon*, to commaunde him to come to him preſently. It was within night, and *Pelopidas* and his company prepared themſelues to worke their feate, being armed euery man, and their ſwords in their hands, when apon a ſodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the houſe runninge ſtraight to the gate, came backe againe afearde to tell them that it was one of *Archias* garde that came for *Charon*, to come immediatly to the gouernours. Then were they in doubt that their practiſe
C was diſcouered, & that they were all caſt away, before they coulde make any proofe of their valliantnes: notwithſtanding, they were all of opinion, that *Charon* ſhould obey the meſſage, & that he ſhould preſent himſelfe before the gouernors, to take away all ſuſpition from them. *Charon* of him ſelfe was a ſtout man, very conſtant, & reſolute in daunger for his owne perſone: yet it greued him much at that time, for feare the confederates ſhoulde ſuſpect him he hadde bewrayed thē, if ſo many honeſt citizens whom he had lent his houſe vnto, ſhould vnfortunately miſcarie. Therefore before he went out of his houſe, he went into his wiues chamber to fetch his ſonne, that was a goodly boy, but ſtrong as any boy of his age could be: ſo he brought him to *Pelopidas*, and prayed him, if he vnderſtoode that he had betrayed them any way, or otherwiſe had ſought their hurt, they ſhoulde then vſe his ſonne as an enemie, without any compaſſion towardes him.
D When the cõfederates ſaw the good zeale & true noble mind of *Charon*, they all fell a weping, and were angrie with him, that he ſhould thinke any of them ſo faint harted, or timerous, for any daunger coulde come to them, that they ſhoulde ſuſpect or accuſe him for any thinge: and therewith all they prayed him, not to leaue the boye with them, but rather to conuey him into ſome place out of the tyrans daunger, where he might be brought vp, that one day he might be reuenged of the wrong & iniurie they had done to them, and to their contrie. *Charon* aunſwered them, he woulde not take him away, & that he ſaw no life nor health more happy for him, then to dye with his father without infamy, and with ſo many honeſt men his frends. So after he had beſought the goddes to proſper them, and hadde encouraged and embraced euerie one of the confederators one after an other: He went to the gouernors, and ſtudied by the way ſo to frame
E his wordes and countenance, as though he ſhoulde ſeeme to thinke of any thinge elſe, then of that he purpoſed to do. When he came to *Philidas* dore that made the feaſt, *Archias* and *Philidas* him ſelfe came vnto him, and asked him: *Charon*, what are they (ſayd they) that are come into the city, and hidden in ſome houſe, with certaine citizens that do accompany them? *Charon* was ſomewhat abaſhed at the firſt, and asked them againe: what men be they? who are they that hides them in the citie? But when he perceiued that *Archias* coulde tell nothinge of certaintie, then he thought ſtraight that ſome man hadde informed them that was not priuie to the practiſe, but hadde hearde ſome thinge of it. Thereupon he willed them to take heede it was no falſe alarome, to make them afrayed: neuertheleſſe (ſayd he) I will enquire further of it: for at all aduenture it is good to be circumſpect in ſuch a caſe to be ſure. *Philidas* aunſwered him,
F he ſaid truely: and ſo he brought *Archias* backe againe into the hall, where he made him drinke deeper then before, ſtill entertaining the company with hope of the womens comming. *Charon* returning home againe, found all the cõfederats ready to attẽpt their enterpriſe, not as men that

Philidas ſecretary to the tyrans.

Pelopidas daunger.

reckened of their liues, nor that had any hope to preuaile: but as thoſe that were determined to dye valliantly, and to ſell their liues dearly. Now he truely tolde vnto *Pelopidas* onely, what was ſaid vnto him & the reſt: he told that *Archias* had ſent for him to ſpeake with him, of other matters. The ſtorme of the former daunger was ſcant blowen ouer, but fortune ſent them an other. For immediatly vppon talke had with *Charon* at the firſt, came a meſſenger from ATHENS, that brought a letter to the ſame *Archias*, written by the Biſhop of ATHENS at that time, called *Archias* alſo as him ſelfe, & was his old hoſte & frende: wherein he wrote not of ſimple coniecture, nor ſurmiſed ſuſpition, but the plaine conſpiracy in euery degree, as afterwards it fell out. So the meſſenger was brought to *Archias* that was dronke, and deliueringe him the letter, he ſaid vnto him. Sir, he that ſendeth you this letter, ſtraightly charged me to tel you, that you ſhould preſently read the contents thereof, becauſe it is a matter of great importance. *Archias* laughing ſayd vnto him: waighty matters to morow. So he tooke the letter and put it vp, & then fell againe to his tale he had begonne with *Philidas*. But euer after, the GREECIANS made this a common prouerbe among them: waighty matters to morrow. Now when the cõſpirators ſpied their time to go about their buſineſſe, they deuided them ſelues in two companies. *Pelopidas* and *Damoclidas* went with one company, to ſette vpon *Leontidas* and *Hypates*, becauſe they dwelt nere together: *Charon* and *Melon* with the reſt, went againſt *Archias* and *Philip*, beinge diſguiſed in womens apparell they had put vpon their priuy cotes, & wearing garlands of pyne apple and fyrre trees on their heads, that couered all their faces. So when they came to ſhew them ſelues at the hall dore where the bancket was made, they that were in the hall at the firſt ſight, thinking they had beene the women they looked for, beganne to ſhowte, and made great noyſe for ioye. But when the conſpirators caſt their eyes rounde about the hall to knowe thoſe which were at the table, they drew out their ſwordes, and ſet vppon *Archias* and *Philip* ouerthwart the table: then they ſhewed them ſelues what they were. Then *Phidias* bad his gueſtes he hadde bidden to the bancket with them, that they ſhoulde not ſtirre, for they ſhoulde haue no hurt: ſo ſome of them ſate ſtill. But the greateſt nomber of them woulde needes from the borde, to defende their gouernours. Howebeit bicauſe they were ſo dronke that they knewe not what they did, they were ſoone ſlaine with them. Now *Pelopidas* enterpriſe was not ſo eaſie. For they went againſt *Leontidas*, that was a ſober diſcrete man, and withall, hardy of his handes: and they found he was gone to bed, his dores were ſhut vp, and they knocked long before any man came to the dore. At the length, one of his men that hearde them rappe ſo hard, with much a do came to open the dore: but he had no ſooner thruſt backe the bolt of the dore, and beganne to open it, but they puſhed it from them with ſuch a force apon him altogether, that they layed him on the grounde, and went ſtraight to his maiſters chamber. *Leontidas* hearinge the noyſe of them that ranne vppe to him in ſuch haſt, preſently miſtruſted the matter: and leaping out of his bed, tooke his ſworde in his hande, but did forget to put out the lampes that burned in his chamber all night, for if they hadde beene out, they might eaſily haue hurt one an other in the darke. But the lampes giuinge cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber dore, and gaue *Cephiſodorus*, the firſt man that preſſed to enter apon him, ſuch a blowe with his ſword, that he dropped downe dead at his feete. Hauinge ſlaine the firſt man, he dealt with the ſeconde that came after him, and that was *Pelopidas*. The fight went hard betwene them two, bothe for that the chamber dore was verie ſtraight, as alſo for that *Cephiſodorus* body lying on the ground, did choke the comming in at the chamber. Notwithſtandinge, *Pelopidas* ouercame him in the ende, and ſlue him: and went from thence with his companie, ſtraight to *Hypates* houſe, where they got in, as they did into *Leontidas* houſe before. But *Hypates* knewe preſently what it was, and thought to ſaue him ſelfe in his neighbours houſes. Howbeit the conſpirators followed him ſo harde, that they cutte him of before he coulde recouer their houſes. Then they gathered together, and ioyned with *Melons* company, and ſent immediatly with all poſſible ſpeede to ATHENS, to the baniſhed THEBANS there, & cried through the city, liberty, liberty, arming thoſe citizens that came to them, with the armor & ſpoyles of their enemies, that were hanged vp in common vawtes, & armorers ſhops about *Charons* houſe, which they brake open, or cauſed to be opened by force. On the other ſide, *Epaminondas*, and *Gorgidas*, came to ioyne with them, with a company of young men & honeſt olde men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon, the whole citie

was

Archias Biſhop of Athẽs, bewraieth the treaſon to Archias in a letter.

Waighty matters to morrow. Prou. Pelopidas killeth the tyrans.

The liberty of the Thebans reſtored.

was ſtraight in an vprore & tumult, & euery houſe was full of lights, one running to an other to know what the matter was. Neuertheles the people did not yet aſſemble together, but euery one being amazed, muſing at this ſtur, not vnderſtāding the troth, ſtaied vntill day came on, that they might call a counſell. But truely herein, me thinkes the Captaines of the garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS were greatly in fault, that they did not ſturre betimes, & ſet vpon thē incontinently: conſideringe they were xv. hundred ſouldiers, beſides a great number of citizens that would haue come, one after an other to take their partes. But the great noyſe they heard, made them afeard, & to ſee lights in euery mans houſe, & the people running vp & down the ſtreets in great multitudes to & fro: wherupon they ſtirred not, but only kept thē within the caſtel of CADMEA. The next morninge by breake of day, came the other banished THEBANS from ATHENS very wel armed, & al the people of THEBES drew together in counſail. Thither did *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* bring *Pelopidas*, & his cōſorts, & preſented thē before the people, cōpaſſed about with prieſts & the profeſſed of the city, offering them crownes to put vpon their heads, & they praied the aſſembly of the citizens, that they would help their gods, & their contrie. Al the people that were preſent, whē they ſaw them, roſe vp, & ſtoode on their feete, & with great ſhowtes & clapping of hands receiued thē, as their ſauiours, that had deliuered their contry frō bondage, & reſtored them again to liberty: & therupon, before them al, euen in the market place, by the whole voice & conſent of the people, they choſe *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, & *Charon*, gouernors & captaines of all BOEOTIA. *Pelopidas* then immediatly made them beſiege the caſtell of CADMEA about, with trenches, & force of wod, doing al he could poſſible to winne it, & to expulſe the LACEDÆMONIANS, before any ſupply & aide came to them frō SPARTA. So he did, & preuēted it ſo ſodainly, that the garriſon being departed out of the caſtel by cōpoſition, as they returned towards LACEDÆMONIA, they found *Cleombrotus* king of SPARTA in the contry of MEGARA, comming towards thē with a great army to help thē. Afterward, of the three captaines which had charge of their garriſon that lay at THEBES, the SPARTANS condēned two of them to death: *Hermippidas*, & *Arciſſus*, were preſently executed: & the third captaine, *Dyſacridas*, they ſet ſo greeuous a fyne on his head, that he wēt out of PELOPONESVS. This enterpriſe being attēpted, & executed with the like valiantnes, & the ſame daūger & trouble, that *Thraſybulus* practiſe was, whē he deliuered ATHENS from the ſlauery of the thirty gouernors & tyrans, & hauing the like fortune, & happy ende: the GRÆCIANS termed it coſyn german to *Thraſybulus* act. And in deede it were a harde matter to find two other ſuch, beſides thē two, that with ſo few mē ouercame their enemies, being many moe in nōber then thē ſelues, or that with ſo ſmall help did ouercome thoſe that were of ſo great force, or that performed their enterpriſe with their only valiantnes & wiſedō, & were cauſe beſides of ſo great bleſſing & benefit to their contry, as *Pelopidas* & *Thraſybulus* attēpt was. But the great chaūge & alteracion of the ſtate afterwards, did make their actes farre more noble & famous. For the warre that ouerthrew the maieſtie of SPARTA, & that tooke away al the ſeigniorie & rule of the LACEDÆMONIANS bothe by ſea & by land, beganne the very ſame night, when *Pelopidas* him ſelf making the twelut perſon, & entring into a priuate houſe, (taking nether citie, nor caſtel, nor ſtronge hold) to tel truly by figuratiue ſpeach, did breake & cut in ſonder the linkes & chaynes that lincked ſtraight together, & ſtrēgthened the LACEDÆMONIANS whole empire & monarchie ouer al GREECE: who vntil that preſēt time were thought ſo ſtrong, as no poſſibilitie could breake or ſonder them. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuning afterwards to inuade the cōtry of BOEOTIA with a mighty army: the ATHENIANS trēbling for feare of their great power, did vtterly leaue to protect thē, & renounced the league & alliance they had made before with them. And moreouer, they did ſtraightly proſecute law againſt thoſe, that were accuſed to take part with the BOEOTIANS: wherof ſome of thē were put to death, other were baniſhed from ATHENS, & the reſt condēned in great ſummes of money. To be ſhort, euery man ſayd the THEBANS were but vndone, conſidering they had no help, & were beloued beſides of none. At that preſēt time it fel out *Pelopidas* & *Gorgidas* were generals ouer al BOEOTIA for that yere, who deuiſing to throw a bone betwixt the ATHENIANS & the LACEDÆMONIANS again, to make thē ſquare, they vſed this policie. There was a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS called *Sphodrias*, a valliāt mā, but elſe of ſmal capacity, & vainly giuē, hauing a certē fond ambitiō & humor, perſwading him ſelfe he had done ſome notable good ſeruice in his time. This *Sphodrias* was left in the city of THESPIES, with a great band of ſouldiers, to receaue & fauor al the BOEO-

Pelopidas receiueth the Caſtell of Cadmea by Compoſition.

Pelopidas ouerthrew the ignorance of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas policy to make the Athenians fall out againe with the Lacedæmonians.

TIANS, that had a minde to reuolte frō the THEBANS. *Pelopidas* of him ſelfe ſent a marchaunt, (a very frende of his) vnto *Sphodrias*, with a great ſome of money from him, and certaine perſwaſions withall, which preuailed more then the money, wiſhinge him to attempt ſome greater matter, & to ſeke to winne the hauen of PIRAEA: a thing ſoone wonne, if he came to aſſault it on the ſodaine, & the rather, for that the ATHENIANS miſtruſte nothinge, neither keepe watch nor ward there. Moreouer, that he might aſſure himſelfe, nothinge coulde be better welcome to the lords of LACEDÆMONIA, thē to make them lords of the city of ATHENS alſo. And againe, that the THEBANS, being at deadly foode with the ATHENIANS, for that they had betraied & forſakē them in their nede, would not aide nor ſuccor thē in any reſpect. *Sphodrias* giuing to light eare to this vaine perſwaſion, tooke the ſouldiers he had with him, and marching away by night, entred the realme of ATTICA, & wēt on to the city of ELEVSIN: but whē he came thither, his ſouldiers were afeard, & would go no further. So his purpoſe beinge diſcouered, he was forced to returne backe to THESPIES, hauing raiſed ſuch a warre to the LACEDÆMONIANS, as fel out to be of no ſmall importance to them, nor eaſie to be pacified. For after that time, the ATHENIANS ſought league & amity againe with the THEBANS, & did aide them very louingly: & moreouer, putting them ſelues to ſea, they ſailed vp & downe, procuring & drawing to their league all ſuch, as were willing to rebell againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS: & the THEBANS beſides, had many prety skirmiſhes with the LACEDÆMONIANS in the meane time, in their own cōtry of BOEOTIA. It is true they came to no great battels, but yet it was ſuch a great learning & cōtinual training of them in marſhall diſcipline, as the THEBANS ſtil increaſed in corage & valliantnes, & waxed ſtronger & better ſouldiers: for by thoſe skirmiſhes they grewe not onely expert ſouldiers, but waxed more skilfull in vſing their weapons, then before. As we read, that *Antalcidas* a SPARTAN ſaid one day to king *Ageſilaus*, cōminge home ſore hurt frō BOEOTIA: ſurely the THEBANS haue giuen you a worthy reward, for teaching thē to be ſouldiours againſt their wils. But to ſay truly, *Ageſilaus* was not their maiſter to teache thē to make wars, but they were the good & wiſe leaders of the THEBANS, who like good wod mē in chooſing their game, could skilfully chooſe both time & place to giue their enemies battel, & make thē retire again with ſafety, after they had bin fleſhed, giuing thē a litle taſt of the frutes & cōmodity of victory: but among thē, *Pelopidas* was he that deſerued moſt honor and glory. For, ſince the firſt time they gaue him charge of men of warre, they neuer failed, but choſe him continually euery yeare, either Captaine of the holy bande, or gouernor of BOEOTIA ſo long as he liued: ſo that *Pelopidas* only did the moſt things in this warre. The LACEDÆMONIANS were ouerthrowē in ſundry iorneis, that they were diſtreſſed by the cities of PLATEES, & of THESPIES, where *Phœbidas* himſelfe (that had before taken the caſtell of CADMEA) was ſlaine amongſt other. An other great power of theirs alſo was ouerthrowen nere to the city of TANAGRA, where *Panthoidas* gouernor of the ſame, was alſo ſlaine. Now all theſe victories, though they much encoraged the hearts of the conquerors, & made thē hardy: yet did they not therby altogether cōquer the mindes of the vanquiſhed. For the LACEDÆMONIANS were not ouercome in any pitched field, nor ſet battel, where they had their whole army together: but they were light rodes, & skirmiſhes properly laid of purpoſe, where ſomtime flying, ſomtime driuing thē againe, they bickered very oft, & put thē to the worſt. But the battell of TEGYRA, which was but a floriſh & proſe to the iourney of LEVCTRES, wan *Pelopidas* great honor. For he had no cōpanō to chalēge any part of his glory & victory, neither did he leaue his enemies any lawful excuſe, to ſhadow or couer their ouerthrow. For he ſpied al occaſiō he might poſſible, how to take the city of ORCHOMENE, that tooke part with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and had receiued two enſignes of footemen of theirs to kepe it. *Pelopidas* being aduertiſed one day, that the garriſon of ORCHOMENE was gone abroad to make a rode into the contrey of the LOCRIDES, hoping he ſhuld finde ORCHOMENE without garriſon: he marched thither with his holy band, & certaine nūber of horſemē. But whē he drew neere the city, he had intelligēce there was another garriſon cōming frō SPARTA, to ſupply the place of the garriſon that was abroad: wherupō he returned backe againe by the city of TEGYRA, for he could haue paſſed no other way, but to haue turned down by the foote of the moūtaine. For al the valley that lay betwen both, was drowned with the ouerflowing of the riuer of MELAS, which euē frō his very hed carieth euer ſuch bredth with it, as it maketh the mariſhes nauigable, ſo as it is vnpaſſable for any ſhallow it hath. Not far frō theſe mariſhes, ſtādeth the tēple of *Apollo* TEGYRIAN, where was an oracle in old time, but left of at this

The Thebans exerciſe in armes.

Antalcidas ſaying to king Ageſilaus.

The victory of the Thebans againſt the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas victory of the Lacedæmonians at the battell of Tegyra.

Melas fl.

this day, & had neuer long continuance, but only vntill the time of the warres of the MEDES, when *Echecrates* was maister and chiefe priest there. And some holde opinion, that *Apollo* was borne there: for they cal the next mountaine to it, DELOS, at the foote wherof the marishes of the riuer of MELAS doo end, and behinde the temple are two goodly springes, from whence commeth great abowndance of good sweete water: whereof the one of them is called to this day the Palme, and the other the Oliue. And some say also, that the goddesse *Latona* was not brought to bed betwene two trees, but betwene these two springes. For mownt PTOVM is hard by it also, from whence the wilde bore came on a sodaine that flighted her. And the tale that is tolde of the serpent *Pytho*, and of the gyaunt *Tityus*, doo both confirme it, that *Apollo* was borne in the same place. I passe ouer manie other coniectures confirming the same, for that we doo not beleue in oure contrie that *Apollo* is among the nomber of those, who from mortall men haue beene transiated to immortall goddes, as are *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, that through the excellencie of their vertue, did put of mortalitie, and tooke immortality apon them: but we rather take him for one of those that neuer had beginninge nor generation, at the least if those thinges be to be credited, which so many graue and auncient writers haue left in writing to vs, touching so great and holy things. The THEBANS returning backe from ORCHOMENE, and the LACEDÆMONIANS on the other side returning also from LOCRIDE, both at one time, they fortuned both armies to mete about the citty of TEGYRA. Now, so sone as the THEBANS had discouered the LACEDÆMONIANS passing the straite, one of them ranne sodainely to *Pelopidas*, and tolde him: Sir, we are fallen into the handes of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, aunswered *Pelopidas* againe? with these wordes, he commaunded his horsemen that were in the rereward, to come before, and sett apon them: and him selfe in the meane time put his footemen immediately into a pretie squadron close togeather, being in all, not aboue three hundred men, hoping when he should come to geue charge with his battell, he should make a lane through the enemies, though they were the greater nomber. For the LACEDÆMONIANS deuided them selues in two companies, and euery company, as *Ephorus* writeth, had fiue hundred men: and as *Callistenes* sayed, seuen hundred. *Polybius*, and diuers other authors saye, they were nyne hundred men. So, *Theopompus* and *Gorgoleon*, the Captaynes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, lustely marched agaynst the THEBANS: and it fell out so, that the first charge was geuen, where the chiefetaynes or generalles were of either side, with great furie on eyther parte, so as both the generalls of the LACEDÆMONIANS which sett vppon *Pelopidas* together, were slayne. They being slayne, and all that were about them, being either hurt or killed in the fielde: the rest of the armie were so amased, that they deuided in two, and made a lane on either side, for the THEBANS to passe through them if they would. But when they saw *Pelopidas* ment not to take the passage they offered him, and that he came on still with his men to set apon those that were yet in battel raye, and slue all them that stoode before him: then they turned tayle, and tooke them to their legges. Howbeit the THEBANS did not chase them farre, fearing the ORCHOMENIANS who were not farre from them, and the new garrison besides, that were come from LACEDÆMON not long before. And this was the cause they were contented that they had ouercomed them by force, and had passed through their armie in despite of them, and broken and ouerthrowen them. So when he had set vp markes of triumphe, and spoyled their slayne enemies, they returned home againe, glad men for their obteyned victorie. For in all the warres the LACEDÆMONIANS euer made, aswell with the GRÆCIANS, as with the barbarous people also, there was neuer chronicle mencioned at any tyme, that their enemies being so fewe, did ouercome them that were so many, nor that they were ouercome also by any number equall in battell. Whereuppon they grewe so coragious and terrible, that no man durst once abyde them: for their onely fame did so terrifie their enemies that came to fight agaynst them, that they thought with no equall force to be able to performe asmuche as they had done. But this battell of TEGYRA was the first that made both them and the other GREECIANS knowe, that it was not the ryuer of EVROTAS alone, nor the valley that lyeth betweene the ryuers of CNACION, and of BABYCE, that breedeth the valiant and hardy fighting men: but that it is in all places elsse, where they learne young

Latona brought to bed betwene two springes called the Palme, and the Oliue.

Pelopidas victoria.

What enemies are moste terrible & to be feared.

men to be ashamed of dishoneſt and vyle thinges, and to venter their liues for honeſt cauſes, A
fearing more diſhonorable reproche, then honorable daunger. Theſe are the people moſt to
be feared, & are moſt terrible alſo to their enemies. And for the holy bād we mēcioned before,

The firſt inſtitution of the holie bande.

it is ſaide, *Gorgidas* was the firſt erector of the ſame. They were three hundred choſen men
entertained by the ſtate, and they alwaies kept within the caſtell of CADMEA, and the bande
was called the townes bande: for at that time, and ſpecially in that part of GREECE,
they called the caſtels and great holdes in cities, the townes. Other ſay it was a bande of
footemen that were in loue one with another. And therefore *Pammenes* pleaſaunt wordes
are noted, ſaiyng, that *Neſtor* coulde no skyll to ſet an armie in battell raye, ſeeing he gaue the
GREECIANS counſell, in the ILIADES of HOMER, that they ſhould ſet them in battel raye,
euery countrie and tribe by them ſelues: B

That by affections force, and lynkes of kyndly loue:
that one might alwaiſe helpe at hande, that other to behoue.

Men louing together, fight deſperately againſt their enemies.

For, ſaide he, one frende ſhould rather be ſet by another that loues togeather: bicauſe in
daunger, men commonly do litle regarde their contrie men, or ſuche as are of their tribe. But
men that doo loue one another, can neuer be broken nor ouercome: for the paſſion of loue
that entertaineth eche others affection, for affection ſake, dothe kepe them from forſaking
one another. And thoſe that are beloued, being aſhamed to doo any vyle or diſhoneſt thing
before thoſe that loue them, for very loue will ſticke one by another to the death. And ſure
the reaſon is good, if it be true that louers doo in deede more regard them they loue,
though they be abſent: then other that be preſent. As appeareth by the example of hym, C
that being ſtriken downe to the ground, his enemie lifting vp his ſwoorde to kyll him, he prai-
ed him he woulde geue him his deathes wounde before, leſt his frende that loued him, ſeeing

Hercules & Iolaus loue.

a wounde on his backe, ſhoulde be aſhamed of him. It is reported alſo, that *Iolaus* being be-
loued of *Hercules*, did helpe and accompanie him in all his labors and quarrels. Whereupon

Plato: ſaying of a louer.

Ariſtotle writeth, that vnto his time, ſuch as loued hartily togeather, became ſworne brethren
one to another, apon *Iolaus* tombe. And therefore me thinkes it is likely, that this bande was
firſt called the holy bande, by the ſelfe ſame reaſon that *Plato* calleth a louer, a diuine frende by
goddes appointment. It is written alſo, that this bande was neuer broken, nor ouerthrowen,
before the battel of CHAERONEA: After that battel, *Philip* taking vewe of the ſlaine bodies, he
ſtayed in that place where the foure hundred men of that bande laye all dead on the grounde, D
one harde by another, and all of them ſlayne and thruſt through with pikes on their breſtes,
whereat he wondred muche: and being tolde him that it was the louers bande, he fel a wee-
ping for pittie, ſaying. Wo be to them that thinke theſe men did, or ſuffered any euyll or
diſhoneſt thing. And to be ſhort, the miſſortune of *Laius*, that was ſlaine by his owne bro-
ther *Oedipus*, was not the firſt originall cauſe of this cuſtome, that the THEBANS beganne to
be in loue one with an other as the POETS write: but they were their firſt lawmakers, who per-
ceiuing them to be a ſtout & fierce natiō of nature, they ſought euen frō their youthe to make
them gentell and ciuill, and therefore in all their actions both of ſport and earneſt, they con-
tinually acquainted them with playing of the flute, beinge highly eſtemed of them in thoſe
dayes. They brought in the vſe alſo to make loue, in the middeſt of all their youthefull E

The Goddeſſe Harmonia.

ſportes & exerciſes of their bodies, to frame the young mens manners, and to bring them to
a ciuil lyfe. And therfore they had reaſō that gaue the goddeſſe HARMONIA to the THEBANS,
for defender and patroneſſe of their cittie, who was begotten (as they ſay) betwene *Mars* and
Venus. For that geueth vs to vnderſtande, that where force and warlike corage is ioyned with
grace, to winne and perſwade: all thinges by this vnion and accorde are brought, to a good-
ly, proffitable, and moſt perfect gouernment. Now, to returne againe to the matter of this
holy bande of the THEBANS. *Gorgidas* deuiding it in the former ranckes, and placing it all
alongeſt the fronte of the battell of the footemen, it did not appeare what they were able to
doo of them ſelues, for that he brought them not all into one body: ſo as thereby they might
ſee what ſeruice the whole companie coulde doo, being togeather, conſidering that it was F
deuided and mingled amongeſt manie other, that were a great deale of leſſe value then them
ſelues. But *Pelopidas* that had made good proofe of their valliauntnes before, when they fought

about

A about him of them ſelues, without others by them, at TEGYRA: woulde neuer after deuide nor ſeperat them one frō the other, but keeping them together as one entier body that had al his members, he would alwaies beginne with them to geue a charge, in his moſt daungerous battels. For, as we ſee in running of coches at games, that horſes being tyed all together in a fronte, doo runne faſter and ſtronger, then they doo when they are loſe, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many togeather doo breake through the ayer better, but for that the contention and enuy betweene them to outronne one another doth in dede ſet their hartes and ſtomakes a fyre. Euen ſo he thought, that valliaunt men geuing one another a deſire and enuie to doo well, ſhoulde haue the more corage, and woulde be of greater force, when they fought one in anothers ſight. But the LACEDÆMONIANS afterwardes being
B at peace and league with all the other GREECIANS, proclaymed open warres againſt the THEBANS onely: and kyng *Cleombrotus* went to inuade them with an army of tenne thowſande footemen, and a thowſande horſemen. Wherupon, the THEBANS were not only in the like daunger they ſtoode in before to loſe their libertie, but the LACEDÆMONIANS did openly threaten they would vtterly deſtroy them for euer: ſo that all the contrie of BOEOTIA ſtoode in greater feare, then euer they did before. And one day as *Pelopidas* went out of his houſe to goe to the warres, his wife bringing him out of the doores to take her leaue of him, weeping, ſhe praied him hartely to looke well to him ſelfe. But he aunſwered her againe: my good wife, it is for priuate ſouldiers to be carefull of them ſelues, but not for captaines, for they muſt haue an eye to ſaue others liues. And when he came to the campe, he
C founde the captaines and the Lieuetenantes of the armie, in ſundrie opinions: and he was the firſt that agreed with *Epaminondas* opinion, who thought it beſt they ſhoulde geue battell to the enemies. *Pelopidas* at that time was neither gouernor of BOEOTIA, nor general of the armie, but onely captaine of the holy bande: notwithſtanding they had great affiance in him, & gaue him great authoritie in coūſaile concerning their affaiers: ſuch as became a man that had made ſo good teſtimonie of his naturall loue & affection to his contrie, as he had done. Now, being determined in counſaile that they ſhoulde geue the enemie battell, they all muſtred together in the valley of LEVCTRES, where he had a viſion in his dreame, that troubled him verie muche. In that valley there are the tombes of the daughters of one *Scedaſus*, whiche by reaſon of the place, they call the LEVCTRIDES, for that they were
D buried there, after they had bene defyled and rauiſhed, by certaine gueſtes of the SPARTANS *that* laye in their houſe, trauayling that way. This act being ſo horrible and wicked, the poore father of theſe defiled virgines, coulde neither haue iuſtice, nor reuenge of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and therefore after he had bande and curſed the LACEDÆMONIANS with moſt horrible and execrable raylinges and curſes as might be poſſible, he kylled him ſelfe vpon the graues of his daughters. The LACEDÆMONIANS had many ſundrie oracles, prophecies & ſignes of the goddes to warne them, to take heede of the wrathe of the LEVCTRIDES: howbeit euerie man vnderſtoode not the ſignification of this prophecie, but were deceiued by the equiuocation of the name. For there was a litle towne in the contrie of LACONIA, ſtanding apon the ſea, called LEVCTRVM: and in ARCADIA alſo by
E the cittie of MEGALIPOLIS, there was another towne called by the ſame name. This miſfortune chaunced longe before the battell of LEVCTRES: but then *Pelopidas* dreaming in his tente, thought he ſawe in a viſion the daughters of *Scedaſus* weeping about their graues, and curſing the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that he ſawe their father alſo, commaunding him to ſacrifice a red mayden to his daughters, if they woulde obtaine the victorie. This commaundement at the firſt, ſeemed verie cruel and wicked: whereuppon when he roſe, he went to the Prognoſticators and generalles of the armie, and tolde them his dreame. So, ſome of them ſaide, this was no matter to be lightly paſſed ouer, but to be conſidered of, alledging manie examples in the like caſes. As of *Menecius* the ſonne of *Creon* in olde time, and of *Macaria* the daughter of *Hercules*. And yet of later memorie, the wife *Pherecydes*, whome the
F LACEDÆMONIANS ſlue, and whoſe ſkynne their kynges doo keepe at this daye, by commaundement of an oracle. And *Leonidas*, who following a prophecie of the goddes, did as it were ſacrifice him ſelfe, for the ſafetie of GREECE. And furthermore, the younge boyes

Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas princely aunſweare.

Sewhat plagues folowe where iuſtice is denied.

Pelopidas dreame & viſion in the fieldes of Leuctres.

which *Themiſtocles* did ſacrifice to *Bacchus Omeſtes* (to ſay, eating rawe fleſh) before the battell of *Salamina*. And all theſe ſacrifices were acceptable to the goddes, as the victories following did plainely ſhewe. In contrarie manner alſo kinge *Ageſilaus*, comminge from thoſe very places, from whence king *Agamemnon* came in the time of the warres of *Troia*, and going alſo againſt the ſame enemies: dreamed one night in the cittie of AVLIDE, he ſawe the goddeſſe *Diana*, aſking him his daughter for ſacrifice. But he tenderly louing her, would by no meanes perfourme it: and thereupon was compelled to breake of his iorney, before he had executed his enterpriſe, and departed with ſmall honor. Other to the contrarie ſtoode to it ſtowtely, and ſaide it was not to be done. For, ſo cruell, abhominable, and brutiſh a ſacrifice, could not be acceptable to any of the goddes, nor to any god, better or mightier than ours: conſidering that they be no impreſſions in the ayre, nor gyants that rule the world, but the one onely mightie & eternall God father of gods & men. And, to beleue that either goddes or demy goddes doo delite in murder, or ſheading of mans blood, it is a meere mockery and folly. But admit it were ſo, they were no more to be regarded therein, then thoſe that haue no power at all: yet it is a manifeſt token of a wicked ſpirite, when they haue ſuche damnable and horrible deſires in them, and ſpecially if they abide ſtyll with them. Now, the generalles and heads of the armie of the THEBANS being of ſondry opinions, & *Pelopidas* being more afraid then before, by reaſon of their diſagreement: a young mare colte, or fyllie, breaking by chaunce from other mares, ronning and flynging through the campe, came to ſtaye right againſt them. Then euery man beganne to looke apon her, and to marke what a faire fyllie it was, and red colored euery where, and what a pride ſhe tooke with her ſelfe to heare her owne neying. *Theocritus* then the ſoothſayer being amongeſt them, did beholde her, and knew ſtraight what the fyllie ment, and ſo cried out foorthwith: O happie *Pelopidas*, loe here is the ſacrifice thou lookeſt for, ſeeke no other virgine for thy ſacrifice, but take this that God him ſelfe doth ſend thee. When *Theocritus* had ſaide ſo, they tooke the fyllie, and laide her apon the tombe of *Sceda ſius* dawghters, and put garlandes of flowers about her, as they handled other ſacrifices: and then after their praiers made to the gods, they did ſacrifice her with great ioye, and told *Pelopidas* viſion in his dreame the night before through all the campe, and the ſacrifice they had made alſo according to the ſignification thereof. Moreouer, when they came to ioyne battell, *Epaminondas* being generall, drew all his army on the left hande, bicauſe he woulde bring the right winge of the enemies army (where they had placed the naturall SPARTANS) further from the other GREECIANS their frendes and allyes, that were ſet in the other wing of their battell: that he comming with his whole power together to geue a charge vppon *Cleombrotus* their king (being in a corner by him ſelfe) might be diſtreſſed or ouerthrowen. The enemies fynding *Pelopidas* intent, beganne to chaunge their order, and hauing menenowe, ment to thruſte out their ryght winge at length to compaſſe in *Epaminondas*. But *Pelopidas* in the meane time ſodainely preuented them, and ronning with great furie with his ſquadron of three hundred men, he ſet apon *Cleombrotus* before he coulde diſorder his men to put furth the right winge, and ioyne them together againe. And ſo he founde the LACEDÆMONIANS not yet ſetled in their rankes, and brake them in this diſorder, thruſting one in anothers place to put them ſelues againe in order: notwithſtanding the LACEDÆMONIANS of all other men were the only captaines, and moſt expert ſouldiers in marſhal diſcipline, as men ſo trained and practiſed, that no ſodaine altering of forme, or order in their rankes, coulde either trouble or diſorder them. For they were men ſo trained, that they could turne head or ſide vpon any ſodaine occaſion offered, and coulde fight and order them ſelues in battell euery way alike. So *Epaminondas* going to geue thonſet apon them alone, with the whole force of his battaile togeather, not tarrying for others: and *Pelopidas* alſo with an incredible corage and readines, preſenting him ſelfe in battell before them, did put them into ſuch a terrible feare, that they cleane forgotte their skill in fightinge, and their wonted courage fayled them. For they cowardly turned their backes, and there were moe LACEDAEMONIANS ſlaine that day, then euer were before in any former battell. *Pelopidas* therefore, being neither gouernor of BOEOTIA, nor general of all the army, but onely captaine of the holy band: did notwithſtanding winne as muche honor and glorie of this victorie, as *Epaminondas*, that

Ageſilaus dreame.

The battell at Leuctres.

The cauſe of the ouerthrow of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas victorie at the battaile of Leuctres.

was

was gouernor of BOEOTIA, and generall of all the armie. In dede afterwardes they were both gouernors of BOEOTIA together, when they inuaded the contrey of PELOPONNESVS: where they made moſt parte of the cities & people rebell againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and take their parte. As the ELIANS, the ARGIVES, and all ARCADIA, and the beſt parte of LACONIA ſelfe, notwithſtandinge it was in the hart of winter, and in the ſhorteſt dayes of the yeare, and towardes the latter ende alſo of the laſt moneth of their yeares authority and rule, hauing not many dayes to cõtinew in office, being forced to leaue their authority, apon paine of death if they did refuſe, vnto other officers new choſen, the beginning of the next moneth following. Whereupon their other companions, & gouernors alſo of the contrie of BOEOTIA, what for feare to incurre the daunger of the lawe, as alſo to auoyde the trouble to lye in campe in the ſharpeſt of winter: they did vrge and perſwade them to bring the armie backe againe into their contrie. But *Pelopidas* was the firſt that yeelded to *Epaminondas* opinion, and wanne the other THEBANS alſo to conſent vnto it, to be contented to be led by them, to geue aſſault to the city ſelfe of SPARTA. So, through their perſwaſion they paſſed ouer the riuer of EVROTAS, and tooke many litle townes of the LACEDAEMONIANS, & waſted & deſtroyed all the contrie to the ſea ſide, leading vnder their enſignes an armie of threeſcore and ten thowſande fightinge men, and all GREECIANS, the THEBANS not making vp the twelut parte of them. Now, the honor and great reputacion of theſe two perſones, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, brought their frendes and confederates, that they followed them, without any reſolution of counſell or publike order, and neuer opened their mouthes againſt them, but willingly marched vnder their conduction. And in my opinion, truely me thinkes it is the firſt and chiefeſt point in the lawe of nature, that he that is weake, not able to defend himſelfe, ſhould leane to one that is ſtrong, and able to defende bothe. Euen much like to freſhe water ſouldiers, and rawe ſea men, that lying at ſea in calme weather, & in ſafe harber, are as luſty & bragge with the maſters & boteſwaines as may be: and let a litle ſtorme of weather come apon them ſodainely, and that they be in any daunger, then they looke on the maſters, hoping for no life but at their handes. And euen in like maner the ELIANS and ARGIVES, who though in all aſſemblies of counſel they woulde euer iarre and ſtriue with the THEBANS, for honor and ſuperioritie in the armie: yet when any battell came to be fought, wherin they ſaw there was daunger, then their pecockes brauerie was gone, and they were glad to obey their generalles commaundement. In this iourney they brought all the cities of the prouince of ARCADIA to be in league with them, and tooke all the contrie of MESSENIA from the LACEDAEMONIANS, which they peaceably enioyed: and called home againe all the auncient inhabitantes of the ſame, and reſtored them to their contrie, and repleniſhed the citie of ITHOME: Then returninge afterwardes into their contrie by the citie of CENCHREES, they ouerthrew the ATHENIANS that came to trouble them, in entringe into the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, ſuppoſinge to haue ſtopped their paſſage. Thus was the valliantnes of theſe two worthy men greatly commended and honored of euery body, for ſo many notable exployts & victories as they had wonne, and their maruelous good ſucceſſe greatly wondered at. But as their glory and renowne increaſed abroade, ſo did their contrie mens malice and enuie encreaſe againſt them at home: who had prepared ſuch a welcome home for them, as was to bad and vile for ſo honorable ſeruice as they had done. For *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* bothe, at their returne, were accuſed of treaſon. For there was a ſpeciall law at THEBES, that commaũded all ſuch as ſhould happen to be gouernors of BOEOTIA, to reſigne their office immediatly to the new officers elect, at the beginning of the firſt moneth of the yeare, which in BOEOTIA they call BOVCATION: and they had kept it foure whole moneths aboue their tearme appointed, in which time they had done all that we haue ſpokẽ of before, as well in the prouince of MESSENIA & of ARCADIA, as alſo in the contrie of LACONIA. *Pelopidas* was the firſt of the two that was called in by proceſſe, therfore he ſtoode in the greater daũger: howbeit in the end, they were both diſcharged again. As for *Epaminondas*, he tooke his accuſatiõ & the attempt of his enemies (wherby they ſought to haue caſt them both away) quietly enough: Iudging, that pacience to thoſe that deale in ſtate and gouernment, is a great ſhew of force & magnanimitie. But *Pelopidas* being of a hotter nature, and more chollericke, and ſet on beſides by ſome of his friendes, did take this occaſion to

Pelopidas & Epaminondas iorney into Peloponneſus, being both gouernors of Bœotia.

A penall lawe at Thebes, for reſigning vp of offices at the yeers end.

Pelopidas & Epaminondas went ouer the riuer of Eurotas, with 70. thowſand mẽ.

The ingratitude of the Thebans, toward Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

The Lawe Boucation.

Epaminondas patience.

Pelopidas condemneth Meneclidas a seditious orator and accuser.

be reuenged. *Meneclidas* the orator was one of those that came into *Charons* house with *Pelopidas*, and *Melon*, but notwithstandinge the THEBANS did nothing honor him, as they did the rest. He taking this ill at their handes, being maruelous eloquent of speeche, but vitiously geuen otherwayes, and a man of a vile and mischieuous nature: did fondly abuse his eloquence, falsely accusinge those that were his betters, in honesty and credit. And not beinge contented with this first accusation, he practised so commonly, that he put *Epaminondas* one yeare from being gouernor of BOEOTIA, which he sued for: and moreouer he was euer against him in all matters of state he tooke in hande. But he coulde neuer bring *Pelopidas* out of fauour with the people: and therefore he sought to make bate betwixt him and *Charon*. For it is the common tricke of all spitefull persones, when they can not be thought so honest men as those whome they enuie: to go about to proue that they are not so honest and meete men, as those whome they preferre and commende. So, in all his orations he made to the people, he continually extolled and commended *Charons* noble actes and victories, and specially that victory aboue other, which the THEBANS wanne before the iorney of LEVCTRES, in a skirmish of horsemen, that was before the city of PLATEES, he hauinge charge of the same: of the which he woulde leaue this memory. *Androcydes* a CYZICENIAN and painter, was at a price with the THEBANS to painte them some other battell in a table, and he did drawe this worke in the citie selfe of THEBES: but as he was in hand with all, the rebellion of the THEBANS fell out against the LACEDAEMONIANS, and warre followed on the necke of that, whereuppon the painter forsooke THEBES, leauinge his worke in manner done and perfitte. The THEBANS kept this table by them, and this *Meneclidas* moued the people they woulde hange it vp in some temple or publicke place with an inscription apon it, sayinge thus. This was *Charons* victorie, of purpose to deface and obscure the glorie of *Pelopidas* and of *Epaminondas*. To vaine and fond was his ambition, to set before so many noble battells and victories, one simple ouerthrowe of *Charon*, in the which *Gerandas*, one of the meanest gentlemen of all SPARTA was slayne, and forty other with him: & this was all he did. *Pelopidas* misliked *Meneclidas* motion, maintaining that it was directly against the lawes of THEBES, which did expresly forbid that no priuate person should be honored with the title of common victorie, but willed the glory thereof should be attributed to all the people generally. In dede *Pelopidas* in all his orations did greatly praise and commend *Charon*, notwithstandinge, he made open proofe, howe *Meneclidas* was an enuious and spitefull detractor, and a naughty wicked man, oftentimes askinge the THEBANS, if they themselues were worthy of no honor? so as in the end he caused *Meneclidas* to be condemned in a great summe of money. But he finding him selfe vnable to pay it, beinge so great a summe: practised afterwardes to alter the whole state and gouernment. I thought good to dilate this at large, bicause me thinkes it doth somewhat declare *Pelopidas* nature, and maners, what they were. Now about that time, *Alexander*, the tyran of PHERES, was at open warres with many people of THESSALIE, and did vse all policie he coulde, to bringe them all to his obedience. Whereupon the free cities sent their Ambassadors vnto THEBES, to pray them to send them a captaine, with an armie to aide them. Then *Pelopidas* seeinge *Epaminondas* occupied about the warres of PELOPONNESVS, did offer himselfe to the THESSALIAN Ambassadors, beinge lothe to drowne his experience and sufficiency in warres, with vnprofitable and tedious idlenes, knowing that in those partes where *Epaminondas* lay, there neded no other captaine. Now when he came with his armie into THESSALIE the citie of LARISSA yelded presently vnto him: where the tyran *Alexander* came to mete with him, and to pray him to treate a peace betwixt him and the THESSALIANS. *Pelopidas* attempted to bring it to passe, seeking in steade of a tyran, to make him a gentle, iust, and lawefull gouernor of THESSALIE. But when he saw no perswasions could take place with the tyran, and that he grewe more stubborne and vntractable, and woulde not heare reason: and moreouer that he heard many greuous complaintes of his great cruelties, and how they accused him to be a maruelous dissolute and vnruly person in all his doinges, and extreamely couetous besides: then he beganne to speake roundly to him, and to handle him roughly. But the tyran thereupon stole away secretely from him, and fled with his gard and souldiers about him. So *Pelopidas* leauinge the THESSALIANS out of all feare and daunger of the tyran, and furthermore in good peace and amity one with the other,

The practise of spitefull men.

Our forefathers did paint and set forth their battailes.

Alexander the tyran of Pheres.

Larissa, a city.

A ther, he went into MACEDON: where *Ptolomy* made warre at that time with *Alexander*, beinge kinge of MACEDON, they bothe hauing ſent for him to heare and determine the quarrell betwixt them, and alſo to helpe him that had the right, againſt him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them bothe, and reſtored the baniſhed men of either ſide, to their landes and goodes againe. For aſſurance of the peace, he tooke the kinges brother in oſtage, whoſe name was *Philip*, and thirtie other children of the nobleſt mens ſonnes of MACEDON, whom he brought away with him to THEBES, to let the GREECIANS ſee, that the reputacion of the THEBANS power ſtretched farre, & the renowne alſo of their manner of gouernment and iuſtice. It is the ſame *Philip*, that made warre afterwardes with the GREECIANS, to take their libertie frō them: howbeit being but a boy at that time, he was brought vp at THEBES in *Pammenes* houſe. And this is the cauſe, why ſome thought *Philip* did followe *Epaminondas* manner: and it might be paraduenture, he did learne of him to be quicke and ready in the warres, which in deede was but a peece of *Epaminondas* vertue. But as to the continency, iuſtice, magnanimitie, and clemencie, which were the ſpeciall pointes that made *Epaminondas* of great fame: *Philip* coulde neither by nature, education, nor ſtudie euer attaine vnto. The THESSALIANS hauinge ſent afterwardes to THEBES, to complaine of *Alexander* the tyran of PHERES, that did againe moleſt and trouble the free cities of THESSALIE: *Pelopidas* was ſent thither Ambaſſador with *Iſmenias*, carying no power with him frō THEBES, litle thinking he ſhoulde haue needed to haue made warres: whereupon he was compelled to take men of the contrie ſelfe, vppon the inſtant neceſſitie offered. At the very ſame time alſo, all MACEDON was vp in armes. For *Ptolomy* had ſlaine the king, and vſurped the kingdom, and the ſeruaunts and frendes of the dead king called vpon *Pelopidas* for aide: who deſiring to come euen vppon the fact, and hauing brought no men of warre out of his owne contrie with him, did preſently leauie certaine men where he was, and ſo marched forward with them againſt *Ptolomy*. Nowe *Ptolomy* when bothe their powers met, did corrupt the ſouldiers *Pelopidas* had brought with money, to take his parte. But notwithſtandinge this policy he had practiſed, yet he was afeard of the name onely, and greatnes of *Pelopidas* reputacion: wherefore he went vnto *Pelopidas*, as to a better man than him ſelfe, and making maruelous much of him, and intreating of him, he made promiſe, and bounde it by othe, that he would keepe the realme for the brethren of the dead king, and that he woulde take all thoſe for his frendes or enemies, whom the THEBANS did either loue or hate. And for aſſurance of his promiſe, he gaue him his ſonne *Philoxenus* in oſtage, and fifty other of his frendes, all the which *Pelopidas* ſent vnto THEBES. But in the meane time, beinge maruelouſly offended with the treaſon of the ſouldiers againſt him, vnderſtandinge that the moſt parte of their goodes, their wiues and children, were in the citie of PHARSALE, he thought if he coulde winne that, it were a maruelous good way for him to be reuenged of the trechery of the ſouldiers againſt him: whereupon he leauied certaine THESSALIANS, & went to that citie. *Pelopidas* was no ſooner come thither, but *Alexander* the tyran arriued alſo with his armie. *Pelopidas* ſuppoſing he had come to iuſtifie him ſelfe, clearing the complaintes of the THESSALIANS made againſt him: went to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delited in murder and ſheading of blood. Neuertheles, he hoped he durſt not haue attempted any thing againſt him, for the authority and ſeigniories ſake of THEBES, by whom he was ſent thither, as alſo for his owne reputacion. But the tyran ſeeing him ſlenderly accompanied, and without traine of ſouldiers: tooke him priſoner, and wanne the city of PHARSALE at that preſent time. But this act of his put his ſubiects in a great feare, who ſeeing him commit ſo ſhamefull a deede againſt all equity, did thinke ſtraight he ment to ſpare no man, but would vſe men, and all thinges elſe that came in his handes, like a deſperate man, & one that reckned him ſelf caſt away. But when the THEBANS vnderſtoode this newes, they were maruelous ſorie, and ſtraight ſent an army thither appointinge other Captaines then *Epaminondas*, bicauſe then they had ſome miſliking of him. *Alexander* the tyran hauing brought *Pelopidas* in the meane time to PHERES, did ſuffer any man that woulde, at the firſt to come and ſee him, and ſpeake with him: ſuppoſinge his impriſonment had killed his hart, and had made him very humble. But when he was tolde the contrary, how *Pelopidas* did comforte the citizens of PHERES, and willed them to be of good cheare, tellinge them the hower was

Philip of Macedon, deliuered for oſtage vnto Pelopidas.

Pelopidas taken priſonner by the tyran Alexander at Pharſale.

Pelopidas ſtoutnes.

now come that the tyran ſhould ſmarte for al the miſchiefes he had done: and that he ſent him word to his face, he had no reaſon to hang and put his poore citizens daily to death as he did, with ſundry kindes of cruell torments, who had in nothing offended him, & did let him alone, knowinge that if euer he got out of his hands, he would be reuenged of him. The tyran wondering at this great ſtomake of his, & at his maruelous conſtancy fearing nothing: asked what he ment to long for haſty death? *Pelopidas* beinge tolde what he ſayd, aunſwered him againe: Mary, ſayd he, bicauſe thow ſhouldeſt dye the ſooner, beinge more odious to the goddes and men, then yet thou art. After this anſwere, the tyran would neuer ſuffer any man to come and ſpeake with him againe. But *Thebe*, that was the daughter of the tyran *Iaſon* deceaſed, and wife at that time of *Alexander* the tyran, hearinge reporte of *Pelopidas* noble minde and corage by his keepers: ſhe hadde a meruelous deſire to ſee him, and to ſpeake with him. But when ſhe came to ſee him, like a woman ſhe could not at the firſt diſcerne the greatneſſe of his noble heart, and excellent hidden vertue, findinge him in ſuch miſery: yet conie&turinge by exterior ſhow, notinge his ſimple apparell, his heares and beard growen very long, & how poorely he was ſerued, and worſe entertained: ſhe thought with her ſelfe his caſe was to be pittied, and that he was in no ſtate mete for the glory of his name, wherewith ſhe fell a weepinge for compaſſion. *Pelopidas* that knewe not what ſhe was, beganne to muſe at the firſt: but when it was tolde him ſhe was *Iaſons* daughter, then he curteouſly ſaluted her for her father *Iaſons* ſake, who while he liued was his very good frend. So *Thebe* ſaid vnto him: my Lord *Pelopidas*, I pittie thy poore Lady & wife. Truely ſo do I pitty thee, quod *Pelopidas* againe to her: that thou beinge no priſoner, canſt abide ſuch a wicked *Alexander*. This aunſwere tickled *Thebe* at the heart, who with great impacience did beare the cruelty, violence, and villany of the tyran her husband: that beſides all other infamous actes of his deteſtable life, committed Sodomy with her youngeſt brother. So ſhe oft viſitinge *Pelopidas*, and boldly makinge her mone to him, telling him cloſely all the iniuries her husbande offered her: through *Pelopidas* talke with her, by litle and litle ſhe grew to abhorre him, and to conceiue a hate in heart againſt him, deſiring reuenge of him. But now the Captaines of the THEBANS that were ſent to deliuer *Pelopidas*, beinge entred into THESSALIE with their armie: (whether it was through default of ignoraunce, or their mishap) they returned home with ſhame, and did nothing. Whereupon the THEBANS at their returne home, condemned them euerie man in the ſumme of tenne thouſande Drachmes, & ſent *Epaminondas* thither againe with an other armie: at whoſe comming, all THESSALIE roſe incontinently, for the reputation of ſo great a captaine. And his fortune was ſo good, that he had in a manner vtterly ouerthrowen all the whole ſtate of the tyran: his frends and captaines were ſo much afraid, and his ſubiectes on the other ſide ſo well diſpoſed to rebell, and maruelous glad for the hope they had, quickely to ſee the tyran haue his deſerued hyer, for all his former wicked deedes he had committed. Notwithſtanding, *Epaminondas* preferring the deliuerie and ſafety of *Pelopidas*, before the conſideration of his owne honor & glorie, and fearinge leaſt *Alexander* ſeeinge him ſelfe in daunger to be turned out of all he had, falling in deſpayre like a bedlem beaſt, woulde bende all his deſperation and fury againſt *Pelopidas*: he drew theſe warres out in length, compaſſinge him rounde about, but not fiercely ſetting apon him, with culler to prepare his way the better by delaying ſtill, therby to ſoften the cruell minde of this tyran, goinge on in this gentle ſorte, and partely to cutte his combe and extreme pride, but ſpecially to preſerue *Pelopidas*, from the daunger and crueltie of his beaſtly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruel man, and one that neither regarded reaſon, nor iuſtice in any ſorte, conſideringe howe he made ſome man to be buried aliue, and others to be put in the skinnes of beares and wilde bores, and then to ſet houndes apon them to teare them in peeces, or elſe him ſelfe for his paſtime would kill them, with ſhootinge or throwinge of dartes at them. And in the cities of MELIBÆA and of SCOTVSA, bothe of them beinge in league and frendſhippe with him, he ſpying a time one day when the citizens were aſſembled in counſaill together, ſodainely compaſſed them in with his gard and ſouldiers, and put them euery one to the ſword, euen to the litle children. And he cõſecrated the darte alſo wherwith he had ſlaine his owne vncle *Polyphron*, and hauing put garlandes apon it, he did ſacrifice to it, as to a god, and called it TYCHON, as one woulde ſay, happy killer. And an other time being in

Thebe the wife of Alexander the tyran.

Epaminondas ſent into Theſſalie with an army.

The bruiſhe cruelty of Alexander the tyran.

A in a Theater, where the tragedy of *Troades* of *Euripides* was played, he went out of the Theater,and sent word to the players notwithstandinge, that they shoulde go on with their playe, as if he had bene still amonge them:saying, that he came not away for any misliking he had of them or of the play, but bicause he was athamed his people shoulde see him weepe,to see the miseries of *Hecuba* and *Andromacha* played,and that they neuer saw him pity the death of any one man, of so many of his citizens as he had caused to be slaine.The gilty conscience therefore of this cruell and heathen tyran, did make him tremble at the only name and reputacion of *Epaminondas*:and as the common prouerbe sayth:

He lett his vvinges dovvne fall,not much vnlike the cocke,
vvhich doth refuse the pit preparde,and lyst not bide the shocke.

B So he sent straight vnto *Epaminondas* to excuse him selfe. But *Epaminondas* woulde in no wise suffer the THEBANS, through his meanes,to make league with such an hell hounde:only he yelded to abstinēce of armes for thirty daies, apon deliuery of *Pelopidas* & *Ismenias* into his handes,with whom he straight returned vnto THEBES. Now the THEBANS being aduertised that the LACEDÆMONIANS & the ATHENIANS did sende Ambassadors to *Artaxerxes* the mighty king of PERSIA,to make league with him:they sent to him *Pelopidas* for them also,being wisely considered of them to sende a man of such fame and reputacion. For *Pelopidas* passing first through contries subiect to the kinge of PERSIA,his fame was such where he came, that the peoples talke was onely of him. For the reporte of the famous battells he had wonne of the LACEDÆMONIANS,was not only caried into the next regions and contries of ASIA: C but since the first newes of the iourney of LEVCTRES was brought thither, *Pelopidas* hauinge after that wonne victorie apon victorie, his estimacion grewe so great, as it was blowen abroade through the worlde,euen to the highest and furthest partes of the East contries. And when he came to the king of PERSIAES court, the princes, great Lordes, and captaines of PERSIA that sawe him,had him in great admiration,sayinge:loe this is he that conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS,and tooke all their seigniorie,and authority from them,bothe by sea and by land, and draue the SPARTANS beyond the riuer of EVROTAS, and from mount TAVGETVM,who not longe before made warres with the great kinge of PERSIA,beinge ledde vnder their kinge *Agesilaus*, euen to the middest of ASIA,for the realmes of SVSE,and of ECBATANE. So king *Artaxerxes* selfe was very glad of his comminge,and praised him aboue them all, D and made his estimacion greater then it was before, by his great and honorable entertaininge of him, meaninge thereby to returne the honor to him selfe againe: bicause menne shoulde thinke that the most famous men of the worlde came to honor him, and to see his court, as esteeminge bothe him,and his greatnesse, the onely happines of the worlde.But when he had seene his face, and heard him speake, and perceiued that his wordes were much grauer then the ATHENIANS, and plainer then the LACEDÆMONIANS:he then was further in loue with him then before,and without disguising he did honor and fauor him aboue all the other Ambassadors,who found that he made more estimacion of him,then of thē all.Notwithstanding, he seemed to beare greater good will vnto *Antalcidas* LACEDÆMONIAN,then to any other of the GREECIANS: for that one day beinge at the table,he tooke a garlande of flowers from his E owne head,and washed it in perfuming water, and sent it vnto him. In dede he did not vse *Pelopidas* with that open familiaritie, yet did he send him the goodliest and richest presentes he could deuise,& graunted him besides al his requestes he made vnto him:which were, that all the people of GREECE should be free:that the city & contrie of MESSINA,should be inhabited againe:& that the citizens of THEBES by their successors should be takē,as ancient frends & allyes of the kings of PERSIA.So when he had receaued these aunswers,he returned home againe,& would by no meanes accept any of the great presents the king had offred him:which caused the other Ambassadors of the GREECIANS to be so ill welcome home to their cities. For among other,*Timagoras* was accused to the ATHENIANS,& condemned to dye,and was executed: which if they did in respect of the great presents he had taken of the kinge, truely F they had reason, & it was worthily done of thē. For he tooke not only gold & siluer enough, as much as they would giue him:but receaued a very rich bed also, & PERSIAN chamberlains to make and dresse it vp, as if no GREECIAN seruauntes of his could haue serued that turne.

Epaminondas deliuered *Pelopidas* out of prison.

Artaxerxes king of Persia.

Pelopidas sent Ambassador to the king of Persia.

Pelopidas greatly honored of the king of Persia.

Pelopidas refused the great giftes of the kinge Artaxerxes.

Timagoras Ambassador for the Athenians, put to death for taking great giftes of the kinge of Persia.

Moreouer he receaued foure ſcore milche kine to the paile,& neateheards to keepe them,ha- A
uing neede of cowes milke belike,to heale a diſeaſe that fell vpon him:and woulde needes be
caried in a litter apon mens armes from the kings court, vnto the MEDITERRANIAN ſea,the
king rewarding them for their paines that caried him, with foure Talents. Yet it ſeemeth the
gifts he tooke did not offende the ATHENIANS ſo much,conſidering that *Epicrates*(a drudge
or tanckerd bearer) did not onely confeſſe before the people,howe he had taken giftes of the
king of PERSIA:but ſayd furthermore,that he would haue a law made,that as they did yerely
chooſe nine officers to rule the whole city:ſo that they would chooſe nine of the pooreſt and
meaneſt citizens,and ſende them Ambaſſadors vnto the king of PERSIA, that they might re-
turne home rich men with his giftes. The people laughed to heare him, but yet were they
very angry the THEBANS had obtained all that they demaunded:not conſidering that *Pelopi-* B
das eſtimacion and worthineſſe did more preuaile, and take better effect,then all the orations
the other could make,and ſpecially to a Prince that ſought alwaies to enterteine thoſe GRÆ-
CIANS,which were of greateſt force and power in the warres.This Ambaſſade did greatly in-
creaſe euery mans loue and good will vnto *Pelopidas*, bicauſe of the repleniſhinge againe of
MESSINA with inhabitants,& the infranchefing & ſetting at liberty of all the other GREECI-
ANS.But the tyran *Alexander* of PHERES,returning againe to his old accuſtomed cruelty,and
hauing deſtroied many cities of THESSALIE,& placed his garriſons through al the contry of
the PHTHIOTES,ACHAIANS, and MAGNESIANS:the cities being aduertiſed of *Pelopidas* re-
turne againe to THEBES,they ſent Ambaſſadors immediatly to THEBES,to pray thē to ſende
thē an army,& namely *Pelopidas* for Captaine,to deliuer thē frō the miſerable bondage of the C
tyran.The THEBANS willingly graunted them,& put all things in readines very ſodainely.But
Pelopidas being ready to ſet forward in his iorney,there fel a ſodain eclipſe of the ſunne,ſo as at
none daies it was very darke in THEBES.*Pelopidas* ſeing euery man afraid of this eclipſe aboue,
he would not compell the people to depart with this feare,nor with ſo ill hope to hazard the
loſſe of ſeuen thowſande THEBANS,being all billed to go this iorney:but notwithſtanding,he
put him ſelfe alone into the THESSALIANS handes,with three hundred horſemen of ſtraun-
gers,that were glad to ſerue with him,with whom he tooke his iorney againſt the ſoothſayers
mindes,and againſt the good will of all his citizens,who thought this eclipſe did threaten the
death of ſome great perſone like him ſelfe.But *Pelopidas* though he needed no ſpurre to be re-
uenged apon the tyran *Alexander*,being by nature hotte, and deſirous of him ſelfe to reuenge D
the ſpite and villany he had offred him:yet he had a further hope to finde the tyrans houſe de-
uided againſt himſelfe,by the former talke he had with his wife *Thebe*,in time of his impriſon-
ment there. Neuertheles,the fame and reputacion of the iorney vndertaken,did wonderfully
increaſe his noble corage,and the rather,bicauſe he was deſirous(all he coulde)the GREECI-
ANS ſhould ſee, that at the very ſame time when the LACEDÆMONIANS did ſende gouernors
& captaines to *Dionyſius*,the tyran of SICILE,to ſerue & aide him,& that the ATHENIANS as
hyerlings tooke pay of the tyran *Alexander* of PHERES, in whoſe honor they had ſet vp a ſta-
tue of braſſe in their city, as vnto their ſauior:the THEBANS only at the ſelfe ſame time tooke
armes againſt thē,to deliuer thoſe whom the tyrans oppreſſed,& ſought to roote out al tyran-
nical gouernment ouer the GREECIANS.So, when he came to the city of PHARSALE,& had E
gathered his army together,he went preſently into the field to mete with the tyran. *Alexander*,
perceauing *Pelopidas* had very fewe THEBANS about him,and that he had twiſe as many moe
THESSALIANS with him,then the other had:he went to the temple of THETIS,to mete with
Pelopidas.There one telling *Pelopidas*,that *Alexander* was comminge againſt him with a great
power:*Pelopidas* anſwered him ſtraight,al the better,we ſhal kil the more.Now,in the middeſt
of the valley,there are certaine round hils of a good prety height, which they commonly call
the dogges heads:they both ſtriued which of their footemen ſhould firſt get thoſe hils.*Pelopi-*
das hauing a great number of horſemen,& good men at armes in the fielde,ſent them before
to giue charge apon the enemies,that preaſed to winne the vantage of the place:& hauing o-
uerthrowen them,they followed the chaſe all the valley ouer.But in the meane time, *Alexan-* F
der hauing his footemē hard by,marched forwards,& got the hils,bicauſe the THESSALIANS
that were further of came to late:notwithſtandinge, when they came to the hilles,they ſought
forcibly

Pelopidas ſeconil iorney againſt the tyran Alexäder of Pheres.

The eclipſe of the ſunne made the Thebans afraid.

Battaill geuen by the temple of Thetis,vnto the tyran Alexander.

A forcible to clime them vp, being very high and steepe. But *Alexander* comming downe the hil, gaue charge apon them to their disaduantage, & slue the first that gaue the attempt to get vp against the hil: and the residue beinge sore hurt, retyred againe without their purpose. *Pelopidas* seeing that, sounded the retreate for the horsemen that followed the chase, to repayre to the standard, and commaunded them they should set apon the footemen of the enemies that were in battell raye: and him selfe ranne to helpe those that fought to winne the hilles. So he tooke his target on his arme, and passing through the rereward, got to the formest ranckes: to whome, the sight of his persone did so redouble their force and corage, that the enemies them selues thought it hadde beene a freshe supply of newe mens hartes and other bodies, then theirs with whom they hadde fought before, that came thus lustely to sette againe apon them. And yet they did abide two or three onsettes. Howebeit in the ende, perceiuing those men did still more fiercely force to gette vp the hill, and moreouer how their horsemen were come in from the chase: they gaue way, and left them the place, retyring backe by litle and litle. Then *Pelopidas* hauinge wonne the hilles, stayed on the top of them, viewinge the army of his enemies, which were not yet returned from their flying, but waued vp and downe in great disorder. And there he looked all about, to see if he coulde spye out *Alexander*: and at the length he founde him out amongest others, in the right winge of his battell, settinge his men againe in order, and incoraging of them. After he had set eye on him, it was no holding of him backe, his hart so rose against him apon sight of him, that geuinge place to wrath, he neither regarded his persone, nor the intent of his iorney, but runninge farre before his men, he cried C with a lowde voyce to the tyran, and chalenged the combat of him. The tyran woulde not abide him, nor come out to fight with him, but fled, and hid him selfe amongest his souldiers. But for his souldiers, the first that thought to set apon *Pelopidas*, were slaine by him, and many left dead in the fielde. The residue standing stowtly to it, and close together, did passe his curaces through with their long pykes, and thrust him into the brest. The THESSALIANS seeinge him thus sore handled and distressed, for pities sake came runninge from the toppe of those hilles, to the place where *Pelopidas* was, to helpe him. But euen as they came, he fell downe deade before them. Then did they together with their horsemen so fiercely sette apon them, that they made the whole battell of the enemies to flye: and followinge them in chase a great waye from that place, they couered the valley with deade bodies, for they slue aboue three D thowsande men. It is no maruell, if the THEBANS that were at *Pelopidas* death, tooke it very heauilie, and lamented bitterly: callinge him their father, their sauiour, and maister, as one that hadde taught them the worthiest thinges that might be learned of any. But the THESSALIANS, and other frendes and confederates also of the citie of THEBES, besides their excedinge in setting out their common proclamations and edictes in prayse of his memorie, and doing him all the honor that could be due to the most rare and excellent persone that euer was: they did yet more shewe their loue and affection towardes him, by their passinge great sorowe and mourning they made for him. For it is sayed, that they that were at the battell, did not put of their armor, nor vnbridle their horses, nor woulde dresse their woundes, hearinge tell of his death: before they went first and sawe his body not yet colde with fightinge, laying E great heapes of the enemies spoyles about it, as if he coulde haue tolde what they had done, nor before they hadde clipped of their owne heares, and the heare of their horses, in token of sorowe. And many of them also, when they were come into their tentes and pauilions, woulde neither haue fier, eate, nor drinke: and all the campe was full of sorowe and mourninge, as if they hadde not wonne a notable victorie, but hadde beene ouerthrowen and made subiect by the tyranne. Afterwardes when the newes of his deathe was spread through all the contrie, the Magistrates of euerie cittie through which *Pelopidas* bodie was conueyed, went to receaue it verie honorablie, accompanied with all the younge menne, Priestes, and children, caryinge tokens and crownes of triumphe, and other ornamentes of golde. And when his funerall daye came, that his bodie shoulde be caried to be buF ried, the oldest and noblest persones of the THESSALIANS went to the THEBANS, and prayed them that they might haue the buryinge of him: and one amonge them beinge the mowthe of the reste, spake in this manner to the THEBANS. My Lordes of THEBES,

Pelopidas slaine.

The great lamentacion & mourning for Pelopidas death.

The oration of the Thessalians to the Thebans.

our good beloued frendes, and confederates, we onely craue this good turne at your handes, A
wherin you shal much honor vs,& in our great calamity somwhat also cõfort vs. For we shall
neuer more accõpany *Pelopidas* aliue,nor requite his honorable deserts to vs,that he shal euer
know them.But if it please you to let vs handle his body with our handes,and that we may bu-
ry him,and set forth his obsequies: we will imagine then at the least that you doe thinke that,
which we our selues do certainly beleue:that we THESSALIANS,not you THEBANS,haue re-
ceiued the greatest losse of both.For you haue lost in deede a worthy Captaine, and we haue
not only receaued that like losse with you,but the hope also of recoueringe of our liberty.For
how dare we againe sende to you for an other Captaine, when we can not redeliuer you *Pe-*
lopidas? The THEBANS hearing their peticion,graunted their desire:and in mine opinion, no
funeralles could be done with greater pompe and honor,then the THESSALIANS performed B
his:being men that recken not dignity,magnificence, & pompe, to consist in ornaments of I-
uory, nor of purple. As *Philistus* doth set it out, who praiseth to the moone the buryinge of
Dionysius the tyran of SYRACVSA,which was the ende of his tyranny,as a sumptuous conclu-
sion of a stately tragedy.And *Alexander* the great,at the death of *Ephestion*,did not only clippe
his horse heares & mules,but plucked downe also the battellments of the wals of the city: bi-
cause it shoulde appeare,that the very walles them selues did mourne for his death,shewinge
that deformitie,in steede of their former beawtie. But all such thinges are done only by force
and compulsion, apon the Lordes commaundementes, which doe but raise vp enuy against
their memorie for whom they are done,and hatred of them that are against their willes con-
strained to do the thing they misliked:& are no iust proofes of honor nor good will,but rather C
vaine showes of barbarous pompe, and pride in him, that disposeth his authority and plenty
of goodes,in trifling toyes not to be desired.Where contrariwise it plainely appeareth,that a
priuate man dying in a foreine contry,by reason should be accompted most happy of all other
creatures,that hauing neither his wife,kinne,nor his children by him,he should be conueyed
to his funerals, accompanied with such multitudes of crowned people and number of cities,
enuying one an other who should most honor the funerals,as being vnrequested,& least of all
compelled. For saith *Esope*, the death of a happy man is not greuous, but most blessed, seeing
it bringeth all good mens doinges to happines,and leaueth fortune to her fickle chaunge,and
sportinge pleasure. But in my iudgement, a LACEDÆMONIAN spake better, when he sayd to
Diagoras an old man,that had him selfe in old time gotten victory in the games Olympicall,& D
had sene besides,his own childrẽ,& his childrens childrẽ (both sonnes & daughters)crowned
with victories also in the self same games:O *Diagoras*,die presently,els thou shalt neuer come
to heauen.But these victories of the Olympicall & Pythian games,whosoeuer should put thẽ
al together,are not to be cõpared with one of the battels only,that *Pelopidas* hath foughten &
wonne:hauing spent the most parte of his time in great calling and dignity,& lastly ended the
same,beinge gouernor of BOEOTIA the third time(which was the highest office of state in all
his contry)when he had distroied the tyrans that kept the THEBANS in bondage,and was also
slaine himselfe,valiantly fighting for the recouery of the THESSALIANS liberty.But as *Pelopi-*
das death was greuous to the THEBANS frends & confederats: so fell it out very profitable for
them.For the THEBANS hearinge of *Pelopidas* death,did not delay reuenge,but sent an army E
forthwith of seuen thowsande footemen, and seuen hundred horsemen, vnder the conduct of
Malcitas,and of *Diogiton*.They findinge *Alexanders* army ouerthrowen,& that he had lost the
most parte of his strength,did compel him to geue vp the THESSALIANS townes he kept by
force against thẽ,& to set the MAGNESIANS, the PHTHIOTES, & the ACHAIANS at liberty,
withdrawinge his garrisons he had placed in their strong holdes:and therewithall to sweare,
that from thence forth he would marche vnder the THEBANS,against any enemy they should
leade him,or commaunde him to go against.So,the THEBANS were pacified apon these con-
ditions.Now will I tell you how the gods plagued him soone after for *Pelopidas* death,who(as
we haue tolde you before)had pretily instructed *Thebe* his wife,that she shoulde not feare the
outward appearance nor power of his tyranny,although she were enuironed with souldiers of F
banished mẽ,whom the tyran enterteined to gard his person.Her self on the other side,fearing
his falshode,as also hating his cruelty,conspired her husbands death with her three brethren,

Tisiphonus,

The strange manner of sorowe, of Alexander the great, for the death of Ephestion.

Pelopidas happines.

Esops sayinge of the happines of the dead.

Death a blessed thing.

The Thebans reuenged Pelopidas death.

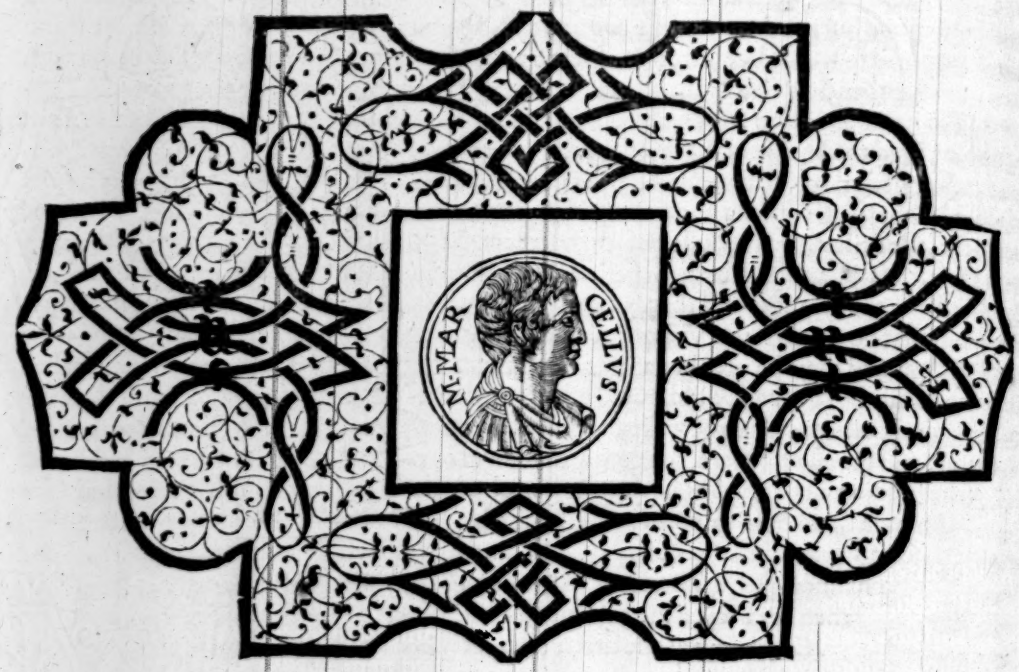
Alexander the tyran of Pheres slaine by his wife.

A *Tisiphomus, Pytholaus,* & *Lycophron,* & executed her cõspiracy after this sorte. The tyrans palice where he lay, was straightly garded euery where with souldiers, who nightly watched his persone: but their bed chamber which they cõmonly vsed to lie in, was in the top of al his palice, where they kept a dog tyed at the chamber dore, to giue warninge, which was a terrible dog, and knewe none but the tyran and his wife, and his keeper that gaue him meate. Nowe when *Thebe* purposed to worke her feate, she locked vp her three brethren a whole day neere vnto their bed chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time, she went her selfe alone according to her maner, into *Alexanders* chamber: and finding him a sleepe, she stale out straight againe, and bad the keeper of the dogge to cary the dogge away, for her husbande was disposed to take rest, and would haue no noyse. There was no way to get vp to this chamber but by
B a ladder, which she let downe: and fearing least her brethren should make a noyse, she had couered the ladder staues with wolle before she let it fall downe. When she had gotten them vp with their swordes, and had set them before the dore, she went first her selfe into the chamber, & tooke away the tyrans sword that hong at his beds head, and shewed it them, as a token geuen them that he was a sleepe. When it came to the pinche to do the deede, these young men were afrayed, and their heartes beganne to faile them. But she tooke on with them and called them cowardly boyes, that would not stande to it, when it came to the point, & with all, sware in her rage, that she woulde goe wake the tyran, and open all the treason to him. So partely for shame, and partely for feare, she compelled them to come in, and to step to the bed, her selfe holding a lampe to light them. Then one of them tooke him by the feete, and
C bounde them hard: an other caught him by the heare of his head, and pulled him backewards: & the third thrust him through with his sword. So by chaunce he dyed sooner then he should haue done, and otherwise then his wicked life deserued, for the maner of his death. So *Alexander* was the first tyran that was euer slaine by the treason of his wife, whose body was most villanously & dispitefully vsed after his death. For when the townes men of PHERES had drawen him through the city in myer and durt, they cast him out at length to the dogs to deuoure.

Alexander the tyran of Pheres was the first tyran that was slaine by his wife.

The ende of Pelopidas life.

THE LIFE OF *Marcellus.*



Marcellus limned.

Marcellus condicions.

Arcus Claudius that was fiue times Conſull at ROME, was the ſonne (as they ſay) of an other *Marcus*: and as *Poſidonius* wryteth, he was the firſt of his houſe ſurnamed *Marcellus*, as who would ſay, a marſhall & warlike man by nature. For he was cunninge at weapons, skilfull in warres, ſtronge and luſty of body, hardy, and naturally geuen to fight. Yet was he no quarreller, nor ſhewed his great corage, but in warres againſt the enemy: otherwiſe he was euer gentle, and fayer condicioned. He loued learning, and delited in the Greeke tongue, and much eſteemed them that could ſpeake it. For, he him ſelfe was ſo troubled in matters of ſtate, that he could not ſtudy, and follow it, as he deſired to haue done. For if God (as *Homer* ſayth) did euer make men

To vſe their youth in vvarres, and battells fierce and fell,
till crooked age came creeping on, ſuch feates for to expell:

They were the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of ROME at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the CARTHAGINIANS in SICILE: in their middle age, againſt the GAVLES, to kepe them from the winning of all ITALIE: & againe in their old age, againſt *Hannibal* & the CARTHAGINIANS. For their age was no priuiledge for them to be diſpenced with, in the ſeruice of their warres, as it was elſe for common citizens: but they were bothe for their nobilitie, as alſo for their valliantnes and experience in warres, driuen to take charge of the armies deliuered them, by the Senate & people. Now for *Marcellus*, there was no battell could make him giue grounde, beinge practiſed in all fightes: but yet he was more valliant in priuate combate man for man, then in any other fight. Therefore he neuer refuſed enemie that did chalenge him, but ſlue all thoſe in the fielde that called him to the combat. In SICILE he ſaued his brother *Octacilius* life, being ouerthrowen in a skirmiſhe: for with his ſhielde he couered his brothers body, & ſlue them that came to kill him. Theſe valliant partes of him, being but a young man, were rewarded by the generalles vnder whom he ſerued, with many crownes, and warlike honors, vſually beſtowed apon valliant ſouldiers. *Marcellus* increaſing ſtill his valliantnes and good ſeruice, was by the people choſen Ædilis, as of the number of thoſe that were the worthieſt

The Romaines troubled with warres.

Marcellus ſaued his brother Octacilius.

Marcellus choſen AEdilis and Augure.

worthieſt men,and moſt honorable: and the Prieſtes did create him Augure, which is a kinde of Prieſthoode at ROME,hauing authority by law,to conſider and obſerue the flying of birds, to diuine and prognoſticate thinges thereupon.But in the yere of his office of Ædile, he was forced againſt his wil to accuſe *Capitolinus*,his brother in office with him.For he being a raſh, and diſſolute man of life, fell in diſhoneſt loue with his colleagues ſonne *Marcellus*, that bare his owne name:who beinge a goodly young gentleman, euen freſhly come to mans ſtate, was as well thought of, and taken of euery man for his manhoode and good qualities, as any way for his beawty and perſonage. The firſt time *Capitolinus* moued this diſhoneſty to him, he did of him ſelfe repulſe his ſhameles offer,without any others priuitie: but when he ſaw he came againe to tempt him the ſeconde time, he ſtraight reuealed it to his father. *Marcellus* his father beinge maruelouſly offended withall, (as he had good cauſe) went and accuſed *Capitolinus* before the Senate. *Capitolinus* at the firſt,layed in many exceptions and fained excuſes, to kepe him from appearing,and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the people:but they declared plainely they would not receiue his appeale, nor take any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to aunſwere the matter before the Senate, and denied flatly that he attempted euer any ſuch thinge, bicauſe there were no witneſſes to proue it againſt him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to ſende for young *Marcellus* who comminge before them,bothe bluſhed,and wept together. The Senate ſeeinge ſhamefaſtneſſe in him, mingled with teares,and a malice that coulde not be pacified without ſeeking other proofe:they tooke it a cleare caſe,& ſo condemned *Capitolinus* preſently in a great ſumme of money,which *Marcellus* conuerted into ſiluer veſſell, to ſerue at ſacrifices, and ſo did conſecrate them to the ſeruice of the goddes. Now when the ROMAINES had ended their firſt warre againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, which held them fully the ſpace of two and twenty yeares: Immediatly after that,they beganne a newe warre againſt the GAVLES. For the INSVBRIANS,beinge a people deriued frō the GAVLES,& dwelling at the foote of the moūtaines of the ALPES on ITALIE ſide,being able to make a good power of them ſelues, did notwithſtanding pray aide of the other GAVLES inhabiting on the other ſide of the mountaines:& they cauſed the GESSATES, a mercenary people and hierlings to them that woulde giue pay, to bring great numbers with them. Truely me thinkes it was a maruelous matter, and wonderfull good happe for the ROMAINES,that this warre of the GAVLES came not apon thē, while they were at wars with the CARTHAGINIANS: & that the GAVLES alſo had lien quiet all that while (as if they had purpoſely ſworne to ſet apon the conquerors)expecting ſtill an end betwene thē,& then to ſet apon the cōquerors,when they had nothing to ſay to any other.Yet the ſcituacion of their cōtry did trouble the ROMAINES much,bicauſe they were ſo nere neighbours vnto them,& had warres as it were at their owne dores. And ſo did the auncient reputacion of the GAVLES ſomewhat appawle the ROMAINES,who as it ſhoulde ſeeme they did feare more,then any other nation whatſoeuer: bicauſe ROME had bene taken before by the GAVLES. Since which time,a law was made,that Prieſtes and eccleſiaſticall perſones ſhould be diſpenced with,from going to the warres,onles the GAVLES did riſe againſt them. The preparacion they made for this warre at that time,did plainly ſhow the feare they had thē of the GAVLES. For the world thinkes,that neuer before,nor ſince,there were ſo many naturall ROMAINES aſſembled together in fielde,as were then at that preſent. Moreouer, the new come cruelty they vſed in their ſacrifices,doth recorde this to be true. For before,they neuer vſed any ſtraunge maner in their ſacrifice, or barbarous facion, but were fauorable in their opinions about the ceremonies of religion,& agreeable to the GREECIANS,touching the ſeruice of the goddes. But then, they were compelled to obey certaine oracles, and auncient prophecies they found wrytten in SIBYLLES bookes:& they buried two GREECIANS aliue in the oxe market, a man & a woman, and likewiſe two GAVLES,a man and a woman.Vnto them they doe yet continew certaine ſecret anniuerſaries in Nouēber, that are not to be ſene of euery body.The ROMAINES in their firſt battels of this warre, were often ouercommen, and did ouercome:but theſe battels were to litle purpoſe, for ending of the warres. In the yere that *C. Quintius Flaminius*,and *P. Furius Philo* were Conſuls,and ſent with great armies to make warres apon the INSVBRIANS, people ſubiect to the ſtate of MILANE:newes were brought to ROME,that there was a riuer ſeene

Marcellus accuſeth Capitolinus.

The Romaines had warres with the Carthaginians two & twenty yeres together.

The warre of the Gaules.

Geſſates mercenary Gaules.

A lawe to exempt eccleſiaſticall perſons frō the warr.

The Romaines did feare the warre of the Gaules.

Men and women buried aliue.

Flaminius & P. Furius Conſulls.

Newes brought to Rome, of strange things seene in Romania.

in the cõtry of ROMANIA, red as blood, & three moones also at the very same time in the city of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Priestes & Soothsayers, that had obserued & considered the tokens, & significations of birdes on that day, when these two were chosen Consuls: they tolde plainly there was error in their election, & that they were directly chosen against all signes & tokens of the birdes. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediatly to the campe to them, & willed them to come home to depose themselues of their Consulshippe, before they did attempt any thing as Consuls against the enemies. The Consul *Flaminius* receaued the letters in time: but bicause he was ready to giue battell, he woulde not open them, before he had first ouerthrowen his enemies, & spoyled their contrie, as in dede he did. But when he was come backe to ROME againe, and had brought maruelous great spoyles with him, the people for all that woulde not goe out to meete him, bicause he did not presently obey the letters they wrote vnto him, nor returned apon it as they commaunded him, but contemptuously, without any regard of their displeasure, followed his owne phantasie: whereupon they had almost flatly denied him the honor of triumphe. For his triumphe was no sooner ended, but they compelled him to giue ouer his Consulshippe, and made him a priuate man with his companion. The ROMAINES therein were so religiously bent, as they would all things shoulde be referred vnto the gods good grace & pleasure, & would suffer none to contemne the obseruations & prognosticatinge of the soothsayers, nor their auncient vses & customes, for any prosperity & felicity that could happen. For they thought it more necessary and profitable for benefit of the common weale, that the Senate and magistrates should reuerence the ceremonies and seruice of the goddes: then that they should ouercome their enemies in battell. As for example *Tiberius Sempronius*, a man as much honored and esteemed of the ROMAINES for his iustice and valliantnes, as any other of his time: beinge one yeare Consul, did nominate & elect two other for Consuls the yeare following, *Scipio Nasica*, & *Caius Martius*. These two being entred into their Consulshippe, and sent from ROME also to their seuerall prouinces appointed them by lot: *Sempronius* by chaunce tooke certen litle bookes in his hande, where were briefly written the rules appertaining to the ceremonies of publike sacrifice, and reading in them, he found a certaine ordinaunce he neuer heard before. And this it was. That if a magistrate were set in any tent or hyred house without the citie, to beholde and obserue the prognostications of birdes, & that vpon any sodaine occasion he were driuẽ to come againe into the citie, before the birdes had giuen any certaine signes: the second time when he returned againe to ende his obseruations, there was no remedy, but he must leaue his tent or first hyred house, and take an other, and beginne new obseruations againe. *Tiberius* vtterly ignoraunt of this ordinaunce before, had kept his obseruations twise in one selfe house, and had chosen there, *Nasica* and *Martius*, Consulls to succeede him. But when he knew he had offended, he told the Senate of it: who would not let slippe so litle a fault: but wrote to the newe Consulls, and they straight left their prouinces, and returned againe to ROME, willingly resigninge vp their offices. That was a prety while after. Again also, about the very present time we write of nowe, there were two Priestes of noble houses (and noble persones also) the one called *Cornelius*, and the other *Cethegus*, bothe which were disgraded of their Priesthoode, bicause they had not giuen the intrayles of the sacrificed beast in order, as they should haue done. *Quintus Sulpitius* in like maner, was disgraded of his Bishopricke, bicause his miter which the FLAMINES doe weare, fell of his head in his sacrificing. *Minutius* being Dictator also, and hauinge chosen *Caius Flaminius* generall of the horsemen: bicause they heard the noyse of a ratte at the electiõ of *Flaminius*, they were bothe put out of their authoritie, and other chosen in their place. Now, though they were thus precise euen in trifles, it was not by reason of any superstition mingled with their religion: but bicause they woulde not breake any iotte of the auncient institucions and ceremonies of their contrie. But to our storie againe. *Flaminius* beinge depriued of his Consullshippe, *Marcellus* was created Consull in his place, by the regents at that time called *Interreges*. *Marcellus* being inuested in his office, chose *Cneus Cornelius* for his companion: and they say, that the GAVLES beinge inclined to peace, and the Senate of ROME also willinge to harken to peace, *Marcellus* did stirre vp the people, and made them rather desire warre. Notwithstandinge, they concluded peace at that time: but the GAVLES GESSATES immediatly after renued the wars againe.

Flaminius ouercome the Gaules in battayle.

The great religion of the Romaines.

An ordinance for publike sacrifice.

Marcellus & Cneus Cornelius Consulls.

For

A For there came ouer the mountaines of the ALPES, a thirty thowſand of them, & they ioyned with the INSVBRIANS, which were many moe in number then thē ſelues. Now, they being in a maruelous iolity, went incontinently to lay ſiege to the city of ACERRES, that ſtandeth apon the riuer of Po: and during the ſiege, king *Britomarus* taking ten thowſande GESSATES with him, went & deſtroyed all the contrie about the Po. *Marcellus* hearing that, left with his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, al the armed footemen, & the third parte of the horſemē, in his campe by ACERRES: & he him ſelfe with the reſidue of the horſemē, & ſix hundred footemē light armed, marched towards the enemy, trauelling night & day, vntil he met with the ten thowſand GESSATES, nere vnto a village of GAVLE on this ſide the mountaines, called CLASTIDIVM, which was ſubiect not long before to the ROMAINES. So he had no leaſure to take reſt, nor to B refreſh his men a litle: for the barbarous people knew ſtraight he was come, & tooke him for no better then by and by ouercome, bicauſe he had ſo fewe footemen. And for his horſemen, the GAVLES made no reckening of them: for beſides themſelues are very good men at armes, and excell all other in that fight, yet were their number of horſemen farre aboue *Marcellus*. Therefore they ſtraight marched towardes him in a maruelous furie, and with thunderinge ſhowtes, as if they would haue deuowred them at their comminge. *Britomarus* their king, aduaunced him ſelfe before all his company. *Marcellus* fearing to be compaſſed in behinde, being ſo ſinall a number: he put out the winges of his horſemen as much as he could, to haue the contrie at large, ſo that his two wings were very ſlender, vntill he came nere his enemies. And being ready to gallop towardes the enemie, it fortuned his horſe beinge afraid with the noyſe C of his enemies, turned about, & caried *Marcellus* backe againe in ſpite of his teeth. But he fearing the ROMAINES ſuperſticion, in taking this for an euill token, and that they woulde take a conceite apon the ſame: plucking the bridle with his left hande, turned his horſe head againe vppon the enemie, and then he worſhipped the ſunne, as though he had not turned his horſe by chaunce, but purpoſely for that cauſe. For it is the ROMAINES manner to turne about ſo, when they do honor their goddes. So when they beganne to ioyne battell, he made a vowe to *Iupiter Feretrian*, to offer him vppe the goodlieſt ſpoyles of his enemies, if he did ouercome. The kinge of the GAVLES ſeeinge him at that inſtant, imagined by the markes and tokens he ſaw, that he ſhould be the general of his enemies: So he ſet ſpurres to his horſe, and gallopped towardes him from all his company geuing him defiance, & chalenged him, ſhaking his ſtaffe D in his hande. He was the goodlieſt perſone and ſtrongeſt man of all the GAVLES, and his armor was all guilt and ſiluered, and ſo ſet foorth with ſundry workes and colours, that it ſhined as the ſunne. *Marcellus* on the other ſide hauinge viewed all the army of his enemies through out, and perceauinge none ſo richely armed as the king: thought ſtraight it was againſt him, that he had made his prayer and vowe to *Iupiter*. Then he put his horſe in full cariere againſt him, and came with ſuch a force & fury to him, that he pearced his armor with his ſtaffe, and ouerthrew him, but yet he killed him not dead: wherupon he ſodainly redoubled two or three ſtrokes beſides apon him, and ſo ſlew him right out. Then he lighted from his horſe, & taking the dead kinges armor in his hande, he lift vp his eyes to heauen, and ſaid. O *Iupiter Feretrian*, thou that doeſt from heauen beholde and direct, all marſhall feates and Captaines deedes: thy E ſelfe I call to witnes, that I am the third ROMAINE Captaine, that being generall of the army, haue ſlaine with my owne handes, the king and generall of the enemies: and I promiſe here to thee, to offer thee vp the richeſt ſpoyles of mine enemies, ſo thy godheade will vouchſafe to graunt vs the like good fortune in all this warre beſides. His prayer ended, the men of armes of the ROMAINES ranne in among the horſemen & footemen of the GAVLES, one being vnparted from an other: and fortune did ſo fauor them, that they wanne a paſſing victory, in ſuch a ſtraunge and wonderfull maner, as was incredible. For it was neuer ſeene before nor ſince, that ſo fewe horſemen did ouerthrow, ſo great a number of men of armes and footemen ranged together. Now when *Marcellus* hadde ſlaine the greater number of them, and had gotten their ſpoyles & all their baggage: he returned againe to his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, whom F he founde makinge warres vnfortunately with the GAVLES, before the greateſt and moſt populous city they had, called MILLAINE, which the GAVLES on this ſide the mountaines take for their chiefe city, and from whence all other had their firſt originall. Whereupon they did

The Gaules Geſſates make warres with Rome, and come ouer the Alpes.

Acerres, a city apon the riuer of Po.

Claſtidium, a village on this ſide the mountaines.

The maner of the Romaines when they worſhip.

The combat a horſebacke betwixt Britomarus king of the Gaules, and Marcellus.

Marcellus ſlue king Britomarus at Claſtidium.

Marcellus prayer vnto Iupiter Feretrian.

The Gaules ouercome by Marcellus.

all their possible endeuor to defende it, and did as straightly besiege the Consull *Cornelius*, as he did them. Now, when *Marcellus* was come to the campe againe, the GESSATES vnderstãding that their king *Britomarus* was slaine in battel, returned backe againe into their contry, & the city of MILLAINE was taken. After that, all the other cities there about yelded of them selues, without force of siege, and the GAVLES wholly submitted them selues & all that they had, to the mercy of the ROMAINES, who graunted them peace vppon easie condicions. For these famous victories, the Senate of ROME gaue all the honor of triumphe vnto *Marcellus* only, and that was as wonderfull and worthy a sight, as any that euer past before him: what for the infinite spoyles, and the numbers of great men taken prisoners, and also for the exceeding sumptuousnes & stately shew thereof. But the goodliest sight of all for the rarenes, was to behold *Marcellus* selfe, carying on his shoulders the whole spoyle of the barbarous king, to offer vp to *Iupiter Feretrian*. For he had cut downe a goodly younge oke of the mountaine, straight, and shut vp very long, which he had trimmed vp in forme of triumphe, hanging all the armed peces he had wonne of the king, very orderly rounde about it. Then, when all the show of his triumphe was past, he him selfe tooke the oke on his shoulders, and gotte vp vpon his triumphing charet, and so marched through the city, carying these signes thereupon: which was the noblest sight, and honorablest show, of the whole triumphe. His army followed after the charet, singing verses and songes of victory, in praise of the goddes and their Captaine: and when he had passed through the whole city, and was come to the temple of *Iupiter* called *Feretrian*, there he set vp this young oke, and token of triumphe. This *Marcellus* is the third and last ROMAINE Captaine, to whom happened this honor in our age. For the first man that euer offred vp to *Iupiter* the spoyles of the general of their enemies, was king *Romulus*, who wanne the like spoyles of *Acron*, king of the CÆNINIANS. The second was *Cornelius Cossus*, who slue *Tolumnius*, generall of the THVSCANS. And the third was *Marcellus*, who slue with his owne handes *Britomarus*, king of the GAVLES: and after him, no man euer since could obtaine the like good fortune. The god to whom these maner of spoyles are consecrated thus, is called *Iupiter Feretrian*, so tearmed as some write, bicause they do cary this token of triumphe to him, following the deriuation of this Greeke word, *Ferin*, which signifieth to cary: for in those former times, many Greeke words were mingled with the Latine. Other affirme it is one of the surnames of *Iupiter*, signifying as much as lightening: for *Ferire* in the Latine tonge, signifieth to strike. And some say also, in warres it is properly to hurt or kill with his owne handes: for the ROMAINES do vse at this day when they geue a charge apon their enemies in battell, or that they haue them in chase flying, to crie, incoraging one an other, *Feri, Feri*: which is as much, as kill, kill. And the spoyles taken frõ the enemies also, are generally called *Spolia*: but those which Lieutenantes, generall, or generalles, do take from the generalles of their enemies, when they haue slaine them, they are called particularly *Spolia opima*. Yet some hold opinion, that kinge *Numa Pompilius* mencioning the rich spoyles, or *Spolia opima* in his cõmentaries, speaketh of the first, the second, and the third: and commaundeth that the first spoyles which are wonne, should be consecrated to *Iupiter Feretrian*: the second vnto *Mars*: and the third vnto *Quirinus*. And that they should giue to him that had wonne the first spoyles, three hundred Asses: the second, two hundred: & the third a hũdred. But notwithstanding, the best opinion & vsuall taking of *Spolia opima*, referreth them to be the first spoyles wonne in a foughten field, & those which the Lieutenãt of an army, or a general, doth take frõ the general of the enemies, after he hath slaine him with his owne handes. And thus much for declaracion of this matter. Furthermore, the ROMAINES were so ioyfull of this victory, & of their good successe in this warre, that they caused a massie cuppe of golde to be made of the spoyle they had gotten, weyinge a hundred pounde weight, which they sent to offer vp in the temple of *Apollo Pythias*: in the city of DELPHES, in token of thankes: and they made liberall diuision besides of the spoyles vnto their frendes and confederates, and sent a great parte of it vnto *Hieron* king of SYRACVSA, who was their confederate. Not lõg after, *Hanniball* being entred ITALIE, *Marcellus* was sent with an army by sea, into SICILE. And after the great ouerthrow was giuen at the battel of CANNES, wherin there died so many thowsande ROMAINES, and that very few of them saued them selues by flyinge, into the city of CANNVSIVM: they looked that *Hanniball* hauinge ouercome the flower of all the

Marcellus wanne the city of Millaine.

Marcellus triumphe.

Marcellus of fyringe vp of his rich spoiles.

The three personer that offered vp Spolia opima in Rome: Romulus. Cossus. Marcellus.

Iupiter Feretrian why so called.

Spolia opima what they be.

Marcellus sent into Sicile with an army.

A the ROMAINES youth, and their greateſt force, woulde not fayle to come ſtraight to ROME. Wherefore *Marcellus* firſt ſent fifteene hundred of his men by ſea, to help to defende ROME: and hauinge afterwardes receaued commaundement from the Senate, he came to CANNVSIVM, where he tooke ſuch as were fled thither for ſuccor after the battell, & ſo brought them out to the fielde, to defende the contrie. Now the ROMAINES hauing loſt the moſt parte of all their beſt Captaines, in diuerſe ſundry battells before: of all thoſe that remained, *Fabius Maximus* was the onely able and reputed man for commendacion of his honeſty and wiſedom, yet they miſliked of him notwithſtanding, for a timerous man, and of no corage, as a man to ful of doubts and conſideracion, and loth to put any thing in hazard: ſaying, he was a good Captaine to defende, but not to offende the enemy. Whereupon they thought good to ioyne *Marcellus* liuely youth & corage, with *Fabius* feminine feare and wiſedom: and therefore ſome yeares they choſe them both Conſulls together, or elſe they ſent one of them as Conſull, and the other as Proconſull, eche in his turne, to the contrie where they hadde warres. And for proofe hereof, *Poſidonius* wryteth, that the ROMAINES at that time called *Fabius Maximus* their target, and *Marcellus* their ſword. Therefore *Hanniball* him ſelfe ſayed, he feared *Fabius Maximus* as his gouernor, and *Marcellus* as his enemy: bicauſe the one kept him from hurting of others, and the other did hurt to him ſelfe. Immediatly after this great victory at CANNES, *Hannibals* ſouldiers became ſo bolde, ſo careleſſe, and diſordered, that they kept the fielde without feare of any thing, and diſperſed them ſelues farre from their campe: wherefore *Marcellus* ſetting apon thoſe ſtragglers, he ſlue them euery man, & ſo by litle and litle did ſtill leſſen the power and ſtrength of his enemy. Afterwardes he aided the cities of BIZANTIVM and of NOLA, and ſtabliſhed the true deuotion and loue of the BIZANTINES towardes the ROMAINES: from thence he went to NOLA, & found great ſedition there betwixt the Senate & people, bicauſe the Senate coulde not keepe the people in obedience, but they woulde needes take *Hannibals* parte. The cauſe of the peoples ſtubbornneſſe grewe, by occaſion of a gentleman of the city called *Bandius*, a noble gentleman to the people, and a valliant man of his hands. This *Bandius* hauing fought valliantly at the battell of CANNES, after he hadde ſlaine many a CARTHAGINIAN, was him ſelfe in the ende ſtriken downe, and founde lyinge amonge deade bodies, ſore wounded and mangled: whereupon *Hanniball* greatly commending his valliantnes, did not onely let him go without ranſome, but furthermore preſented him, & made him his hoſte and frende. Hereupon *Bandius* at his comming home, to requite *Hannibals* honor and curteſie, became one of thoſe that moſt fauored *Hannibal*, & moſt perſwaded the people of NOLA to take his parte. Notwithſtandinge this, *Marcellus* thinking it to great a ſinne againſt the goddes, to put a man to death that had made ſo great proofe of his valliantnes, and had ſerued with the ROMAINES in their greateſt warres and extremeſt daunger, and who beſides the goodnes of his nature, hadde a maruelous gift alſo, to winne mens good wills by his great curteſie: when this *Bandius* came one day to do his duety to him, *Marcellus* of purpoſe asked him what he was, though he had knowen him long before, only to take occaſion to talke with him. The other aunſwered him, his name was *Lucius Bandius*. Then *Marcellus* ſeeming to be maruelous glad, and to wonder at him, ſayed: and art thou that *Bandius* they ſpeake of ſo much at ROME, whom they ſay did ſo notable ſeruice in perſone at the battel of CANNES, and neuer forſooke *Paulus AEmilius* the Conſull, but receaued ſo many woundes vppon thy body in defence of him? *Bandius* aunſwered, that he was the man, and therewith ſhewed him many woundes he had apon his body. *Marcellus* then replyed: alas, thou that carieſt ſuch notable markes of thy vnfained loue towards vs, what diddeſt thou meane, that thou cameſt not ſtraight againe vnto vs? art thou perſwaded we are ſo miſerable & vnthankefull, that we will not worthily reward the vertue and valliantneſſe of our frendes, whom our enemies ſelues do honor? After *Marcellus* had vſed this curteous ſpeach vnto him, and had imbraced him, he gaue him a goodly horſe for ſeruice in the warres, & fiue hundred Drachmes of ſiluer beſides. So after that time, *Bandius* did euer take *Marcellus* parte, and alwayes followed him, being very faithfull to him, and ſhewed him ſelfe very ſeueare and earneſt to accuſe them, that tooke *Hannibals* parte in the city: which were many in number, & had conſpired among them ſelues, that the firſt time the ROMAINES ſhould go into the fielde to ſkirmiſhe with the enemies, they woulde ſhut the

Poſidonius wordes of Fabius & Marcellus.

Lucius Bandius, of Nola: a valliant man.

Marcellus gentleneſs.

Reward made Bandius a true ſubiect.

gates after them,& take the ſpoyle of al their cariages. *Marcellus* being informed of this trea- A
ſon,did ſet his men in battell raye within the city, hard by the gates,& behind them he placed
al the ſumpters & cariage in good order:beſides that,he made proclamation by tromper,that
no citizen apon paine of death ſhoulde approch the walles. This occaſion drew *Hannibal* to
come hard to the city,ſeeinge no watche apon the walles, and made him the bolder to come
in diſorder, imagininge there had bene ſome mutinie or ſedition within, betwene the noble
men and the people. But in the meane time, *Marcellus* ſet open the gates being hard by, and
Marcellus victorie of Hannibal at Nola. fayling out apon the ſodaine with the beſt men of armes he had,he gaue a charge vpō *Hanni-*
ball in the voward. Immediatly after came out his footemen at an other gate,running ſtraight
vpon *Hannibal*,with a wonderfull crie and ſhowte:ſo as *Hannibal* to withſtand them, was dri-
uen to deuide his men in two companies. But as he was deuidinge of them, ſodainely a third B
gate opened apon them, from whence all the reſidue of the Romaines iſſued out, who
ſette vppon the Carthaginians on euery ſide, they beinge maruelouſly amazed to be ſo
ſodainely ſet on, which they looked not for: ſo hauing their handes full with thoſe that came
firſt apon them, beinge ſcant able to defende them ſelues againſt them, and ſeeinge this newe
and laſt charge alſo: they were forced to retyre. This was the firſt time, that euer *Hannibals*
ſouldiers beganne to giue place to the Romaines,who draue them backe vnto their campe,
and ſlewe a great number of them, and did hurt diuerſe of them beſides. For ſome wryte,
there were ſlaine of the Carthaginians at that conflict, aboue fiue thowſande: and of
the Romaines there died not paſt fiue hundred men. But *Titus Liuius* doth not ſet out the o-
uerthrow ſo great,and yet confeſſeth that *Marcellus* wanne great honor by it, & that it made C
the Romaines maruelous valliant againe, after ſo many and ſundry battells as they had loſt
one after an other: for then they were perſwaded that they fought not with an enemy altoge-
ther vnuincible,but that he might ſomtime alſo, as well as them ſelues,receiue both loſſe and
hurt. Therefore,one of the Conſulls dyinge about that time,the people cauſed *Marcellus* to
be ſent for, & placed him in his roome:and in ſpite of the Senate they deferred all deputacion
vntill his returne from the campe. *Marcellus* came no ſooner to Rome, but he was choſen
Conſull in the deade mans roome,by all the voyces of the people. Notwithſtandinge, when
they went to chooſe him,it thundered maruelouſly: which the Prieſtes & Augures tooke for
an ill token, but yet they durſt not openly ſpeake againſt his election, bicauſe they feared the
people. Howbeit *Marcellus* of him ſelfe did willingly giue vp his Conſullſhippe,and yet was D
Marcellus proconſull. it no exception to him for his ſeruice in the warres:for they created him Proconſull, and ſent
him againe to the campe at Nola, where he did ſeuerely puniſhe ſuch as tooke *Hannibals*
parte. Who being aduertiſed thereof,came thither with all poſſible ſpede to helpe them:and
euen at his firſt comming, he offered *Marcellus* battell,which refuſed it at that time. Neuer-
theles he tooke his time, when *Hannibal* hadde ſent the beſt parte of his army to forrage, as
meaning to fight no more battels:and then he ſet apon him, hauing giuen his footemen long
pykes, ſuch as they vſe in fight apon the ſea, and taught them alſo,howe to hurt the enemy a
farre of,keping them ſtill in their handes. But the Carthaginians hauing no skill of their
pykes,and fighting with ſhorte iauelings in their hands, did ſtrike downe right blowes:which
was the cauſe, that they being ſet apon by the Romaines,were driuen to turne their backes, E
and flee before them. So there were fiue thowſande of the Carthaginians left dead in the
Certaine Spaniards and Numidians reuolted from Hannibal. field,foure elephants ſlaine,and two taken aliue:and furthermore,three dayes after the battell,
there came a three hundred horſemen, ſome of them Spaniards, and other Numidians,
that ſubmitted them ſelues to the Romaines. Neuer came there ſuch a misfortune before to
Hannibal:who had of lōg time kept together in great loue & amity,an army aſſembled of ſun-
dry barbarous nations and people. Howbeit theſe three hundred continued euer after faith-
full to the end,both to *Marcellus*,and to all other Lieutenants & generals of the Romaines.
Marcellus the third time Conſull, ſent into Sicile. Shortely after, *Marcellus* beinge againe choſen Conſull the thirde time, went into Sicile.
For *Hannibals* proſperous ſucceſſe and victories had ſo incoraged the Carthaginians, as
they ſought againe to conquer this Ilande:and ſpecially bicauſe that after the death of *Hiero-*
nimus the tyran, there roſe ſome tumult at Syracvsa. Vppon which occaſion,the Roma- F
nes had ſent an army thither before,and a Prætor called *Appius*: at whoſe handes *Marcellus*
hauing

A hauing receiued the army, a great number of the ROMAINES became humble ſuters to him, to pray him to aide them in their calamity, which was this. Of thoſe that eaped from the battell of CANNES, ſome ſaued them ſelues by flying, other were taken priſoners, of which there were ſuch a number, as it appeared that ROME had not people enough left onely to keepe the walles. Neuertheles, thoſe few that remained, their hartes were ſo great, that they woulde neuer redeeme the priſoners, which *Hannibal* was contented to deliuer them vppon ſmall ranſome, but made a decree they ſhould not be redeemed: and ſo ſuffered ſome of them to be killed, others to be ſolde for ſlaues out of ITALIE. And moreouer, thoſe that ſaued them ſelues by flying, they ſent ſtraight into SICILE: commaunding they ſhould not once ſet foote againe in ITALIE, whileſt they had warres with *Hannibal*. Theſe were the men that came altogether,

The ſeuerity of the Romaines to cowardly ſouldiers.

B and fell downe at *Marcellus* feete, ſo ſoone as he arriued in SICILE, & humbly beſought him, to appoint them to ſerue vnder ſome enſigne, that they might fight to do their contrie honor and ſeruice: promiſing him with teares running downe their cheekes, that their faithfull ſeruice then ſhould witneſſe for them, that the ouerthrow they had at CANNES, fell apon them rather by misfortune, then through lacke of corage. Whereupon *Marcellus* hauing compaſſion on them, wrote to the Senate in their fauor, & prayed them that they would graunt him licence to ſupply the bands of his army, as they diminiſhed, with thoſe poore ROMAINES his contrymen. Many reaſons paſſed to, and fro, againſt this ſute: neuertheles, it was concluded in the ende by the Senate, that the common wealth made no reckening of the ſeruice of faint harted men like women: wherefore if *Marcellus* thought good of their ſeruice, yet it ſhoulde

Cowardes deteſted of the Romaines.

C not be lawfull for him to giue them any crownes or rewards of honor, for any notable ſeruice ſoeuer they did, as all generalles are wont to giue to honeſt men that ſerue valliantly. This order of the Senate miſliked *Marcellus* very much, who at his returne home out of SICILE, made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him manifeſt wrong, to deny him that fauor, that hauing done his common wealth ſuch faithful ſeruice diuerſe times, as he had done, he might not reſtore ſo many poore ROMAINES to their honor againe. Nowe, when *Marcellus* was in SICILE, he receiued great hurtes and iniuries by *Hippocrates*, generall of the

Hippocrates generall of the Syracuſans.

SYRACVSANS: who, to pleaſure the CARTHAGINIANS, and by their meanes to make him ſelfe chiefe Lord of SYRACVSA, did put many ROMAINE citizens to death. Wherupon *Marcellus* went and layed ſiege to the city of the LEONTINES, and when he had taken it by aſſault,

Marcellus wanne the city of the Leontines.

D he hurt neuer a townes man, nor naturall citizen of the ſame: but ſuch traytors as he founde there, and had fled from his campe, & yelded to the enemies, them he cauſed to be whipped, and then hanged. But notwithſtanding, *Hippocrates* had before cauſed it to be bruted at SYRACVSA, that *Marcellus* had put all the LEONTINES to the ſword, not ſparing litle children: and afterwards *Hippocrates* comming thither on the ſodaine, in the feare and garboyle of this falſe brute, he eaſily tooke the city. *Marcellus* hearing *Hippocrates* had taken SYRACVSA, left forthwith the LEONTINES, & went with his whole army, & camped hard by SYRACVSA: and ſent his Ambaſſadors to tell the SYRACVSANS truely, what he had done in the city of the LEONTINES, and quite contrarie to that they were informed of. Howbeit that preuailed not, for

Marcellus beſiegeth Syracuſa.

E they beleued not *Marcellus*, bicauſe *Hippocrates* being the ſtronger, had wonne the city. Wherupon he beganne then to approch the walles, and to aſſault in euery quarter, as well by ſea as by lande. *Appius* tooke charge of them that gaue aſſault by lande. *Marcellus* him ſelfe, with three ſcore galleyes of fiue owers at euery bancke, well armed, and full of all ſortes of artillery and fire works, did aſſault by ſea, and rowed hard to the walle, hauing made a great engine and deuiſe of battery, vppon eight galleyes chained together, to batter the walle: truſting in the great multitude of his engines of battery, and to all ſuch other neceſſarie prouiſion as he had for warres, as alſo in his owne reputacion. But *Archimedes* made light accompt of all his deuiſes, as in deede they were nothinge comparable to the engines him ſelfe had inuented: and

Archimedes a notable mathematician.

yet were not his owne ſuch, as him ſelfe did recken of, to ſhew ſingularity of worke and deuiſe. For thoſe he had made, were but his recreations of Geometry, and thinges done to paſſe the

F time with, at the requeſt of king *Hieron:* who had prayed him to call to minde a litle, his geometricall ſpeculation, and to apply it to thinges corporall and ſencible, and to make the reaſon of it demonſtratiue, and plaine, to the vnderſtanding of the common people by experi-

ments, and to the benefit and commodity of vſe. For this inuentiue arte to frame inſtruments and engines, (which are called mechanicall, or organicall, ſo highly commended and eſteemed of all ſortes of people) were firſt ſet forth by *Architas*, and by *Eudoxus*: partely to beawtifie a litle the ſcience of Geometry by this finenes, and partly to proue and confirme by materiall examples and ſencible inſtruments, certeine Geometrical concluſions, wherof a man can not finde out the conceiueable demonſtrations, by enforced reaſons and proofes. As that concluſion which inſtructeth one to ſearche out two lynes meane proportionall, which can not be proued by reaſon demonſtratiue, and yet notwithſtandinge is a principall and an accepted grounde, for many thinges which are conteined in the arte of portraiture. Both of them haue facioned it to the workemanſhip of certeine inſtruments, called Meſolabes or Meſographes, which ſerue to finde theſe meane lines proportionall, by drawing certaine curue lines, and ouerthwart and oblike ſextions. But after that, *Plato* was offended with them, and mainteined againſt them, that they did vtterly corrupt and diſgrace, the worthines & excellency of Geometry, making it to diſcende from things not comprehenſible, and without body, vnto things ſencible and materiall, and to bringe it to a palpable ſubſtance, where the vile and baſe handie worke of man is to be employed: ſince that time I ſay, handy craft, or the arte of engines, came to be ſeparated from Geometry, and being long time deſpiſed by the Philoſophers, it came to be one of the warlike artes. But *Archimedes* hauinge tolde king *Hieron*, his kinſeman and very frende, that it was poſſible to remoue as great a weight as he would, with as litle ſtrength as he liſted to put to it: and boaſting him ſelfe thus (as they reporte of him) and truſting to the force of his reaſons, wherew ith he proued this cõcluſion, that if there were an other globe of earth, he was able to remoue this of ours, and paſſe it ouer to the other: kinge *Hieron* wondering to heare him, required him to put this deuiſe in execution, and to make him ſee by experience, ſome great or heauy weight remoued, by litle force. So *Archimedes* caught hold with a hooke of one of the greateſt carects, or hulkes of the king (that to draw it to the ſhore out of the water, required a maruelous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done ſo) and put a great number of men more into her, than her ordinary burden: and he himſelfe ſittinge alone at his eaſe farre of, without any ſtraining at all, drawing the ende of an engine with many wheeles and pullyes, fayer and ſoftly with his hande, made it come as gently and ſmoothly to him, as it had floted in the ſea. The king wondering to ſee the ſight, and knowing by proofe the greatnes of his arte: he prayed him to make him ſome engines, both to aſſault and defend, in all maner of ſieges and aſſaultes. So *Archimedes* made him many engines, but kinge *Hieron* neuer occupied any of them, bicauſe he raigned the moſt parte of his time in peace, without any warres. But this prouiſion and munition of engines, ſerued the SYRACVSANS turne maruelouſly at that time: and not only the prouiſion of the engines ready made, but alſo the enginer & worke maiſter him ſelfe, that had inuented them. Now, the SYRACVSANS ſeeing them ſelues aſſaulted by the ROMAINES, both by ſea and by land, were maruelouſly perplexed, and could not tel what to ſay they were ſo afrayed: imagining it was impoſſible for them to withſtande ſo great an army. But when *Archimedes* fell to handle his engines, and to ſet them at liberty, there flue in the ayer infinite kindes of ſhot, and maruelous great ſtones, with an vncredible noyſe and force on the ſodaine, apon the footemen that came to aſſault the city by land, bearing downe, and tearing in peeces all thoſe, which came againſt them, or in what place ſoeuer they lighted, no earthly body beinge able to reſiſt the violence of ſo heauy a weight: ſo that all their rankes were maruelouſly diſordered. And as for the gallies that gaue aſſault by ſea, ſome were ſoncke with long peeces of timber like vnto the yards of ſhippes, whereto they faſten their ſailes, which were ſodainly blowen ouer the walles with force of their engines into their gallies, and ſo ſoncke them by their ouergreat weight. Other being hoyſed vp by the prooes with handes of Iron, and hookes made like cranes billes, plonged their poupes into the ſea. Other being taken vp with certaine engines faſtened within, one contrary to an other, made them turne in the ayer like a whirlegigge, & ſo caſt them apon the rockes by the towne walles, and ſplitted them all to fitters, to the great ſpoyle and murder of the perſons that were within them. And ſometimes the ſhippes and gallies were lift cleane out of the water, that it was a fearfull thing to ſee them hang and turne in the ayer as they did: vntill that caſting their men

Architas and Eudoxus, famous Mathematicians.

VVhy Plato reproued Eudoxus and Architas.

Archimedes with an engine drew one of the greateſt hulkes Hieron the king had a ſhore.

The wõderful force of Archimedes engines at Marcellus ſiege of Syracuſa.

A men within them ouer the hatches, ſome here, ſome there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be empty, and to breake againſt the walls, or elſe to fall into the ſea againe, when their engines left their hold. Now for *Marcellus* engine, which he brought againſt the walles, vppon a bridge made of gallies ioyned together: that was called Sambuca, by reaſon of the facion it had like to an inſtrument of muſicke of the ſame name, which is a harpe. The ſame being yet a good prety way of frō the walls, there fell a great ſtone apon it ſent frō the walls, weying ten talents. Then, a ſeconde after that, and a third one after that, the which falling all into this engine with ſuch a thunder and terrible tempeſt, brake the fundacion of the engine, and tare all the bridge of the gallies ioyned together in peeces, that ſuſteined it. So that *Marcellus* being amazed with all, not knowing well what it ment: was glad to retyre quickely, and
B ſent to make his trompet ſound the retreate to thoſe that gaue aſſault by land. Hereupon they ſate in counſaill to determine what was to be done, and they reſolued, that the next morninge before day they ſhoulde approche the walles if it were poſſible: bicauſe that *Archimedes* engines, which were very ſtrong and hard wounde vp, ſhould by this meanes ſende all the force and furie of their ſtones and ſhot ouer their heades, and that neere hande alſo he coulde do no good with them, for that they had not the ſcope of their leauel and cariage they ſhould haue. But *Archimedes* had preuented this deuiſe by long preparation before, hauing made prouiſion of engines for farre and neere, the leauell and cariage whereof was proportioned for all diſtances: their ſhot ſhorte, the arrowes not very long, many holes and arches in the walles one harde by an other, where there were ſtore of crosbowes to kill neere hande, ſette in ſuch pla-
C ces, as the enemies coulde not ſee them without. Wherefore, when the ROMAINES thought to approche, thinking they had bene ſafe and cloſe, that no man ſaw them: it amazed them all when they were receaued againe with infinite ſhot, and ſtriken to the ground with ſtones that fell apon their heades like leade: (for there was no parte of all the walles, from whence they had not the like ſhotte.) Whereupon they were forced againe to retyre from the walles. And yet when they were further of from them, the arrowes, ſtones, and other kinde of ſhotte that flue in euery place amonge them, killed a great nomber of them, ſcattered farre from thence: ſo that many of them were ſlaine and ſore wounded, and diuerſe of their ſhippes ſplitted, and they not once able to be reuenged, nor to hurt their enemies, bicauſe *Archimedes* had placed his engines very cloſely behinde the walles, and not apon the walles in ſight of the enemy. So
D that it appeared the goddes fought againſt the ROMAINES, they were ſo ſlaine and wounded, and yet they coulde not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithſtanding, *Marcellus* eſcaped with life, ſafe from hurt, and mocking his workemaiſters and enginers he had in his campe, he ſayd vnto them. What, ſhall we not leaue to make warres with this Briarian enginer and Geometrician here? who ſitting ſtill apon the wharfe, in ſporting manner hath with ſhame ouerthrowen our nauy, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred handes of the Gyants, diſchargeinge at one inſtant ſo many ſhot among vs? For in deede, all the reſidue of the SYRACVSANS were, as the body and members of *Archimedes* preparacion: and he him ſelfe was the only creature that moued and did all, all weapons elſe being quiet, and his engines only occupied, to aſſault and defend. At the length, *Marcellus* ſeeing his men thus afeard, as if they did but ſee the ende
E of a rope, or any peece of timber vpon the walle, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* was letting looſe ſome of his engines apon them: he would no more approche the walles, nor geue aſſault, determininge to ſee if he coulde winne it by longe ſiege. Notwithſtanding, *Archimedes* had ſuch a great minde, and was ſo profoundly learned, hauing hidden in him the onely treaſure and ſecrets of Geometricall inuentions: as he would neuer ſet forth any booke how to make all theſe warlicke engynes, which wanne him at that time the fame & glory, not of mans knowledge, but rather of diuine wiſedom. But he eſteminge all kinde of handy craft & inuention to make engines, & generally all maner of ſciences bringing common commodity by the vſe of them, to be but vyle, beggerly, & mercenary droſſe: employed his witte & ſtudy onely to write thinges, the beawty and ſubtiltie whereof, were not mingled any thinge at all
F with neceſſitie. For all that he hath written, are geometricall propoſicions, which are without compariſon of any other writings whatſoeuer: bicauſe the ſubiect whereof they treate, doeth appeare by demonſtracion, the matter giuing them the grace & the greatnes, and the demon-

Marcellus Sambuca.

Marcellus wondred at Archimedes engynes.

Archimedes profoundely learned.

ſtracion prouing it ſo exquiſitely, with wonderfull reaſon and facilitie, as it is not repugnable. A For in all Geometry are not to be founde more profounde and difficulte matters wrytten, in more plaine and ſimple tearmes, & by more eaſie principles, then thoſe which he hath inuented. Now ſome do impute this, to the ſharpnes of his wit & vnderſtanding, which was a naturall gift in him: other do referre it to the extreame paines he tooke, which made theſe things come ſo eaſily from him, that they ſeemed as if they had bene no trouble to him at all. For no man liuinge of him ſelfe can deuiſe the demonſtracion of his propoſitions, what paine ſoeuer he take to ſeeke it: & yet ſtraight ſo ſoone as he commeth to declare & open it, euery man then imagineth with him ſelfe he could haue found it out well enough, he can then ſo plainly make demonſtraciō of the thing he meaneth to ſhew. And therfore that me thinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him: that he was ſo rauiſhed & dronke with the ſwete intyſements B of this Sirene, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgate his meate & drinke, and was careles otherwiſe of him ſelfe, that oftentimes his ſeruants got him againſt his will to the bathes, to waſhe & annoynt him: & yet being there, he would euer be drawing out of the Geometricall figures, euen in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annointing of him with oyles & ſwete ſauors, with his finger he did draw lines apon his naked body: ſo farre was he takē frō himſelf, & brought into an extaſy or traunſe, with the delite he had in the ſtudy of Geometry, & truely rauiſhed with the loue of the Muſes. But amongſt many notable things he deuiſed, it appeareth, that he moſt eſtemed the demonſtracion of the proportion betwene the Cylinder (to wit, the round colomne) & the Sphære or globe conteined in the ſame: for he prayed his kinſemē & frends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder apon his tombe, C conteining a maſſie Sphære, with an inſcription of the proportion, wherof the continent excedeth the thing cōteined. So *Archimedes* being as you haue heard, did aſmuch as lay in him, both ſaue him ſelfe & Syracvsa from taking. But now againe to *Marcellus*. *Marcellus* during the ſiege at Syracvsa, wanne the city of Megares in Sicile, one of the auncienteſt cities in all the Ilande: & he tooke beſides, the campe of *Hippocrates*, lying by Aciles, where he ſlue aboue eight thouſand men, ſurpriſing them apon the ſodaine, euen as they were preparing to lodge, & to fortifie their campe. Then he ouercame a great parte of the champion contrie of Sicile, & made the cities to rebel that tooke the Carthaginians parte: & in al the battels he fought, he euer ouercame them that durſt bid him battell. It chaunced afterwards, that he tooke a Lacedæmonian Captaine priſoner, called *Danippus*: euen as he came out of Syra- D cvsa by ſea. The Syracvsans deſirous to redeme him, ſent to him to pray he might be ranſommed. They made many parlees about his raunſome, and drew out this practiſe to diuerſe meetings: vntil *Marcellus* had taken good markes of a certeine tower, that had no great watch kept vpon it, & into the which he might ſecretly cōuey a certeine number of men, the walle of the city in that place being no very hard thing to skale. Therefore when he had geuen a good geſſe by eſtimacion at the height of that tower, by often approching to it, hauing parled many a time hard by it: he prouided skaling ladders, & tooke the oportunity of a feaſt which the Syracvsans ſolemniſed in the honor of *Diana*, on which day they gaue thē ſelues to al feaſting, ſporting & playes. So he tooke not only the tower, but filled all the walls round about with armed mē before day, & brake open the maine gate & entry of the citie called Hexapyle. And as E the Syracvsans began to ſtirre, perceiuing the Romaines on the wals: *Marcellus* made his men ſound their trompets on euery ſide. Whereupon the Syracvsans were ſo afraid & amazed, that they beganne to flie, thinkinge all the city beſides had bene taken, where in deede the greateſt & ſtrongeſt quarter of the city called Acradina, was not yet touched: bicauſe it is walled in rounde about, and ſeparated from the reſt of the citie, which is deuided into two other partes, the one called the newe citie, and the other fortune. The two partes whereof beinge wonne, *Marcellus* by the breake of the daye forced in by the gate or entrie of the Hexapyle. And when his Captaynes tolde him he was happie, to winne ſo goodly a citie, ſo eaſely: they ſay, that he lookinge about him, and conſideringe the greatneſſe and ſtatelineſſe of the ſame, he wept for verie pitie, foreſeeinge whereto it ſhoulde come, thinking with him F ſelfe what a ſodayne chaunge it ſhoulde haue, when his armie came to ſpoyle and ſacke the ſame. For there was not a Captaine that durſt denie the ſouldiers when they demaunded

Archimedes Siren.

Archimedes demonſtracion of the Cylinder.

Marcellus victories in Sicile.

Danippus a Lacedemoniā Captaine taken priſoner.

Marcellus winneth Syracuſa.

Acradina.

the

A the ſpoyle, and yet were there many that would nedes haue it burnt and raſed to the ground. But *Marcellus* would not agree to that in any caſe, and beſides, it was ſore againſt his minde to graunt them the ſpoyle of the goodes and ſlaues: ſtraightly commaunding them notwithſtanding, not to lay handes of any free man, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any SYRACVSAN ſlaue. Wherein, though he ſhewed great fauor and mercy, yet it greued him to ſee ſo famous a citie, brought to that miſerable ſtate: and in the middeſt of all the ioy he had for his victorie, he could not refraine from weeping for pity to ſee ſo rich and wealthie a citie, in the turning of a hand, ſpoyled, and brought to nought. For it is ſayd, that the riches and goodes taken away at the ſacke of SYRACVSA, were nothinge inferior to the ſpoyles of CARTHAGE, which was alſo ſacked not longe after that: for the other parte of the city of SYRACVSA called A-

B CRADINA, was ſoone after alſo taken by treaſon, and ſpoyled againſt the Captaines willes, ſauinge the kinges treaſure, which was reſerued to be caried to the common treaſure of ROME. SYRACVSA beinge taken, nothinge greued *Marcellus* more, then the loſſe of *Archimedes*. Who beinge in his ſtudie when the citie was taken, buſily ſeekinge out by him ſelfe the demonſtracion of ſome Geometricall propoſition which he hadde drawen in figure, and ſo earneſtly occupied therein, as he neither ſawe nor hearde any noyſe of enemies that ranne vppe and downe the citie, and much leſſe knewe it was taken: He wondered when he ſawe a ſouldier by him, that bad him go with him to *Marcellus*. Notwithſtandinge, he ſpake to the ſouldier, and bad him tary vntill he had done his concluſion, and brought it to demonſtracion: but the ſouldier being angry with his aunſwer, drew out his ſword, and killed him. Other ſay, that

C the ROMAINE ſouldier when he came, offered the ſwords poynt to him, to kill him: and that *Archimedes* when he ſaw him, prayed him to hold his hand a litle, that he might not leaue the matter he looked for vnperfect, without demonſtracion. But the ſouldier makinge no reckening of his ſpeculation, killed him preſently. It is reported a third way alſo, ſayinge, that certeine ſouldiers met him in the ſtreetes going to *Marcellus*, carying certeine Mathematicall inſtrumentes in a litle pretie coffer, as dialles for the ſunne, Sphæres and Angles, wherewith they meaſure the greatneſſe of the body of the ſunne by viewe: and they ſuppoſing he hadde caried ſome golde or ſiluer, or other pretious Iuells in that litle coffer, ſlue him for it. But it is moſt true, that *Marcellus* was maruelous ſorie for his death, and euer after hated the villen that ſlue him, as a curſed and execrable perſone: and howe he made alſo maruelous much af-

D terwards of *Archimedes* kinſemen for his ſake. The ROMAINES were eſtemed of at that time by all nations, for maruelous expert ſouldiers, and taken for verie vallyant and daungerous men to be dealt with: but they neuer ſhewed any example of their clemencie and curteſie, and leaſt of all of any ciuill manner to any ſtraungers, vntill *Marcellus* taught the way, whoſe actes did ſhewe the GREECIANS then, that the ROMAINES were more gratious and merciſull, then they. For he did ſo curteouſlie intreate thoſe that hadde to do with him, and ſhewed ſuch fauour to priuate perſones, and alſo to whole citties: that if there were any crueltie ſhewed in the citties of ENNA, or at MEGARES, or againſt the SYRACVSANS, it was rather through their owne fault and follie that were hurt, then theirs that didde them the hurte. And for proſe hereof, I will recite you one example onely amongeſt many. There is

E a citie in SICILE called ENGYIVM, it is no great thinge, but a verie auncient citie of name, by reaſon of the trafficke thither, for that there are certeine goddeſſes to be ſeene, whome they worſhip, called the mothers. Some ſay the CRETANS were the firſt builders and founders of the temple there, where you ſhall ſee ſpeares and helmets of copper, and apon them are grauen the name of *Meriones*: and apon others, *Vlyſſes* name alſo, which are conſecrated to theſe goddeſſes. This citie ſtoode altogether at the deuotion of the CARTHAGINIANS: and *Nicias* beinge the chiefeſt man of the ſame, was all he might againſt it, and perſwaded them openlie in all their counſailles to take parte with the ROMAINES, prouinge it by many reaſons, that his enemies counſaylinge the contrarie, were vnprofitable members of the common wealth. Whereuppon *Nicias* enemies fearinge his greatneſſe and au-

F thoritie, they did conſpyre amonge them ſelues to apprehende him, and to deliuer him to the CARTHAGINIANS. But *Nicias* hearinge of ſuche a matter, and findinge that they laye in wayte to take him: vſed this pollicie to preuent their treaſon. He gaue out openlie

Marcellus gentlenes.

Rich ſpoyles at Syracuſa.

Archimedes mathematicã ſlaine in his ſtudy.

Diuers opinions of Archimedes death.

Marcellus clemency.

Engyium a city in Sicile.

Nicias craft.

very ill ſpeeches againſt the goddeſſes, and did many things in derogation of their honor: and A
ſayd the ſight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but deuiſe, and that there was
no credit to be geuen to them. Theſe words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common
people would lay the miſchiefe they pretended againſt him, to him ſelfe, as the only cauſer of
his owne hurt. So they hauinge appointed a day to apprehende him, by chaunce a common
counſaill was kept that day they hadde determined of: where *Nicias* ſpeaking to the people a-
bout matter of counſaill, in the middeſt of his oration fell to the grounde, to the great wonder
of the whole aſſembly, as euery man may coniecture. Howbeit neuer a man ſturred, & a prety
while after he beganne to lift vppe his head a litle, and to looke gaſtely about him, with a faint
trembling voyce, which he ſtill gathered higher and lowder by litle and litle, vntill he ſawe all
the people wonderouſly afrayed and amazed, that not one of them durſt ſpeake. Then thro- B
wing his gowne from him, and renting his coate, he got vpon his feete halfe naked, and ranne
towardes the gate of the Theater, cryinge out that the goddeſſes mothers did torment him:
and not a man durſt once come neere him, nor offer to ſtoppe him, they were ſo ſuperſticious
and fooliſhly afrayed of the goddeſſes, imagining it was ſome diuine puniſhment. But by this
meanes he eaſily got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all: and he was neuer ſeene af-
ter that time, to do, or ſpeake, like a madde man in any thing. His wife that was made priuy to
his deuiſe, and furthered his intent, went firſt and fell downe on her knees before the god-
deſſes mothers in their temple, as ſhe had hartily prayed vnto them: & faining afterwards ſhe
would go ſeeke her husbande, that ranne vp and downe the fieldes like a madde man, ſhe went
out of the city with her litle children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they eſcape without C
daunger, and went vnto *Marcellus* to SYRACVSA. The ENGIENIANS afterwards played ſuch
inſolent partes, that *Marcellus* in the ende went thither, and cauſed them all to be taken and
bounde, as though he woulde haue put them to execution. But *Nicias* came to him with the
teares in his eyes, and embracing his knees, and kiſſinge his handes, beſought him to take pitie
of his poore citizens, beginning firſt with thoſe that were his greateſt enemies. This good na-
ture of *Nicias* ſo pacified *Marcellus* wrath, that he pardoned them all, & did no hurt to the ci-
ty, and gaue *Nicias* certeine land, beſides many other rich giftes he beſtowed apon him. Thus
it is reported in the hiſtory of *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher. Now *Marcellus* being ſent for home
by the ROMANES, bicauſe they had warres in their owne contrie, and euen at ROME gates: he
departed out of SICILE, returning towardes ROME, and caried the goodlieſt tables, pictures, D
and ſtatues, and other ſuch ornamentes as were in SYRACVSA, meaning firſt to beautifie his
triumphe with them, and to leaue them afterwardes for an ornament to ROME, which before
that time neuer knewe what ſuch curious workes ment. For, this fineues, and curious tables
and imagery, neuer came into ROME before, but was throughly ſet out with armor and wea-
pons of barbarous people, and with bloody ſpoyles, and was alſo crowned with monumentes
of victories and triumphes of diuerſe enemies, which were no pleaſaunt, but rather fearefull
ſightes to looke apon, farre vnfitte for feminine eyes. But euen as *Epaminondas* did call the
plaine of BOEOTIA, *Mars* ſcaffolde, where he kept his games: and *Xenophon* alſo called the
city of EPHESVS, the armorers ſhoppe: euen ſo me thinkes (as *Pindarus* ſaid) they might right-
ly haue tearmed ROME, the temple of *Mars* fighting. And this wanne the peoples good willes E
much more to *Marcellus*, bicauſe he did ſo paſſingly ſet foorth ROME, with ſuch excellent fine
toyes of GREECE. But *Fabius Maximus* on the other ſide, was better beloued of the old men:
bicauſe he brought no ſuch toyes with him from the city of TARENTVM, when he wanne it.
In deede he brought away golde and ready coyne, and much other goodes that were profita-
ble: but for images and tables, he left them ſtanding in their places, ſpeaking a thing of great
note. Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their goddes offended with them. And furthermore the
noble men were angry with *Marcellus*, ſaying, that by this act he had purchaſed ROME great
malice and hate. Firſt, bicauſe he did not onely leade men priſoners in his triumphe, but the
gods alſo: and ſecondly, bicauſe he had filled the people full of pritle pratle, & idle curioſity,
ſpending all the whole day in gaſinge, and wondering at the excellency of the workemen, and F
of their workes, where before they woulde fall to their labor, or elſe they went to the warres,
not being acquainted with curioſity, nor idle life as *Euripides* ſayd, ſpeaking of *Hercules*:

Marcellus the firſt that brought in fineues & curious tables and pictures into Rome, of the ſpoyles of Syracuſa.

In

In vvicked practises, he simple vvas to see,
but he excelld in vertuous dedes, and feates that vvorthy be.

Notwithstandinge, *Marcellus* did glory amongest the GREECIANS them selues, sayinge: that he had taught the ROMAINES to esteeme the wonderfull workes of GREECE, which they knewe not before. But at his returne out of SICILE, his enemies procured, that his honor of triumphe was denied him. So *Marcellus* knowing that he had yet left somewhat to do in SICILE, and that the warre was not altogether ended, and fearing besides least a third triumphe would make him to much enuied: he was contented with good will to haue the honor of the great triumphe, in the mountaine of ALBA only: & of the litle triumphe, in the city of ROME. This maner of litle triumphe is called in Greeke, *Euan*, and the ROMAINES call it *Ouatio*. And this difference there is betwene them: that in the *Ouation* triumphe, the party to whom it is graunted, doth not enter into the city apon triumphing charet drawen with foure horses, nor doth cary any lawrell apon his head in token of triumphe, nor hath any trompettes or hornes blowen before him, but doth marche a foote with a payer of slippers on his fete, hauing flutes and howboyes playing before him, and wearing a garlande of tyrre tree apon his heade: so as this maner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasaunt then fearefull sight. And that reason doth flatly drawe me to beleue, that these two kindes of entries they graunted to the Captaines, returning from the warres with victorie: were deuided in the olde time, rather for the maner, then for the greatnes of the doings. For such as had ouercomen their enemies by great slaughter and bloody battells, they did make their entry with pompe of triumphe, that was altogether marshall and terrible, followed with their souldiers armed, and crowned with lawrell garlandes, as their custome was in musteringe their campe in the warres. But they on the contrary side, that without any exployte of armes returned home with victorie, either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence: the law graunted them the honor of Ouation triumphe, which was quiet, and full of all ioy and mirth. For the flute is an instrument of pleasure belonginge to peace, and the tyrre tree is a tree consecrated to *Venus*, which goddesse, aboue all goddes and goddesses doth most detest warres. This second kinde of entry was called *Ouatio*, not as many GREECIANS haue taken it, comming of this word *Euan*, which is a voyce and song of ioy, although they did vse also to accompanie the Captaines making their entry in this sorte, crying and singing *Euan*: but there were certeine GREECIANS that would haue fetched the deriuation of this word, from an old common custome they had: & were of opinion besides, that parte of this honor did apperteine to god *Bacchus*, whose surname we cal *Euius*, and somtimes *Thriambus*. Howbeit this is not the true deriuation of the name, but after this sorte. At the great triumphe and entry made, the Captaine or generall that triumpheth as a conqueror, did offer and sacrifice (by the old orders and ancient customes of ROME) one, or diuers oxen: where at the seconde triumphe called the Ouation, he onely sacrificed a mutton, which the ROMAINES call in their tongue *Ouem*, and thereof was it called Ouation. And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the lawe maker of the ROMAINE lawes and customes, and the law maker of the LACEDÆMONIANS: how both of them were contrary to the other, in appointinge their sacrifices for victorie. For at SPARTA, the Captaine or generall that had done his feate by policy or frendshippe, the sacrifice he did offer vppe to the goddes, was an oxe: and he that by force, and bloody battell had obtained victory, only offred vp a cocke for sacrifice. For though they were very good souldiers, yet they thought better of his seruice, that by his wisedom & wise perswasions obteined victory: then of his, that wanne it by valliantnes, and force of armes. Thus may you see which of these two lawemakers hadde best reason in his ordinaunces. But nowe to *Marcellus* againe. He beinge chosen Consull the fourth time, his enemies and euill willers did stirre vppe the SYRACVSANS against him, and perswaded them to complayne to the Senate of him, that he had cruelly, and vncurteously vsed them, contrary to the auncient league & allyances made long time before with the ROMAINES. *Marcellus* beinge sacrificinge one day in the Capitoll, while the Senate were sette in counsaill: the SYRACVSANS deputies came before them, & kneeling downe, besought the to giue them audience, & that they would do them iustice. The other Consull that was present rebuked them, being angry they had so maliciously spyed the occasion of *Marcellus* absence.

Marcellus entreth into Rome with Ouation triumphe.

VVhat the Ouation triumphe is.

Ouation whereof it is called.

The sacrifices of the quiet triumphe.

The sacrifices of the litle triumphe Ouation.

The differēce betwixt the Spartans and Romaines in their sacrifices for victorie.

The Syracusans accuse Marcellus.

But when *Marcellus* hearde of it, he ſtraight left of all, and came to the Senate, and firſt ſatte him downe in his Conſulls chayer, where he gaue audience as Conſull, and diſpatched diuerſe cauſes: when he had done ſo, he roſe out of his chayer, and came downe among them, ſtandinge as a priuate perſone to aunſwere at the barre, as other offenders and men accuſed, ſuffering the SYRACVSANS to alleadge and ſay againſt him what they would. Then were the SYRACVSANS blancke, when they ſaw the maieſty of *Marcellus*, and his ſtayed countenance in all thinges: ſo that hauing founde him before a very valliant man in warres and vnconquerable, they found him then a man no leſſe dreadful in his Conſuls robe: that they hong downe their eyes, and durſt not looke him in the face. Notwithſtanding, they being ſuborned by his enemies, beganne at the length boldely to accuſe him, and yet with ſorow and lamentacion, the effect whereof was this. That they beinge the ROMAINES frendes and confederates, had abidden ſuch iniuries at *Marcellus* handes, as all other generalles neuer offred their very enemies. Whereto *Marcellus* ſtraight aunſwered againe to the contrary. That for many iniuries the ROMAINES had receiued of thē, they ſuffred nothing but that, which was vnpoſſible they ſhould not ſuffer, that reſiſted vntill they were taken by force: and yet they might thanke themſelues for any thing they ſuffered, bicauſe they would not obey nor conſent, to reaſonable capitulacions and articles of peace, which he had oftentimes offered them. And againe, they could not alleage for their excuſe, that the tyrans had compelled them to make warres: when they to the contrary, bicauſe they would enter into warres, were contented to be ſubiect to a tyran. So, when both parties hadde ſpoken their mindes, the SYRACVSANS (as the maner is) went out of the Senate houſe, and *Marcellus* alſo, leauinge his fellowe Conſull in his place in the Senate, and taried without the dore, attending the ſentence of the Senate, neuer altering his countenaunce nor wonted looke, neither for feare of ſentence, nor for malice or anger againſt the SYRACVSANS, quietly looking for his iudgement. Afterwards when the Senators voyces were gathered together, and that *Marcellus* was cleared by the moſt voyces: then the SYRACVSANS fell downe at his feete weeping, and beſought him not to wreake his anger apon them that were preſent, and moreouer that he would haue compaſſion of the reſidue of the citizens, who did acknowledge his great grace and fauor extended to them, and confeſſed themſelues bound to him for euer. *Marcellus* moued with pity by their intreaty, he pardoned them, and euer after did all the SYRACVSANS what pleaſure he coulde poſſible. For through his intreaty and requeſt, the Senate did confirme and ratifie his graunt vnto them, which was: that they might vſe the liberty and benefit of their owne lawes, and quietly enioy their goodes alſo which were left them. To requite this ſpecial grace procured them by *Marcellus*, the SYRACVSANS gaue him many honors, & among others they made a law, that euer after, as oft as any of *Marcellus* name or houſe came into SICILE, the SYRACVSANS ſhould kepe a ſolemne feaſt, with garlands on their heades, and ſhould alſo ſacrifice vnto the goddes. After this, *Marcellus* went againſt *Hanniball*. And where all the other Conſulls almoſt, & generalles, after the ouerthrow at CANNES, had vſed this only policie with him, not to come to battell: he tooke a contrarie courſe to them all, thinkinge that tract of time, (whereby they thought to eate out *Hannibals* force) was rather a direct conſuming and deſtroying of all ITALIE: and that *Fabius Maximus* ſtandinge to much vpon ſafety, tooke not the way to cure the diſeaſe and weakenes of the common weale of ROME, looking to ende this warre, conſuming by litle and litle the ſtrength and power of ROME, committing a fearefull phiſitions fault and error, being afraid to heale their pacient ſodainly, imagining that to bring them low, doth leſſen the diſeaſe. So, firſt of all he went to beſiege certeine great cities of the SAMNITES, which were reuolted from obedience of the ROMAINES: and thoſe he wanne againe with a great prouiſion of corne and money he founde in them, beſides three thouſande ſouldiers *Hanniball* left in garriſon there, whome he tooke priſoners. *Hanniball* after that, hauinge ſlaine the viceconſul *Cneus Fuluius* in APVLIA, with eleuen *Tribunis militum* (to wit, Colonels, euery one hauinge charge of a thouſande footemen) and ouerthrowen the greateſt parte of his armie: *Marcellus* wrote letters to ROME, hoping to comforte the Senate & people, telling he would go thither, and did warrant them he woulde driue *Hanniball* out of APVLIA. When the ROMAINES had red his letters, they were nothing the more cōforted, but rather (as *Liuie* writeth)

Marcellus being Conſull, aunſwered the Syracuſans accuſations as a priuate man.

Marcellus conſtancy.

Marcellus curteſie to the Syracuſans.

Marcellus actes againſt Hannibal in his fourth Conſullſhip.

Cneus Fuluius viceconſull ſlaine in Apulia by Hanniball.

more

more afraid and discouraged: bicause they doubted the daunger to come woulde be greater, then the losse past, takinge *Marcellus* to be a farre greater and better generall, then euer was *Fuluius*. Neuertheless, *Marcellus* performing the contentes of his letters wrytten to ROME, draue *Hannibal* out of APVLIA, and made him retyre into LVCANIA. And *Marcellus* finding him in that contry, by a city called NVMISTRON, lodged apon hilles, and in places of strength and aduantage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morninge he was the first that presented his enemy battell. *Hannibal* on the other side, came downe into the valley, and they ioyned battell: which was so cruelly fought, and so long time, as it coulde not be discerned who had the better. For the battell being begonne at nine of the clocke in the morning, it was darke night ere they gaue ouer. The next morning by pepe of day, *Marcellus* set his men againe in battell raye, in the middest of all the dead bodies that lay slaine in the fielde, and chalenged *Hannibal*, to proue who should haue the field. But *Hannibal* refused, and marched his way thence: so as *Marcellus* thereby had good leasure left him to strippe his slaine enemies, and also to bury his owne souldiers. When he had finished that, he presently followed his enemie by the foote, who layed many ambushes for him, but he coulde neuer trappe him in any: and in euery encounter or skirmishe they had together, *Marcellus* hadde euer the better, which wanne him great fame and credit. Nowe time beinge commen about to choose newe Consulls, the Senate thought good to sende rather for the other Consul that was in SICILE, then to remoue *Marcellus* thence, who had fought with *Hannibal*. So when the other Consull was come to ROME, the Senate commaunded him to name *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, bicause the Dictator was neither chosen by the people, nor by the Senate: but one of the Consuls or Prætors, in open assembly of the people, nameth such a one Dictator, as he liketh of. Wherefore it seemeth, that this word Dictator, came apon that word naming: for, *Dicere* in the ROMAINE tongue, signifieth to name. Howebeit other holde opinion, that he was called Dictator, bicause he commaundeth of him selfe what he will, without the counsell of the Senate, & the voyces of the people: and this seemeth to be true, bicause the commaundements of the Senate of ROME are called *Edicta*, which we GREECIANS call *Diatagmata*. Now the other Consull and companion of *Marcellus* being come out of SICILE, he would nedes name an other Dictator, then him whom the Senate offred him: and bicause he would not be compelled to do that he was vnwilling to do, he stale away one night, and returned againe into SICILE. Hereupon the people did name and appoint *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, and the Senate wrote their letters to *Marcellus*, to confirme him: which *Marcellus* did, and authorised the peoples election. So he him selfe was chosen againe Proconsul, for the next yeare following: in the which he hauing conferred with *Fabius Maximus* about the warres, they were agreed, that *Fabius* should proue if he could winne the city of TARENTVM againe: and that *Marcellus* in the meane time shoulde keepe *Hannibal* occupied, that he might not come to aide it. This resolution being taken betwene them, *Marcellus* went to meete *Hannibal* by the city of CANNVSIVM: who as he still chaunged and shifted lodginge, bicause he woulde not come to the battell against his will, found *Marcellus* euer in his eye before him. Insomuch as *Hannibal* remouinge thus his campe, *Marcellus* plyed him so one day with continuall alaroms and skirmishes, that he brought him to a battell that held all day long till night, and compelled them both to leaue of til the next morning: where *Marcellus* shewed againe in field by breake of the day, in battell ray. Whereat *Hannibal* being in a maruelous rage, he called his souldiers together, and made an oration to them, earnestly mouinge them once againe to fight with *Marcellus*, if euer they had heretofore fought for his sake. You see, sayd he, that hauing fought so many battells, and gotten such victories as we haue done, we can not yet take breath as we would, nor be in quiet, how much soeuer we winne, if we driue not away yonder fellow *Marcellus*. When *Hannibal* had ended his oration to the CARTHAGINIANS, he led them on to the battell: where *Marcellus*, to no purpose, and out of time, would nedes shew *Hannibal* a stratageame of warre, that turned him selfe to the worst. For *Marcellus* perceiuing the right wing of his army distressed, made one of his legyons that was set in ray in the rereward of his hoste, to marche to the fronte of his battell, to helpe those that needed ayde. But this remouing of the legyon, troubled them that fought, and gaue the enemies the victorie: who slue that day

Marcellus fought a battell with Hannibal at Numistron in Apulia.

The Dictator chosen by the Consull or Prætor, not by the people nor Senate. Whereof Dictator commeth.

Quintus Fuluius chosen Dictator, by the people. Marcellus Proconsull.

Hannibals oration to his souldiers.

Marcellus stratageame.

Marcellus ouercome in battell by Hanniball.

two thousand seuen hundred of the ROMAINES. So, when *Marcellus* was come againe into his campe, he straight called his souldiers before him, to whome he spake in this maner: that he saw a great deale of armor, and bodies of men, but he coulde see no ROMAINES. The ROMAINES hearing him say so, besought him to pardon the fault they had committed. *Marcellus* aunswered, he woulde neuer pardon them, so long as they were ouercome: but when they ouercame againe, he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to bringe them againe to fight with the enemy, that such as were at ROME should rather heare newes of their victorie, then of their running away. When he had sayed, he appointed they shoulde geue those bandes that first turned their backes to *Hanniball*, barley for wheate. So, as there were many of them in great daunger of their liues, for the sore woundes they hadde geuen them in the battell: yet was there not a man of them, but *Marcellus* words did more greue them, then the greuous woundes they had. The next morning betimes was set out of the generalles tent, the coate armor died in skarlet, which is the ordinary signe of battell: and the bandes that had receiued dishonor the day before, were placed at their owne requeste in the fronte of the battell. The other Captaines besides, that were not ouerthrowen: did leade their bandes also to the fielde, and did set them in battell raye. *Hanniball* hearing of that, cried out: O gods, what a man is this, that can not be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the only odde man, that neuer giueth rest to his enemy, when he hath ouercommed him: nor taketh any for him selfe, when he is ouercome. We shal neuer haue done with him, for any thing that I see: sith shame, whether he winne or loose, doth still prouoke him to be bolder and vallianter. After orations made of bothe sides, bothe armies marched forwardes to ioyne battell. The ROMAINES being as strong as the CARTHAGINIANS, *Hanniball* put his Elephants in the voward and fronte of his battell, and commaunded his men to driue them apon the ROMAINES: and so they did. Which in deede did somewhat trouble and disorder the first ranckes of the ROMAINES: vntill such time as *Flauius*, Tribune of the souldiers, tooke an ensigne in his hande, and marched before the beastes, and gaue the first of them such a thrust with the poynt of his ensigne, that he made her turne backe. The first beast being turned backe thus, ranne apon the seconde that followed her, and the second made the third go backe also, and so from one to an other, vntill they all turned. *Marcellus* perceiuing that, commaunded his horsemen to set apon the enemies with all the fury they coulde, in that place where he sawe them, somewhat troubled with these beastes, that turned backe againe vpon them: and that they should driue them further in amongest them. Which they did, and gaue so hotte a charge apon the CARTHAGINIANS, that they made them turne their backes, & runne away, and they pursued them still, killing them downe right, euen to their campe side: where was the greatest slaughter of all, by reason their Elephants that were wounded, fell downe starke deade within the gate of their campe. And they saye of the CARTHAGINIANS there were slaine at this battell, aboue eight thowsande, and of the ROMAINES, onely three thowsande: howbeit all the rest of them for the most parte were very sore hurt. Which fell out very well for *Hanniball*, that he might march away at his pleasure, as he did that night, and got him away farre of from *Marcellus*, as knowing he was not in state to follow him ouersodainely, bicause of his great number of hurt men in his campe: and so by small iorneys he went into CAMPANIA, where he lay in garrison all the sommer, in the city of SINVESSE, to heale the woundes of his sore mangled souldiers. *Hanniball* hauing now gotten him selfe at the length out of *Marcellus* hands, & hauing his army free to serue him as he thought good: he burned & destroyed all ITALIE where he went & stoode no more in feare of any thing. This made *Marcellus* ill spoken of at ROME, and caused his enemies to take holde of such a matter against him: for they straight raised *Publius Bibulus* Tribune, to accuse him, who was a hotte harebrained man, but very eloquent, and coulde deliuer his minde very well. So this *Bibulus* called the people oft to counsaill, and tolde them there, that they must nedes call home *Marcellus*, and appoint some other to take charge of the army: for as for him, sayd he, bicause he hath fought a litle with *Hanniball* (and as a man might say, wrestled a litle with him) he is now gotten to the bathes to solace him selfe. But *Marcellus* hearing this, left his Lieutenantes in the campe, and went him selfe to ROME, to aunswer to the vntrue accusations layd against him, and there he perceiued at his comming, how they

Marcellus hard wordes vnto his souldiers.

Hannibals wordes of Marcellus.

Battell betwixt Hanniball and Marcellus.

The worthy act of Flauius, Tribunus militum.

Marcellus victory of Hanniball.

Hanniball lay in garrison in the city of Sinuesse in Campania.

P. Bibulus Tribune of the people accuseth Marcellus.

intended

A intended to profecute the matter againſt him apon theſe informations. So a day of hearinge was appointed for his matter, & the parties came before the people aſſembled in counſaill, in the great liſtes or ſhow place, called *Circus Flaminius*, to giue iudgement. There *Publius Bibulus* the Tribune, ſitting in his chayer, layd open his accuſation with great circumſtance: and *Marcellus*, when *Bibulus* had tolde his tale, aunſwered him in few wordes, and very diſcretely, only touchinge his purgation. But the noble and chiefeſt men of the citie, roſe vppe, and ſpake on *Marcellus* behalfe, telling the people plainely, that they did *Marcellus* wrong, to recken worſe of his valliantnes, then their enemy did: and to iudge of him as a coward, conſidering *Hannibal* only fled from him, of all other Captaines, and would by no meanes fight with him, neuer refuſinge to fight with any other whatſoeuer. Theſe perſwaſions tooke ſuch effect, as where B *Marcellus* accuſer looked for his condēnation: *Marcellus* to the contrary, was not only cleared of his accuſation, but furthermore they choſe him Conſull againe the fift time. So beinge entred into his office, he went firſt into THVSCAN: where viſiting the good cities one after an other, and quietinge them, he pacified a great ſedition in the contry, when they were all ready to riſe and rebell. Afterwards at his returne, he thought to conſecrate the temple of honor & vertue, which he had built with the ſpoyles he gotte in the warres of SICILE. But the Prieſtes were againſt it, ſaying, two goddes might not be in one church. Thereupon he built an other temple, and ioyned it to the firſt, being very angry the Prieſtes denied ſo his conſecration: and he did take it for an euill token, beſides diuerſe other ſignes in the element that afterwards appeared, and troubled him much. For there were many temples ſet a fire with lightening at one C time: and the rattes and miſe did knawe the golde, that was in the chappell of *Iupiter Capitoline*. And it is reported alſo, that an oxe did ſpeake: and a childe came out of the heade of an Elephant, and that the child was aliue. Furthermore, the Prieſtes and Soothſayers ſacrificing to the goddes, to withdraw this euill from them theſe ſiniſter tokens did threaten: they could neuer finde any fauorable ſignes in their ſacrifices. Whereuppon they ſought to keepe *Marcellus* ſtill at ROME, who had a maruelous earneſt deſire to be gone with ſpeede to the warres: for neuer man longed for any thing ſo much, as *Marcellus* did, to fight with *Hannibal*. Inſomuch he neuer dreamed other thing in the night, nor ſpake of any matter els in the day to his frendes and companions, nor prayed to the goddes for any other thinge, but that he might fight with *Hannibal* in the fielde: and I thincke he woulde willingliеſt haue fought a priuate D combat with him, in ſome walled city or incloſed lyſtes for the combat. And had it not bene that he had already wonne him ſelfe great fame, and ſhewed him ſelfe to the worlde, (by ſundry great proofes & experience of his doings) a graue, skilfull, and a valliant Captaine as any man of his time: I would haue ſaid it had bene a pange of youth, and a more ambitious deſire, then became a man of his age, who was three ſcore yere old at that time, whē they made him Conſul againe the fift time. Neuertheles, after he had ended all his propitiatory ſacrifices and purifications, ſuch as the Soothſayers had appointed: he departed from ROME with his fellow Conſul *Quintus Criſpinus* to the warres. He found *Hannibal* lying betwene the cities of BANCIA, and VENOVSA, and ſought all the meanes he could to procure him to fight, but he could neuer get him to it. Howbeit *Hannibal* being aduertiſed by ſpyalles, that the Conſulls ſent an E army to beſiege the city of the LOCRIANS, ſurnamed EPIZEPHYRIANS: (as ye would ſay, the occidentals, bicauſe the GREECIANS, in reſpect of the ITALIANS, are called the orientals:) he layd an ambuſh for them that went, vnder the hill of PETELIVM, which was directly in their way, where he ſlew about two thouſand fiue hundred ROMAINES. That ouerthrow did ſette *Marcellus* on fire, and made him more deſirous of battell: whereupon he remoued his campe from the place he lay in, and marched nearer to his enemy. Betwene their two campes, there was a prety litle hill, ſtrong of ſcituacion, a wilde thing ouergrowen with wod, and there were high hillocks. Frō whēce they might diſcerne a great way, both the one & the others campe, & at the foote of the ſame ranne prety ſprings: Inſomuch as the ROMAINES wondered, that *Hannibal* comminge thither firſt, did not take that place, but had left it to his enemies. How-F beit *Hannibal* was crafty enough, leauing it of purpoſe: for as it was commodious to lodge his campe in, ſo it ſerued his turne better for an ambuſh. So he filled the wodde, the hollow places, and the valleys there about, with ſtore of ſhot and ſpearemen, aſſuringe him ſelfe that the

Circus Flaminius.

Marcellus choſen Conſul the fift time.

The temple of honor and vertue built by Marcellus.

Wonderfull ſignes were ſeene in Rome vnfortunate to Marcellus.

Marcellus three ſcore yeare olde beinge choſen Conſull the fift time.

Q. Criſpinus Conſull.

Hannibal lay betwixt the cities of Bancia and Venuſa.

Mons Petelium.

An ambuſh layd by Hannibal.

place woulde intyse the ROMAINES thither: and in deede he gessed rightly, for so fell it out. A
Straight, there flew a rumor abroade in the ROMAINES campe, that there was a passing place to lodge in, and euery man tooke apon him like a skilfull souldier, to tell what vantage they should haue apon their enemies, by taking that place, and specially if they did lodge there, or otherwise built a fort vpon it. Whereupon *Marcellus* determined to goe see the place him selfe, taking a few horsemen with him. Notwithstanding, before he would take horse, he called for his Soothsayer to sacrifice to the goddes. The first beast that was sacrificed, the Soothsayer shewed *Marcellus* the liuer of it without a head. The second beast sacrificed, had a fayer great head of a liuer, and all the other partes were also sounde, and very newe: that by them it appeared al the feare of the first ill signes and tokens were taken away. Yet the Soothsayers on the other side sayd, it did make them worse afraid then before: for these so fauorable and lucky B
tokens of the sacrifice, followinge immediatly after the first fowle and nawghty signes, made them doubt them much by reason of so straunge and sodaine an alteracion. But as the Poet *Pindarus* sayth,

Ill signes to Marcellus.

Nor force of burning fire, nor vvall of steele nor stone,
nor vvhatsoeuer other thing, is here this earth vpon:
Can kepe abacke the course of fatall destemy,
nor yet resist the due decrees, vvhich come from heauen on high.

So *Marcellus* tooke his horse, with *Quintus Crispinus* his fellow Consull, and his sonne one of the Tribunes of the souldiers, hauing onely two hundred and twenty horsemen with him, of the which there was not one ROMAINE among them, but all were THVSCANS, sauing forty FREGELLANIANS, who from the beginning of these warres had alwayes shewed them selues very faithfull and louing to *Marcellus*. The hill we spake of before, being thicke couered with wodde and bushes, the enemies hadde set a skowte to watche on the toppe of it, to geue warning if they saw any comming towardes it. The ROMAINES coulde not see him, and he on the other side might see euen into their campe, and perceiue what was done, as he did aduertise those at that time that lay in ambushe for *Marcellus* comminge: and they suffered him to passe on, vntill he came directly against them. Then they shewed vpon the sodaine, and compassing in *Marcellus*, they both shot and strake at him, some following them that fled, and other fighting with the forty FREGELLANIANS which only stucke to it: who came roundly in together (notwithstanding the THVSCANS were fled) apon the first crie they heard, to defend D
the two Consulls, vntill such time as the Consull *Crispinus* hauinge two woundes on his body with a dart, did turne his horse to flie. And with that, one of the enemies gaue *Marcellus* such a sore blowe with a speare hauinge a broade iron head, that he ranne him quite through. The FREGELLANIANS that were left aliue, beinge but a few in number, seeinge *Marcellus* slaine, left him lyinge on the grounde, and tooke his sonne away with them that was very sore hurt, and by the swiftnes of their horses recouered their campe, and saued them selues. At this ouerthrowe, there were not slayne aboue fortie men, and fiue and twentie taken prisonners, of which, fiue of them were the Consulls sergeauntes, and their officers that caried axes before them, and the other were all horsemen. Within few dayes after, the other Consull *Crispinus* died also of his hurtes, which was such a misfortune, as neuer came before to the ROMAINES, E
that both their Consulls were slaine at one battell. Now *Hanniball* made no great reckeninge of all that were slaine, or taken at this fielde: but when he heard that *Marcellus* selfe was slaine at this ouerthrow, he went him selfe straight to the place to see him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, standing hard by it, and considering his strength, his stature, and countenance, hauing taken full view of all the partes of him, he spake no proude word against him, nor shewed any glad countenance, as some other would haue done, that had slaine so valliant and daungerous an enemy: but wondering how he came to be slaine so straungely there, he tooke of his ring from one of his fingers that sealed his letters, and geuing his body buriall according to his estate, made it to be honorably burnt, and then put all his bones and ashes into a siluer potte, on which he him selfe put a crowne of golde, and sent it vnto *Marcellus* sonne. F
It fortuned so, that certaine light horsemen of the NVMIDIANS mette with them that caried this siluer pot, and would haue taken it from them by force: but they stood to it, and woulde not

Quintus Crispinus fellowe Consull with Marcellus.

Marcellus slaine in an ambush at the hill of Petelie.

The Consull Crispinus slaine.

Marcellus funerall honored by Hannibal.

A not parte withall, and ſo fightinge and ſtriuing together for it, the bones and aſhes were ſcattered all about. *Hannibal* hearinge this, ſayed to them that were about him : ſee, howe nothinge can be, which the goddes will not. So he puniſhed the NVMIDIANS, and cared no more to gette *Marcellus* bones together, but perſwaded him ſelfe it was the will of the goddes he ſhoulde dye ſo ſtraungely, and that his body ſhoulde haue no buriall. *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Valerius Maximus* wryte it thus : but *Liuie*, and *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſay, that the pot was caried vnto his ſonne, and honorably buried. *Marcellus* did conſecrate many monumentes in diuerſe places, beſides thoſe at ROME. As at CATANA in SICILE : a place for young men to exerciſe them ſelues in. In the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, in the temples of the gods called Cabires: many images and tables he brought from SYRACVSA. And in the Ile of LINDOS, in the temple of B *Minerua*, where among other, there is a ſtatue of his, and this epigramme grauen vnder it, as *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher wryteth. *Marcellus monuments.*

O thou my frend (I ſay) vvhich paſſeſt forth by me,
of Claudius Marcellus here, the image mayeſt thou ſee:
vvhoſe family at Rome, vvas of the nobleſt name.
Seuen times he Conſull choſen vvas, in vvhich he ouercame,
great numbers infinite, (in open fielde and fight)
of ſuch as ſought his contries ſpoyle, and put them all to flight.

The author of this epigramme reckeneth, the two times of his being viceconſull, for two whole Conſullſhippes : but his poſteritie continued alwayes in great honor, vnto *Marcellus*, C the ſonne of *Octauia*, (*Auguſtus Cæſars* ſiſter) and of *Caius Marcellus*. He dyed a young man, being Ædilis of ROME, & maried vnto *Iulia*, *Auguſtus* daughter, with whom he liued no lōg time. But to honor the memory of him, *Octauia* his mother built the library, and *Auguſtus Cæſar* the Theater, which are called to this day, *Marcellus* Theater and library. *Marcellus poſterity.*

THE COMPARISON OF *Marcellus with Pelopidas.*

THeſe are the greateſt thinges and beſt worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus* doinges : and for their maners and naturall condicions otherwiſe, they were all one, bicauſe they were both valliant, painefull, and noble minded : ſauing that this difference onely was betwene them. That *Marcellus* in many cities he tooke by aſſault, did cruelly murder them, and ſpilt much bloode : where *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* contrarily did neuer put any to the ſword they ouercame, neither did they take away the libertie from any citie they tooke : and it is thought the THEBANS woulde not haue handeled the *Pelopidas & Marcellus actes in warr.*

Marcellus actes preferred before Pelopidas.

ORCHOMENIANS ſo cruelly as they did, if one, or both of them had bene preſent. Nowe for their actes, it was a noble and wonderfull peece of ſeruice that *Marcellus* did, with ſo ſmall a company of horſemen as he tooke with him, to ouerthrow ſo great a number of horſemen & footemen both, of the GAVLES: a thinge that neuer Generall but him ſelfe did, and ſpecially that ſlewe with his owne handes in the fielde, the Generall of his enemies. Which *Pelopidas* could neuer attaine vnto: for he ſeeking to kill *Alexander* the tyran of PHERES, was ſlaine firſt him ſelfe, and ſuffered that, which he deſired to haue done to an other. And yet for that ſeruice may be obiected, the battells of LEVCTRES, and of TEGYRA, which were both famous and notable. But to encounter with thoſe, there was no notable ambuſhe or ſecrete practiſe done by *Marcellus*, that was any thing like comparable to that *Pelopidas* did at his returne from exile, when he ſlew the tyrans that kept THEBES in bondage. For that was as notable a policy and ſodaine an enterpriſe ſtolen apon, as none was euer greater, or more famous. It is true *Marcellus* was yoked with *Hanniball*, who was a dreadfull and a violent enemy: ſo were the THEBANS alſo at that very time with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who notwithſtanding were ouercome of *Pelopidas*, at the battells of TEGYRA, and of LEVCTRES. Wheras *Marcellus* did neuer ſo much as once ouercome *Hanniball*, as *Polybius* wryteth, but remained vnconquered alwayes, vntill that *Scipio* ouercame him in battell. Notwithſtandinge, we do geue beſt credit to the reportes of *Cæſar*, *Liuie*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and of king *Iuba* among the GREECIANS: who wryte, that *Marcellus* otherwhile did ouerthrow certaine of *Hanniballs* companies, howebeit they were neuer no great ouerthrowes to ſpeake of, & it ſeemeth rather, it was through ſome mockerie or deceite of that AFRICAN, then otherwiſe. Yet ſure it was a great matter, and worthy much cõmendacion, that the ROMAINES were brought to that corage, as they durſt abide to fight with the CARTHAGINIANS, hauing loſt ſo many great ouerthrowes, & hauing ſo many generalls of their armies ſlaine in battell, and hauing the whole Empire of ROME in ſo great daunger of vtter deſtruction. For it was *Marcellus* only of all other generalls, that put the ROMAINES in hart againe, after ſo great and longe a feare thorowly rooted in them: and incoraged the ſouldiers alſo to longe to fight with their enemy, and not onely to hope, but to aſſure them ſelues of victory. For, where by reaſon of their continuall loſſes and fearefull ouerthrowes they hadde, they thought them ſelues happy men to eſcape *Hannibals* handes by runninge away: he taught them to be aſhamed to flie like cowardes, to confeſſe they were in diſtreſſe, to retyre, & leaue the fielde, before they had ouercome their enemies. And where *Pelopidas* was neuer ouercome in battell beinge generall, and *Marcellus* did ouercome more then any generall in his time: it might ſeeme therefore that the great number of the victories of the one, ſhould compare with the good happe of the other that was neuer ouercome. It is true that *Marcellus* tooke the city of SYRACVSA, & *Pelopidas* failed of taking the city of SPARTA: but yet do I thinke, that it was more valliantly done of *Pelopidas*, to come ſo neere SPARTA as he did, and that he was the firſt that paſſed the riuer of EVROTAS with an army, which neuer enemy did before him, than it was of *Marcellus* to winne all SICILE. Vnles ſome paraduenture will ſay againe, this was *Epaminondas*, not *Pelopidas* acte, as alſo in the victorie of LEVCTRES: where no man liuing can pretend any parte of glory to the doinges of *Marcellus*. For he tooke SYRACVSA, being onely generall alone, and did ouerthrow the GAVLES without his fellow Conſull, and fought with *Hanniball*, without any mans helpe or incoragement (for all other were againſt it, and perſwaded the contrary) and he was the firſt that altered the maner of warres the ROMAINES vſed then, and that trained his ſouldiers, that they durſt fight with the enemy. For their death, I neither commend the one nor the other, and the ſtraungeneſſe of either of their deathes doth greue me maruelouſly: as I do greatly wonder alſo, how *Hanniball* in ſo many battells as he fought (which are innumerable) could alwayes ſcape vnhurt. I can not but greatly commende alſo the valliantnes of one *Chryſantas*, whom *Xenophon* ſpeaketh of in his booke of the inſtitucion of *Cyrus*, ſaying: that he hauing lift vp his ſword in his hand ready to kill one of his enemies, and hearing the trompet ſound the retreate, he ſoftly retyred, & would not ſtrike him. Howbeit it ſeemeth *Pelopidas* is more to be excuſed: for beſide that he was very hot and deſirous of battel, yet his anger was honorable and iuſt, and moued him to ſeeke reuenge. For as the Poet *Euripides* ſayth:

The maner of Marcellus & Pelopidas deedes.

Marcellus made the Romaines coragious.

Raſhnes in a Captaine deſerueth blame.

The valliantnes and obedience of Chryſantas a ſouldier.

The

The beſt that may betyde, is vvhen a captaine liues,
and doth ſuruiue the victories, vvhich he vvith force achieues.
But if he needes muſt fall, then let him valliantly
euen thruſt amid the thickeſt throng, and there vvith honor dye.

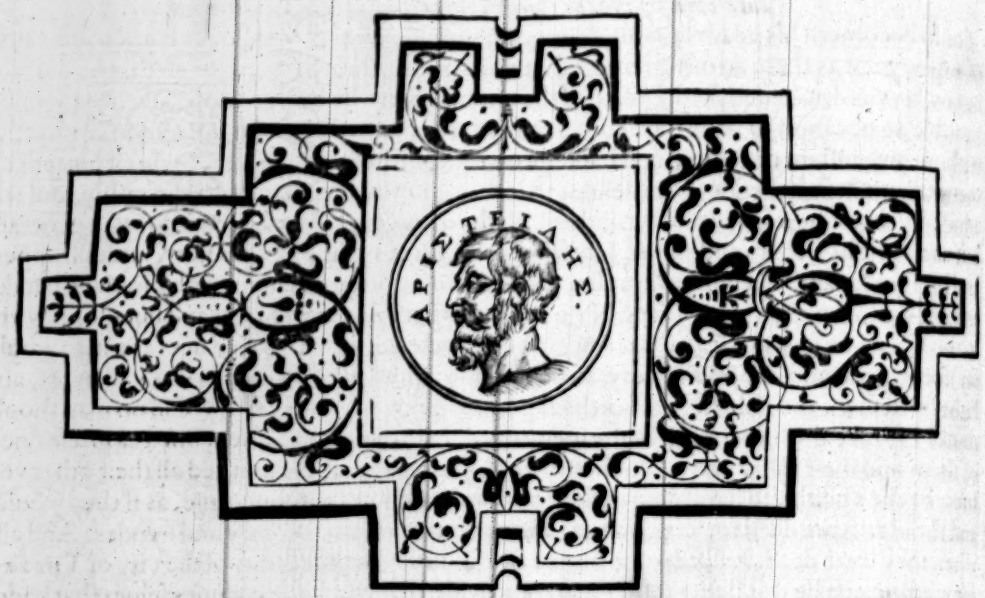
For ſo becometh his death famous, & not diſhonorable. But now, beſides *Pelopidas* iuſt cauſe of anger, yet was there an other reſpect that moſt pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he ſaw his victorie ended, in the death of the tyran. Otherwiſe he ſhoulde hardly haue founde ſo noble an occaſion to haue ſhewed his valliantneſſe, as in that. And *Marcellus* contrarily, without any inſtant neceſſity, and hauinge no cauſe of heate or choller, (which putteth all men valliant in fight beſides them ſelues, that they know not what they do) did raſhly, and vnaduiſedly thruſt him ſelfe into the middeſt of the daunger, where he dyed not as a generall, but as a light horſeman and skowt, (forſakinge his three triumphes, his fiue Conſullſhippes, and his ſpoyles and tokens of triumphe, which he had gotten of kinges with his owne hands) among venturous SPANIARDS and NVMIDIANS, that ſolde their blood and liues for pay vnto the CARTHAGINIANS: ſo that I imagine they were angry with thē ſelues (as a man would ſay) for ſo great and happy a victory, to haue ſlaine amongeſt FREGELLANIAN skowtes, and light horſemen, the nobleſt and worthieſt perſon of the ROMAINES. I would no man ſhould thinke I ſpeake this in reproch of the memory of theſe two famous men, but as a griefe onely of them and their valliantnes: which they imployed ſo, as they bleamiſhed all their other vertues, by the vndiſcrete hazarding of their perſones and liues without cauſe, as if they woulde and ſhoulde haue dyed for them ſelues, and not rather for their contry and frendes. And alſo when they were dead, *Pelopidas* was buried by the allies & confederats of the city of THEBES, for whoſe cauſe he was ſlaine: and *Marcellus* in like maner, by the enemies ſelues that hadde ſlaine him. And ſure the one is a happy thing, and to be wiſhed for in ſuch a caſe: but the other is farre aboue it, and more to be wondered at. That the enemy him ſelfe ſhoulde honor his valliantneſſe and worthineſſe that hurt him, more then the office of frendſhippe performed by a thankefull frende. For nothing moueth the enemy more to honor his deade enemy, then the admiration of his worthines: and the frende ſheweth frendeſhip many times, rather for reſpect of the benefit he hath receiued, then for the loue he beareth to his vertue.

Plutarch excuſeth his free ſpeech and Iudgement of theſe famous men.

Pelopidas & Marcellus funeralls vnlike.

The ende of Marcellus life.

THE LIFE OF *Aristides.*



Aristides wealth.

Aristides the sonne of *Lysimachus*, was certeinly of the tribe of *Antiochides*, and of the towne of ALOPECIA. But for his goodes and wealth, they diuersely write of him. For some say, he liued poorely all the daies of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reason of their pouerty, liued vnmaried many yeres after their fathers death. And many of the oldest writers do cõfirme that for troth. Yet *Demetrius Phalerius*, in his booke intituled *Socrates*, wryteth the contrary: that he knew certeine landes *Aristides* had in the village of PHALERIA, which did yet beare the name of *Aristides* lands, in the which his body is buried. And furthermore, to shew that he was well to liue, and that his house was rich and wealthy, he bringeth foorth these proofes. First, that he was one yeare mayer or prouost of ATHENS, whom they called, *Archon Eponymos*, bicause the yeare tooke the name of him that hadde it yearely. And they say he came to it, by drawing of the beane, according to the auncient vse of the ATHENIANS, and their wonted manner of makinge their election of the said office: In which election none were admitted to drawe the beane, but such as were highest set in their subsidie bookes, according to the value & rate of their goodes, whom they called at ATHENS, *Pentacosiomedimnes*, as you would say, those that might dispend fiue hundred bushels of wheate by the yere, and vpwards. Secondly, he alleageth he was banished by the *Ostracismon*, which banisheth the nobilitie and great rich men onely, whom the common people enuie, bicause of their greatnesse, and neuer dealeth with poore men. The third and last reason he makes is, that he left of his gift, three footed stooles in the temple of *Bacchus*, which those do commonly offer vp, as haue won the victory in comedies, tragedies, or other such like pastimes, wherof they them selues had borne the charge. And those threefooted stooles remaine there yet, which they say were geuen by *Aristides*, and haue this inscription vppon them: The tribe of *Antiochides* wanne the victorie, *Aristides* defrayed the charges of the games, and *Archestratus* the Poet taught them to playe his comedies. This last reason, though it seeme likeliest of them all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For *Epaminondas* (whome euery man knoweth was poore euen from his birth, and alwayes liued in great pouertie) and *Plato* the Philosopher, tooke apon him to defraye the charges of games that were of no small expence, the one hauing borne the charges of flute players at THEBES, and the other the dawnce of the children

which

A which dawnced in a rounde at ATHENS: towards the furnishing of which charges, *Dion* the SYRACVSAN gaue *Plato* money, and *Pelopidas* also gaue *Epaminondas* money. Now, this is not spoken that vertuous men should alwayes refuse the gifts of their frends, and that they might not in some sorte accept their frendes curtesie offered them: but bicause they should thinke it vncomely and dishonorable for them, to take any thing to enrich them selues, or to spare and hourde vp. Howebeit where there is any honorable act to be done, or any publike show to be made, not tending to their priuate benefit: in such a case they should not refuse their frendes louing offer, and goodwill towardes them. And where *Demetrius* saith the three footed stoole was offered vp in the temple of *Bacchus*, *Panætius* declareth plainely, that *Demetrius* was deceaued by the semblance of the name. For since the time of the warres of the MEDES, vnto

Good men may take giftes, but after a sorte.

B the beginninge of the warre of PELOPONNESVS, in all the registers and recordes kept of the defrayers of the charges of common playes, there were founde but two men bearinge name of *Aristides*, that obteined victory: & neither of them both was sonne vnto *Lysimachus*, whom we wryte of at this present. For the one is expressly named the sonne of *Xenophilus*, and the other was long after the same *Aristides* we now speake of: as appeareth easily by the wrytinge and orthographie, which is according to the grammer rules, we haue vsed in GREECE euer since *Euclides* time. Moreouer it is easie to be knowen, by the name of the Poet *Archestratus* that is adioyned to it. For there is no man that maketh mencion of a Poet of this name, in all the warres of the MEDES: but in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, many doe put him in for an author and maker of rymes and songes that were song in common daunces. Yet

C for all *Panætius* obiections, the matter is to be better looked into, and considered of. But for the Ostracisinon banishment, it is true, that such as were great men in estimacion aboue the common people, either in fame, nobility, or eloquence, they onely were subiect vnto this banishment. For *Damon* himselfe, beinge *Pericles* schoolemaister, was banished: onely bicause the common people thought him to wise. Moreouer, *Idomeneus* wryteth, that *Aristides* was their prouost for a yeare, not by lot of beanes, but by voyces of the ATHENIANS that chose him. And if he were prouost since the iorney of PLATEES, as *Demetrius* wryteth: it is likely enough that they didde him this honor, for his great vertue and notable seruice, which other were wont to obteine for their riches. But this *Demetrius* doth not only defende *Aristides*, but

Damon banished bicause he was to wise.

also *Socrates* pouerty, as if it were a fowle vyce and reproche to be poore. For he wryteth, that

Socrates was not poore.

D he had not only a house of his owne, but also three score and ten Minas at vsery, which *Criton* gaue him interest for. But now to our story againe. *Aristides* was *Clisthenes* very frend, he that restored the gouernment at ATHENS after the expulsion of the thirty tyrannes, and did reuerence *Lycurgus* the Lawmaker of the LACEDÆMONIANS for his lawes, aboue all the men in his time: and therefore he euer fauored the state of Aristocratia, that is, where the noble men rule, and haue the souerainty. Howbeit he euer had *Themistocles* (*Neocles* sonne) his continuall aduersary, as takinge parte with the contrary, and defending the popular state of gouernment. Some say, that being schollers, and brought vp together, they were euer contrary one to an other in all their actions and doinges, were it in sporte, or in matters of earnest: and euer after, men beganne to see the naturall inclination of them both, by their contrary affections.

Aristocratia what it signifieth.

Aristides and Themistocles enemies in the common wealth.

E For *Themistocles* was quicke, nimble, aduenturous, and subtill, and would venter on any thing, apon light occasion. *Aristides* contrariwise was very quiet, temperate, constant, and marueilous well stayed, who woulde for no respect be drawen away from equity and iustice, neither would lye, flatter, nor abuse any body, though it were but in sporte. Notwithstanding, *Aristus* of CHIO wryteth, that their malice beganne first of light loue, and that it grewe to greatnesse by processe of time betwene them: for (sayeth he) both the one and the other of them fell in loue with *Stesileus*, borne in the Ile of CEOS. This fond light loue of theirs, fell not easily from them, nor the enuy they conceiued one against an other, but continued against eche other in matters of state: such was their malice towardes one an other. In which calling, *Themistocles* sought the way to winne frendes, by whose meanes he came to great preferment in shorte

Themistocles disposition.

Aristides nature.

F time, and had made him selfe very strong by them. Therefore, when a frende of his tolde him one day, he was worthy to gouerne the city of ATHENS, and were very fitte for it, if he were indifferent, and not partiall. The goddes forbid (quod he) I should euer occupie the place of a

Themistocles saying for partiality.

gouernour, where my frendes ſhoulde not finde more fauor then ſtraungers, that doe me no pleaſure. But *Ariſtides* taking an other courſe by him ſelfe, would not ſtande apon his frendes in gouernment. Firſt, bicauſe he woulde do no man wrong, with pleaſuring his frendes: nor yet would anger them, by denying their requeſtes. Secondly, bicauſe he ſaw many rulers and men of authority bolde to do iniuſtice, and manifeſt wrong, bearinge them ſelues apon their frendes: but he caried this opinion, that no honeſt man, or good citizen, ſhoulde truſt to any bolſtring of frendes, but to his owne iuſt and vpright doings. Notwithſtanding, *Ariſtides* perceiuinge that *Themiſtocles* did raſhly alter many thinges, and euer encountered all his wayes, and hindered his doings: he was enforced ſomtime to croſſe *Themiſtocles* againe, & to ſpeake againſt that he preferred, partely to be euen with him, but moſt to hinder his credit and authority, which increaſed ſtill through the peoples fauor and goodwilles towardes him: thinking it better by contrarying him a litle to diſapoint ſometime a thing that might haue fallen out well for the common wealth, rather then by geuing him the head, to ſuffer him to grow to great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time that *Themiſtocles* hauing preferred a matter very profitable for the common wealth, *Ariſtides* was ſo much againſt it, as *Themiſtocles* purpoſe tooke no place. Moreouer *Ariſtides* was ſo earneſt againſt him, that when the counſaill brake vp after *Themiſtocles* motion was reiected, he ſpake it openly before them all: that the common wealth of ATHENS would neuer proſper, vntill they both were laid in Barathrum, which was a priſon or hole, wherein they put all theeues and condemned men. An other time, *Ariſtides* moued a matter to the people, which diuerſe were againſt, but yet it went with him. And when the iudge or preſident of the counſaill did put it to the people, to knowe their allowance of it: *Ariſtides* perceiuing by the argumentes made againſt it, that the matter he preferred was hurtfull to the common wealth, he gaue it ouer, and would not haue it paſſe. Many times alſo *Ariſtides* ſpake by other men, when he would haue a thing go forward, for feare leaſt *Themiſtocles* ſpight towardes him, woulde hinder the benefitte of the common wealth. They founde him very conſtant and reſolute in matters of ſtate, whatſoeuer happened: which wanne him great commẽdacion. For he was neuer the prouder for any honor they gaue him, nor thought him ſelfe diſgraced for any ouerthrow he receiued: being alwayes of this minde, that it was the duety of an honeſt citizen, to be euer ready to offer his body and life to doe his contry ſeruice, without reſpect and hope of reward of money, or for honor and glory. Therefore when certeine verſes were repeated in the Theater, of one of the tragedies of *AEſchilus*, made in commendacion of the auncient Soothſayer *Amphiaraus*, to this effect.

Ariſtides manner of dealing in the common wealth.

Barathrum a priſon or dungeon.

Ariſtides conſtancy.

He vvill not only ſeeme, a iuſt man by his face,
but iuſt in dede he vvill be founde, and vertue ſtill embrace:
VVith all his thought and ſoule, from vvhence there may procede,
graue counſells for to beavvtifie, his contries crovvne in dede.

All the people ſtraight caſt their eyes vpon *Ariſtides*, as vppon him, that in troth aboue all other moſt deſerued the praiſe of ſo great a vertue. For he was ſo ſtoute and reſolute, not only to reſiſt fauor and frendſhippe: but to reiect hate and anger alſo. For in caſe of iuſtice, neither coulde frendſhippe make him go away for his frendes ſake: nor enuy coulde moue him to do iniuſtice, to his very enemy. For proofe hereof it is wrytten, that he had an enemie of his in ſute of law, & did proſecute it to iudgement: inſomuch as after the plaint was red, the iudges were ſo angrie with the offendor, that without any more hearinge of him, they woulde haue geuen ſentence againſt him. But *Ariſtides* riſing from his place, went & kneeled at the iudges feete with the offendor his enemy, and beſought them to geue him leaue to ſpeake, to iuſtifie and defende his cauſe, according to the courſe of the law. An other time he being iudge betwene two priuate men that pleaded before him, one of them ſayd vnto him: *Ariſtides*, this fellow mine aduerſary here, hath done you great iniurie. My frende (quod *Ariſtides* againe) I pray thee tell me onely the iniury he hath done thee, for I am iudge here to do thee right, and not my ſelfe. Moreouer, he beinge choſen high treaſorer of all the reuenues of ATHENS, did declare that all the officers before him, and other his late predeceſſors, hadde greatly robbed and ſpoyled the common treaſure, but ſpecially *Themiſtocles*: who was a wiſe man, & of great iudgement, but yet ſomewhat light fingered. Therefore when *Ariſtides* was to geue vppe his accompt,

Ariſtides iuſtice.

Ariſtides wiſe ſaying.

Ariſtides choſen treaſorer.

Themiſtocles couetouſly geuen.

accompt, *Themiſtocles*, and many other ſuborned by him, were againſt him, and accuſed him for abuſing his office, and followed him ſo hard, that through their practiſe they condemned him, as *Idomeneus* wryteth. Yet the nobleſt citizens ſeeing what iniury they offered *Ariſtides*, tooke his cauſe in hande, and founde meanes to procure the people not onely to releaſe the fine impoſed vpon him, but to reſtore him againe to his office of high treaſorer for the yeare following: in the which he ſeemed to repent his former ſtraightnes and gouernment the yere before, and ſo dealt more fauorably with thoſe he hadde to do, and would not examine euery thing ſo ſtraightly as he did before. Whereupon ſuch as were theeues and ſtealers of the treaſure of the common wealth, did maruelouſly praiſe and like him, and became ſuters for him to continew in the office. But when the day of election came, that the ATHENIANS woulde chooſe him againe, *Ariſtides* ſelfe reproued them, and ſayd. When I faithfully diſcharged the duety of mine office committed to me by you, I then receiued ſhame and reproche at your handes: and now that I haue diſſembled, not ſeeminge to ſee the theftes and robberies done apon your treaſure, ye claw me, and ſay I am an honeſt man, and a good citizen. But I would you knew it, and I tell you plainely, I am more aſhamed of the honor you do me now, then I was of the fine you did ſet apon me, when you condemned me the laſt yeare: and I am ſorie to ſpeake it, that you ſhoulde thinke it more commendation to pleaſure the wicked, then to preſerue the common wealth. After he had ſpoken theſe words, and had bewrayed the common theftes the officers of the city did commit: he ſtopped the theeues mouthes that ſo highly praiſed and commended him for ſo honeſt a man, but yet of the noble and honeſt citizens he was much commended. Furthermore, on a time when *Dathis* Lieutenant to *Darius* king of PERSIA, was come with all his nauy to go a lande about MARATHON, in the contrie of ATTICA, apon pretence (as he ſayd) to be reuenged onely of the ATHENIANS that had burnt the city of SARDIS, but in dede of minde to conquer all GREECE, and to deſtroy the whole contrie before him: the ATHENIANS choſe tenne Captaines to go to the warres, amonge whom *Miltiades* was the chiefeſt man of authority. But *Ariſtides* drew very neere him in reputacion and creditte, bicauſe he did very good ſeruice in obtaining the victorie, ſpecially when he agreed with *Miltiades* in counſaill, to geue battell apon the barbarous people: and alſo when he willingly gaue *Miltiades* the whole rule and order of the army. For euery one of the tenne Captaines did by turnes leade the whole army for one whole day: and when *Ariſtides* turne came about, he gaue his preferment thereof vnto *Miltiades*, teaching his other companions, that it was no ſhame, but honor for them, to be ruled by the wiſeſt. Thus by his example, he appeaſed all ſtrife that might haue growen amonge them, and perſwaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and counſaill, that had beſt experience in warre. And ſo he did much aduaunce *Miltiades* honor. For, after that *Ariſtides* had once yelded his authority vnto him, euery one of the reſt did the like when it came to their turne: and ſo they all ſubmitted them ſelues vnto his rule and leading. But on the day of the battel, the place where the ATHENIANS were moſt combred, was in the middeſt of the battell, where they had ſet the tribes of the *Leontides*, and of *Antiochides*: for thither the barbarous people did bend all their force, and made their greateſt fight in that place. By which occaſion, *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides* fighting one hard by an other, for that the one was of the tribe *Leontides*, and the other of *Antiochides*, they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, enuying one an other: ſo as the barbarous people at the laſt being ouerthrowen, they made them flie, and draue them to their ſhippes. But when they were imbarked & gone, the Captaines of the ATHENIANS perceiuing they made not towardes the Iles which was their direct courſe to returne into ASIA, but that they were driuen backe by ſtorme of winde and pyrries of the ſea, towardes the coaſt of ATTICA, and the city of ATHENS, fearinge leaſt they might finde ATHENS vnfurniſhed for defence, and might ſet apon it: they thereupon ſent away preſently nine tribes that marched thither with ſuch ſpeede, as they came to ATHENS the very ſame day, and left *Ariſtides* in the campe at MARATHON, with his tribe and contry men, to looke to the priſoners and ſpoyle they hadde wonne of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceiued the opinion they had of his wiſdom. For notwithſtanding there was great ſtore of golde and ſiluer, much apparell, moueables, and other infinite goodes and riches in all their tentes and pauillions, and in the ſhippes alſo they

Ariſtides accuſed & condemned, for abuſing his office.

Ariſtides fine releaſed, and he made treaſorer againe.

Ariſtides openly reproueth cloſe theeues in the cõmon wealth, and deteſteth their praiſe.

Miltiades chiefe of the ten Captaines that went againſt Dathis the king of Perſians Lieutenant.

Miltiades victory of the Perſians.

had taken of theirs: he was not ſo couetous as once to touch them, nor to ſuffer any other to medle with them, vnleſſe by ſtealth ſome prouided for them ſelues. As amongſt other, there was one *Callias*, one of *Ceres* Prieſtes, called *Dadouchos*, as you woulde ſaye the torche bearer: (for in the ſecret ſacrifices of *Ceres*, his office was to holde the torche) whom when one of the barbarous people ſaw, and how he ware a bande about his head, and long heare, he toke him for ſome king, and falling on his knees at his feete, kiſſed his hand, and ſhewed him great ſtore of golde he hadde hidden and buried in a ditche. But *Callias*, like a moſt cruell, and cowardly wretch of all other on the earth, tooke away the gold, and killed the poore ſoule that had ſhewed him the place, bicauſe he ſhoulde not tell it to others. Hereof it commeth, that the comicall Poets do call thoſe that came of him in mockery, Laccoplutes, as made rich by a ditch: bicauſe of the golde that *Callias* founde in it. Immediatly after this battell, *Ariſtides* was choſen prouoſt of Athens for the yeare: albeit *Demetrius Phalerius* writeth, that it was a litle before his death, after the iorney of Platees. For in their Chronicles, where they ſet in order their prouoſts of Athens for the yere, ſince *Xanthippides* time, there appeareth no one name of *Ariſtides* in that yeare, that *Mardonius* the kinge of Persiaes Lieutenant was ouerthrowen by Platees, which was many yeares after. But contrariwiſe they finde *Ariſtides* enrolled amonge the prouoſtes immediatly after *Phanippus*, in the yeare the battell was fought at Marathon. Now the people did moſt commende *Ariſtides* iuſtice, as of all other his vertues and qualities: bicauſe that vertue is moſt common and in vſe in our life, and deliuereth moſt benefitte to men. Hereof it came, that he beinge a meane man, obteined the worthieſt name that one coulde haue, to be called by the whole city, a iuſt man. This ſurname was neuer deſired of kinges, princes, nor of tyrannes, but they alwayes delited to be ſurnamed, ſome *Poliorcetes*, to ſay, conquerors of cities: other *Ceraunj*, to ſay, lightening or terrible: other *Nicanores*, to ſay, ſubduers: and ſome other, *Aeti* and *Hieraces*, to ſay Eagles or Fawcons, or ſuch like birdes that praye: deſiringe rather (as it ſhould appeare by thoſe ſurnames) the praiſe and reputacion growinge by force and power, then the commendacion that riſeth by vertue and goodnes. And notwithſtanding, God whom men deſire moſt to be likened to, doth excell all humaine nature in three ſpeciall thinges: in immortality, in power, and in vertue, of which three, vertue is the moſt honorable and pretious thing. For as the naturall Philoſophers reaſon, all the foure elements and *Vacuum*, are immortall and vncorruptible, and ſo are force and power, earthquakes, lighteninge, terrible ſtormes, runninge riuers, and inundacions of waters: but as for iuſtice and equity, no man is partaker of them, ſaue onely God, by meanes of reaſon and vnderſtandinge. Therefore, bicauſe men commonly haue three ſundry honors to the gods: the firſt, that they thinke them bleſſed: the ſecond, that they feare them: the third, that they reuerence them: it appeareth then that they thinke them bleſſed, for the eternitie and immortality of their godhead: that they feare them, bicauſe of their omnipotency & power: and that they loue and worſhippe them, for their iuſtice and equitie. And yet notwithſtanding, of thoſe three, men do couet immortality, which no fleſh can attaine vnto: and alſo power, which dependeth moſt vppon fortune: and in the meane time they leaue vertue alone, whereof the goddes of their goodnes haue made vs capable. But here they ſhewe themſelues fooles. For iuſtice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authority, ſeeme diuine and celeſtiall: where without iuſtice, and dealinge vniuſtly, his life is moſt beaſtly, and odious to the worlde. But now againe to *Ariſtides*. This ſurname of a iuſt man at the beginning, made him beloued of all the people: but afterwardes it turned him to great ill will, and ſpecially by *Themiſtocles* practiſe. Who gaue it out euery where, that *Ariſtides* had ouerthrowen all iuſtice, bicauſe by conſent of the parties he was euer choſen Arbitrator to ende all controuerſies: & how by this meanes he ſecretly had procured the abſolute power of a kinge, not needing any gard or ſouldiers about him. The people moreouer beinge growen very diſſolute and licentious, by reaſon of the victorie of Marathon, who ſought that all thinges ſhould paſſe by them, and their authoritie: beganne nowe to miſlike, and to be greatly offended, that any priuate man ſhould go before the reſt in good fame and reputacion. Whereupon, they came out of all ſhyeres of Attica into the city of Athens, and ſo baniſhed *Ariſtides* with the Oſtraciſmon: diſguiſing the enuy they bare to his glory, with the name of feare

The wicked parte of Callias the torche bearer.

Ariſtides choſen prouoſt of Athens.

Ariſtides called the Iuſt.

The praiſe of iuſtice.

Authority would be without corruptiõ.

Themiſtocles enuieth Ariſtides iuſtice.

Ariſtides baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon.

of

A of tyranny. For this maner of baniſhment called Oſtraciſmon, or Exoſtraciſmon, was no ordinary puniſhment for any fault or offence committed : but to geue it an honeſt cloke, they ſayd it was onely a pulling downe and tying ſhorte, of to much greatneſſe and authority, exceeding farre the maner and countenance of a popular ſtate. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwiſe, thē a gentle meane to qualify the peoples enuy againſt ſome priuate perſon: which enuy bred no malice to him whoſe greatnes did offende them, but onely tended to the baniſhing of him for tenne yeares. But afterwardes that by practiſe, this Oſtraciſmon baniſhment was layed apon meane men, and malefactors, as vpon *Hyperbolus* that was the laſt man ſo baniſhed: they neuer after vſed it any more at Athens. And by the way, it ſhall not be amiſſe to tell you here, why, & wherfore this *Hyperbolus* was baniſhed. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were the B chiefeſt men of Athens at that time, and they both were euer at ſquare together, a common thing amongeſt great men. They perceiuing now by the peoples aſſembling, that they went about to execute the Oſtraciſmon, were maruelouſly afrayed it was ment to baniſhe one of them: wherefore they ſpake together, and made both their followers frends with eche other, and ioyned them in one tribe together, inſomuch, when the moſt voyces of the people were gathered to condemne him that ſhould be baniſhed, they founde it was *Hyperbolus*. The people therewith were much offended, to ſee the Oſtraciſmon ſo embaſed and ſcorned, that they neuer after woulde vſe it againe, and ſo left it of for euer. But briefely to let you vnderſtande what the Oſtraciſmon was, and after what ſorte they vſed it, ye are to know: that at a certaine day appointed, euery citizen caried a great ſhell in his hande, whereupon he wrote the name C of him he woulde haue baniſhed, and brought it into a certeine place railed about with wodden barres in the market place. Then, when euery man hadde brought in his ſhell: the magiſtrates, and officers of the city, did count and tell the number of them. For if there were leſſe then ſixe thowſand citizens, that had thus brought theſe ſhels together: the Oſtraciſmon was not full and perfect. That done, they layd a parte euery mans name written in theſe ſhels: and whoſe name they founde wrytten by moſt citizens, they proclaimed him by ſounde of trompet, a baniſhed man for tenne yeares, during which time notwithſtanding, the party did enioy all his goodes. Now euery man wryting thus his name in a ſhell, whom they would haue baniſhed: it is reported there was a plaine man of the contry (very ſimple) that coulde neither wryte, nor read, who came to *Ariſtides* (being the firſt man he met with) & gaue him his ſhell, D praying him to wryte *Ariſtides* name vpon it. He beinge abaſhed withall, did aske the contrie man, if *Ariſtides* had euer done him any diſpleaſure. No, ſayed the contrie man, he neuer did me hurt, nor I know him not: but it greeues me to heare euery man call him a iuſt man. *Ariſtides* hearing him ſay ſo, gaue him no aunſwere, but wrote his owne name vpon the ſhell, and deliuered it againe to the contrie man. But as he went his way out of the citie, he lift vppe his handes to heauen, and made a prayer contrary to that of *Achilles* in *Homer*, beſechinge the goddes that the Athenians might neuer haue ſuch troubles in hande, as they ſhoulde be compelled to call for *Ariſtides* againe. Notwithſtandinge, within three yeares after, when *Xerxes* king of Persia came with his army through the contries of Theſſalie and Boeotia, and entred into the heart of the contrie of Attica: the Athenians reuoking the law E of their Oſtraciſmon, called home againe all thoſe they had baniſhed, and ſpecially, bicauſe they were afrayd *Ariſtides* would take parte with the barbarous people, and that his example ſhould moue many other to do the like, wherin they were greatly deceiued in the nature of the man. For before that he was called home, he continually trauelled vp and downe, perſwading and incoraginge the Greecians to mainteine and defende their liberty. After that lawe was repealed, and publiſhed, and that *Themiſtocles* was choſen the only Lieutenant generall of Athens, he did alwayes faithfully aide and aſſiſt him in all thinges, as well with his trauell, as alſo with his counſaill: and thereby wanne his enemy great honor, bicauſe it ſtoode apon the ſafetie and preſeruation of his contrie. For when *Eurybiades*, generall of the armie of the Greecians, had determined to forſake the Ile of Salamina, & that the gallyes of the barF barous people were come into the middeſt of the ſeas, and had enuironned the Iles all abour, & the mouth of the arme of the ſtraight of Salamina, before any man knew they were thus incloſed in: *Ariſtides* departing out of the Ile of *AEgina* with a maruelous boldenes, ventred

The nature of the Oſtraciſmon.

Hyperbolus the laſt man baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon.

The cauſe of Hyperbolus baniſhmens.

A deſcription of the Oſtraciſmon.

A tale of a plaine man that came to Ariſtides with his ſhell, to pray him to write Ariſtides name in it.

Ariſtides called from exile.

through the middeſt of all the barbarous ſhippes and fleete, and by good happe gotte in the night into *Themiſtocles* tent, and calling him out, ſpake with him there in this ſorte. *Themiſtocles*, if we be both wiſe, it is high time we ſhoulde nowe leaue of this vaine enuie and ſpite we haue longe time borne eche other, and that we ſhould enter into an other ſorte of enuy more honorable and profitable for vs both. I meane, which of vs two ſhould do his beſt indeuor to ſaue GREECE: you, by ruling and commaunding all like Lieutenant generall: and I, by counſelling you for the beſt, and executing your commaundement: conſideringe you are the man alone that will roundlieſt come vnto the point that is beſt: which is in my opinion, that we ſhoulde hazard battell by ſea within the ſtraight of SALAMINA, and that as ſoone as might be poſſible. But if our frendes and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do aſſure you, your enemies do helpe it forward. For it is ſayd, that the ſea, both before and behinde vs, and rounde about vs, is couered all ouer with their ſhippes, ſo as they that would not before, ſhall be now compelled of force, and in ſpite of their heartes, to fight and beſturre them like men: bicauſe they are compaſſed in all about, and there is no paſſage left open for them to eſcape, nor to flie. Whereunto *Themiſtocles* aunſwered. I am ſory, *Ariſtides*, that herein your honeſty appeareth greater then mine: but ſince it is ſo, that you haue deſerued the honor in beginning, and procuring ſuch an honorable and commendable ſtrife betwene vs, I will henceforth indeuor my ſelfe to excede you in continuing this your deſire. After which aunſwere, he told *Ariſtides*, how he purpoſed to mocke the barbarous kinge, and prayed him to intreate *Eurybiades* to yelde to his deuiſe, & to perſwade him that there was no other way to ſaue GREECE, but to fight by ſea: for *Eurybiades* gaue more creditte to *Ariſtides* perſwaſions, then he did to *Themiſtocles* wordes. For when all the Captaines were called to counſell, to determine whether they ſhould geue battell or not: one *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN ſayd to *Themiſtocles*, that his counſell did not like *Ariſtides* at all, as it ſeemed, bicauſe he ſpake neuer a worde to it being preſent. *Ariſtides* anſwered him ſtraight, that he vtterly miſtooke him. For, quod he, if I did not thinke his counſell good, I would not hold my peace as I do: but now I am mute, not for any good will I beare him, but bicauſe I finde his counſell wiſe and ſounde. While the Captaines of the GREECIANS were reaſoning in this ſorte, *Ariſtides* ſeeing PSYTTALEA (a litle Ilande before SALAMINA within the ſtraight) full of men of warre of their enemies: imbarked immediatly the valliantеſt and luſtieſt ſouldiers he hadde of all his contry men, into the leaſt foyſtes or pynnaſies he had among all his gallyes: and went with them, and landed in that Ile, and ouerthrewe all the barbarous people he founde there, and put them to the ſworde euery man, taking the chiefeſt of them only priſoners, among which, were three ſonnes of *Sandauce*, the kinges ſiſter, whome he ſent vnto *Themiſtocles*. Theſe three Lordes were all ſlaine by the commaundement of *Euphrantidas* the Soothſayer, and ſacrificed to *Bacchus Omeſtes*, as to ſay, the cruell *Bacchus*, and eater of raw fleſh, and all vpon an oracle they had receiued. That done, *Ariſtides* diſperſed his ſouldiers about the Ile, to receiue all ſuch as were by fortune of warre, or of the ſea, caſt into the Ilande: to the end that no enemy of theirs ſhould ſcape their hands, nor any of his frendes ſhould periſh. For the greateſt fleete of all their ſhippes, and the ſharpeſt encounter of the whole battell, was about this litle Ilande: and therefore the tokens of triumphe were ſet there. After the battell was wonne, *Themiſtocles* to feele *Ariſtides* opinion, ſayed vnto him: we haue done a good peece of ſeruice, but yet there is an other behinde of greater importance, and that is this. We muſt bringe all ASIA into EVROPE, which we may eaſily do, if we ſaile with all ſpeede to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and go breake the bridge the king hath made there. Then *Ariſtides* cried out, ſtay there, neuer ſpeake of that: but I pray you let vs rather ſeeke al the wayes we can, how to driue this barbarous king out of GREECE, leaſt if we kepe him in ſtill with ſo great an army (and he ſhall ſee no way before him to eſcape out) we driue him then to fight like a deſperate man, and perill our ſelues, we can not tell to what. When *Themiſtocles* had hearde his opinion, he ſecretely ſent the euenuke *Arnaces* his priſoner, vnto kinge *Xerxes*, to aduertiſe him from him, that he had altered the GREECIANS purpoſe, which was fully bent to haue broken vp the bridge he hadde made at the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, to paſſe ouer his army: and that he was the willinger to let him vnderſtande it, that he might the better prouide for the ſafety of his perſon. King *Xerxes* being netled with this

Ariſtides aſſent and counſells againſt kinge Xerxes.

Ariſtides wordes of Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides victory at Pſyttalea.

Ariſtides wiſe counſell for Xerxes flying out of Greece.

A ſtratagem of Themiſtocles.

this aduertiſement, tooke ſtraight his iorney, and with all ſpeede went to recouer the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant general in GREECE, with three hundred thowſand of the beſt ſouldiers of his army. This *Mardonius* was maruelouſly dreaded of all the GREECIANS, for the wonderfull great army he hadde by lande, and he did threaten them alſo by his letters he wrote vnto them. You haue, (ſayed he) with your ſhippes by ſea, ouercome men acquainted to fight by lande, and that neuer handeled ower: but now, the plaines of THESSALIE, or the fieldes of BOEOTIA, are very fayer and large for horſemen and footemen to make proofe of their valliantnes, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote letters to the ATHENIANS, by the kinge his maiſters commaundement, of other effect, and offered them from him, to builde vp their city againe, to geue them a great pencion, and furthermore to make them Lordes of all GREECE, ſo they woulde geue ouer, and leaue of theſe warres. The LACEDÆMONIANS beinge forthwith aduertiſed of his letters wrytten to the ATHENIANS, and fearing leaſt they would haue bene perſwaded by them: ſent their Ambaſſadors with al ſpeede to ATHENS, to pray them to ſend their wiues and children vnto SPARTA, and alſo to offer them vittailles, to relieue their poore olde people, bicauſe of the great ſcarcity that was at ATHENS, for that their city was burnt and raſed, and all their contry beſides deſtroyed by the barbarous people. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the offers of the Ambaſſadors of LACEDÆMON, made them a maruelous anſwer through *Ariſtides* counſell, and this it was. That they bare with the barbarous people, though they thought all thinges were to be ſold for gold & ſiluer, bicauſe they eſteemed nothing more pretious, nor better in this world, then to be riche and wealthy: but on the other ſide, they were greatly offended with the LACEDÆMONIANS, that they only regarded the preſent pouerty and neceſſity of the ATHENIANS, and did forget their vertue and noble corage, thinking to make them fight more valliantly for the preſeruacion of GREECE, by offering them vittells to liue withall. The people approuing this aunſwere, *Ariſtides* then cauſed the Ambaſſadors of SPARTA to come to the aſſembly, and commaunded them to tell the LACEDÆMONIANS by worde of mouth, that all the golde aboue, or vnder the grounde, coulde not corrupt the ATHENIANS, to make them take any ſumme of money or reward, to leaue the defence of the liberty of GREECE: & to the herauld that came from *Mardonius*, he ſhewed him the ſunne, and ſayd vnto him: ſo long as yonder ſunne keepeth his courſe about the worlde, ſo long will the ATHENIANS be mortall enemies vnto the PERSIANS, bicauſe they haue ſpoyled and deſtroyed all their contry, and haue defiled and burnt the temples of their goddes. Beſides, he willed that the Prieſtes, by commaundement of the people, ſhoulde excommunicate and curſe him that woulde procure them to ſende vnto the PERSIANS to make peace with them, and to breake their league and allyance with the other GREECIANS. Hereupon, when *Mardonius* came againe the ſeconde time to ouerrunne the contry of ATTICA: the ATHENIANS got thē againe into the Ile of SALAMINA, and then they ſent *Ariſtides* Ambaſſador vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. He ſharpely tooke them vp, and reproued their ſloth and negligence, bicauſe they had againe forſaken ATHENS, and left it to the ſpoyle of the barbarous people: and prayed them yet they woulde looke to ſaue the reſt of GREECE. The Ephori (which were certeine officers that ruled all things within the city of SPARTA) when they had hearde *Ariſtides* perſwaſions: ſtraight tooke order for ayde, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheere, keeping that day one of their ſolemne feaſtes they called Hyacinthia. Howebeit the next night following, they ſent out fiue thowſande citizens borne in SPARTA, into the fielde, all proper men and valliant ſouldiers, euery one of them carying with him, ſeuen Ilotes (which are the contry men and ſlaues in the contrie of LACEDÆMONIA) not making the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS priuy to it at all. Wherefore *Ariſtides* came againe an other time into their counſell, to complaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughinge, and ſayd he dreamed, or elſe he mocked them: for their army which they had ſent againſt the ſtraungers (for ſo they called the PERSIANS) was already at the city of ORESTION in ARCADIA. *Ariſtides* hearing their aunſwere, replyed, that they were to blame to mocke them in that ſorte, to ſende away their men ſo ſecretly, that they might not knowe of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceiue their frendes, but their enemies rather. *Idomeneus* in his ſtory reporteth the matter

Xerxes left Mardonius his Lieutenant in Greece with 300000. men.

The noble minde of the Athenians.

thus in euery point. Notwithſtanding, in the decree that was made to ſende Ambaſſadors to SPARTA, *Ariſtides* is not named for Ambaſſador, but there are other appointed: as *Cimon*, *Xanthippus*, and *Myronides*. Afterwardes *Ariſtides* was choſen by voyces of the people, Lieutenant generall of the army of ATHENS, in this warre againſt the PERSIANS, and went vnto the campe of the GREECIANS by the citie of PLATÆES, with eight thouſande footemen wel armed and appointed. There he found king *Pauſanias* the only general of all the whole power and army of the GREECIANS, who brought with him the force of SPARTA: and there came daily into his campe one after an other, a maruelous great multitude of other GREECIANS. Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they incāped all alongeſt the riuer of ASOPVS: but bicauſe their campe ſtretched out a maruelous way in length, they were not intrenched at all, but had onely fortified a peece of grounde foure ſquare with a walle about, which was ten furlonges on euery ſide, to place all their cariage and chiefeſt thinges in. And for the GREECIANS againe, the ſoothſayer *Tiſamenus*, borne in the city of ELIDE, had told *Pauſanias*, & all the GREECIANS together, that they ſhould haue the victory, ſo they did not aſſault at all, but only defend. And *Ariſtides*, that had ſent to the oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHES, in the name of the ATHENIANS, had aunſwer: they ſhould ouercome their enemies, ſo they did ſacrifice and make ſpeciall prayers, vnto *Iupiter* and *Iuno* of mount CITHÆRON, vnto *Pan*, and vnto the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, and alſo vnto the demy gods, *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, *Piſander*, *Damocrates*, *Hypſion*, *Actæon*, & *Polyidus*: and ſo that they did hazard battel alſo within their owne territories, and in the plaine of *Ceres Eleuſinian*, and of *Proſerpina*. This oracle troubled *Ariſtides* maruelouſly, bicauſe the demy goddes whome they had commaundement to do ſacrifice vnto, were the fownders and aunceſters of the PLATÆIANS: and the caue of the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, is one of the toppes of mount CITHÆRON, looking towards the weſt, where the ſunne ſetteth in ſommer. They ſay there was an oracle there in old time, whoſe ſpirit poſſeſſed many inhabitants thereabouts, and beſtraught them of their wittes: whereupon, they called thoſe ſo poſſeſſed, *Nympholepty*, as who would ſay, taken with the *Nymphes*. And againe to tel the ATHENIANS they ſhoulde haue the victory, ſo they did hazard battell in the plaine of *Ceres Eleuſinian*, and within their owne territorie: it was euen to ſende them backe againe into the contry of ATTICA. *Ariſtides* being thus perplexed, *Arimneſtus* Captaine of the PLATÆIANS, hadde ſuch a viſion in the night in his ſleepe. Him thought that *Iupiter* the ſauior did appeare vntohim, and asked him what the GREECIANS intended to do? and that he anſwered: my Lord, we muſt to morrowe remoue our campe into the territories of ELEVSIN, and there we will fight with the barbarous people, accordinge to the commaundement the oracle *Apollo* hath geuen vs. Then that *Iupiter* replyed, that they were greatly deceaued: for all that *Apollo* had declared by his oracle was ment within the territorie of the PLATÆIANS, and that they ſhoulde finde it true, if they conſidered it well. *Arimneſtus* hauinge plainely ſeene this viſion in his ſleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he ſtraight ſent for the oldeſt citizens, and conſideringe with them where this place ſhoulde be, he founde at the length, that at the foote of mount CITHÆRON, by the city of NYSIA, there was an olde temple they called the temple of *Ceres Eleuſinian*, and of her daughter *Proſerpina*. When he hearde them ſay ſo, he went ſtraight and tolde *Ariſtides* of it, and founde that it was an excellent place to ſet an army in battell raye, that hadde but fewe horſemen: for that the foote of mount CITHÆRON did lette the horſemen, they coulde not goe to the place where the temple ſtoode, and where the playne and valley did ende: beſides alſo, that the chappell of *Androcrates* was euen in that place, which was all hidden with thicke wodde rounde about it. And bicauſe they ſhoulde lacke nothing to hinder the expreſſe commaundement of the oracle for hope of victory: the PLATÆIANS (through *Arimneſtus* counſell and aduiſe) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of PLATÆES ſhould be taken away towardes ATHENS ſide, and that the lande thereof ſhoulde be geuen clearely vnto the ATHENIANS, bicauſe they ſhoulde fight with the barbarous people in their owne lande, for the defence and preſeruation of GREECE, accordinge to the commaundement of the oracle. This noble gift and preſent of the PLATÆIANS was ſo famous, as many yeares after, king *Alexander* the great hauing conquered the Empire of ASIA, built vp the walles againe of the city of PLATÆES, and when he had done, made a herauld

Ariſtides Lieutenant generall of the Athenians againſt Mardonius.

Pauſanias king of Lacedæmon, generall of all Greece.

Aſopus flu.

Oracles of the victory of Platæes.

The Nymphes Sphragitides.

Arymneſtus dreame.

The magnanimity of the Platæians.

Alexander the great doth honor the Platæians for their noble mindes.

A heraulde openly proclaime it at the games Olympicall: that *Alexander* hadde done the PLATÆIANS that honor and dignitie, for a memoriall and honor of their magnanimity. Bicause in the warre againſt the PERSIANS, they had freely and liberally geuen away their lande vnto the ATHENIANS, for the ſafetie of the GREECIANS: and had ſhewed themſelues of a noble corage alſo, and very willinge to defende the ſtate of GREECE. Now when the army of the GREECIANS came to be ſette in order of battell, there fell a ſtrife betwene the ATHENIANS and the TEGEATES, bicauſe the ATHENIANS would nedes (according to their old cuſtome) haue the left wing of the battell, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had the right winge: and the TEGEATES on the contrary parte, woulde haue the preheminence before the ATHENIANS, alleaging the famous acts and notable ſeruice of their auncеſters in former warres, whereupon

Strife betwene the Athenians & Tegeates.

B the ATHENIANS did mutine. But *Ariſtides* ſtept betwene them, and told them, that it was no time now to contende with the TEGEATES about their nobility and valliantneſſe: and as for you, my Lords of SPARTA, ſayed he, and you alſo my maiſters of GREECE: we tell you, that the place neither geueth nor taketh vertue away, and we doe aſſure you that whereſoeuer you place vs, we will ſo defend and kepe it, as we will not impayre nor blemiſh the honor we haue wonne in former ſoughten battells, and gotten victories. For we are not come hither to quarell and fall out with our frends, but to fight with our common enemies: nor to bragge of our anceſters doings, but to ſhow our ſelues valliant in defence of al GREECE. For this battail wil make good proofe to all the GREECIANS, how much eſtimacion euery city, euery Captaine, & particular perſon wil deſerue for his parte. When *Ariſtides* had ſpoken, the Captaines & all

Ariſtides wiſely pacifieth the mutine.

C other of the counſel concluded in fauor of the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould haue one of the winges of the battell. But by this meanes, all GREECE ſtoode in maruelous garboyle at that time, and the ſtate of the ATHENIANS ſpecially in great daunger. For a number of the nobleſt citizens of ATHENS. And that brought great ſubſtance with them to the warres, being now at low ſtate, & in pouerty, their goods being ſpent & gone, & ſeeing thē ſelues diſcountenāced, not bearing that rule & authority in the common wealth they were wont to do, bicauſe other were called to authority, and preferred to the offices of the citie: they gathered together, and met at a houſe in the city of PLATÆES, & there conſpyred to ouerthrow the authority of the people at ATHENS: and if they could not obtaine their purpoſe, then that they would rather looſe all, and betray their contry vnto the barbarous people. While theſe thinges were pra-

The conſpiracy of the rich nobleмen of Athens.

D ctiſed in the campe, many beinge of the conſpiracy, *Ariſtides* came to an Incklinge of it, and was maruelouſly afrayed, bicauſe of the time: wherefore he beganne to be careſull of the matter, being of ſuch importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to vnderſtand the whole conſpiracy, litle knowing what a number might be drawen into this treaſon, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather reſpected that which was iuſt, then what was profitable for the time. So he cauſed eight perſones only of the great number to be apprehended, and of theſe eight, the two firſt whom they would haue indited as principalles, and were moſt to be burdened for the conſpiracy, *AEſchines* of the towne of LAMPRA, and *Egeſias* of the towne of ACHARNA, they founde meanes to flie out of the campe, and to ſaue themſelues. And for the other, *Ariſtides* ſet them at liberty, and gaue them occaſion that were not diſcouered, to be bold, and to

E repent them of their follies: ſaying, that the battell ſhould be their iudge, where they ſhould purge them ſelues of all accuſations layed againſt them, and ſhow the world alſo, that they neuer had any other intencion but honeſt, and good, towards their contry. *Mardonius*, to proue the corage of the GREECIANS, had ſent all his horſemen, (wherein he was farre ſtronger then the GREECIANS) to skirmiſh with thē. Who were lodged at the foote of mount CITHÆRON, in ſtrong places and full of ſtones, ſauing the three thouſande MEGARIANS, that camped in the plaine: by reaſon whereof, they were ſore troubled and hurt, by the horſemen of the barbarous people that ſette vppon them on euery ſide, for they might charge them where they woulde. Inſomuch, in the ende, perceiuinge they alone could no longer reſiſt the force of ſo great a multitude of the barbarous people: they ſent with all ſpeede poſſible to *Pauſanias*, to

Mount Citheron.

F pray him to ſend them preſent aide. *Pauſanias* hearing this newes, and ſeeing in his owne ſight the campe of the MEGARIANS almoſt all couered with ſhot and dartes which the barbarous people threw at them, & that they were compelled to ſtand cloſe together in a litle corner: he

wist not what to do. For, to go thither in person with the LACEDÆMONIANS that were foote- A
men heauy armed, he thought that was no way to help them. So he proued to put some ambitious desire and enuy of honor, among the priuate Captaines and generalls of the army of the other GREECIANS, which were then about him: to see if he coulde moue any mans corage and desire, to offer him selfe willingly to goe aide the MEGARIANS. Howebeit they had all deafe eares, but *Aristides*: who promised to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought *Olympiodorus* into the fielde, (one of the valliantest Captaines that serued vnder him) with his company of three hundred chosen men, and certaine shot mingled amongest them. These souldiers were ready in a moment, and marched straight in battell ray, a great pace towards the barbarous people. *Masistius*, that was generall of the horsemen of the PERSIANS, a goodly tall man, perceiuing their comming towards him: turned his horse, and gallopped to B
them. The ATHENIANS tarried him, and kept their ground, and the encounter was very hotte, bicause both the one and the other side did the best they could at this first onset to put the rest of the battell in ieopardy: and they fought so long, that *Masistius* horse was shot through the body with an arrow, that put him to such paine, as he neuer lin flinging, till he cast his maister on the ground, armed as he was at all peces. So being on the ground, he could not rise againe, as well for the waight of his armor, as for that the ATHENIANS came so sodainely vpon him. And notwithstanding there were many about him to hew him in peces, yet they could find no way how to kill him, he was so throughly armed and loden with gold, copper, & iron, not only vppon his body and his heade, but also on his legges and armes: vntill at the length there was one that thrust the head of his dart through his beuer, and so killed him. The PERSIANS per- C
ceiuing that, fled immediatly, & forsooke the body of their generall. Shortly after it appeared to the GREECIANS that they had sped well at this skirmishe, not bicause they had slaine many enemies, but for the great lamentacion the barbarous people made for the losse of *Masistius*. For his death did so greue them, that they powled themselues, they clipped of their horse and moyles heares, & filled besides all the field therabouts with pitiefull cries & shreekes, as those that had lost the valliantest and chiefest man of authority of all their campe, next vnto *Mardonius* the kings Lieutenant. After this first skirmish, both the one and the other side kept their campe, and would not come into the field many dayes after: for the Soothsayers did promise both sides the victory, as much the PERSIANS, as the GREECIANS, so they did but onely defend: and contrarywise, they did threaten them to be ouerthrowen, that did assault. But *Mar-* D
donius finding vittells waxed scant, and that they were stored but for few dayes, and moreouer how the GREECIANS daily grewe stronger by continuall repayre to their campe, the lenger he delayed: in the end he resolued to tary no lenger, but to passe the riuer of ASOPVS the next morning by breake of the day, & sodainly to set apon the GREECIANS. So he gaue the Captaines warning the night before what they should do, bicause euery man should be redy: but about midnight there came a horseman without any noyse at all, so neere to the GREECIANS campe, that he spake to the watche, and told them he would speake with *Aristides*, generall of the ATHENIANS. *Aristides* was called for straight, and when he came to him, the horseman said vnto *Aristides*. I am *Alexander* king of MACEDON, who for the loue and great good will I beare you, haue put my self in the greatest daūger that may be, to come at this present time to E
aduertise you, that to morrow morning *Mardonius* will giue you battel: bicause your enemies sodaine comming apon you, should not make you afrayd, being sodainly charged, and should not hinder also your valliant fightinge. For it is no new hope that is come to *Mardonius*, that makes him to fight: but only scarcety of vittells that forceth him to do it, considering that the prognosticators are all against it that he should geue you battel, both by reason of the il tokens of their sacrifices, as also by the aunswers of their oracles, which hath put all the armie in a maruelous feare, and stande in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to putte all at aduenture, or else if he will needes lye still, to be starued to death for very famine. After king *Alexander* hadde imparted this secrete to *Aristides*, he prayed him to keepe it to him selfe, and to remember it in time to come. *Aristides* aunswered him then, that it was no reason he F
shoulde keepe a matter of so great importance as that, from *Pausanias*, who was their Lieutenant generall of the whole armie: notwithstandinge, he promised him he woulde tell it

no

Masistius generall of the horsemen of the Persians.

Masistius slaine by the Athenians.

Alexander kinge of Macedon, reuealeth the Persians secrete counsell vnto Aristides.

A no man elſe before the battell, and that if the goddes gaue the GREECIANS the victorie, he did aſſure him, they ſhould all acknowledge his great fauor and good will ſhewed vnto them. After they hadde talked thus together, kinge *Alexander* left him, and returned backe againe: and *Ariſtides* alſo went immediatly to *Pauſanias* tent, and tolde him the talke kinge *Alexander* and he hadde together. Thereupon the priuate Captaines were ſent for ſtraight to counſaill, and there order was geuen, that euery manne ſhoulde haue his bandes ready, for they ſhoulde fight in the morninge. So *Pauſanias* at that time (as *Herodotus* wryteth) ſayed vnto *Ariſtides*, that he woulde remoue the ATHENIANS from the left to the right winge, bicauſe they ſhoulde haue the PERSIANS them ſelues right before them, and that they ſhoulde fight ſo much the luſtier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as alſo bicauſe they
B hadde ouercommed them before in the firſt encounter: and that him ſelfe would take the left winge of the battell, where he ſhoulde encounter with the GREECIANS that fought on the PERSIANS ſide. But when all the other priuate Captaines of the ATHENIANS vnderſtoode it, they were maruelous angrie with *Pauſanias*, and ſayed he did them wronge, and hadde no reaſon to lette all the other GRECIANS keepe their place where they were alwayes appointed, and onely to remoue them, as if they were ſlaues, to be appointed at his pleaſure, now of one ſide, then of the other, and to ſette them to fight with the valliantеſt ſouldiers they had of all their enemies. Then ſayed *Ariſtides* to them, that they knewe not what they ſayed, and how before they miſliked, and did ſtriue with the TEGEATES, onely for hauinge the left wing of the battell, and when it was graunted, they thought them ſelues greatly honored that they
C were preferred before them, by order of the Captaines: and nowe where the LACEDÆMONIANS were willing of them ſelues to geue them the place of the right winge, and did in maner offer them the preheminence of the whole armie: they do not thankefully take the honor offered them, nor yet doe recken of the vantage and benefitte geuen them to fight againſt the PERSIANS ſelues, their auncient enemies, and not againſt their natural contry men anciently diſcended of them. When *Ariſtides* had vſed all theſe perſwaſions vnto them, they were very well contented to chaunge place with the LACEDÆMONIANS: and then all the talke amonge them was to encorage one an other, and to tell them that the PERSIANS that came againſt them, had no better hartes nor weapons, then thoſe whom they before hadde ouercome, in the plaine of MARATHON. For ſayed they, they haue the ſame bowes, the ſame riche imbro-
D dered gownes, the ſame golden chaines and carcanettes of womaniſhe perſones, hanging on their cowardly bodies and faint hartes: where we haue alſo the ſame weapons and bodies we hadde, and our hartes more liuely and coragious then before, through the ſundrie victories we haue ſince gotten of them. Further, we haue this aduantage more. That we doe not fight as our other confederates the GREECIANS do, for our city and contry onely, but alſo to continewe the fame and renowme of our former noble ſeruice, which we wanne at the iorneys of MARATHON and of SALAMINA: to the ende the worlde ſhoulde not thinke that the glory of theſe triumphes and victories was due vnto *Miltiades* onely, or vnto fortune, but vnto the corage and worthineſſe of the ATHENIANS. Thus were the GREECIANS throughly occupied to chaunge the order of their battell in haſt. The THEBANS on the other ſide that tooke
E parte with *Mardonius*, receiuing intelligence of the alteringe of their battell, by traytors that ranne betwene both campes: they ſtraight tolde *Mardonius* of it. He thereupon did ſodainly alſo chaunge the order of his battell, and placed the PERSIANS from the right winge to the left winge of his enemies: either bicauſe he was afrayed of the ATHENIANS, or elſe for greater glorie that he hadde a deſire to fight with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded the GREECIANS that tooke his parte, that they ſhoulde fight againſt the ATHENIANS. This alteracion was ſo openly done, that euerie manne might ſee it: whereuppon *Pauſanias* remoued the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, and ſette them in the right winge. *Mardonius* ſeeinge that, remoued the PERSIANS againe from the left winge, and brought them to the right winge (where they were before) againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS: and thus they con-
F ſumed all that day in chaunginge their men to and fro. So the Captaines of the GREECIANS ſate in counſel at night, and there they agreed, that they muſt nedes remoue their campe, and lodge in ſome other place where they might haue water at cõmaundement: bicauſe their ene-

The treaſon of the Thebans.

mies did continually trouble and ſpoyle that water they had about them, with their horſes. A Now when night came, the Captaines woulde haue marched away with their men, to go to the lodginge they had appointed: but the people went very ill willinge to it, and they hadde much a do to keepe them together. For they were no ſooner out of the trenches and fortification of their campe, but the moſt parte of them ranne to the citie of PLATÆES, and were maruelouſly out of order, diſperſing them ſelues here and there, and ſet vp their tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them: and there were none that taried behinde, but the LACEDÆMONIANS onely, and that was againſt their willes. For one of their Captaines called *Amompharetus*, a maruelous hardie man, that feared no daunger, and longed ſore for battell: he was in ſuch a rage with theſe triflinge delayes, that he cried it out in the campe, that this remouinge was a goodly runninge away, and ſware he woulde B not from thence, but woulde there tary *Mardonius* comminge with his companie. *Pauſanias* went to him, and tolde him he muſt doe that the other GREECIANS hadde conſented to in counſell, by moſt voyces. But *Amompharetus* tooke a great ſtone in his handes, and threw it downe at *Pauſanias* feete, and told him there is the ſigne I geue to conclude battel, and I paſſe not for all your cowardly concluſions. *Amompharetus* ſtubbornneſſe did ſo amaze *Pauſanias*, that he was at his wittes ende. So he ſent vnto the ATHENIANS that were onwardes on their way, to pray them to tary for him, that they might goe together: and therewithall made the reſt of his menne to marche towardes the citie of PLATÆES, ſuppoſinge thereby to haue drawen *Amompharetus* to haue followed him, or elſe he ment to remaine alone behinde. But in triflinge thus, the day brake: and *Mardonius* vnderſtandinge that the GREECIANS did for- C ſake their firſt lodging, he made his army preſently marche in battell ray to ſette apon the LACEDÆMONIANS. So the barbarous people made great ſhowtes and cries; not thinking to goe fight, but to goe ſacke and ſpoyle the GREECIANS flyinge away, as in deede they did litle better. For, *Pauſanias* ſeeinge the countenaunce of his enemies, made his enſignes to ſtay, and commaunded euery man to prepare to fight: but he forgate to geue the GREECIANS the ſignall of the battell, either for the anger he tooke againſt *Amompharetus*, or for the ſodayne onſet of the enemies, which made them that they came not in ſtraight, nor altogether to the battell after it was begonne, but ſtragglinge in ſmall companies, ſome here, and ſome there. In the meane time, *Pauſanias* was buſie in ſacrificinge to the goddes, and ſeeinge that the firſt ſacrifices were not acceptable vnto them, by the Soothſayers obſeruations they made: he D commaunded the SPARTANS to throwe their targettes at their feete, and not to ſturre out of their places, but onely to doe as he bad them, without reſiſtinge their enemies. When he hadde geuen this ſtraight order, he went againe and did ſacrifice, when the horſemen of the enemies were at hande, and that their arrowes flewe amongeſt the thickeſt of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and did hurte diuerſe of them, and ſpecially poore *Callicrates* amonge the reſt, that was one of the goodlieſt menne in all the GREECIANS hoſte and armie. He hauing his deathes wounde with an arrow, before he gaue vppe the ghoſt, ſayed his death did not greue him, bicauſe he came out of his contrie to dye for the defence of GREECE: but it greued him to dye ſo cowardly, hauinge geuen the enemie neuer a blowe. His death was maruelous lamentable, and the conſtancy of the SPARTANS wonderfull: for they neuer ſtirred out of their E places, nor made any countenaunce to defende them ſelues againſt their enemies that came apon them, but ſuffred them ſelues to be thruſt through with arrowes, and ſlaine in the field, lookinge for the houre the goddes would appoint them, and that their Captaine would commaunde them to fight. Some wryte alſo, that as *Pauſanias* was at his prayers, and doing ſacrifice vnto the goddes a litle behinde the battell, certeine of the LYDIANS came apon him, and ouerthrew and tooke away all his ſacrifice: and how *Pauſanias*, and thoſe that were about him, (hauinge no other weapons in their handes) draue them awaye with force of ſtaues and whippes. In memorie whereof, they ſaye there is a ſoleinne proceſſion kept at SPARTA on that daye, which they call the LYDIANS proceſſion, where they whippe and beate younge boyes about the aulter. Then was *Pauſanias* in great diſtreſſe, to ſee the Prieſtes offer F ſacrifice vpon ſacrifice, and that not one of them pleaſed the goddes: at the laſt he turned his eyes to the temple of *Iuno*, and wept, and holdinge vp his handes, beſought *Iuno Cithæron*, and

The ſtubbornnes of Amompharetus Captaine of the Lacedæmonians.

The battell of the Greecians, with the Perſians, at the citie of Platæes.

Callicrates ſlaine without fighting.

Note the obedience of the Spartan ſouldiers vnto death.

A and all the other goddes,(patrones and protectors of the contry of the PLATÆIANS)that if it were not the will of the goddes the GREECIANS ſhoulde haue the victorie, yet that the conquerors at the leaſt ſhould buie their deathes dearely, and that they ſhoulde finde they fought againſt valliant men and worthy ſouldiers. *Pauſanias* had no ſooner ended his prayer, but the ſacrifices fell out very fauorable,inſomuch the Prieſtes and Soothſayers came to promiſe him victory. Thereupon, he ſtraight gaue commaundement to march toward the enemy, which flew from man to man incontinently how they ſhoulde march. So as he that hadde ſeene the Squadrō of the LACEDÆMONIANS,would haue ſaid it had bene like the body of a fierce beaſt raiſing vp his briſtels, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people ſaw they ſhoulde haue a hotte battel, and that they ſhould mete with men that would fight it out to the death: where- *Battaill betwixt the Greecians & Perſians.*
B fore they couered their bodies with great targets after the PERSIAN facion,& beſtowed their arrowes luſtely apon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But they keeping cloſe together, and coueringe them ſelues with their ſhieldes,marched on ſtil apon them,vntill they came to ioyne with the enemy ſo luſtely,that they made their targets flie out of their hands, with the terrible thruſtes and blowes of their pikes & ſpeares apon their breaſtes, and ouerthwart their faces, that they ſlew many of them, and layed them on the grounde. For all that, they dyed not cowardly, but tooke the LACEDÆMONIANS pikes and ſpeares in their bare hands,and brake them in two by ſtrength of their armes: and then they quickely pluckt out their cimeters and axes,and luſtely layed about them, and wrong the LACEDÆMONIANS ſhields out of their hands by force, and fought it out with thē a great while hand to hand. Now,whileſt the LACEDÆMONIANS were
C buſily fighting with the barbarous people,the ATHENIANS ſtoode ſtill imbattelled farre of,& kept their ground. But when they ſaw the LACEDÆMONIANS tary ſo long, & that they came not, and heard a maruelous noyſe of men as though they were fighting,and beſides that there came a ſpeedy meſſenger vnto them ſent from *Pauſanias*,to let thē vnderſtand they were fighting: then they marched with all ſpeede they could to help them. But as they were comming on a great pace ouer the playne, vnto that parte where they heard the noyſe:the GREECIANS that were on *Mardonius* ſide came againſt them. *Ariſtides* ſeeing them cōming towards them, went a good way before his company, & cried out as loude as he could for life, and coniured the GREECIANS in the name of the gods,the protectors of GREECE,to leaue of theſe warres, and not to trouble the ATHENIANS that were going to helpe thē that ventured their liues, to
D defend the common wealth & ſafety of all GREECE. But when he ſaw they would nedes fight for any requeſt and coniuration he could vſe,and that they came ſtill apon him,bending them ſelues to giue charge:then he ſtayed his going to relieue the LACEDÆMONIANS,& was compelled to make head againſt thoſe that ſet apon him and his company, they beinge about fifty thouſand men,of the which,the moſt parte notwithſtanding went their waies, and left the army, ſpecially when they vnderſtoode the PERSIANS were ouerthrowen and fled. The fury of the battell,and cruelleſt fight(as they ſay)was where the THEBANS were: bicauſe the nobility & chiefeſt men of the contry fought very earneſtly for the PERSIANS,but the people refuſed, being led by a ſmal nomber of the nobility that cōmaunded thē. So they fought that day in two places, the LACEDÆMONIANS being the firſt that ouerthrew the PERSIANS,& made thē flie: *The Greciās victorie of the Perſians at Platæes.*
E & they ſlue *Mardonius* the kings lieutenant,with a blow of a ſtone one *Arimneſtus* a SPARTAN gaue him apon his head, rightly as the oracle of *Amphiaraus* had prophecied before vnto him. For *Mardonius* before the battel had ſent thither a LYDIAN, & a CARIAN, vnto the oracle of *Trophonius*,of the which,the prophet made anſwere vnto the CARIAN,in the CARIAN tonge: & the man of LYDIA lay within the ſanctuary of *Amphiaraus*, where he thought in his dreame that one of the prieſtes of the tēple willed him to go out of the place he was in,and he denying it, the Prieſt tooke vp a great ſtone and threw it at his head, and ſo thought he was ſlaine with the blow. And thus it is writtē. And furthermore,the LACEDÆMONIANS did chaſe the PERSIANS flying,into their fortificatiō they had in a wodde: & the ATHENIANS alſo ſhortly after ouerthrew the THEBANS wherof they ſlue in the field,a three hūdred of the nobleſt & chiefeſt
F of them. For euen as the THEBANS began to turne tayle, newes came vnto the ATHENIANS, that the PERSIANS had intrenched them ſelues within their forte and ſtrength in the wodde, where the LACEDÆMONIANS did beſiege them. The ATHENIANS ſuffered the GREECIANS *Mardonius ſlaine of Arimneſtus a Spartan, with a blow of a ſtone.*

that fled to saue them selues, and they went to help the LACEDÆMONIANS, to take the forte A
of the barbarous people: who went before but slenderly about it, bicause they had no expe-
rience to make an assault, nor force vpon a walle. But so soone as the ATHENIANS came into
them, they straight tooke it by assault, and made great slaughter of the PERSIANS and barba-
Two hundred and three score thousand Persians slain. rous people. For of three hundred thowsand fighting men that *Mardonius* had in his campe,
there were saued only but forty thowsand led vnder *Artabazus:* and of the GREECIANS side,
there were not slaine aboue thirtene hundred and three score in all, amongst which also there
were two and fifty ATHENIANS, all of the tribe of *AEantides*, the which had done more val-
liantly that day, then any other tribe, as *Clidemus* writeth. And this is the cause why the *AEan-*
A thowsande three hundred & three score Grecians slaine. *tides* made a solemne sacrifice vnto the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, at the common charge, accor-
ding to the order geuen them by the oracle of *Apollo*, to geue them thankes for this victorie. B
Of the LACEDÆMONIANS there dyed foure score and eleuen: and of the TEGEATES, sixteene.
But I maruell *Herodotus* sayth, that none but these people onely fought in that iorney against
the barbarous nation, and no other GREECIANS besides: for the number of the dead bodies,
and their graues also do shewe, that it was a generall victorie and exployte of all the GREE-
CIANS together. And Moreouer, if there had beene but these three people onely that hadde
fought against them, and that all the rest had stoode and looked on, and done nothinge: sure
there had bene no such epigramme as this, engrauen apon the alter or tombe that was set vp
in the place of the battell.

When the victorious Greekes, had driuen out of their lande,
the Persians by force of armes, vvhich long did them vvithstande, C
they built to mighty Ioue, this holy aulter here,
and made it common for all Greece, as plainly may appeare.
in Guerdon of the good, vvhich he did them restore,
in Guerdon of their liberty, vvhich liked them euermore.

This battell was fought the fourth day of the moneth which the ATHENIANS call Boe-
dromion, that is, about the moneth of Iuly, or after the BOEOTIANS accompt, the six & twen-
ty of the moneth, they call Panemus, on which day there is yet kept a common assembly of
the estates of GREECE, in the cities of PLATÆES, where the PLATÆIANS make a solemne sa-
crifice vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, to geue him thankes alwayes for this victorie.
It is no maruaill that there was such difference then betwixt the monethes and dayes, consi- D
deringe that euen nowe when astronomie is more perfectly vnderstanded, then it was then:
some do yet beginne and ende their monethes at one day, and some at an other. After this
Strife betwixt the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for honor of the victory. great battel and ouerthrow of the barbarous people, there rose great strife betwixt the ATHE-
NIANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS, touching the reward and honor of the victorie. For the
ATHENIANS would not geue place vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor suffer them to set vp any
tokens or signes of triumphe. Whereupon the GREECIANS running to armes in mutinie to-
gether, by this occasion they had almost spoyled one an other: had not *Aristides* through his
wisedom and wise perswasions, stayed, and quieted the other Captaines his companions, and
specially one *Leocrates* and *Myronides*, whom he wanne with such discrete and gentle words,
that they were contented to referre it wholly vnto the arbitrement and iudgement of the o- E
ther people of GREECE. So the GREECIANS met in the same place together, purposely to
decide their controuersie. In this counsell holden there, *Theogiton* a Captaine of the MEGA-
RIANS, sayd for his opinion, that to auoide the ciuill warre might growe betwene the GREE-
CIANS apon this quarrell: he thought it very requisite, to appoint ouer the reward and honor
Corinthe the third city of estimacion in Greece. of this victorie, vnto some other city, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him
rose vp *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN, seeming to euery man there that he woulde haue requested
this honor for the cittie of CORINTHE, beinge in deede the thirde cittie in estimacion of all
GREECE, next vnto SPARTA and ATHENS: howbeit he made an oration in commendacion of
Sparta. Athens. Corinthe. the PLATÆIANS, which was maruelously liked, & well thought of of euery man. For his opi-
The Grecians graunt the honor of the victory vnto the Platæans. nion went flatly with the PLATÆIANS, that to ende this strife, they should geue the honor of F
this victorie vnto the citie of PLATÆES, and so woulde neither of both parties be angrie that
they shoulde be honored. Apon his wordes, *Aristides* first agreed on the ATHENIANS behalfe,

and

A and then *Pauſanias* for the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the PLATÆIANS ſhould haue the reward: Now they both beinge agreed, before the ſpoyle was deuided betwene them, they ſette aſide foure ſcore talentes that were geuen to the PLATÆIANS, with the which they built a temple vnto *Minerua*, and gaue her an image, and ſett out all her temple with pictures that remaine whole vntill this day: and the LACEDÆMONIANS notwithſtanding, did ſet vp their tokens of victorie by them ſelues, and the ATHENIANS theirs alſo by them ſelues. So, they ſending vnto the oracle of *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES, to know vnto what gods, and how they ſhould do ſacrifice: *Apollo* aunſwered them that they ſhoulde builde vp an aulter vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, howbeit that they ſhoulde put no ſacrifice vpon it, vntill they had firſt put out all the fier through the whole contrie, bicauſe it had bene polluted and defiled by the
B barbarous people: and then, that they ſhoulde ſetche pure and cleane fyre at the common aulter, whereon they doe ſacrifice vnto *Apollo Pythias*, in the city of DELPHES. This aunſwer being deliuered, the great Lords and officers of GREECE went through all the contrie, to put out the fyre euery where. And there was a man of the ſame city of PLATÆES at that time called *Euchidas*, that came and offered him ſelfe, and promiſed he woulde bringe them fyre from the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, with all poſſible ſpeede that might be. So when he came to the city of DELPHES, after he hadde ſprinckled and purified his body with cleane water, he put a crowne of lawrell apon his heade, and went in that manner to take fyre from the aulter of *Apollo*. When he had done, he hyed him againe as faſt as he coulde ronne for life, vnto the citie of PLATÆES, and came thither before the ſunne was ſet, hauing commen and gone that day
C a thowſande furlonges. But after he hadd ſaluted his citizens, and deliuered them the fyre he brought: he fell downe dead at their feete, and gaue vp the ghoſt. The PLATÆIANS lift him vp ſtarke deade, and buried him in the temple of *Diana Euclia*, to ſay, of good renowme: and cauſed afterwards this Epitaphe following to be grauen vpon his tombe.

The wonderfull ſpeede of Euchidas the Plataian, a foote.

Diana Euclia.

Euchidas death.

Engraued here doth lye, Euchidas ſpeedy man,
vvho in one day both to and fro, to Delphes lightly ranne.
Euen from this ſelfe ſame place, vvhich thou doeſt here behold,
ſuch haſt, poſt haſt, he ſvviftly made, thereof thou mayeſt beholde.

Many thinke that this goddeſſe *Euclia* is *Diana*, and ſo they call her. But other holde opinion ſhe was the daughter of *Hercules*, and of *Myrto* the *Nymphe*, *Menatius* daughter, and *Pa-*
D *troclus* ſiſter, that dyed a virgine, and was honored afterwardes as a goddeſſe, of the BOEOTIANS, & of the LOCRIANS. For in all their cities and townes in open places, they finde an aulter and image dedicated vnto her: and all that are maried, doe ſacrifice to her apon that aulter. Afterwards there was a generall counſell holden by all the GREECIANS, in the which *Ariſtides* made a motion, that all the cities of GREECE ſhoulde yearely ſende their deputies at a certeine day appointed, vnto the city of PLATÆES, there to make their prayers & ſacrifices vnto the goddes: and that from fiue yeares, to fiue yeares, they ſhoulde celebrate common games, that ſhould be called the games of liberty: and that they ſhould alſo leauy through all the prouinces of GREECE, for maintenance of the warres againſt the PERSIANS and barbarous people, tenne thowſand footemen, a thowſand horſemen, and a flete of a hundred ſayle.

A generall counſell holden at the city of Plataes.

E Item that the PLATÆIANS thencefoorth ſhould be taken alſo for deuoute and holy men, and that no man ſhould ſo hardy hurt or offende them, and that they ſhoulde onely tende the ſacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and proſperitie of GREECE. All which articles were enacted in forme and maner aforeſayed, and the PLATÆIANS bounde them ſelues yearely to kepe ſolemne ſacrifices and anniuerſaries for the ſoules of the GREECIANS that were ſlaine in their territories, fightinge for defence of the libertie of the GREECIANS. And this they obſerue yet vnto this daye in this ſorte. The ſixteenth day of the moneth of Mæmacterion (which the BOEOTIANS call Alalcomenies, and is about the moneth of Ianuary) they goe a proceſſion, and before the proceſſion there goeth a trompetor that ſoundeth the alarom. Then there follow certeine charrettes loden with braunches of fyrre tree, and with noſegayes
F and garlandes of triumphe: then a blacke bul, & certeine yong gentlemen noble men ſonnes, that cary great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, ſuch as they vſe to powre apon the graues of deade men for propiciatory oblations, and other young boyes free borne,

Solemne ſacrifices and funeralls kept by the Plataeians yerely for the Greecians that were ſlaine at the battaill of Plataes.

that cary oyles, perfumes, and other ſweete odours in vyoll glaſſes. For no ſeruaunt or bonde man may lawfully be admitted to haue any office about this miſtery, for that they whoſe memory they honor, dyed all fighting for defence of the liberty of GREECE. After all this ſhew, followeth the prouoſt of the PLATÆIANS for that time being, laſt of all: who may not all the reſt of the yeare beſides ſo much as touch any iron, nor weare any other coloured gowne but white. Howebeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coate, and holdeth a funerall potte in one of his handes, which he taketh in the towne houſe, and a naked ſworde in the other hande, and ſo goeth through the cittie in this ſorte after all the pompe aforeſayed, vnto the church yarde where all their graues be that were ſlaine at that battell. So when he commeth thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the ſame he waſheth the foure-ſquare pillers and images that ſtand apon thoſe tombes, and then annointeth them with oyles and ſweete ſauors: afterwardes, he ſacrificeth a bulle, and layeth him apon a heape of wodde hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men, and making certaine praiers and peticions vnto *Iupiter*, and *Mercurie*, goddes of the earth, he doth ſolemnely inuite the ſoules of thoſe valliant men that dyed, fightinge for the liberty of GREECE, vnto the feaſt of this funerall ſacrifice. Then he taketh a cuppe full of wine in his hande, and ſpilling it all vpon their tombes, he ſpeaketh theſe wordes aloude: I drinke to the worthy and valliant men, that dyed ſometime in defence of the liberty of GREECE. This ſolemne ceremony and anniuerſarie, the PLATÆIANS doe duely obſerue vnto this preſent day. Nowe when the ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS, *Ariſtides* perceiuing the people were bent to ſtabliſh a populer ſtate, where the people might beare the whole rule and authoritie, iudginge them well worthy to be conſidered of, in reſpect of their noble ſeruice and valiant courage they had ſhewed in this warre: & cõſidering alſo that they would hardly be brought to like of any other gouernment, being yet in armes, and very ſtowte, by reaſon of the famous victories they had obteyned: he cauſed a law to be made, that all authority of gouernment ſhould runne in equality among the citizens, and that thencefoorth all burgeſſes (as well poore as rich) ſhould be choſen by voyces of the people, and promoted to offices within the city. And moreouer, when *Themiſtocles* tolde in open aſſembly, that he had a thing in his heade woulde be greatly to the profit and commodity of the ſtate, but yet it was not to be ſpoken openly for diuerſe reſpects: the people willed him to tell it vnto *Ariſtides* onely, and to take his aduiſe in it, to knowe whether it was meete to be done or not. Then *Themiſtocles* tolde him ſecretly betwene them, that he thought to ſette the arcenall afyre, where all the GREECIANS ſhips lay: alleaging, that by this meanes the ATHENIANS ſhould be the greateſt men of power in all GREECE. *Ariſtides* hearinge that, without any more, came preſently to the people againe, and tolde the whole counſell openly: that nothinge coulde be more profitable in deede for the whole common wealth, and withal more wicked and vniuſt, then that *Themiſtocles* thought good to do. When the people heard *Ariſtides* aunſwere, they willed *Themiſtocles* to lette his deuiſe alone whatſoeuer it were: ſo great iuſticers were the ATHENIANS, and ſo much did they truſt *Ariſtides* wiſedom and equitie beſides. So they made *Ariſtides* afterwards generall of the army of the ATHENIANS together with *Cimon*, & ſent them to make warre againſt the barbarous people. *Ariſtides* at his comming thither, ſeeing *Pauſanias*, & the other Captaines that were generals ouer the whole army, dealinge hardly, and churliſhely with people their confederates: he on the contrary ſide, ſpake gently vnto them, and ſhewed him ſelfe as curteous and familiar to them as he coulde poſſible, making his companion alſo familiar to all, and iuſt to euery body, not oppreſſing ſome to eaſe other, in defraying the charges of the warres. *Ariſtides* takinge this courſe, it was not noted howe by litle and litle he cutte of the rule and authoritie of the LACEDÆMONIANS in GREECE, not by force of armes, nor by ſhippes, nor by numbers of horſes, but onely by his graue and wiſe gouernment. For if the iuſtice and vertue of *Ariſtides*, and the myldenes and curteſy of *Cimon* made the gouernment of the ATHENIANS to be liked of, and accepted of all the other people of GREECE: the couetouſnes, pride, and fierceneſſe of *Pauſanias*, made it much more to be deſired. For *Pauſanias* neuer ſpake vnto the other Captaynes of the people, allyes, and confederates, but it was euer in choller, and he was to ſharp with them: and for the poore priuate ſouldiers, he woulde cauſe them to be cruelly whipped for

Ariſtides preferreth the popular ſtate.

A wicked deuiſe of Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides ſentence apon Themiſtocles deuiſe.

The iuſtice of the Athenians.

Ariſtides and Cimon generalls of the Athenians againſt the barbarous people.

Ariſtides iuſtice and vertue toke from the Lacedemonians all their rule and authority in Greece.

Pauſanias proude and couetous.

A for euery ſmall offence, or elſe to make them ſtande a whole day together on their feete, laying a heauy iron ancker apon their ſhoulders. No man durſt goe forrage, neither for ſtrawe nor reedes to make them couches of, nor durſt water their horſe before the SPARTANS: for he had ſette skowtes for them to whippe them home, that went out before them. And one day when *Ariſtides* thought to haue ſpoken to him, and to haue tolde him ſome thinge: he frowned apon him, and ſayed he hadde no leaſure to ſpeake with him now, and ſo would not heare him. Whereupon the Captaines of the other GREECIANS, & ſpecially thoſe of CHIO, of SAMOS, and of LESBOS, did afterwardes follow *Ariſtides*, and perſwaded him to take apon him the charge and authority to commaunde the other people of GREECE, and to take into his protection the allyes and confederats of the ſame, who long ſithence wiſhed to reuolt
B from the gouernment of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and onely to ſubmitte them ſelues vnto the ATHENIANS. *Ariſtides* aunſwered them thus: that they had not only reaſon to doe that they ſayd, but that they were alſo conſtrained to do it. Notwithſtanding, bicauſe the ATHENIANS might haue good grounde and aſſurance of their vndoubted fidelitie and good ſeruice, they ſhoulde deliuer them manifeſt teſtimony and aſſurance thereof, by ſome famous act attempted againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, whereby their people hereafter durſt neuer fall from the league of the ATHENIANS. *Vliades* SAMIAN, and *Antagoras* of CHIO hearing him ſay ſo, both
C Captaines of galleys confedered together: they went one day to ſet apon the admirall galley of *Pauſanias*, hard by BIZANTIVM, the one of the one ſide of her, and the other on the other ſide, as ſhe was rowing before all the fleete. *Pauſanias* ſeeinge them, ſtoode vppe ſtraight in a maruelous rage againſt them, and threatned them that before it were longe he woulde make them knowe they had bene better to haue aſſaulted their owne naturall contrie, then to haue ſet vpon him as they had done. But they aunſwered him, and bad him get him away quickely and he were wiſe, and let him thanke fortune hardly, that graunted the GREECIANS victory at the battell of PLATÆES vnder his leading: and that it was nothing elſe but the onely reuerence and reſpect of the ſame, that had made the GREECIANS hold their hands till now, from geuing him that iuſt puniſhment his pride and arrogancy had deſerued. So the end was, they left the LACEDÆMONIANS, & ſtacke vnto the ATHENIANS: wherin was eaſily diſcerned the great corage, and wonderfull magnanimity of the LACEDÆMONIANS. For when they ſawe their Captaines were marred and corrupted, through the ouergreat authority, & liberty they
D had, they willingly gaue vp their commaundement ouer the other GREECIANS, and did no more ſende their Captaines to be generalls of the whole army of GREECE: thinking it better for their citizens, that they ſhould be obedient, and in euery point obſerue the diſcipline and law of their contrie, then if they had bene otherwiſe the only rulers and Lords ouer the whole contrie. Now at what time the LACEDÆMONIANS did commaunde all GREECE, as Lordes: the cities and people of GREECE did pay a certeine ſumme of money, towardes defrayinge of the charges of the warres againſt the barbarous people. But after that their ſeigniorie and rule was taken from them, the GREECIANS were contented a taxe ſhould be leauied, and that euery city ſhould be reaſonably ſeſſed, accordinge to their wealth and abilitie: bicauſe euery citie might know what they ſhoulde pay. And for this purpoſe, they prayed the ATHENIANS
E they would appoint *Ariſtides* to take order for it, vnto whom they gaue full power and authoritie to taxe and ſeſſe euery citie indifferently, conſidering the greatnes of the territory, and the reuenues of the ſame, as euery one was reaſonably able to beare it. But if *Ariſtides* were poore when he entred into that great charge and office of authoritie, wherein all GREECE in manner did referre them ſelues vnto his diſcretion: he came out of that office more poore, and had made this aſſeſſement and taxacion not only iuſtly and truely, but alſo ſo indifferently accordinge vnto euery mans abilitie, that there was no man coulde finde fault with his doinges. And like as the auncient men in olde time did celebrate, and ſing out the bleſſednes of thoſe that liued vnder the raigne of *Saturne*, which they called the golden age: euen ſo did the people and confederates of the ATHENIANS afterwardes honor the aſſeſſement made by
F *Ariſtides*, calling it the fortunate & bleſſed time of GREECE, and ſpecially, when ſhortly after it did double, and treble on the ſodaine. For the taxe *Ariſtides* made, came to about foure hundred & three ſcore talents: and *Pericles* raiſed it almoſt vnto a third parte. For *Thucydides*

Pauſanias cruell puniſhing of his ſouldiers.

Ariſtides fine triall of traytors.

The rebellious act of Vliades and Antagoras againſt Pauſanias.

The temperance of the Lacedæmonians.

Ariſtides did ſeſſe the cities of Greece

Ariſtides a true ceſſer.

wryteth, that at the beginninge of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the ATHENIANS leauied A
fixe hundred talentes yearely vppon their confederates. And after the death of *Pericles*, the orators and counsellers for matters of state did raise it vp higher by litle and litle, vntil it mounted vnto the summe of thirteene hundred talentes. And this was not, bicause the warres did rise to so great a charge, by reason of the length of the same, and of the losses the ATHENIANS had receiued: but for that they did accustome the people to make distributions of money by hand vnto euery citizen, to make them set vp games, and make goodly images, and to builde sumptuous temples. Thus was *Aristides* therefore iustly honored, praised, and esteemed aboue all other, for this iust imposition of taxes, sauing onely of *Themistocles*: who went vp and downe flering at the matter, sayinge it was no mete praise for an honest man, but rather for a cofer well barred with iron, where a man might safely lay vp his gold and siluer. This he spake B
to be euen with *Aristides*, which was nothing like the sharpe girde *Aristides* gaue him openly, when *Themistocles* talking with him, tolde him it was an excellent thing for a Captaine to be able to know, and to preuent the counsells and doinges of the enemies: and so is it, sayed *Aristides* againe, not onely a needefull, but an honest thinge, and mete for a worthy generall of an army, to be cleane fingered, without bribery or corruption. So *Aristides* made all the other people of GREECE to sweare, that they woulde truely keepe the articles of the allyance, and he him selfe as generall of the ATHENIANS, did take their othes in the name of the ATHENIANS: and so pronouncing execrations & curses against them that should breake the league and othe taken, he threw iron wedges red hotte into the sea, and prayed the gods to destroy them euen so, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithstandinge, afterwardes C
(in my opinion) when there fell out great alteracion in the state, and that the ATHENIANS were forced to rule more straightly then before: *Aristides* then willed the ATHENIANS to let him beare the daunger and burden of periury and execration, and that they should not let for feare thereof to do any thing whatsoeuer they thought mete or necessary. To conclude, *Theophrastus* wryteth, that *Aristides* was not only a perfect an honest, and iust man, in priuate matters betwixt party & party: but in matters of state, and concerning the common weale, he did many thinges oftentimes accordinge to the necessitie of the time, and troubles of the citie, wherein violence and iniustice was to be vsed. As when the question was asked in open counsell, to know whether they might take away the gold & siluer that was left in the Ile of DELOS safely layed vp in the temple of *Apollo*, to beare out the charges of the warres against the barbarous people, and to bring it from thence vnto ATHENS, apon the motion of the SAMIANS, D
although it was directly against the articles of the allyance, made and sworne amonge all the GREECIANS. *Aristides* opinion beinge asked in the same, he aunswered: it was not iust, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding *Aristides* had brought his citie, to rule and commaund many thousandes of people: yet was he still poore for all that, and vntill his dying day he gloried rather to be praised for his pouertie, then for all the famous victories and battells he had wonne: and that plainely appeareth thus. *Callias Ceres* torche bearer, was his neere kinseman, who through enemies came to be accused, and stoode in hazard of life: so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Iudges, his accusers very faintly, and to litle purpose, vttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other byematters, E
left the chiefest matter, & spake thus to the Iudges. My Lords, you al know *Aristides* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, and you are not ignoraunt also that his vertue hath made him more esteemed, then any man else is, or can be, in all GREECE. Howe thinke ye doth he liue at home? when you see him abroade vppe and downe the city, in a threde bare gowne all to tattered? Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starue at home for lacke of meate and reliefe, whom we all see quake for very colde, beinge so ill arrayed and clothed? And yet M. *Callias* here his cosin germaine the richest citizen in all ATHENS, is so miserable: that notwithstandinge *Aristides* hath done much for him, by reason of his great credit and authoritie among you, he suffereth him, and his poore wife and children readie to begge, to starue for any helpe he geueth him. *Callias* perceiuing the Iudges more angryer with him for that, then for any matter else he was F
accused of: he prayed *Aristides* might be sent for, and willed him to tel truely whether he had not offered him good rounde summes of money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to take

Taunts betwixt Themistocles and Aristides.

Aristides preferred necessity of time, before law & reason.

Aristides gloried in his pouerty.

take it, which he euer refuſed, and aunſwered him alwayes, that he coulde better boaſt of his pouerty, then him ſelfe coulde of his riches: (which he ſayd many did vſe ill, and few coulde vſe them wel) and that it was a hard thing to finde one man of a noble minde, that could away with pouertie, and that ſuch onely might be aſhamed of pouerty, as were poore againſt their willes. So *Ariſtides* confirmed all he ſpake to be true: and euery man that was at the hearinge of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as *Ariſtides*, then rich as *Callias*. This tale is written thus by *AEſchines* the Socratian Philoſopher: and *Plato* reporteth of him alſo, that notwithſtandinge there were many other famous and notable men of ATHENS, yet he gaue *Ariſtides* praiſe aboue them all. For others, ſayd he, (as *Themiſtocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*) haue beautified the citie with ſtately porches, and ſumptuous buildinges of golde and ſiluer, and with ſtone of other fine ſuperfluous deuiſes: but *Ariſtides* was only he, that vertuouſly diſpoſed him ſelfe and all his doinges, to the furtherance of the ſtate and common weale. His iuſtice and good nature appeared plainely, in his doinges and behauiour towardes *Themiſtocles*. For though *Themiſtocles* was euer againſt *Ariſtides* in all things, and a continuall enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practiſe he was baniſhed from ATHENS: yet when *Themiſtocles* was accuſed of treaſon to the ſtate, hauing diuerſe ſharpe enemies againſt him: as *Cimon*, *Alcmæon*, with diuerſe other: *Ariſtides* ſought not reuenge, when he had him at his aduantage. For he neither ſpake nor did any thinge againſt him at that time to hurt him: neither did he reioyce to ſee his enemie in miſery, no more then if he had neuer enuied him in his proſperity. And touching *Ariſtides* death, ſome write he dyed in the realme of PONTVS, being ſent thither about matters of the ſtate: & other thinke he dyed an old man in the citie of ATHENS, greatly honored and beloued of all the citizens. But *Craterus* the MACEDONIAN wryteth of his death in this ſorte. After that *Themiſtocles* (ſayeth he) was fled, the people of ATHENS became very ſtubborne and inſolent: whereupon, many lewde men grew to be common appeachers and accuſers of the noble men and chiefeſt citizens, and to ſtirre vp the malice and ill will of the common people againſt them, who were waxen proude by reaſon of their proſperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Amonge the reſt, *Ariſtides* was condemned for extorcion and ill behauiour in the common wealth, apon one *Diophantes* accuſation, of the village of AMPHITROPE: who burdened him, that he tooke money of the IONIANS, to make the annuell tribute ceaſe which they payed vnto ATHENS: and ſo *Craterus* ſayth, that bicauſe *Ariſtides* was not able to pay the fine they ſet apon his heade (which was fiue Minas) he was driuen to forſake ATHENS, and to gette him into IONIA where he dyed. Yet doth not *Craterus* bring foorth any probable matter to proue this true he wryteth: as his pleadinge, his ſentence and condemnation, or any decree paſſed againſt him, although he vſed great diligence elſe in collectinge all ſuch matters, and vowchinge his authors. Furthermore, all other wryters that haue ſpecially noted the faultes and offences, committed by the people of ATHENS in former times againſt their Captaines and gouernors: they do declare *Themiſtocles* exile, *Miltiades* captiuity that dyed in priſon, *Pericles* fine wherein he was condemned, and *Paches* death that ſlue him ſelfe in the pulpit for orations, when he ſawe he was condemned: and tell diuerſe ſuch ſtories, addinge to alſo *Ariſtides* baniſhment: but yet they make no maner of mencion of the condemnation which *Craterus* ſpeaketh of. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* tombe is to be ſeene at this day apon the hauen of Phalerus, which was ſet vp for him at the charge of the common wealth, as it is reported, bicauſe he dyed ſo poore a manne, as they founde nothing in his houſe to bury him with. Other go further, and ſay that his daughters were maried by decree of the people, at the charge of the common wealth, and that the citie gaue euery one of them three thowſande Drachmas: and his ſonne *Lyſimachus*, a hundred Minas of ſiluer, and a hundred Iugera, and at *Alcibiades* requeſt, who was the author of the decree, they gaue him foure Drachmas a day beſides, of ordinarie allowance. Furthermore, when this *Lyſimachus* dyed, he left aliue one onely daughter called *Polycrite*, whom the people appointed, as *Calliſthenes* wryteth, as much prouiſino to liue withall, as they gaue to any that wanne the Olympian games. And ſithence, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Hieronymus* RHODIAN, *Ariſtoxenus* the muſitian, and *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher, at the leaſt if the booke intituled of Nobilitie be any of *Ariſtotles* workes: all theſe agree together, that one *Myrto*,

A hard thinge to away with pouerty.

Who may be aſhamed of pouerty.

Ariſtides cõmended of Plato.

Ariſtides tẽperance vnto Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides death.

Ariſtides cõdemned for extorcion.

Ariſtides tombe.

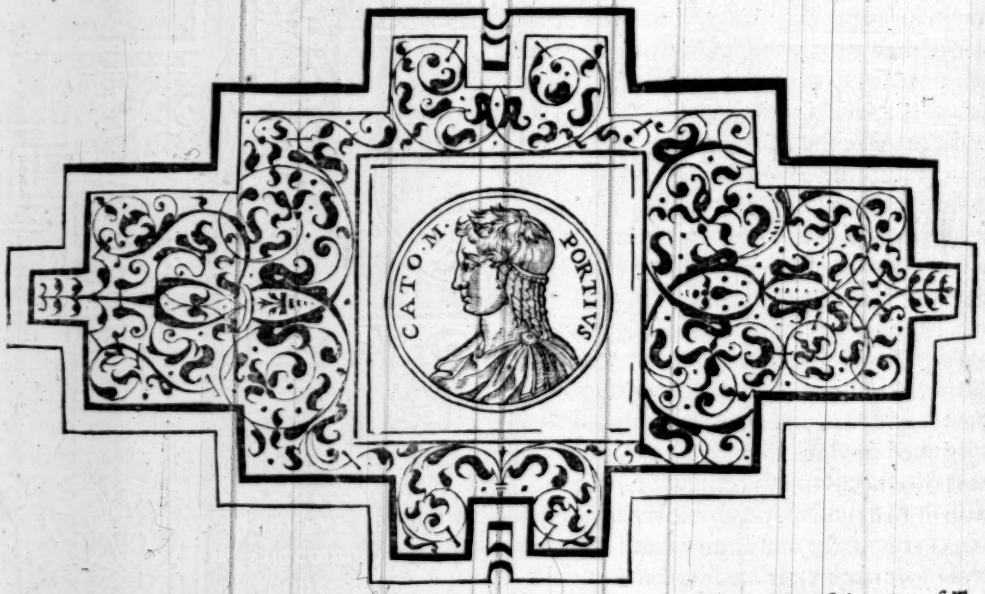
The Athenians thankefulnes vnto Ariſtides children.

Myrto, Aristides daughters daughter maried vnto Socrates.

Aristides daughters daughter, was maried to the wife *Socrates*, who tooke her to his wife (hauing a wife already) bicause she was a poore widdow, & could not be maried for her pouerty, A hauing much a do to liue. Yet *Panetius* doth wryte against them, in his booke of *Socrates* life. But *Demetrius* PHALERIAN wryteth in his booke he intituled *Socrates*, that he could remember very well he had seene one *Lysimachus*, *Aristides* sonnes sonne, or his daughters sonne, that was very poore, and liued of that he could get to interpret dreames, by certaine tables, wherin was wrytten the arte to interpret the signification of dreames: and that he kept commonly about the temple of *Bacchus* called *Iacchion*, vnto whom, together with his mother and his sister, he sayd he had caused the people to geue them a Triobolum a peece, euery day towards their liuinge. It is very true that the selfe same *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, when he reformed the state of ATHENS, ordained that his mother and sister should haue ech of them a Drachma by B the day to finde them withall, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new, nor straunge thing, that the people of ATHENS were so carefull to helpe, and to relieue, the women that dwelt in the citie: considering that in times past, *Aristogiton* hauing a litle daughter in the Ile of LEMNOS, in very hard and poore state, and that coulde not be bestowed in mariage for her pouerty, they caused her to be brought to ATHENS, and maried her in one of the noblest houses of the city, and made her a ioynter besides in the village of POTAMOS. Which great curtesy & humanity of theirs, hath euer deserued great fame and commendacion, & yet cõtinueth euen vntil this day, in that noble city of ATHENS, in the mouth of euery man there.

The Athenians commended for their liberality.

THE LIFE OF *Marcus Cato the Censor.*



MArcus *Cato* and his aunceſters, were (as they ſay) of the city of THVSCVLVM: but before he went vnto the warres, and delt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt & liued in the contry of the SABYNES, vpon certeine land his father left him. And though to many, his aunceſters were knowen to haue bene obſcure: yet he him ſelf did highly commende his father *Marcus*, by bearing his name, and ſaying he was a ſouldier, and had ſerued valliantly in the fielde. And he telleth alſo of an other *Cato* that was his great grandfather, who for his valliant ſeruice had bene oft rewarded of the generals, with ſuch honorable

A rable giftes, as the ROMAINES did vſe to geue vnto them, that had done ſome famous act in any battell: and how that he hauinge loſt fiue horſes of ſeruice in the warres, the value of the ſame were reſtored to him againe in money of the common treaſure, bicauſe he had ſhewed himſelfe truſty and valliant for the common wealth. And where they had a common ſpeeche at ROME to call them vpſtartes, that were no gentlemen borne, but did riſe by vertue: it fortuned *Cato* to be called one of them. And for his parte, he did confeſſe it, that he was of the firſt of the houſe that euer had honor, and office of ſtate: but by reaſon of the noble actes and good ſeruice of his auncestors, he maintained he was very auncient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, *Priſcus*: but afterwardes by reaſon of his great wiſedom and experience, he was ſurnamed *Cato*, bicauſe the ROMAINES call a wiſe man, and him that hath

Cato called an vpſtart.

B ſeene much, *Cato*. He was ſomewhat geuen to be redde faced, and had a payer of ſtaring eyes in his heade, as this man telleth vs, that for ill will wrote theſe verſes of him after his death.

The definition of this worde Cato.

Pluto (the god) vvhich rules the furies infernall,
vvill not receiue the damned ghoſt, of Porcius in his hall:
his ſaucy coppered noſe, and fiery ſtaring eyes,
his common ſlaunderous tales, vvhich he did in this vvorld deuiſe,
made Pluto ſtande in dread that he vvould brawle in hell,
although his bones vvere drie and dead, on earth he vvas ſo fell.

Furthermore, touchinge the diſpoſition of his body, he was maruelous ſtronge and luſty, and all bicauſe he did vſe to labor and toyle euen from his youth, and to liue ſparingly, as one

Catoes maners and life.

C that was euer brought vp in the warres from his youth: ſo that he was of a very good conſtitucion, both for ſtrength of body, as for health alſo. As for vtterance, he eſteemed it as a ſeconde body, and moſt neceſſarie gift, not onely to make men honeſt, but alſo as a thinge very requiſite for a man that ſhould beare ſway and authoritie in the common wealth. He practiſed to ſpeake well in litle villages neere home, whether he went many times to plead mennes cauſes in courtes iudiciall, that would retaine him of counſell: ſo as in ſhorte time he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in proceſſe of time became an excellent orator. After he was thus well knowen, they that were familiar with him, began to perceiue a graue manner and behauiour in his life, and a certaine noble minde in him, worthie to be employed in matters of ſtate and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he

Cato an excellent orator.

D did not onely refuſe to take fees for his pleading, and following the cauſes he mainteined: but furthermore made no reckening of the eſtimacion he wanne by that manner and practiſe, as though that was not the only marke he ſhot at. But his deſire reached further, rather to winne him ſelfe fame by ſeruice in the warres, and by valliant fightinge with his enemie: then with ſuch a quiet and pleaſing manner of life. Inſomuch as when he was but a younge ſtriplinge in maner, he had many cuttes apon his breſt, which he had receiued in diuerſe battells and encounters againſt the enemies. For he him ſelfe wryteth, that he was but ſeuenteene yeare old, when he went firſt vnto the warres, which was about the time of *Hanniballs* chiefe proſperitie, when he ſpoyled and deſtroyed all ITALIE. So when he came to fight, he would ſtrike luſtely, and neuer ſturre foote nor geue backe, and woulde looke cruelly vppon his enemie, and

Cato a ſouldier at 17. yeares of age.

E threaten him with a fearefull and terrible voyce, which he vſed him ſelfe, and wiſely taught other alſo to vſe the like: for ſuch countenaunces, ſayed he, many times doe feare the enemies more, then the ſworde ye offer them. When he went any iorney, he euer marched a foote, and caried his armour apon his backe, and had a man waytinge on him that caried his vittells with him, with whom he was neuer angry (as they ſay) for any thing he had prepared for his dinner or ſupper, but did helpe to dreſſe it him ſelfe for the moſt parte, if he had any leaſure, when he had done the duety of a priuate ſouldier in fortifying the campe, or ſuch other nedefull buſineſſe. All the while he was abroade in ſeruice in the warres, he neuer drancke other then cleane water, vnleſſe it were when he founde he was not well, and then he woulde take a litle vineger: but if he ſaw he were weake, he woulde then drinke a litle wine. Now it fortu-

A grimme looke, geueth terror to the enemy.

F ned, that *Manius Curius* the ROMAINE, who had triumphed thriſe, hadde a prety houſe and lande hard by *Cato*, where he kept in times paſt, which *Cato* for a walke would viſite oft. And he conſidering how litle lande he had to his houſe, and what a litle houſe he had withall, and

This Manius Curius ouerthrew kinge Pyrrus being generall of the Tarētines.

Cato the elder, wondered at the thriftines of Manius Curius.

how poorely it was built, wondered with him ſelfe what maner of man *Curius* had bene, that A hauing bene the greateſt man of ROME in his time, and hauing ſubdued the mightieſt nations and people of all ITALIE, and driuen kinge *Pyrrus* alſo out of the ſame: yet him ſelfe with his owne handes did manure that litle patche of grounde, and dwel in ſo poore and ſmall a farme. Whether notwithſtãding, after his three triumphes, the SAMNYTES ſent their Ambaſſadors to viſite him, who founde him by the fyers ſide ſeething of perſeneapes, and preſented him a maruelous deale of golde from their ſtate and communalty. But *Curius* returned them againe with their gold, and told them, that ſuch as were contented with that ſupper, had no nede of gold nor ſiluer: and that for his parte, he thought it greater honor to commaunde them that had gold, then to haue it him ſelfe. *Cato* remembring theſe thinges to him ſelfe, went home a-gaine, and beganne to thinke vpon his houſe, of his liuinge, of his family and ſeruauntes, and B alſo of his expences: and to cut of all ſuperfluous charges, and fell him ſelfe to labor with his owne handes, more then euer he hadde done before. Furthermore, when *Fabius Maximus* tooke the city of TARENTVM againe, *Cato* ſerued vnder him being very younge, where he fell into familiar acquaintãce with *Nearchus* the PYTHAGORIAN philoſopher, in whom he tooke maruelous delight to heare him talke of Philoſophy. Which *Nearchus* held the ſame opinion of pleaſure, that *Plato* did, by callinge it the ſweete poyſon and chieſeſt bayte to allure men to ill: and ſaying that the body was the firſt plague vnto the ſoule, and that her onely health, remedy, and purgation ſtoode apon rules of reaſon, good examples and contemplations, that driue ſinful thoughts and carnall pleaſures of the body, farre of from her. *Cato* moreouer gaue him ſelfe much to ſobriety and temperaunce, and framed him ſelfe to be contented with litle. C They ſay he fell in his very olde age to the ſtudy of the Greeke tongue, and to reade Greeke bookes, and that he profited ſomwhat by *Thucydides*, but much more by *Demoſthenes*, to frame his matter, and alſo to be eloquent. Which plainly appeareth, in all his bookes and writinges, full of authorities, examples, & ſtories taken out of Greeke authors: and many of his ſentences and moralls, his adages & quicke anſwers, are tranſlated out of the ſame word for word. Now there was a noble man of ROME at that time, one of great authoritie, and a deepe wiſe man beſides, who coulde eaſily diſcerne buddes of vertue ſprowtinge out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honorable diſpoſition to helpe forwarde, and to aduaunce ſuch. His name was *Valerius Flaccus*, a neere neighboure vnto *Cato*, who was informed by his ſeruaunts of *Catoes* ſtraunge life, how he would be doing in his ground with his owne hands: and how he D would be gone euery day betimes in the morning to litle villages thereabout, to pleade mens cauſes that prayed his counſaill, & that when he had done, he would come home againe: and if it were in winter, that he would but caſt a litle coate on his ſhoulders, and being ſommer he would go out bare, naked to the waſt, to worke in his ground among his ſeruaunts and other workemen: & would beſides, ſit and eate with them together at one borde, and drinke as they did. Moreouer, they told him alſo a world of ſuch maners & facions which he vſed, that ſhewed to be a maruelous plaine man, without pride and of a good nature. Then they tolde him what notable wiſe ſayinges and graue ſentences they heard him ſpeake. *Valerius Flaccus* hearing this reporte of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to ſupper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with *Cato*, and perceiuing he was of a very good nature, and wel giuen, E & that he was a good griffe to be ſet in a better ground: he perſwaded him to come to ROME, and to practiſe there in the aſſembly of the people, in the common cauſes and affayres of the common weale. *Cato* followed his counſail, who hauing bene no long practiſer among them, did grow ſtraight into great eſtimacion, and wanne him many frends, by reaſon of the cauſes he tooke in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken alſo, by meanes of the ſpeciall fauour and countenaunce *Valerius Flaccus* gaue him. For firſt of all, by voyce of the people he was choſen Tribune of the ſouldiers, (to ſay, colonell of a thouſand footemen) & afterwards was made treaſorer: and ſo went forwards, and grew to ſo great credit & authority, as he became *Valerius Flaccus* cõpanion in the chieſeſt offices of ſtate, being choſen Conſul with him, & then Cenſor. But to begin withal, *Cato* made choiſe of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, aboue F all the Senators of ROME, & gaue him ſelfe to follow him altogether: & not ſo much for the credit & eſtimacion *Fabius Maximus* was of, (who therein exceded all the ROMAINES of that time)

The moderacion of Manius Curius.

Nearchus the Pythagorian Philoſopher, Catoes ſchole-maiſter.

Platoes opinion of pleaſure.

Cato learned the Greeke tongue in his olde age.

Cato profited moſt by Demoſthenes eloquence.

Valerius Flaccus a graue wiſe man.

Catoes ſtraunge life.

Cato goeth to Rome by Valerius Flaccus perſwaſion.

Cato choſen Tribunus militum.

Catoes offices in the Senate.

Cato followed Fabius Maximus.

A time) as for the modeſty and diſcrete gouernment he ſawe in him, whome he determined to followe, as a worthy myrror and example. At which time *Cato* paſſed not for the malice and euil will of *Scipio* the great, who did ſtriue at that preſent being but a young man, with the authoritie and greatneſſe of *Fabius Maximus*, as one that ſeemed to enuy his riſinge and greatneſſe. For *Cato* being ſent treaſorer with *Scipio*, when he vndertooke the iorney into AFRIKE, and perceiuing *Scipioes* bountifull nature and diſpoſition to large giftes without meane to the ſouldiers: he tolde him plainly one day, that he did not ſo much hurt the common wealth in waſting their treaſure, as he did great harme in chaũging the auncient maner of their aunceſters: who vſed their ſouldiers to be contented with litle, but he taught them to ſpende their ſuperfluous money (all neceſſaries prouided for) in vaine toyes and trifles, to ſerue their pleaB ſure. *Scipio* made him aunſwere, he woulde haue no treaſorer ſhoulde controll him in that ſorte, nor that ſhould looke ſo narrowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the wars, with full ſayles as it were, and that he woulde (and did alſo determine to) make the ſtate priuie to all his doinges, but not to the money he ſpent. *Cato* hearing this aunſwer, returned with ſpede out of SICILE vnto ROME, crying out with *Fabius Maximus* in open Senate, that *Scipio* ſpent infinitely, and that he tended playes, commedies, and wreſtlinges, as if he had not bene ſent to make warres, inuaſions, and attemptes apon their enemies. Apon this complaint the Senate appointed certeine Tribunes of the people, to goe and ſee if their informations were true: and finding them ſo, that they ſhould bring him backe againe to ROME. But *Scipio* ſhewed farre otherwiſe to the commiſſioners that came thither, and made them ſee apparaunt C victorie, through the neceſſary preparacion and prouiſion he had made for the warres: and he confeſſed alſo, that when he had diſpatched his great buſineſſe, and was at any leaſure, he would be priuately mery with his frends: and though he was liberall to his ſouldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duety and charge in any matter of importance. So *Scipio* tooke ſhippinge, and ſayled towards AFRIKE, whether he was ſent to make warre. Now to returne to *Cato*. He daily increaſed ſtill in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, ſo that diuerſe called him the *Demoſthenes* of ROME: howbeit the maner of his life was in more eſtimacion, then his eloquence. For all the youth of ROME did ſeeke to attaine to his eloquence and commendacion of wordes, and one enuied an other which of them ſhould come neareſt: but few of them woulde fyle their handes with any labor as their forefathers did, and make a light D ſupper and dinner, without fire or prouiſion, or woulde be content with a meane gowne, and a poore lodging, & finally woulde thinke it more honorable to defye fanſies & pleaſures, then to haue and enioy them. Bicauſe the ſtate was waxen now of ſuch power & wealth, as it could no more retaine the auncient diſcipline, and former auſteritie and ſtraitnes of life it vſed: but by reaſon of the largenes of their dominion and ſeigniory, and the numbers of people and nations that were become their ſubiects, it was euen forced to receiue a medley of ſundry contry facions, examples, and maners. This was a cauſe, why in reaſon men did ſo greatly wonder at *Catoes* vertue, when they ſawe other ſtraight wearyed with paines and labor, tenderly brought vp like pulers: and *Cato* on the other ſide neuer ouercommen, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he moſt coueted honor, nor in his age alſo when he E was gray headed and balde, after his Conſullſhip and triumphe, but like a conqueror that had gotten the maiſtery, he would neuer geue ouer labor euen vnto his dying day. For he writeth him ſelfe, that there neuer came gowne on his backe that coſt him aboue a hundred pence, & that his hyndes and worke men alwayes dronke no worſe wine, when he was Conſull and generall of the armie, then he did him ſelfe: and that his cater neuer beſtowed in meate for his ſupper, aboue thirty Aſſes of ROMAINE money, and yet he ſayed it was, bicauſe he might be the ſtronger, and apter to do ſeruice in the warres for his contry and the common wealth. He ſayd furthermore, that being heire to one of his frends that dyed, he had a peece of tapeſtry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the babilonian border, and he cauſed it ſtraight to be ſolde: and that of all his houſes he had abroade in the contry, he had not one F wall plaſtered, nor rough caſt. Moreouer he would ſay, he neuer bought bondeman or ſlaue dearer, then a thowſande fiue hundred pence, as one that ſought not for fine made men, and goodly perſonages, but ſtrong fellowes that could away with paynes, as carters, horſekepers,

Catoes emulacion with Scipio the great.

Cato beinge treaſorer vnder Scipio Aſiikan, retrouued him for his waſtfull expences.

Cato accuſeth Scipio of riot.

Catoes eloquence, his continent life, and extreame paynes.

Catoes wonderfull thrift.

neatheardes, and ſuch like: and againe he woulde ſell them when they were olde, bicauſe he would not keepe them when they coulde do no ſeruice. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a manne bought any thinge deere, that was for litle purpoſe: yea, though he gaue but a farthing for it, he thought it to much to beſtow ſo litle, for that which needed not. He would haue men purchaſe houſes, that hadde more ſtore of errable lande and paſture, then of fine orteyardes or gardeins. Some ſaye, he didde thus, for very miſerie and couetouſneſſe: other thinke, and tooke it that he liued ſo ſparingely, to moue others by his example to cutte of all ſuperfluitie and waſt. Neuertheleſſe, to ſell ſlaues in that ſorte, or to turne them out of dores when you haue hadde the ſeruice of all their youth, and that they are growen olde, as you vſe brute beaſtes that haue ſerued whileſt they may for age: me thinkes that muſt needes proceede of to ſeueare and greedie nature, that hath no lenger regarde or conſideracion of humanitie, then whileſt one is able to doe an other good. For we ſee, gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice. For nature teacheth vs to vſe iuſtice onely vnto menne, but gentleneſſe ſometimes is ſhewed vnto brute beaſtes: and that commeth from the very fountaine and ſpringe of all curteſie and humanitie, which ſhoulde neuer drye vp in any manne liuinge. For to ſaye truely, to keepe caſt horſes ſpoyled in our ſeruice, and dogges alſo not onely when they are whelpes, but when they be olde: be euen tokens of loue and kindeneſſe. As the Athenians made a lawe, when they builded their temple called Hecatompedon: that they ſhoulde ſuffer the moyles and mulettes that did ſeruice in their cariages about the buildinge of the ſame, to graze euerie where, without lette or trouble of any manne. And they ſay, there was one of thoſe moyles thus turned at libertie, that came of her ſelfe to the place to labour, goinge before all the other draught beaſtes, that drewe vppe cartes loden towardes the caſtell, and kept them companie, as though ſhe ſeemed to encorage the reſt to drawe: which the people liked ſo well in the poore beaſt, that they appointed ſhe ſhoulde be kept whileſt ſhe liued, at the charge of the towne. And yet at this preſent are the graues of *Cimons* mares to be ſeene, that wanne him thriſe together the game of the horſe race at the games Olympian, and they are harde by the graue of *Cimon* him ſelfe. We heare of diuerſe alſo that hadde buried their dogges they brought vppe in their houſe, or that wayted on them: as amonge other olde *Xanthippus* buried his dogge on the toppe of a cliffe, which is called the dogges pit till this day. For when the people of Athens did forſake their citie at the comminge downe of *Xerxes* the kinge, this dogge followed his maſter, ſwimminge in the ſea by his gallies ſide, from the firme lande, vnto the Ile of Salamina. And there is no reaſon, to vſe liuinge and ſencible thinges, as we woulde vſe an olde ſhooe or a ragge: to caſt it out apon the donge-hill when we haue worne it, and can ſerue vs no longer. For if it were for no reſpect els, but to vſe vs alwayes to humanitie: we muſt euer ſhowe our ſelues kinde and gentle, euen in ſuch ſmall poyntes of pitie. And as for me, I coulde neuer finde in my hart to ſell my drawght Oxe that hadde plowed my lande a longe time, bicauſe he coulde plowe no longer for age: and much leſſe my ſlaue to ſell him for a litle money, out of the contrie where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his olde trade of life wherewith he was beſt acquainted, and then ſpecially, when he ſhalbe as vnprofitable for the buyer, as alſo for the ſeller. But *Cato* on the other ſide gloried, that he left his horſe in Spayne he had ſerued on in the warres duringe his Conſulſhip, bicauſe he would not put the common wealth to the charge of bringing of him home by ſea into Italie. Now a queſtion might be made of this, and probable reaſon of either ſide, whether this was noblenes, or a niggardlines in him: but otherwiſe to ſay truely, he was a man of a wonderful abſtinence. For when he was general of the army, he neuer tooke allowance but after three buſhells wheat a moneth of the common wealth, for him ſelfe and his whole family: and but a buſhel and halfe of barley a day, to keepe his horſe and other beaſtes for his cariage. On a time when he was Prætor, the gouernment of the Ile of Sardinia fell to his lot. And where the other Prætors before him hadde put the contry to exceeding great charge, to furniſh them with tents, bedding, clothes, and ſuch like ſtuffe, and burdened them alſo with a maruelous traine of ſeruaunts and their frends that waited on them, putting them to great expence of feaſting and bancketing of them: *Cato* in contrary maner brought downe all that exceſſe and ſuperfluitie, vnto a maruelous neere and vncredible ſauinge. For when he

Catoes ſharpnes.

Gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice.

Gentleneſſe to be vſed vnto brute beaſtes.

A gentle lawe made by the Athenians in fauor of their laboringe moyles.

Xanthippus buried his dogge, that ſwame by his gallyes ſide from Athens to Salamina, and dyed whē he landed.

Catoes ſtraight life.

Cato, Prætor in Sardinia.

A he went to visite the cities, he came a foote to them, & did not put them to a penny charge for him selfe: and had onely one officer or bailife of the state, that waited on him, and caried his gowne and a cuppe with him, to offer vp wine to the goddes in his sacrifices. But though he came thus simply to the subiects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed him selfe seuere and bitter to them in matters concerning iustice: and spared no man, in any commaundement or seruice for the state and common wealth. For he was therein so precise, that he woulde not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the SARDINIANS vnder his gouernment, both to loue and feare the Empire of ROME, more then euer they did before. For his grace both in speakinge and wrytinge did rightly shewe him selfe: bicause it was pleasaunt, and yet graue: sweete and fearfull: mery and seueare: sententious, and yet familiar: such as is meete to be spoken. And he was to be compared, as *Plato* sayed, vnto *Socrates*: who at the first sight seemed a plaine simple manne to them that knew him not outwardly, or else a pleasant tawnter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and found him throughly, they sawe he was full of graue sentences, goodly examples, and wise perswasions, that he coulde make men water their plantes that hearde him, and leade them as he would by the eare. Therefore I can not see any reason that moues men to saye, *Cato* hadde *Lysias* grace and vtteraunce. Notwithstandinge, lette vs referre it to their iudgementes that make profession to discerne orators graces and styles: for my parte I shall content my selfe to write at this present, onely certaine of his notable sayinges and sentences, perswadinge my selfe that mennes manners are better discerned by their wordes, then by their lookes, and so doe many thinke.

Catoes neerenes in his circuite.

Catoes seuerity.

Catoes speech and writing.

The praise of Socrates.

C On a time he seeking to disswade the people of ROME, which woulde needes make a thankefull distribution of corne vnto euerie citizen, to no purpose: beganne to make an oration with this preface. It is a harde thinge (my Lordes of ROME) to bringe the bellie by perswasion to reason, that hath no eares. And an other time, reprouinge the ill gouernment of the citie of ROME, he sayed: it was a hard thinge to keepe vppe that state, where a litle fishe was solde dearer then an Oxe. He sayed also that the ROMAINES were like a flocke of sheepe. For sayeth he, as euery weather when he is alone, doth not obey the sheepeheard, but when they are all together they one followe an other for loue of the foremest: euen so are you, for when you are together, you are all contented to be ledde by the noses by such, whose counsell not a man alone of you woulde vse in any priuate cause of your owne. And talkinge an other time

Catoes sayinges.

D of the authoritie the women of ROME had ouer their husbandes. He sayed: other men commaunde their wiues, and we commaunde men, and our wiues commaund vs. But this last of all, he borowed of *Themistocles* pleasaunt sayings. For his sonne making him do many things by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day. The ATHENIANS commaund al GREECE, I commaunde the ATHENIANS, you commaunde me, and your sonne ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him vse the libertie he hath with some better discretion, foole and asse as he is, sithence he can doe more by that power and authority, then all the GREECIANS besides. He sayed also that the people of ROME did not onely delight in diuerse sortes of purple, but likewise in diuerse sortes of exercises. For sayd he, as diuerse commonly dye that cullour they see best esteemed, and is most pleasaunt to the eye: euen so the lusty youthes of ROME doe frame

Themistocles saying.

E them selues to such exercise, as they see your selues most like, and best esteme. He continually aduised the ROMAINES, that if their power & greatnes came by their vertue and temperance, they should take hede they became no chaungelings, nor waxe worse: & if they came to that greatnes by vice and violence, that then they should chaunge to better, for by that meanes he knew very wel they had attained to great honor & dignity. Again he told thē, that such as sued ambitiously to beare office in the common wealth, & were common suters for them: did seme to be afraid to lose their way, & therfore would be sure to haue vshers & sergeants before thē, to show them the way, least they should lose themselues in the city. He did reproue them also, that often chose one man, to continew one office still: for it seemeth, saith he, either that you passe not much for your officers, or that you haue not many choisemē you thinke worthy for

Honor nourisheth arte.

Cato, against offices of perpetuity.

F the office. There was an enemy of his that ledde a maruelous wicked and an abominable life, of whome he was wont to say, that when his mother prayed vnto the goddes that she might leaue her sonne behinde her, she did not thinke to pray, but to curse: meaninge to haue him

liue for a plague to the world. And to an other alſo that had vnthriftely ſolde his lands which his father had left him, lying vpon the ſea ſide: he pointed vnto them with his finger, & made as though he wondered how he came to be ſo great a man, that he was ſtronger then the ſea. For that which the ſea hardly conſumeth, and eateth into, by litle and litle a long time: he had conſumed it all at a clappe. An other time when kinge *Eumenes* was come to ROME, the Senate entertained him maruelous honorably, and the nobleſt citizens did ſtriue, enuying one an other, who ſhoulde welcome him beſt. But *Cato* in contrary maner ſhewed plainely, that he did ſuſpect all this feaſtinge and entertainement, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar frendes tolde him, I maruell why you flie from king *Eumenes* companie, that is ſo good a Prince, and loues the ROMAINES ſo well. Yea, ſayed he, let it be ſo, but for all that, a king is no better then a rauening beaſt that liues of the pray: neither was there euer any kinge ſo happie, that deſerued to be compared to *Epaminondas*, to *Pericles*, to *Themiſtocles*, nor to *Manius Curius*, or to *Hamylcar*, ſurnamed *Barca*. They ſay his enemies did malice him, becauſe he vſed commonly to riſe before day, & did forget his owne buſines to folow matters of ſtate. And he affirmed, that he had rather looſe the reward of his well doing, then not to be puniſhed for doing of euill: and that he would beare with all other offending ignorauntly, but not with him ſelfe. The ROMAINES hauing choſen on a time three Ambaſſadors to ſend into the realme of BITHYNIA, one of them hauing the gowte in his feete, the other his heade full of cuttes and great gaſhes, and the third being but a foole: *Cato* laughinge, ſayd the ROMAINES ſent an Ambaſſade that had neither feete, heade, nor hart. *Scipio* ſued once to *Cato* at *Polybius* requeſt, about thoſe that were baniſhed from ACHAIA. The matter was argued afterwardes in the Senate, and there fell out diuers opinions about it. Some would haue had them reſtored to their contrie and goodes againe: other were wholly againſt it. So *Cato* riſinge vp at the laſt, ſayed vnto them. It ſeemes we haue litle elſe to do, when we ſtand beating of our braines all day, diſputing about theſe olde GREECIANS, whether the ROMAINES, or the ACHAIANS, ſhall bury them. In the end, the Senate tooke order, they ſhoulde be reſtored vnto their contrie againe. Whereuppon *Polybius* thought to make petition againe vnto the Senate, that the baniſhed men whom they hadde reſtored by their order, might enioy their former eſtates and honors in ACHAIA, they had at the time of their baniſhment: but before he would moue the ſute vnto the Senate, he woulde feele *Catoes* opinion firſt, what he thought of it. Who aunſwered him, ſmyling: me thinkes *Polybius* thou art like *Vlyſſes*, that when he had ſcaped out of *Cyclops* caue the gyant, he would nedes go thither againe, to fetch his hatte and girdell he had left behinde him there. He ſayd alſo, that wiſe men did learne and profit more by fooles, then fooles did by wiſe men. For wiſe men ſayd he, do ſee the faults fooles commit, and can wiſely auoide them: but fooles neuer ſtudy to follow the example of wiſe mens doings. He ſayed alſo that he euer liked young men better that bluſhed, then thoſe that looked euer whitely: and that he woulde not haue him for a ſouldier, that wagges his hande as he goeth, remoues his feete when he fighteth, and rowteth and ſnorteth lowder in his ſleepe, then when he crieth out to his enemy. An other time when he woulde taunt a maruelous fatte man: ſee, ſayed he, what good can ſuch a body do to the common wealth, that from his chinne to his coddepece is nothing but belly? And to an other man that was geuen to pleaſure, and deſired to be great with him: my frende, ſayed *Cato*, as refuſinge his acquaintance: I can not liue with him that hath better iudgement in the pallate of his mouth, then in his hart. This was alſo his ſayinge, that the ſoule of a louer, liued in an others body: and that in all his life time he repented him of three thinges. The firſt was, if that he euer tolde ſecret to any woman: the ſeconde, that euer he went by water, when he might haue gone by lande: the thirde, that he had bene Idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Alſo when he ſaw a vicious olde man, he would ſay, to reproue him: O gray bearde, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe it not beſides with your vice. And to a ſeditious Tribune of the people that was ſuſpected to be a poyſoner, and would needes paſſe ſome wicked law by voyce of the people, he woulde ſay: o young man, I know not which of theſe two be worſe, to drinke the drugges thou geueſt, or to receiue the lawes thou offereſt. An other time, being reuiled by one that ledde a lewde, and naughty life: go thy way, ſayd he, I am no man to ſcolde with thee. For thou art ſo vſed to reuile, and to be reuiled,

Cato woulde puniſh him ſelfe for offending.

That is to ſay vnderſtanding. For they iudged that the ſeate of reaſon was placed in the hart, folowing Ariſtotles opinion.

Bluſhinge in younge men is a better token then paleneſs.

A louer liueth in an other body.

A reuiled, that it is not daynty to thee: But for my ſelfe, I neuer vſe to heare ſcolding, and much leſſe delite to ſcolde. Theſe be his wiſe ſayinges we finde written of him, whereby we may the eaſilier coniecture his maners and nature. Now, when he was choſen Conſull with his frend *Valerius Flaccus*, the gouernment of SPAYNE fell to his lott, that is on this ſide of the riuer of BÆTIS. So, *Cato* hauinge ſubdued many people by force of armes, and wonne others alſo by frendly meanes: ſodainly there came a maruelous great army of the barbarous people againſt him, & had enuironned him ſo, as he was in maruelous daunger, either ſhamefully to be taken priſonner, or to be ſlaine in the fielde. Wherefore, he ſent preſently vnto the CELTIBERIANS, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbours vnto the marches where he was. Theſe CELTIBERIANS did aske him two hundred talentes to come & help him: but the ROMAINES

B that were about him, coulde not abide to hyer the barbarous people to defende them. Then *Cato* tolde them ſtraight, there was no hurt in it, nor any diſhonor vnto them. For ſayed he, if the fielde be ours, then we ſhall pay their wages we promiſed, with the ſpoyle and money of our enemies: and if we looſe it, then our ſelues and they lye by it, beinge left neither man to pay, nor yet any to aske it. In the ende he wanne the battel, after a ſore conflict, and after that time he hadde maruelous good fortune. For *Polybius* wryteth, that all the walles of the cities that were on this ſide the riuer of BÆTIS, were by his commaundement raſed all in one day, which were many, and full of good ſouldiers. Him ſelfe wryteth, that he tooke moe cities in SPAYNE, then he remained there dayes: and it is no vaine boaſt, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of thē. Now, though the ſouldiers vnder him had gotten

C well in this iorney, and were riche, yet he cauſed a pounde weight of ſiluer to be geuen to euery ſouldier beſides: ſayinge, he liked it better that many ſhould returne home with ſiluer in their purſes, then a few of them with golde only. But for him ſelfe, he affirmed: that of all the ſpoyle gotten of the enemies, he neuer had any thinge, ſauinge that which he tooke in meate and drinke. And yet, ſayth he, I ſpeake it not to reproue them that grow riche by ſuch ſpoiles: but bicauſe I woulde contende in vertue rather with the beſt, then in money with the richeſt, or in couetouſnes with the moſt vertuous. For, not only he him ſelfe was cleare from bribes and extorcion, but his officers alſo vnder him kept the ſame courſe. In this Spaniſh iorney, he had fiue of his ſeruauntes with him, whereof one of them called *Paulus*, bought three younge boyes that were taken in the warres, when the ſpoile was ſolde to them that would geue moſt.

D So *Cato* knew it. But *Paulus* being afrayed to come neere his maiſter, hong him ſelfe: and then *Cato* ſolde the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treaſory cheſtes of ſauing at ROME. Now while *Cato* was in SPAYNE, *Scipio* the great that was his enemy, & ſought to hinder the courſe of his proſperitie, and to haue the honor of conqueringe all the reſt of SPAYNE: he made all the frendes he could to the people, to be choſen in *Catoes* place. He was no ſooner entred into his charge, but he made all the poſſible ſpede he could to be gone, that he might make *Catoes* authority ceaſſe the ſooner. *Cato* hearing of his haſty comminge, tooke only fiue enſignes of footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen to attende vpon him home: with the which, in his iorney homeward, he ouercame a people in SPAYNE called the LACETANI-

E ANS, and tooke ſixe hundred traytors alſo that were fled from the ROMAINES campe to their enemies, and did put to death euery mothers childe of them. *Scipio* ſtorming at that, ſayd *Cato* did him wrong. But *Cato* to mocke him finely, ſayed: it was the right way to bringe ROME to floriſh, when noble borne citizens would not ſuffer meane borne men, and vpſtarts as him ſelfe was, to go before them in honor: and on the other ſide when meane borne men woulde contende in vertue, with thoſe that were of nobleſt race, and farre aboue them in calling. For all that, when *Cato* came to ROME, the Senate commaunded that nothing ſhoulde be chaunged nor altered otherwiſe, then *Cato* had appointed it, whileſt he was in his office. So that the gouernment for which *Scipio* made ſuch earneſt ſute in SPAYNE, was a greater diſgrace vnto him, then it was vnto *Cato*: bicauſe he paſſed al his time & office in peace, hauing no occaſion offered him to doe any notable ſeruice worthy memory. Furthermore, *Cato* after he had bene

F Conſul, and hadde graunted to him the honor to triumphe: did not as many others doe, that ſeeke not after vertue, but onely for worldly honor and dignity. Who, when they haue bene called to the higheſt offices of ſtate, as to be Conſulls, and haue alſo graunted them the honor

Cato, and Valerius Flaccus Conſuls. Catoes doings in Spayne.

Catoes abſtinence, from ſpoyle and bribery.

Diſcorde betweene Cato & Scipio.

Cato ouercame the Lacetanians.

to triumphe: do then leaue to deale any more in matters of ſtate,& diſpoſe them ſelues to liue merely and quietely at home, and not to trouble them ſelues any more. Now *Cato*, farre otherwiſe behaued him ſelfe. For he would neuer leaue to exerciſe vertue, but beganne a freſhe, as if he had bene but a young noueſſe in the world, and as one greedy of honor and reputacion, and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleaſure his frends or any other citizen, he would come to the market place, and pleade their cauſes for them that required his counſell, and go with his frendes alſo into the warres. As he went with *Tiberius Sempronius* the Conſul, and was one of his Lieutenants at the conqueſt of the contry of THRACE, and vnto the prouinces adioyning to the riuer of DANVBYE apon thoſe marches. After that, he was in GREECE alſo, Collonell of a thowſande footemen, vnder *Manius Aquilius*, againſt king *Antiochus* ſurnamed the great, who made the ROMAINES as much afrayed of him, as euer they were of enemy but *Hannibal*. For, when he had conquered all the regions and prouinces of ASIA, which *Seleucus Nicanor* enioyed before, & had ſubdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was ſo proude harted, as he would nedes haue wars with the ROMAINES, whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and beſt able to fight with him. So he made ſome honeſt ſhow and pretence of warres, ſaying: it was to ſet the GREECIANS at liberty, who had no cauſe thereof, conſidering they liued after their owne lawes, and were but lately deliuered from the bondage of kinge *Philip*, and of the MACEDONIANS, through the goodneſſe of the ROMAINES. Notwithſtandinge, he came out of ASIA into GREECE with a maruelous great army, and all GREECE was ſtraight in armes and in wonderfull daunger, bicauſe of the great promiſes and large hopes the gouernours of diuerſe cities (whome the kinge had wonne and corrupted with money) did make vnto them. Whereupon *Manius* diſpatched Ambaſſadors vnto the cities, and ſent *Titus Quintius Flaminius* amonge others, who kept the greateſt parte of the people from rebellinge (that were eaſily drawen to geue eare to this innouation) as we haue expreſſed more amply in his life: and *Cato* beinge ſent Ambaſſador alſo, perſwaded the CORINTHIANS, thoſe of PATRAS, and the ÆGIANS, and made them ſticke ſtill to the ROMAINES, and continued a long time at ATHENS. Some ſay they finde an oration of his wrytten in the Greeke tongue, which he made before the ATHENIANS, in commendacion of their aunceſters: wherein he ſayd, he tooke great pleaſure to ſee ATHENS, for the beauty and ſtatelineſſe of the city. But this is falſe. For he ſpake vnto the ATHENIANS by an interpreter, though he coulde haue vttered his oration in the Greeke tongue if he had bene diſpoſed: but he did like the lawes and cuſtomes of his owne contrie, and the ROMAINE tongue ſo well, that he laughed at them that would praiſe and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did once mocke *Poſthumius Albinus*, who wrote an hiſtory in the Greeke tongue, praying the readers in his preface to beare with him, if they founde any imperfection in the tongue: mary, ſayd *Cato*, he had deſerued pardon in deede, if he hadde bene forced to haue wrytten his ſtory in the Greeke tonge, by order of the ſtates of GREECE, called the counſel of the Amphictyõs. They ſay the ATHENIANS wondered to heare his redy tongue. For what he had vttered quickely in few words vnto the interpreter: the interpreter was driuen to deliuer them againe with great circũſtances, & many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GREECIANS words lay all in their lippes, and the ROMAINES wordes in their heades. Now kinge *Antiochus* kept all the ſtraightes and narrow paſſages of the mountaines called THERMOPYLES, (beinge the ordinary way and entry into GREECE) and had fortified them as well with his army that camped at the foote of the mountaine, as alſo with walles and trenches he had made by hande, beſides the naturall ſtrength & fortification of the mount it ſelfe in ſundry places: and ſo he determined to remaine there, truſting to his owne ſtrength and fortifications aforeſayed, and to turne the force of the warres ſome other way. The ROMAINES alſo, they diſpayred vtterly they ſhould be able any way to charge him before. But *Cato* remembringe with him ſelfe the compaſſe the PERSIANS hadde fetched about before time likewiſe to enter into GREECE: he departed one night from the campe with parte of the army: to proue if he could finde the very compaſſe about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climed vp the mountaine, their guide that was one of the priſoners taken in the contrie, loſt his way, and made them wander vp and downe in maruelous ſteepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore ſouldiers

Cato's acts after his Conſulſhippe and triumphe.

The power of Antiochus the great.

Cato mocked Poſthumius Albinus a Romane, for writing a ſtory in the Greeke tongue.

Kinge Antiochus army.

Catoes doings againſt king Antiochus.

A ſouldiers were in maruelous ill taking. *Cato* ſeeing the daunger they were brought into by this lewde guide, commaunded all his ſouldiers not to ſturre a foote from thence, and to tary him there: and in the meane time he went him ſelfe alone, and *Lucius Manlius* with him (a luſtie man, and nimble to climbe apon the rockes) and ſo went forwarde at aduenture, takinge extreame and vncredible paine, & in as much daunger of his life, grubbing all night in the darke without moone light, through wilde Olyue trees, and high rockes (that let them they coulde not ſee before them, neither could tell whether they went) vntill they ſtumbled at the length vppon a litle pathe way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine, where the campe of the enemies lay. So they ſet vppe certeine markes and tokens, vppon the higheſt toppes of the rockes they coulde chooſe, by view of eye to be diſcerned furtheſt of v-

B pon the mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned backe againe to fetche the ſouldiers, whom they led towardes their markes they had ſet vp: vntill at the length they founde their pathe waye againe, where they putte their ſouldiers in order to marche. Now they went not farre in this pathe they founde, but the way failed them ſtraight, and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worſe caſe then before, and in greater feare, not knowinge they were ſo neere their enemies, as in deede they were. The day began to breake a litle, and one of them that marched formeſt, thought he hearde a noyſe, and that he ſaw the GREEKES campe at the foote of the rockes, and certeine ſouldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon *Cato* made them ſtay, & willed only the FIRMANIANS to come vnto him, and none but them, bicauſe he had founde them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his

C commaundement. They were with him at a triſe to know his pleaſure: ſo *Cato* ſaid vnto them. My fellowes, I muſt haue ſome of our enemies taken priſoners, that I may know of them who they be that keepe that paſſage, what number they be, what order they keepe, howe they are camped and armed, and after what ſorte they determine to fight with vs. The waye to worke this feate, ſtandeth apon ſwiftnes, and hardines to runne apon them ſodainely, as Lyons doe, which beinge naked feare not to runne into the middeſt of any hearde of fearfull beaſtes. He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe wordes, but the FIRMANIAN ſouldiers beganne to runne downe the mountaine, as they were, apon thoſe that kept the watch: and ſo ſetting apon them, they beinge out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man priſoner. When they had him, they ſtraight brought him vnto *Cato*, who by othe of the priſoner was aduertiſed, howe that

D the ſtrength of their enemies armie was lodged about the perſone of the kinge, within the ſtraight and valley of the ſaid mountaine: and that the ſouldiers they ſaw, were ſixe hundred ÆTOLIANS, all braue ſouldiers, whome they had choſen and appointed to keepe the toppe of the rockes ouer king *Antiochus* campe. When *Cato* had heard him, making ſmall accompt of the matter, as well for their ſmall number, as alſo for the ill order they kept: he made the trompets ſounde ſtraight, and his ſouldiers to marche in battell with great cries, him ſelfe beinge the formeſt man of all his troupe, with a ſworde drawen in his hand. But when the ÆTOLIANS ſaw them comming downe the rockes towardes them, they beganne to flie for life vnto their great campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all diſorder. Now *Manlius* at the ſame preſent alſo, gaue an aſſault vnto the walles and fortifications the king had made,

E ouerthwart the vallies and ſtraightes of the mountaines: at which aſſault, king *Antiochus* ſelfe had a blow on the face with a ſtone, that ſtrake ſome of his teeth out of his mouth, ſo that for very paine & anguiſh he felt, he turned his horſe backe, and got him behinde the preaſe. And then there were none of his armie that made any more reſiſtaunce, or that coulde abide the fierceneſſe of the ROMAINES. But notwithſtanding that the places were very ill for flying, bicauſe it was vnpoſſible for them to ſcatter and ſtraggle, beinge holden in with high rockes on the one ſide of them, and with bogges and deepe mariſſes on the other ſide, which they muſt needes fall into if their feete ſlipped, or were thruſt forwarde by any: yet they fell one apon an other in the ſtraightes, and ranne ſo in heapes together, that they caſt them ſelues away, for

F feare of the ROMAINES ſwordes that lighted vppon them in euery corner. And there *Marcus Cato*, that neuer made ceremony or niſenes to praiſe him ſelfe openly, nor reckened it any ſhame to do it: did take a preſent occaſion for it, as falleth out apon all victory and famous exploytes. And ſo did ſet it out with all the oſtentacion and braue wordes he could geue. For he

Mount Callidromus.

Catoes oration to his ſouldiers.

The boldenes and valliant attemps of Catoes ſouldiers.

Cato aduertiſed of the ſtrēgth of king Antiochus campe.

Cato tooke the ſtraight of Thermopyles.

Kinge Antiochus hurt in the face with a ſtone.

Catoes victory of kinge Antiochus.

Cato woulde praise his owne doings.

wrote with his owne handes, that such as saw him chase and lay vpon his flying enemies that day, were driuen to say, that *Cato* was not bound to the Romaines, but the Romaines bound vnto *Cato*. And then *Manius* the Consull selfe, being in a great heate with the furie of the battell, embraced *Cato* a great while, that was also hotte with chasinge of the enemy: and spake alowde with great ioy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of Rome could recompence *Cato* for his valliant seruice that day. After this battell, the Consul *Manius* sent *Cato* to Rome, to be the messenger him selfe to reporte the newes of the victory. So he imbarked incontinently, and had such a fayer winde, that he passed ouer the sea to Brindes without any daunger, and went from thence vnto Tarentvm in one day, and from Tarentvm in foure dayes more to Rome. And so he came to Rome in fiue dayes after his landing in Italie, and made such speede, that him selfe was in deede the first messenger that brought newes of the victorie. Whereupon he filled all Rome with ioy and sacrifices, and made the Romaines so proude, that euer after they thought them selues able men to conquer the worlde both by sea and lande. And these be all the martiall deedes and noble actes *Cato* did. But for his doings in ciuill policie and state, he semed to be of this opinion. That to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thinge an honest man and good gouernour of the common wealth coulde employ him selfe vnto: for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be shorte, he did alwayes stirre vp some accuser, as he did *Petilius* against *Scipio*. But *Scipio*, by reason of his nobility, the greatnes of his house, and the magnanimity of his minde, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him: being out of all feare, they shoulde be able to condemne him. And so he let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he ioyned with other that accused *Lucius Scipio*, his owne brother, and followed the matter so sore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in a great summe of money to the cõmon wealth: who being vnable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people reuoked his condemnation. It is sayd that *Cato* comming through the market place one day, and meeting with a younge manne by the way that had ouerthrowen his aduersary in sute, and put one of his late fathers greatest enemies to open shame and foyle before the people: he imbraced him with a good countenaunce, and sayd vnto him. Oh my sonne, sacrifices that good children should offer to their fathers soule, be not lammes nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free him selfe from daunger, in administration of the cõmon wealth. For if they could katch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemies straight accused him: so as they say he was accused almost a fifty times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of foure score yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: that it was a harder thinge to geue vp an accompt of his life before men in any other world, then in this among whom he liued. And yet was not this the last sute he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was foure score and tenne yeares of age, he accused *Seruius Galba*. And thus he liued as *Nestor*, in maner three ages of man, alwayes in continuall sute and action. For when he wrestled with the first *Scipio* the African about matters of state and common wealth: he went on vnto the time of the seconde, that was adopted by the first *Scipioes* sonne, the naturall sonne of *Paulus AEmylius*, who ouercame *Perseus*, king of Macedon. Furthermore, *Marcus Cato*, tenne yeares after his Consulship, sued to be Censor, which was in Rome the greatest office of dignity that any citizen of Rome could attaine vnto: and as a man may say, the roome of all glory and honor of their common wealth. For among other authorities the Censor had power to examine mens liues & maners, and to punish euery offendor. For the Romaines were of that minde, that they woulde not haue men mary, gette children, liue priuately by them selues, and make feastes and banckettes at their pleasure, but that they should stande in feare to be reproued and inquiered of by the magistrate: and that it was not good to geue euery body liberty, to doe what they would, following his owne lust and fansie. And they iudging that mens naturall dispositions do appeare more in such things, then in all other thinges that are openly done at none dayes, and in the sight of the worlde: vsed to choose two Censors, that were two Surueyors of maners, to see that euery man behaued him selfe vertuously, and gaue not them selues to pleasure, nor to breake the lawes and customes

Manius sendeth Cato to Rome to cary newes of the victory.

Cato an accuser of men.

Cato fifty times accused.

The dignity and office of the Censor.

of

A of the common wealth. Theſe officers were called in their tongue, *Cenſores*, and alwayes of cuſtome one of them was a PATRICIAN, and the other a commoner. Theſe two had power and authority to diſgrade a knight by taking away his horſe, & to put any of the Senate, whom they ſaw liue diſſolutely and diſorderly. It was their office alſo, to ceaſſe and rate euery citizen accordinge to the eſtimacion of their goodes, to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of euery man, and to kepe bookes of them, beſides many other prerogatiues they had belonging to their office. Therefore when *Cato* came to ſue for this office among other, the chiefeſt Senators were all bent againſt him. Some of them for very enuy, thinkinge it ſhame and diſhonor to the nobility, to ſuffer menne that were meanely borne, and vpſtartes (the firſt of their houſe and name, that euer came to beare office in the ſtate) to be called & preferred vnto the
B higheſt offices of ſtate in all their common wealth. Other alſo that were ill liuers, & knowing that they had offended the lawes of their contry: they feared his cruelty to much, imagining he would ſpare no man, nor pardon any offence, hauing the law in his owne hands. So when they had conſulted together about it, they did ſet vp ſeuen competitors againſt him, who flattered the people with many fayer wordes and promiſes, as though they had neede of magiſtrates to vſe them gently, and to doe thinges for to pleaſe them. But *Cato* contrariwiſe, ſhewinge no countenaunce that he would vſe them gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit for orations, threatning thoſe that had liued naughtily and wickedly, he cried out: that they muſt reforme their citie, and perſwaded the people not to chooſe the gentleſt, but the ſharpeſt phiſitions: and that him ſelfe was ſuch a one as they needed, & among the PATRICIANS
C *Valerius Flaccus* an other, in whoſe company he hoped (they two beinge choſen Cenſors) to do great good vnto the common wealth, by burninge and cutting of (like *Hydras* heades) all vanity and voluptuous pleaſures, that were crept in amongeſt them: and that he ſawe well enough, how all the other ſuters ſought the office by diſhoneſt meanes, fearing ſuch officers as they knew would deale iuſtly & vprightly. Then did the people of ROME ſhew them ſelues nobly minded, and worthy of noble gouernours. For they refuſed not the ſowerneſſe or ſeuerity of *Cato*, but reiected theſe meale mouthed men, that ſeemed ready to pleaſe the people in all thinges: and thereupon choſe *Marcus Cato* Cenſor, and *Valerius Flaccus* to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he hadde bene preſent officer, and no ſuter for the office, being in themſelues to giue it to whom they thought good. The firſt thing he did after he was
D ſtalled in his Cenſorſhip, was: that he named *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, his frend and fellow Cenſor with him, prince of the Senate: & among many other alſo whom he thruſt out of the Senate, he put *Lucius Quintius Flaminius* of the Senate, that had bene Conſull ſeuen yeares before, and was brother alſo vnto *Titus Quintius Flaminius* that ouercame *Philip* king of MACEDON in battell, which was greater glory to him, then that he had bene Conſull. But the cauſe why he put him of the Senate, was this. This *Lucius Quintius* caried euer with him a younge boy to the warres, whom he gaue as good countenaunce and credit vnto, as to any of his beſt familiar frendes he had about him. It fortuned on a time whileſt *Lucius Quintius* was Conſull and gouernour of a prouince, that he made a feaſt, and this boy being ſet at his table hard by him, as his maner was, he beganne to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was
E pretily mery: & ſoothing him, told him he loued him ſo dearely, that vpon his departing from ROME, when the Swordeplaiers were ready to fight for life and death with vnrebated ſwords to ſhew the people paſtime, he came his way, and left the ſight of that he neuer ſaw, that was very deſirous to haue ſeene a man killed. Then this *Lucius Quintius*, to make him ſee the like, ſayed: care not for the ſight thou haſt loſt, boy, for I will let thee ſee as much. And when he had ſpoken theſe wordes, he commaunded a priſoner condemned to dye, to be fetched and brought into his hall before him, and the hangman with his axe. Which was forthwith done according to his commaundement. Then asked he the boy, if he would ſtraight ſee the man killed: yea, ſir, ſayd the boy: and with that he bad the hangman ſtrike of his head. Moſt wryters reporte this matter thus. And *Cicero* to confirme it alſo, wrote in his booke de Senectute
F that the ſame was wrytten in an oration *Cato* made before the people of ROME. Now *Lucius Quintius* beinge thus ſhamefully put of the Senate by *Cato*, his brother *Titus* beinge offended withall, coulde not tell what to doe, but beſought the people they woulde commaunde *Cato*

How the Cenſors were choſen.

The Senators and nobility bent all againſt Catoes ſute.

Cato choſen Cenſor.

Catoes acts in his cenſorſhip. Cato put Lucius Quintius Flaminius of the Senate.

The cauſe why Cato put Quintius of the Senate.

Lucius Quintius Flaminius wickednes & cruelty.

to declare the cauſe, why he brought ſuch ſhame vnto his houſe. Whereuppon *Cato* openly A
before the people, made recitall of all this feaſt. And when *Lucius* denied it, affirminge it was
not ſo: *Cato* would haue had him ſworne before them all, that it was not true they had burde-
ned him withall. But *Lucius* prayed them to pardon him, who ſayed he woulde not ſweare:
Whereupon the people iudged ſtraight that he deſerued well that ſhame. So not longe after,
certaine games beinge ſhewed in the Theater, *Lucius* came thither, and paſſinge beyonde the
ordinary place that was appointed for thoſe that had bene Conſuls, he went to ſit aloofe of a-
mongeſt the multitude. The people tooke pity on him, and made ſuch a do about him, as they
forced him to riſe, and to go ſit among the other Senators that had bene Conſuls: ſaluing the
beſt they could, the ſhame and diſhonor happened vnto ſo noble a houſe. *Cato* put out of the
Manilius put of the Senate for kiſſing his wife before his daughter. Senate alſo, one *Manilius*, who was in great towardnes to haue bene made Conſull the next B
yere following, only bicauſe he kiſſed his wife to louingly in the day time, & before his daugh-
ter: and reprouing him for it, he tolde him, his wife neuer kiſſed him, but when it thundered.
Mery with maried men when Iupiter thundereth. So when he was diſpoſed to be mery, he would ſay it was happy with him when *Iupiter* thun-
dered. He tooke away *Lucius Scipioes* horſe from him, that had triumphed for the victories he
had won againſt the great king *Antiochus*: which wan him much ill wil, bicauſe it appeared to
the world he did it of purpoſe, for the malice he did beare *Scipio* the AFRICAN, that was dead.
Banketing & feaſtes put downe by Cato. But the moſt thing that greeued the people of all other extreamities he vſed, was his putting
downe of all feaſtes and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to be openly
ſeene in it, it was vnpoſſible, bicauſe it was ſo common a thinge, and euery man was giuen ſo
to it. Therefore *Cato* to fetche it about indirectly, did praiſe euery citizens goodes, and rated C
their apparell, their coches, their litters, their wiues chaines and iuells, and all other moue-
ables and houſehold ſtuffe, that had coſt aboue a thouſand fiue hundred Drachmes a peece, at
tenne times as much as they were worth: to the end that ſuch as had beſtowed their money
in thoſe curious triſles, ſhould pay ſo much more ſubſidie to the maintenance of the common
Catoes counſell for reformeinge exceſſe at Rome. wealth, as their goods were ouer valued at. Moreouer he ordained for euery thouſand Aſſes
that thoſe triſling things were praiſed at, the owners of them ſhould pay three thouſand Aſſes
to the common treaſory: to the ende that they who were greeued with this taxe, and ſawe o-
ther pay leſſe ſubſidy (that were as much worth as them ſelues, by liuing without ſuch toyes)
might call home them ſelues againe, and lay a ſide ſuch fooliſhe brauery and fineneſſe. Not-
withſtandinge, *Cato* was enuied euery way. Firſt, of them that were contented to pay the taxe D
impoſed, rather then they would leaue their vanity: and next, of them alſo, that would rather
reforme them ſelues, then pay the taxe. And ſome thinke that this law was deuiſed rather to
take away their goodes, then to let them to make ſhew of them: and they haue a fonde opini-
on beſides, that their riches is better ſeene in ſuperfluous things, then in neceſſary. Wherein
they ſay *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could
Superfluous things reckened for riches. thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and ſuperfluous things, then thoſe
that had neceſſary and profitable things. And *Scopas* the THESSALIAN, when one of his fami-
liar frends asked him, I know not what triſling thing, & to make him graunt it the ſooner, told
Scopas goodes were all in toyes, that did him no good. him it was a thinge he might well ſpare, and did him no good: mary ſayeth he, all the goodes
I haue, are in ſuch toyes as do me no good. So this couetous deſire we haue to be rich, com- E
meth of no neceſſary deſire in nature, but is bred in vs by a falſe opinion from the common
ſorte. Now, *Cato* caringe leaſt of all for the exclamations they made againſt him, grewe to be
more ſtraight and ſeuere. For he cut of the pipes and quilles priuate men had made to conuey
water into their houſes & gardens, robbing the city of the water that came from their cõmon
conduite heades, and did plucke downe alſo mens porches that were made before their dores
into the ſtrete, & brought downe the priſes of cõmon workes in the city, and moreouer raiſed
the common farmes and cuſtomes of the city, as high as he could: all which things together
made him greatly hated and enuied of moſt men. Wherefore, *Titus Flaminius*, and certaine
other beinge bent againſt him in open Senate, cauſed all *Catoes* couenauntes and bargaines
made, with the maſter worke man for repayring & mending of the common buildings & holy F
places, to be made voide, as things greatly preiudiciall to the common wealth. And they did
alſo ſtirre vp the boldeſt and raſheſt of the Tribunes of the people againſt him, bicauſe they

ſhoulde

A ſhould accuſe him vnto the people, and make requeſt he might be condemned in the ſumme of two talentes. They did maruelouſly hinder alſo the buildinge of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place vnder the Senate houſe: which pallace was finiſhed notwithſtanding, & called after his name, Baſilica Porcia: as who would ſay, the pallace *Porcius* the Cenſor built. Howebeit it ſeemed the people of ROME did greatly like and commend his gouernment in the Cenſorſhippe. For they ſet vp a ſtatue of him in the temple of the goddeſſe of health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumphe, but only ingraued this inſcription word for worde, to this effect by tranſlation: For the honor of *Marcus Cato* the Cenſor: bicauſe he reformed the diſcipline of the common wealth of ROME (that was farre out of order, and giuen to licentious life) by his wiſe preceptes, good maners, B and holy inſtitutions. In deede, before this image was ſet vp for him, he was wont to mocke at them that delighted, and were deſirous of ſuch thinges: ſaying, they did not conſider how they bragged in founders, painters, and image makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for him ſelfe, the people did alwayes cary liuely images of him in their hartes, meaninge the memory of his life & doings. When ſome wondered why diuerſe meane men and vnknowen perſones had images ſet vp of them, and there were none of him: he gaue them this aunſwer. I had rather men ſhould aske why *Cato* had no Image ſet vp for him, then why he had any. In the ende, he would haue no honeſt man abide to be praiſed, onles his praiſe turned to the benefit of the common wealth: and yet was he one of them that would moſt praiſe him ſelfe. So that if any had done a fault, or ſtept awry, and that men had gone about to reproue them: he C woulde ſay they were not to be blamed, for they were no *Catoes* that did offende. And ſuch as counterfeated to follow any of his doinges, and came ſhorte of his maner, he called them left handed *Catoes*. He would ſay, that in moſt daungerous times the Senate vſed to caſt their eyes vpon him, as paſſengers on the ſea do looke vpon the maſter of the ſhippe in a ſtorme: & that many times when he was abſent, the Senate would put ouer matters of importance, vntill he might come amonge them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other, as by him ſelfe. His authority was great in matters of ſtate, for his wiſedome, his eloquence, and great experience. Beſides this commendacion, they praiſed him for a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, & a good ſauer for his profit: for he was neuer careles of them, as things to be lightly paſſed on. And therfore me thinkes I muſt nedes tell you by the way, ſome parte D of his well doinge, to followe our declaration of him. Firſt of all, he maried a gentlewoman more noble then rich, knowing that either of both ſhould make her proude & ſtoute enough: but yet he euer thought the nobler borne, would be the more aſhamed of diſhoneſty, then the meaner borne: and therefore that they would be more obedient to their husbandes, in all honeſt maner and reaſonable things. Furthermore, he ſayd: that he that bet his wife or his child, did commit as great a ſacriledge, as if he polluted or ſpoiled the holyeſt thinges of the world: and he thought it a greater praiſe for a man to be a good husband, then a good Senator. And therefore he thought nothinge more commendable in the life of olde *Socrates*, then his pacience, in vſing his wife well, that was ſuch a ſhrewe, and his children that were ſo harebrainde. After *Catoes* wife had brought him a ſonne, he could not haue ſo earneſt buſines in hande, if it E had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, to go home to his houſe, about the time his wife did vnſwadell the younge boy to waſhe and ſhift him: for ſhe gaue it ſucke with her owne breſtes, and many times woulde let the ſlaues children ſucke of her alſo, bicauſe they might haue a naturall loue towardes her ſonne, hauinge ſucked one milke, and bene brought vp together. When his ſonne was come to age of diſcretion, and that he was able to learne any thinge, *Cato* him ſelfe did teache him, notwithſtanding he had a ſlaue in his houſe called *Chilo* (a very honeſt man, & a good grammarian) who did alſo teach many other: but as he ſayed him ſelfe, he did not like, a ſlaue ſhould rebuke his ſonne, nor pull him by the eares, when paraduenture he was not apt to take very ſodainely that was taught him: neither would he haue his ſonne bounde to a ſlaue for ſo great a matter as that, as to haue his learning F of him. Wherefore he him ſelfe taught him his grammer, the law, and to exerciſe his body, not only to throw a dart, to play at the ſword, to vawt, to ride a horſe, and to handle all ſortes of weapons, but alſo to fight with fiſtes, to abide colde and heate, and to ſwimme ouer a ſwift

Baſilica Porcia built by Cato.

Catoes image ſet vp in the temple of the goddeſſe of health.

Honor chaungeth condicions.

No man ſhould abide to be praiſed but for the common wealth.

VVhat Cato was at home in his houſe, and towardes his wife and children.

Cato iudgeth the noble borne gentlewomen the beſt wiues.

Socrates pacience commended beeinge with the frowardnes of his wife.

Catoes wife was nource to her owne childe.

Cato taught his ſonnes.

Chilo a grammarian.

VVhat exerciſes Cato brought vp his ſonne in.

runninge riuer. He sayed moreouer, that he wrote goodly histories in great letters with his owne hande, bicause his sonne might learne in his fathers house the vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doinges, should frame his life to excell them. He sayed also, that he tooke as great heede of speaking any fowle or vncomely wordes before his sonne, as he would haue done if he had bene before the Vestall Nunnes. He neuer was in the whotte house with his sonne: for it was a common vse with the ROMAINES at that time, that the sonnes in law did not bathe them selues with their fathers in law, but were ashamed to see one an other naked. But afterwardes they hauinge learned of the GREEKES to wash them selues naked with men, it taught them also to be naked in the bathe euen with their wiues. There lacked no towardlines, nor good disposition in *Catoes* sonne, to frame him selfe vertuous: for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed him selfe willing to followe whatsoeuer his father had taught him. Howebeit he was such a weake pulinge, that he coulde not away with much hardnesse, and therefore his father was contented not to binde him to that straight and painfull life, which him selfe had kept. Yet he became valliant in the warres. For he fought maruelous stowtely in the battell, in which *Perseus* the kinge of MACEDON was ouerthrowen by *Paulus AEmylius*: where his sword being striken out of his hand with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somwhat sweaty besides, he fell into a great fury, and prayed of his frendes about him to recouer it. So they all together ranne vppon the enemies in that place where his sword fell out of his hande, and came in so fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them, and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much a do, being vnder such a heape of dead bodies and other weapons, as well ROMAINES as MACEDONIANS, one lying on an other. *Paulus AEmylius* the Generall hearing of this act of his, did highly cõmende the younge man. And at this day there is a letter extant from *Cato* to his sonne, in the which he praiseth this worthy fact and toile of his, for the recoueringe of his sworde againe. Afterwardes, this *Cato* the younger maried *Tertia*, one of *Paulus AEmylius* daughters, and sister vnto *Scipio* the seconde, and so was matched in this noble house, not onely for his owne vertues sake, but for respect of his fathers dignity & authority: wherby the great care, paines, and study that *Cato* the father tooke in bringing vp his sonne in vertue and learninge, was honorably rewarded in the happy bestowing of his sonne. He euer had a great number of young litle slaues which he bought, when any would sell their prisoners in the warres. He did choose them thus young, bicause they were apt yet to learne any thinge he would traine them vnto, and that a man might breake them, like young coltes, or litle whelpes. But none of them all, how many soeuer he had, did euer goe to any mans house, but when him selfe or his wife did sende them. If any man asked them what *Cato* did: they aunswered, they coulde not tell. And when they were within, either they must needes be occupied about somewhat, or else they must sleepe: for he loued them well that were sleepy, holdinge opinion that slaues that loued sleepe were more tractable, and willing to do any thing a man would set them to, then those that were waking. And bicause he thought that nothing more did prouoke slaues to mischiefe and naughtines, then lust and desire of women: he was contented his slaues might company with his bondewomen in his house, for a peece of money he appointed them to pay, but with straight commaundement besides, that none of them should deale with any other woman abroade. At the first when he gaue him selfe to follow the warres, and was not greatly rich, he neuer was angry for any fault his seruauntes did about his persone: saying it was a fowle thing for a gentleman or noble man, to fall out with his seruauntes for his belly. Afterwardes, as he rose to better state, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or supper for any of his frendes and familiars, they were no sooner gone, but he woulde scourge them with whippes and leather thonges, that had not waited as they should haue done at the borde, or had forgotten any thing he would haue had done. He would euer craftily make one of them fall out with an other: for he could not abide they should be frendes, beinge euer iealous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deserued death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to dye, he would put him to death before them all. Howebeit in his latter time he grewe greedy, and gaue vp his tillage, sayinge it was rather pleasaunt, then profitable. Therfore bicause he would lay out his money surely, and bring a certaine renenue

Catoes sonne was valiant.

Cato the younger maried Tertia Paulus AEmylius daughter.

Scipio the second was AEmylius naturall sonne.

Catoes discipline to his slaues.

Catoes opinion for sleepy mẽ.

Note how Cato altered his maner and opinion by wealth.

Catoes good husbandry for increasing his wealth.

to

A to his purſe, he beſtowed it vppon pondes, naturall hotte bathes, places fit for fullers craft, vpon meadowes and paſtures, vpon copiſes and young wodde: and of all theſe he made a great and a more quiet reuenue yearely, which he would ſay, *Iupiter* him ſelfe could not diminiſhe. Furthermore, he was a great vſerer, both by land and by ſea: and the vſery he tooke by ſea was moſt extreame of all other, for he vſed it in this ſorte. He would haue them to whome he lent his money vnto, that traffiked by ſea, to haue many parteners, and to the number of fifty: and that they ſhould haue ſo many ſhippes. Then he would venter among them for a parte onely, whereof *Quintius* his ſlaue whom he had manumiſed, was made his factor, and vſed to ſayle, and traffiked with the marchaunts, to whom he had lent his money out to vſery. And thus he did not venter all the money he lent, but a litle peece only for his parte, and gotte maruelous
B riches by his vſery. Moreouer he lent money to any of his ſlaues, that would therwith buy other young ſlaues, whom they taught and brought vp to do ſeruice, at *Catoes* charge and coſt: and then they ſolde them againe at the yeares ende, and ſome of them *Cato* kept for his owne ſeruice, and gaue his ſlaues as much for them, as any other offered. Therfore to allure his ſonne in like manner to make profitte of his money: he tolde him it was no wiſe mans parte to diminiſhe his ſubſtance, but rather the parte of a widowe. Yet this was a token of a moſt greedy couetous minde, that he durſt affirme him to be diuine, and worthy immortall praiſe, that increaſed his wealth and patrimony more, then his father left him. Furthermore, when *Cato* was growen very olde, *Carneades* the ACADEMICKE, and *Diogenes* the STOICKE, were ſent
C from ATHENS as Ambaſſadors to ROME, to ſue for a releaſe of a fyne of fiue hundred talentes which they had impoſed on the ATHENIANS apon a condemnation paſſed againſt them, for a contempt of appearaunce, by the ſentence of the SICYONIANS, at the ſute of the OROPIANS. Immediatly when theſe two Philoſophers were arriued in the citie of ROME, the younge gentlemen that were geuen to their bookes, did viſite and welcome them, and gaue great reuerence to them after they had heard them ſpeake, and ſpecially to *Carneades*: whoſe grace in ſpeaking, and force of perſwading was no leſſe, then the fame ranne vppon him, and ſpecially when he was to ſpeake in ſo great an audience, and before ſuch a ſtate, as would not ſuppreſſe his praiſe. ROME ſtraight was full, as if a winde had blowen this rumor into euery mans eare: that there was a GREECIAN arriued, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence woulde leade a man as he luſt. There was no other talke a while through the whole city, he had ſo in-
D flamed the younge gentlemens mindes with loue and deſire to be learned: that all other pleaſures and delightes were ſet a ſide, and they diſpoſed them ſelues to no other exerciſe, but to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, as if ſome ſecrete and diuine inſpiration from aboue had procured them to it. Whereof the Lordes and Senators of ROME were glad, and reioyced much to ſee their youth ſo well geuen to knowledge, and to the ſtudy of the Greeke tongue, and to delite in the company of theſe two great and excellent learned men. But *Marcus Cato*, euen from the beginning that young men beganne to ſtudy the Greeke tongue, and that it grewe in eſtimacion in ROME, did diſlike of it: fearing leaſt the youth of ROME that were deſirous of learninge and eloquence, woulde vtterly giue ouer the honor and glory of armes. Furthermore, when he ſawe the eſtimacion and fame of theſe two perſonages did increaſe more and more,
E and in ſuch ſorte that *Caius Aquilius*, one of the chiefeſt of the Senate, made ſute to be their interpreter: he determined then to conuey them out of the citie by ſome honeſt meane and culour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambaſſadors were long there, and had no diſpatche: conſidering alſo they were cunninge men, and coulde eaſily perſwade what they would. And if there were no other reſpect, this onely might perſwade them to determine ſome aunſwere for them, and ſo to ſend them home againe to their ſchooles, to teach their children of GREECE, and to let alone the children of ROME, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he ſpake this to the Senate, not of any priuate ill will or malice he bare to *Carneades*, as ſome men thought: but bicauſe he generally hated Philoſophy, and of an ambition deſpiſed the muſes, & knowledge of the Greeke
F tongue. Which was the more ſuſpected, bicauſe he had ſayd, the auncient *Socrates* was but a buſie man, and a ſturrer vp of ſedition, and ſought by all meanes poſſible to vſurpe tyranny, and rule in his contrie: by peruerting and chaunging the manners and cuſtomes of the ſame, and

Cato a great vſerer.

He tooke extreame vſery by ſea.

Carneades, & Diogenes Philoſophers ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome.

Cato miſliked the Greeke tongue.

alluringe the ſubiectes thereof to a diſlikinge of their lawes and auncient cuſtomes. And he laughed at *Socrates* ſchoole, that taught the arte of eloquence: ſaying, his ſchollers waxed old, and were ſtill ſo long a learning, that they ment to vſe their eloquence and pleade cauſes in an other worlde, before *Minos*, when they were dead. Therefore, to plucke his ſonne from the ſtudy of the Greeke tongue, he ſayd to him with a ſtrayned voyce, and in a bigger ſound then he was wont to doe: (as if he had ſpoken to him by way of prophecy or inſpiration) that ſo longe as the ROMAINES diſpoſed them ſelues to ſtudy the Greeke tongue, ſo longe woulde they marre and bring all to nought. And yet time hath proued his vaine wordes falſe and vntrue. For the citie of ROME did neuer floriſhe ſo much, nor the ROMAINE Empire was euer ſo great, as at that time, when learninge and the Greeke tongue moſt floriſhed. Howebeit *Cato* did not onely hate the Philoſophers of GREECE, but did diſlike them alſo, that profeſſed phiſicke in ROME. For he had either hearde or red the aunſwere *Hippocrates* made, when the king of PERSIA ſent for him, and offered him a great ſumme of golde and ſiluer, if he woulde come and ſerue him: who ſware he would neuer ſerue the barbarous people, that were naturall enemies to the GREECIANS. So *Cato* affirmed, it was an othe that al other phiſitions ſware euer after: wherefore he commaunded his ſonne to flie from them all alike, and ſayed he hadde wrytten a litle booke of phiſicke, with the which he did heale thoſe of his houſe when they were ſicke, and did keepe them in health when they were whole. He neuer forbad them to eate, but did alwayes bringe them vppe with erbes, and certaine light meates, as mallard, ringedoues, and hares: for ſuch meates, ſayd he, are good for the ſicke, and light of diſgeſtion, ſauing that they make them dreame and ſnorte that eate them. He boaſted alſo how with this maner of phiſicke, he did alwayes keepe him ſelfe in health, and his family from ſickenes. Yet for all that, I take it, he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his wife, and his ſonne alſo. But he him ſelfe was of a ſtronge nature, and a luſty body, full of ſtrength, and health, and liued long without ſickeneſſe: ſo that when he was a very olde man and paſt mariage, he loued women well, and maried a younge maiden for that cauſe onely. After his firſt wife was dead, he maried his ſonne vnto *Paulus AEmylius* daughter, the ſiſter of *Scipio*, the ſeconde AFRICAN. *Cato* him ſelfe beinge a widower, tooke paines with a prety younge maide that waited in his houſe, and came by ſtelth to his chamber: howebeit this haunt coulde not long continue ſecret in his houſe, and ſpecially where there was a younge gentlewoman maried, but needes muſt be ſpied. So, one day when this young maide went ſomewhat boldly by the chamber of young *Cato*, to go into his father, the young man ſayd neuer a word at it: yet his father perceiued that he was ſomewhat aſhamed, and gaue the maide no good countenaunce. Where fore findinge that his ſonne and daughter in lawe were angry with the matter, ſayinge nothinge to them of it, nor ſhewinge them any ill countenaunce: he went one morninge to the market-place (as his maner was) with a traine that followed him, amongeſt whome was one *Salonius*, that had bene his clearke, and wayted vpon him as the reſt did. *Cato* calling him out alowde by his name, asked him if he hadde not yet beſtowed his daughter. *Salonius* aunſwered him, he had not yet beſtowed her, nor woulde not, before he made him priuie to it. Then *Cato* tolde him againe: I haue founde out a husbande for her, and a ſonne in lawe for thee, and it will be no ill matche for her, vnleſſe ſhe miſlike the age of the man, for in deede he is very olde, but otherwiſe there is no faulte in him. *Salonius* tolde him againe, that for that matter, he referred all to him, and his daughter alſo, prayinge him euen to make what matche he thought good for her: for ſhe was his humble ſeruaunt, and relyed wholly vppon him, ſtandinge in neede of his fauor and furtheraunce. Then *Cato* beganne to diſcouer, and tolde him plainely he woulde willingely mary her him ſelfe. *Salonius* therewith was abaſhed, bicauſe he thought *Cato* was too olde to mary then, and him ſelfe was no fitte manne to matche in any honorable houſe, ſpeciallie with a Conſull and one that hadde triumphed: howebeit in the ende, when he ſawe *Cato* ment good earneſt, he was very glad of the matche, and ſo with this talke they went on together to the markette place, and agreed then vpon the mariage. Now while they went about this matter, *Cato* the ſonne taking ſome of his kinne and frendes with him, went vnto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thinge, that for ſpight he ſhoulde bringe him a ſteppe mother into his houſe.

Catoes Phiſicall booke.

Cato talketh with Salonius his clarke about the mariage of his daughter.

Then

A Then his father cried out,& sayd:O my sonne, I pray thee say not so,I like well all thou doest, and I finde no cause to complaine of thee: but I do it,bicause I desire to haue many children, and to leaue many such like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some say that *Pisistratus* the tyran of ATHENS, made such a like aunswere vnto the children of his first wife, which were men growen, when he maried his seconde wife *Timonassa*, of the towne of ARGOS, of whom he had (as it is reported) *Iophon*, and *Thessalus*. But to returne againe to *Cato*, he had a sonne by his second wife, whom he named after her name, *Cato* SALONIAN: and his eldest sonne died in his office beinge Prætor, of whome he often speaketh in diuerse of his bookes, commendinge him for a very honest man. And they say, he tooke the death of him very paciently, and like a graue wise man, not leauing therefore to do any seruice or businesse B for the state, otherwise then he did before. And therein he did not,as *Lucius Lucullus*, & *Metellus* surnamed *Pius*,did afterwards: who gaue vp medling any more with matters of gouernment and state,after they were waxen olde. For he thought it a charge and duety,wherevnto euery honest man whileſt he liued, was bounde in all piety. Nor as *Scipio* AFRICAN hadde done before him, who perceiuing that the glory & fame of his doings did purchase him the ill will of the citizens, he chaunged the rest of his life into quietnes,and forsooke the citie and all dealings in common wealth,and went & dwelt in the contry.But as there was one that told *Dionysius*, the tyran of SYRACVSA, as it is wrytten,that he could not die more honorably,then to be buried in the tyranny: euen so did *Cato* thinke, that he could not waxe more honestlie, olde,then in seruing of the common wealth,vnto his dying day.So at vacant times,when *Ca-* C *to* was desirous a litle to recreate and refresh him selfe, he passed his time away in makinge of bookes, and lookinge vppon his husbandry in the contry. This is the cause why he wrote so many kindes of bookes and stories. But his tillage and husbandry in the contry, he did tende and followe all in his youth, for his profit. For he sayed he had but two sortes of reuenue, tillage, and sparinge: but in age, whatsoeuer he did in the contry, it was all for pleasure, and to learne some thinge euer of nature. For he hath wrytten a booke of the contry life, and of tillage, in the which he sheweth howe to make tartes and cakes, and how to keepe frutes. He woulde needes shew such singularity and skill in all thinges: when he was in his house in the contry, he fared a litle better then he did in other places,and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and such as had lande lying about him,to come and suppe with him, and he would be D merye with them: so that his company was not onely pleasaunt, and likinge to olde folkes as him selfe, but also to the younger sorte. For he had seene much, and had experience in many thinges, and vsed much pleasaunt talke, profitable for the hearers. He thought the bord one of the chiefest meanes to breede loue amongest men, and at his owne table woulde alwayes praise good men and vertuous citizens, but would suffer no talke of euill men, neither in their praise nor dispraise. Now it is thought the last notable acte and seruice he did in the common wealth, was the ouerthrow of CARTHAGE: for in deede he that wanne it, and rased it vtterly, was *Scipio* the seconde, but it was chiefely through *Catoes* counsell and aduise, that the last warre was taken in hand against the CARTHAGINIANS, and it chaunced apon this occasion. *Cato* was sent into AFRICKE to vnderstande the cause and controuersie that was betwene the E CARTHAGINIANS and *Massinissa*, kinge of NVMIDIA, which were at great warres together. And he was sent thither, bicause king *Massinissa* had euer bene a frend vnto the ROMAINES, and for that the CARTHAGINIANS were become their confederates since the last warres, in the which they were ouerthrowen by *Scipio* the first, who tooke for a fyne of them, a great parte of their Empire, and imposed apon them besides, a great yearely tribute. Now when he was come into that contrie, he founde not the citie of CARTHAGE in miserie, beggerie, and out of harte, as the ROMAINES supposed: but full of lusty youthes very riche and wealthie, and great store of armour and munition in it for the warres, so that by reason of the wealth thereof, CARTHAGE caried a high sayle, and stowped not for a litle. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the ROMAINES to leaue to vnderstande the contro- F uersies betwext the CARTHAGINIANS and *Massinissa*, and rather to prouide betimes to destroye CARTHAGE, that hadde beene euer an auncient ennemie to the ROMAINES, and euer sought to be reuenged of that they hadde suffered at their handes before, and that they

Catoes aunswere to his sonne, of his seconde maryage.

Cato maried Salonius daughter, being a very old man, and had a sonne by her.

How Cato passed his age.

Catoes wrytinges and monuments.

Catoes reuenue.

Catoes company pleasant both to old & young.

The table a good meane to procure loue, and how table talke should be vsed.

Cato author of the last warres against the Carthaginians.

were now growen to that greatnes and corage in ſo ſhorte time, as in manner it was incredible: ſo as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the ROMAINES, as they euer did before. Therefore ſo ſoone as he returned to ROME, he plainly tolde the Senate, that the loſſes and harmes the CARTHAGINIANS had receiued by the laſt warres they had with them, had not ſo much diminiſhed their power & ſtrength, as the ſame had ſhewed their owne folly & lacke of wiſdom: for it was to be feared much, leaſt their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakened them for the warres. And that they made warres nowe with the NVMIDIANS, to exerciſe them onely, meaninge afterwardes to warre with them ſelues: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermiſſion & ſtay of warres, only expecting time and opportunity to breake with them againe. They ſay moreouer, that beſides the perſwaſions he vſed, he brought with him of purpoſe, AFRICKE figges in his long ſleeues, which he ſhooke out amongeſt them in the Senate. When the Senators maruailed to ſee ſo goodly fayer greene figges, he ſayed: the contry that beareth them, is not aboue three dayes ſailinge from ROME. But yet this is more ſtraunge which they reporte of him beſides: that he neuer declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this was euer the one ende of his tale: me thinketh ſtill CARTHAGE would be vtterly deſtroyed. *Publius Scipio Naſica*, vſed euer in like manner the contrary ſpeech: that he thought it meete CARTHAGE ſhould ſtand. This *Publius Scipio* ſaw, in my opinion, that the ROMAINES through their pride and inſolency were full of abſurdities, and caried them ſelues very high, by reaſon of their happy ſucceſſe and victories, and were ſo lofty minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them: and that by reaſon of their great authoritie, they imagined they might bringe their citie to what height they would. Therefore he ſpake it, that the feare of CARTHAGE might alwayes continue as a bridle, to raigne in the inſolency of the people of ROME, who knew well enough, that the CARTHAGINIANS were of no ſufficient power to make warres with the ROMAINES, nor yet to ouercome them: and euen ſo were they not wholly to be deſpiſed, and not to be feared at all. *Cato* ſtill replied to the contrary, that therein conſiſted the greateſt daunger of all: that a citie which was euer of great force and power, and had bene puniſhed by former warres and miſery, would alwayes haue an eye of reuenge to their enemies, and be much like a horſe that had broken his halter, that being vnbridled, would runne vpon his rider. And therfore he thought it not good, nor ſounde aduiſe, ſo to ſuffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recouer their ſtrength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward daunger, and the feare they ſtoode in to looſe their conqueſt: and ſpecially, when they left meanes within the city ſelfe to fall ſtill againe to their former rebellion. And this is the cauſe why they ſuppoſe *Cato* was the occaſion, of the thirde and laſt warre the ROMAINES had againſt the CARTHAGINIANS. But now when the warre was begonne, *Cato* died, and before his death he prophecied, as a man would ſay, who it ſhould be that ſhould ende thoſe warres. And it was *Scipio* the ſecond, who being a young man at that time, had charge only as a Colonell ouer a thouſand footemen: but in all battells, and whereſoeuer there was warres, he ſhewed him ſelfe euer valliant and wiſe. Inſomuch as newes being brought thereof continually vnto ROME, and *Cato* hearinge them, ſpake as they ſay, theſe two verſes of *Homer:*

Scipio Naſica, againſt Cato, for the deſtroying of Carthage.

Catoes death.

This only man right vviſe, reputed is to be,
all other ſeeme but shadovves ſet, by ſuch vviſe men as he.

Which prophecy, *Scipio* ſoone after confirmed true by his doinges. Moreouer, the iſſue *Cato* left behinde him, was a ſonne he had by his ſeconde wife: who was called (as we ſayd before) *Cato* SALONIAN, by reaſon of his mother, and a litle boy of his eldeſt ſonne that died before him. This *Cato* SALONIAN died being Prætor, but he left a ſonne behinde him that came to be Conſull, and was grandfather vnto *Cato* the Philoſopher, one of the moſt vertuous men of his time.

Catoes poſteray.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Aristides with Marcus Cato.*

Aristides and Catoes accesse to the common wealth.

NOw that we haue sette downe in wrytinge, these notable and worthie things of memory: if we will conferre the life of the one, with the life of the other, perhappes the difference betwene the one and the other will not easily be discerned, seeinge there be so many similitudes and resemblances one of an other. But if we come to compare them in euery particularity, as we would doe Poets workes, or pictures drawen in tables: first, in this we shall finde them much a like, that hauing had nothing else to preferre and commende them, but their onely vertue & wisdom, they haue bene both gouernors in their common wealth, and haue thereby atchieued to great honor and estimacion. But me thinkes when *Aristides* came to deale in matters of state, the common wealth and seigniory of ATHENS was then of no great power, and therefore it was easie for him to set him selfe in prease. Besides, the other gouernors and captaines that were of his time, & competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great authority. For the taxe of the richest persones then at ATHENS in reuenue, was but at fiue hundred bushells of corne, and vpwards, and therefore were such called Pentacosiomedimni. The second taxe was but at three hundred bushels, and they were called knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushells, and they called them Zeugitæ. Where *Marcus Cato* comminge out of a litle village, from a rude contry life, went at the first dashe (as it were) to plunge him selfe into a bottomles sea of gouernment in the cõmon wealth of ROME: which was not ruled then by such gouernors and captaines, as *Curius, Fabricius,* and *Ostilius* were in old time. For the people of ROME did no more bestow their offices vpon such meane laboring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattocke: but they woulde looke now apon the nobility of their houses, and vpon their riches, that gaue them most money, or sued earnestly to them for the offices. And by reason of their great power and authority, they woulde be waited vpon, and sued vnto, by those that sought to beare the honorable offices of the state and common wealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to haue *Themistocles* an aduersary and competitor, being neither of noble house, nor greatly rich (for they say, that all the goodes his father left him, were not worth aboue foure or fiue hundred talentes, when he beganne to deale in state) in respect as to contende for the chiefest place of honor and authority against *Scipio* AFRICAN, *Seruilius Galba,* or *Quintius Flaminius,* hauing no other maintenance, nor helpe to trust vnto, but a tongue speaking boldly with reason and all vprightnes. Moreouer, *Aristides* at the battells of MARATHON, and of PLATÆES, was but one of the tenne captaines of the ATHENIANS: where *Cato* was chosen one of the two Consuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Censors, before seuen other that made sute for it, which were all men of great reputacion in the citie, and yet was *Cato* preferred be-

fore them all. Furthermore, *Aristides* was neuer the chiefest in any victory. For at the battell of MARATHON, *Miltiades* was the generall: and at the battell of SALAMINA, *Themistocles*: and at the iorney of PLATÆES, king *Pausanias*, as *Herodotus* sayeth, who wryteth that he had a maruelous victory there. And there were that striued with *Aristides* for the second place, as *Sophanes*, *Amynias*, *Callimachus*, and *Cynegirus*, euery one of the which did notable valliant seruice at those battells. Now *Cato* was generall him selfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthines and counsell, during the warre he made in SPAYNE, while he was Consull. Afterwards also in the iorney where king *Antiochus* was ouerthrowen in the contry of THERMOPYLES, *Cato* being but a Colonell of a thousande footemen, and seruinge vnder an other that was Consull, wanne the honor of the victory, when he did sodainely set vpon *Antiochus* behinde, whereas he looked only to defend him selfe before. And that victory, without all doubt was one of the chiefest actes that euer *Cato* did, who draue ASIA out of GREECE, and opened the way vnto *Lucius Scipio* to passe afterwardes into ASIA. So then for the warres, neither the one nor the other of them was euer ouercome in battell: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, *Aristides* was supplanted by *Themistocles*, who by practise got him to be banished ATHENS for a time. Whereas *Cato* had in manner all the greatest and noblest men of ROME that were in his time, sworne enemies vnto him: and hauing alwayes contended with them euen to his last hower, he euer kept him selfe on sounde grounde, like a stoute champion, and neuer tooke fall nor foyle. For he hauing accused many before the people, and many also accusing him: him selfe was neuer once condemned, but alwayes his tongue was the buckeler and defence of his life and innocency. Which was to him so necessary a weapon, and with it he could help himselfe so in great matters, that (in my opinion) it was only cause why he neuer receiued dishonor, nor was vniustly condemned: rather then for any thing else he was beholding to fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truely, eloquence is a singular gift, as *Antipater* witnesseth, in that he wrote of *Aristotle* the Philosopher after his death: saying, that amongest many other singular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he coulde perswade what he listed. Now there is a rule confessed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater vertue or knowledge, then to know how to gouerne a multitude of men, or a city: a parte whereof is Oeconomia, cómonly called houserule, considering that a city is no other, then an assembly of many householdes and houses together, & then is the city commonly strong & of power, when as the townes men and citizens are wise and wealthy. Therefore *Lycurgus* that banished golde and siluer from LACEDÆMON, and coyned them money of iron, that woulde be marred with fyre & vinegre when it was hot, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbandes but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that euer went before him, he did not onely cut of all superfluous expences that commonly wayte vppon riches, but did also prouide that his people should lacke nothing necessary to liue withall, fearing more to see a begger and nedy persone dwellinge in his citie, and enioy the priuiledges of the same, then a proude man by reason of his riches. So me thinkes, *Cato* was as good a father to his household, as he was a good gouernor to the common wealth: for he did honestly increase his goods, and did teach other also to do the same, by sauing, and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof, in his booke he wrote sundry good rules and precepts. *Aristides* contrariwise, made iustice odious & slaunderous by his pouerty, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans selfe that vsed iustice. And yet *Hesiodus* the Poet, that commendeth iustice so much, doth wishe vs withall to be good husbandes, reprouing sloth and idlenes, as the roote and originall of all iniustice. And therefore me thinkes *Homer* spake wisely when he sayed.

Cato in marshall affaires excelled Aristides.

Aristides and Catoes displeasures in the common wealth.

The power of innocency & eloquence.

Oeconomia, houserule.

In times past, neither did I labor, carcke nor care
for busines, for family, for foode, nor yet for fare:
but rather did delight, vvith shippes the seaes to saile,
to drvvv a bovv, to fling a dart in vvarres, and to preuaile.

As giuing vs to vnderstand, that iustice & husbandry are two relatiues, & necessarily linckt one to the other: and that a man who hath no care of his owne thinges, nor house, doth liue vniustly, and taketh from other men. For iustice is not like oyle, which Phisitions say is very holsome for mannes body, if it be applied outwardly: and in contrary maner very ill, if a man drinke

The nature of oyle.

drinke it: neither ought a iuſt man to profitte ſtraungers, and in the ende not to care for him ſelfe nor his. Therefore, me thinkes this gouerninge vertue of *Ariſtides* had a fault in this reſpect, if it be true that moſt authors wryte of him: that he had no care nor forecaſt with him to leaue ſo much, as to mary his daughters withall, nor therewith to bury him ſelfe. Where thoſe of the houſe of *Cato*, continued Prætors and Conſulls of ROME, euen vnto the fourte diſcent. For his ſonnes ſonnes, and yet lower, his ſonnes ſonnes ſonnes came to the greateſt offices of dignity in all ROME. And *Ariſtides*, who was in his time the chiefeſt mā of GREECE, left his poſterity in ſo great pouerty, that ſome were compelled to become Soothſayers (that interprete dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their liuing, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy of him. But to contrary this, it might be ſayd, pouerty of it ſelfe is neither ill nor diſhoneſt: but where it groweth by idlenes, careleſſe life, vanity, and folly, it is to be reproued. For when it lighteth apon any man that is honeſt, and liueth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, iuſt, valliant, wiſe, and gouerneth a common wealth well: then it is a great ſigne of a noble minde. For it is vnpoſſible that man ſhould doe any great thinges, that had ſuch a baſe minde, as to thinke alwayes vppon trifles: and that he ſhoulde relieue the poore greatly, that lacketh him ſelfe reliefe in many thinges. And ſure, riches is not ſo neceſſary for an honeſt man that will deale truely in the common wealth, and gouernment, as is ſufficiency: which beinge a contentacion in it ſelfe, and deſirous of no ſuperfluous thing, it neuer withdraweth a man from following his buſineſſe in the common wealth, that enioyeth the ſame. For God is he alone, who ſimply and abſolutely hath no neede of any thinge at all: wherefore the chiefeſt vertue that can be in man, and that commeth neareſt vnto God, ought to be eſteemed that, which maketh man to haue neede of leaſt thinges. For like as a luſty body, and well complexioned, hath no neede of ſuperfluous fare and curious apparell: euen ſo a cleane life, and ſounde houſe, is kept with a litle charge, and ſo ſhoulde the goodes alſo be proportioned, accordinge to vſe and neceſſity. For he that gathereth much, and ſpendeth litle, hath neuer enough. But admit he hath no deſire to ſpend much, then he is a foole to trauell to get more then he needeth: and if he do deſire it, and dare not for niggardlines ſpende parte of that he laboreth for, then is he miſerable. Now woulde I aske *Cato* with a goodwill, if riches be made but to vſe them, why do you boaſt then you haue gotten much togeather, when a litle doth ſuffice you? and if it be a commendable thing (as in troth it is) to be contented with the breade you finde, to drinke of the ſame tappe workemen and laborers do, not to care for purple dyed gownes, nor for houſes with plaſtered walles: it followeth then that neither *Ariſtides*, nor *Epaminondas*, nor *Manius Curius*, nor *Caius Fabricius*, haue forgotten any parte of their dueties, when they cared not for gettinge of that which they would not vſe nor occupy. For it was to no purpoſe for a man that eſteemed rootes and parſenippes to be one of the beſt diſhes in the worlde, and that did ſeeth them him ſelfe in his chimney, whileſt his wife did bake his bread, to talke ſo much of an Aſſe, and to take paines to wryte by what arte and induſtry a man might quickely enrich him ſelfe. For it is true, that ſufficiency, and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thinge: but it is bicauſe it taketh from vs all deſire of vnneceſſary thinges, and maketh vs not to paſſe for them. And therefore we finde that *Ariſtides* ſayd, when riche *Callias* caſe was pleaded, that ſuch as were poore againſt their willes, might wel be aſhamed of their pouerty: but ſuch as were willingly poore, had good cauſe, and might iuſtly reioyce at it. For it were a mad parte to thinke that *Ariſtides* pouerty proceeded of a baſe minde & ſlothfulnes, ſince he might quickely haue made him ſelfe rich without any diſhoneſty at all, by taking only the ſpoyle of ſome one of the barbarous people whome he had ouercome, or any one of their tentes. But enough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the victories and battells *Cato* had wonne, they did in maner litle helpe to increaſe the Empire of ROME: for it was already ſo great, as it could almoſt be no greater. But *Ariſtides* victories are the greateſt conqueſtes and nobleſt actes that the GREECIANS euer did in any warres: as the iorney of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, and the battell of PLATEES. And yet there is no reaſon to compare king *Antiochus* with king *Xerxes*, nor the walles of the citie of SPAYNE which *Cato* ouerthrewe and raſed, vnto ſo many thouſands of barbarous people, which were then ouerthrowen and put to the ſword by the GREE-

No man wiſe, that is not wiſe to him ſelfe.

Whether pouerty be an ill thing.

Whether Ariſtides factes or Catoes did moſt benefit their contry.

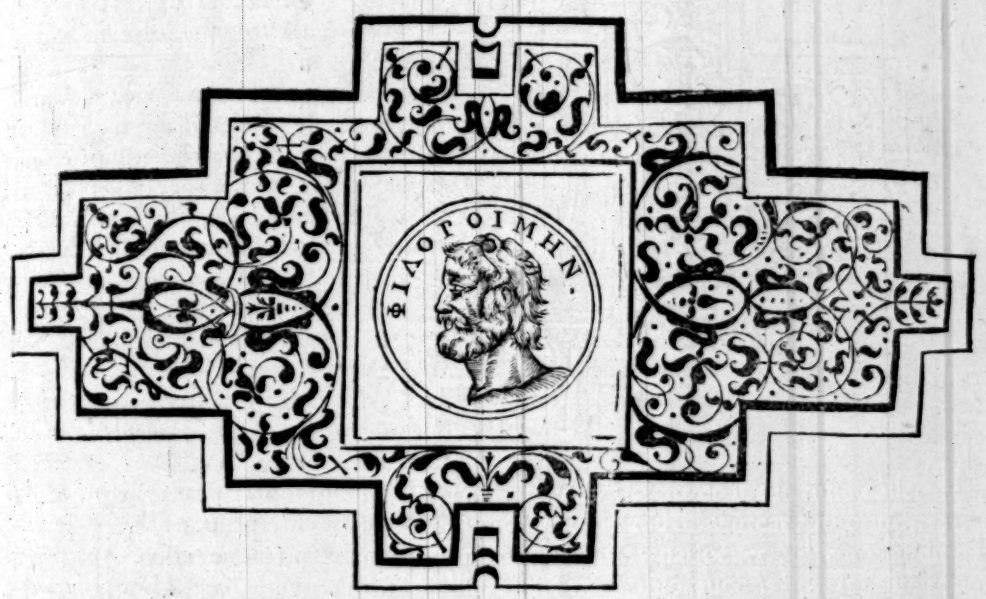
CIANS, as well by lande, as by ſea. In all which ſeruices, *Ariſtides* was the chiefeſt before all other, as touching his valliantnes in fighting: notwithſtanding, he gaue other the glory of it, that deſired it more then him ſelfe, as he did eaſily alſo leaue the gold & ſiluer vnto thoſe, that had more neede of it then him ſelfe. Wherein he ſhewed him ſelfe of a nobler minde, then all they did. Furthermore, for my parte, I will not reproue *Catoes* manner, to commende and extoll him ſelfe ſo highly aboue all other, ſince he him ſelfe ſayth in an oration he made, that to praiſe himſelf is as much folly, as alſo to diſpraiſe himſelfe: but this I thinke, his vertue is more perfect, that deſireth other ſhould not praiſe him, then he that commonly doth vſe to praiſe him ſelfe. For, not to be ambitious, is a great ſhew of humanity, & neceſſary for him that will liue amongeſt men of gouernment: and euen ſo, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great enuy vnto him, that is infected withall. Of the which *Ariſtides* was cleare, and *Cato* farre gone in it. For *Ariſtides* did help *Themiſtocles* his chiefeſt enemie, in all his nobleſt actes, and did ſerue him (as a man would ſay) like a priuate ſouldier that garded his perſone, when *Themiſtocles* was generall, beinge the onely inſtrument and meane of his glory: which was in deede the onely cauſe that the city of ATHENS was ſaued, and reſtored againe to her former good ſtate. *Cato* contrariwiſe, croſſing *Scipio* in all his enterpriſes, thought to hinder his voyage and iorney vnto CARTHAGE, in the which he ouercame *Hanniball*, who vntill that time was euer inuincible: and ſo in the ende, continuing him ſtill in iealouzy with the ſtate, and euer accuſinge of him, he neuer left him, till he had driuen him out of the city, and cauſed his brother *Lucius Scipio* to be ſhamefully condemned for theft, and ill behauiour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperaunce and modeſty, which *Cato* did euer commende ſo highly: *Ariſtides* truely kept them moſt ſincerely. But *Catoes* ſeconde wife, who maried a maide, (that was neither fit for his dignity and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifeſt cauſe. For he can not be excuſed with honeſty, that beinge a man paſt mariage, brought his ſonne that was maried, and his fayer daughter in lawe, a ſteppe mother into his houſe, and but a clearkes daughter, whoſe father did wryte for money, for any man that woulde hyer him. Take it *Cato* maried her to ſatisfie his luſt, or elſe for ſpite to be reuenged of his ſonne, bicauſe his ſonne coulde not abide his younge filth he had before: either of theſe turneth ſtill to his ſhame, as wel the effect, as alſo the cauſe. Againe, the excuſe he made to his ſonne why he maried, was alſo a lye. For if he had grounded his deſire in deede, to haue gotten other children, as he ſayd, that might be as honeſt men as his eldeſt ſonne: then ſurely he had done well after the death of his firſt wife, if he had ſought him an other wife ſoone after, that had bene of an honeſt houſe, and not to haue lien with a young harlatry filth, til his ſonne had ſpied him, and then when he ſaw it was knowen, to goe and mary her, and to make alliance with him, not bicauſe it was honorable for him to do it, but was eaſieſt to be obtained.

Ambition, a hatefull thing in the commō wealth.

Cato retroued for his ſecond wife.

The ende of Marcus Catoes life the Cenſor.

THE LIFE OF *Philopœmen.*



IN the city of MANTINEA, there was a citizen in old time called *Caſſander*, one that was as nobly borne and of as great authoritie in gouernmēt there, as any man of his time whatſoeuer. Notwithſtanding, fortune frowned on him in the ende, inſomuch as he was driuen out of his contry, and went to lye in the city of MEGALOPOLIS, only for the loue he bare vnto *Crauſis*, *Philopœmenes* father, a rare man, and nobly geuen in all thinges, and one that loued him alſo very well. Now ſo longe as *Crauſis* liued, *Caſſander* was ſo well vſed at his handes, that he could lacke nothing: and when he was departed this worlde, *Caſſander*, to requite the loue *Crauſis* bare him in his life time, tooke his ſonne into his charge, being an orphane, and taught him, as *Homer* ſayd *Achilles* was brought vp by the olde Phœnix. So this childe *Philopœmen* grewe to haue noble conditions, and increaſed alwayes from good to better. Afterwardes, when he came to grow to mans ſtate, *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes*, both MEGALIPOLITANS, tooke him into their gouernment. They were two Philoſophers that had bene hearers of *Arceſilaus*, in the ſchoole of Academia, and afterwardes employed all the Philoſophy they had learned, apon the gouerning of the common wealth, and dealing in matters of ſtate, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they deliuered their city from the tyranny of *Ariſtodemus*, who kept it in ſubiection, by corruptinge thoſe that killed him. And they did helpe *Aratus* alſo to driue the tyran *Niocles*, out of SICYONE. At the requeſt of the CYRENIANS, that were troubled with ciuil diſſention & factions among them, they went vnto CYRENA, where they did reforme the ſtate of the common wealth, and ſtabliſhed good lawes for them. But for them ſelues, they reckened the education and bringing vp of *Philopœmen*, the chiefeſt acte that euer they did: Iudging that they had procured an vniuerſall good vnto all GREECE, to bring vp a man of ſo noble a nature, in the rules and precepts of Philoſophy. And to ſay truely, GREECE did loue him paſſingly well, as the laſt valliant man ſhe brought foorth in her age, after ſo many great and famous auncient Captaines: and did alwayes increaſe his power and authority, as his glory did alſo riſe. Whereuppon there was a ROMAINE, who to praiſe him the more, called him the laſt of the GREECIANS: meaninge, that after him, GREECE neuer brought foorth any worthy perſone, deſeruinge the name of a GREECIAN. And now concerninge his perſone, he had no ill face, as many ſuppoſe he had:

Crauſis, Philopœmenes father.

Caſſander Philopœmenes ſchoolemaiſter.

Ecdemus and Demophanes red Philoſophy to Philopœmen.

Philopœmen the laſt famous mā of Greece.

for his whole image is yet to be seene in the city of DELPHES, excellently well done, as if he were aliue. And for that they reporte of his hostesse in the city of MEGARA, who tooke him for a seruing man: that was by reason of his curtesie, not standing vppon his reputacion, and bicause he went plainely besides. For she vnderstanding that the Generall of the ACHAIANS came to Inne there all night, she besturred her, and was very busie preparinge for his supper, her husband paraduenture being from home at that time: and in the meane season came *Philopœmen* into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his backe. The simple woman seeinge him no better apparelled, tooke him for one of his men that came before to prouide his lodging, and so prayed him to lende her his hande in the kitchin. He straight cast of his cloke, and beganne to fall to hewe wodde. So, as *Philopœmen* was busie about it, in commeth her husbande, and findinge him riuinge of wodde: ha ha ha, sayd he, my Lorde *Philopœmen*, why what meaneth this? Truely nothing else, sayd he in his DORICAN tongue, but that I am punished, bicause I am neither fayer boy, nor goodly man. It is true that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* sayed one day vnto him, seeminge to mocke him for his personage: O *Philopœmen*, thou hast fayer handes, and good legges, but thou hast no belly, for he was fine in the waste, and small bodied. Notwithstandinge, I take it this ieastinge tended rather to the proportion of his army, then of his body: bicause he had both good horsemen, and footemen, but he was often without money to pay them. These geastes, schollers haue taken vppe in schooles, of *Philopœmen*. But now to discend to his nature and conditions: it seemeth that the ambition and desire he had to winne honor in his doinges, was not without some heate and wilfullnes. For, bicause he would altogether follow *Epaminondas* steppes, he shewed his hardines to enterprise any thing, his wisedome to execute all great matters, and his integrity also, in that no money could corrupt him: but in ciuill matters and controuersies, he coulde hardly otherwhiles keepe him selfe within the bondes of modesty, patience, and curtesie, but woulde often burst out into choller, and wilfulnes. Wherfore it seemeth, that he was a better Captaine for warres, then a wise gouernor for peace. And in deede, euen from his youth he euer loued souldiers, and armes, and delited maruelously in all martiall exercises: as in handling of his weapon well, riding of horses gallantly, and in vawting nimbly. And bicause he seemed to haue a naturall gift in wrestlinge, certaine of his frendes, and such as were carefull of him, did wishe him to geue him selfe most vnto that exercise. Then he asked them, if their life that made such profession, would be no hinderaunce to their martiall exercises. Aunswere was made him againe, that the disposition of the persone, and manner of life that wrestlers vsed, and such as followed like exercises, was altogether contrary to the life and discipline of a souldier, and specially touching life and limme. For wrestlers studied altogether to keepe them selues in good plight, by much sleeping, eating, and drinking, by laboring, and taking their ease at certaine howers, by not missinge a iotte of their exercises: and besides, were in hazard to loose the force and strength of their body, if they did surfit neuer so litle, or passed their ordinary course & rule of diet. Where souldiers contrariwise are vsed to all chaunge, and diuersitie of life, and specially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardnesse, and scarsity, and to watche in the night without sleepe. *Philopœmen* hearing this, did not onely forsake those exercises, and scorned them, but afterwardes beinge Generall of an army, he sought by all infamous meanes he coulde to put downe all wrestling, and such kinde of exercise, which made mennes bodies vnmeete to take paines, and to become souldiers for to fight in defence of their contry, that otherwise would haue bene very able and handsome for the same. When he first left his booke and schoolemasters, and beganne to weare armor in inuasions the MANTINEIANS vsed to make vppon the LACEDÆMONIANS, to get some spoyle on a sodaine, or to destroy a parte of their contry: *Philopœmen* then would euer be the formost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leasure, he vsed much hunting in time of peace, all to acquainte his body with toyle and trauell, or else he would be digging of his groundes. For he had a fayre mannor, not passinge twenty furlonges out of the city, whether he would walke commonly after dinner or supper: and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lye vpon some ill fauored mattresse, as the meanest laborer he had, and in the morninge by breake of the day, he went out either with his vine men to labor in his vineyard, or else with his plough men to follow the plough, and

Philopœmen taken for a seruinge man.

Philopœmen, hasty and wilfull.

Philopœmen delighted in warre & martiall exercises.

Philopœmen did reproue wrestling.

A and ſomtimes returned againe to the city, and followed matters of the common wealth, with his frendes and other officers of the ſame. Whatſoeuer he could ſpare and get in the warres, he ſpent it in buying of goodly horſes, in makinge of fayer armors, or payinge his poore contry mens ranſome, that were taken priſoners in the warres: but for his goodes & reuenue, he ſought onely to increaſe them, by the profit of tillage, which he eſteemed the iuſteſt and beſt way of getting of goodes. For he did not trifle therein, but employed his whole care and ſtudy apon it, as one that thought it fit for euery noble man & gentleman ſo to trauaill, gouerne, and increaſe his owne, that he ſhould haue no occaſion to couet or vſurpe an other mannes. He tooke no pleaſure to heare all kinde of matters, nor to read all ſortes of bookes of Philoſophy: but thoſe onely that would teache him moſt to become vertuous. Neither did he much B care to read *Homers* workes, ſauinge thoſe places onely that ſtirred vp mens hartes moſt vnto valliantnes. But of all other ſtories, he ſpecially delited to read *Euangelus* bookes, which treated of the diſcipline of warres, how to ſet battells, and declared the actes and geaſtes of *Alexander* the great, ſayinge: that men ſhoulde euer bringe his wordes vnto deedes, onleſſe men would take them for vaine ſtories, and thinges ſpoken, but not to profit by. For in his bookes of the feates of warre, and how battells ſhoulde be ordered, he was not onely contented to ſee them drawen and ſet out, in cartes and mappes; but would alſo put them in execution, in the places them ſelues as they were ſet out. And therefore, when the army marched in order of battell in the fielde, he woulde conſider and ſtudy with him ſelfe, the ſodaine euentes and approches of the enemies, that might light vpon them, when they comming downe to the val- C ley, or going out of a plaine, were to paſſe a riuer or a ditche, or through ſome ſtraight: alſo when he ſhould ſpread out his army, or elſe gather it narrow: and this he did not only forecaſt by him ſelfe, but woulde alſo argue the ſame with the Captaines that were about him. For *Philopœmen* doubtleſſe was one of the odde men of the worlde, that moſt eſteemed the diſcipline of warre, (and ſometime peraduenture more then he needed) as the moſt large field and moſt frutefull ground that valliantnes could be exerciſed in: ſo that he deſpiſed & contemned all that were no ſouldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares of age, *Cleomenes* kinge of LACEDÆMON, came one night vpon the ſodaine, and gaue an aſſault to the city of MEGALIPOLIS, ſo luſtely, that he draue backe the watche and got into the market place, and wanne it. *Philopœmen* hearinge of it, ranne immediatly to the reſcue. Ne- D uertheleſſe, though he fought very valliantly, and did like a noble ſouldier, yet he coulde not repulſe the enemies, nor driue them out of the city. But by this meanes he got his citizens leaſure, and ſome time to get them out of the towne to ſaue them ſelues, ſtaying thoſe that followed them: and made *Cleomenes* ſtill waite vpon him, ſo that in the end he had much a do to ſaue him ſelfe being the laſt man, and very ſore hurt, & his horſe alſo ſlaine vnder him. Shortely after, *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed that the MEGALOPOLITANS were gotten into the city of MESSINA, ſent vnto them to let them vnderſtād, that he was ready to deliuer them their city, lands, & goods againe. But *Philopœmen* ſeeing his contrymen very glad of theſe newes, & that euery man prepared to returne againe in haſt: he ſtayd them with theſe perſwaſions, ſhewing them that *Cleomenes* deuiſe was not to redeliuer thē their city, but rather to take thē together E with their city: foreſeeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keepe naked walles and empty houſes, and that him ſelfe in the ende ſhould be compelled to goe his way. This perſwaſion ſtayed the MEGALOPOLITANS, but withall it gaue *Cleomenes* occaſion to burne and plucke downe a great parte of the city, and to cary away a great ſumme of money, and a great ſpoyle. Afterwardes, when kinge *Antigonus* was come to aide the ACHAIANS againſt *Cleomenes*, and that *Cleomenes* kept on the toppe of the mountaines of Sellaſia, and kept all the paſſages and wayes vnto them out of all thoſe quarters: king *Antigonus* ſet his army in battel hard by him, determining to ſet vpon him, and to driue him thence if he could poſſibly. *Philopœmen* was at that time amongeſt the horſemen with his citizens, who had the ILLYRIANS on the ſide of them, being a great number of footemen & excellent good ſouldiers, which F did ſhut in the taile of all the army. So they were commaunded to ſtand ſtil, and to kepe their place, vntill ſuch time as they did ſhew them a redde coate of armes on the toppe of a pyke, from the other wing of the battell, where the king him ſelfe ſtoode in perſone. Notwithſtan-

Philopœmenes gaines how they were employed.

Philopœmenes ſtudy and care in tillage.

Philopœmenes delite to read Euangelus bookes of the diſcipline of warres.

Philopœmen ſaued the Megalopolitans from Cleomenes king of Sparta.

Philopœmen very ſore hurt.

King Antigonus came to aide the Achaiās againſt Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon.

Philopœmenes noble fact in the battell againſt kinge Cleomenes.

ding this ſtraight cõmaundement, the Captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no lenger, A
but went to ſee if they could force the LACEDÆMONIANS that kept on the top of the mountaines. The ACHAIANS contrariwiſe, kept their place and order, as they were commaunded. *Euclidas, Cleomenes* brother, perceiuing thus their enemies footemen were ſeuered from their horſemen, ſodainly ſent the lighteſt armed ſouldiers & luſtieſt fellowes he had in his bands, to geue a charge vpon the ILLYRIANS behinde, to proue if they coulde make them turne their faces on them, bicauſe they had no horſemen for their garde. This was done, and theſe light armed men did maruelouſly trouble and diſorder the ILLYRIANS. *Philopœmen* perceiuinge, that, and conſidering howe theſe light armed men would be eaſily broken and driuen backe, ſince occaſion ſelfe inforced them to it: he went to tell the kings Captaines of it, that led his men of armes. But when he ſaw he could not make them vnderſtand it, and that they made no B
reckening of his reaſons, but tooke him of no skill, bicauſe he had not yet attained any credit or eſtimacion to be iudged a man, that could inuent or execute any ſtratageame of warre: he went thither him ſelfe, and tooke his citizens with him. And at his firſt comming, he ſo troubled theſe light armed men, that he made them flie, and ſlue a number of them. Moreouer, to encorage the better king *Antigonus* men, and to make them geue a luſty charge vppon the enemies, whileſt they were thus troubled and out of order: he left his horſe, and marched a foote vp hill and downe hill, in rough and ſtony wayes, full of ſprings and quauemyres, being heauely armed at all peeces as a man at armes, and fightinge in this ſorte very painefully and vneaſily, he had both his thighes paſt through with a dart, hauinge a leather thonge on the middeſt of it. And though the blow did not take much holde of the fleſhe, yet was it a ſtronge C
blow, for it pearced both thighes through & through, that the iron was ſeene on thother ſide. Then was he ſo combered with this blow, as if he had bene ſhackled with irons on his feete, and knew not what to doe: for the leather faſtened in the middeſt of the darte, did greue him maruelouſly, when they thought to haue pulled the darte out of the place where it entred in, ſo as neuer a man about him durſt ſet his handes to it. *Philopœmen* on the other ſide, ſeeing the fight terrible on either ſide, and would ſoone be ended: it ſpited him to the guttes, he would ſo faine haue bene among them. So at the length he made ſuch ſtruggling, putting backe one thigh, and ſetting forward an other, that he knapped the ſtaffe of the darte a ſunder, and made them pull out the two troncheons, the one on this ſide, and the other on the other ſide. Then when he ſaw he was at liberty againe, he tooke his ſword in his hande, and ranne through the D
middeſt of them that fought, vnto the foremoſt ranckes, to meete with the enemy: ſo that he gaue his men a newe corage, and did ſet them on fyre with enuy, to followe his valliantneſſe. After the battell was wonne, *Antigonus* asked the MACEDONIAN Captaines, to proue them: who moued the horſemen to deuide them ſelues, and giue the charge, before the ſigne that was commaunded. They aunſwered him, that they were forced to doe it againſt their willes, bicauſe a young MEGALOPOLITAN gentleman gaue a charge with his company, before the ſigne was giuen. Then *Antigonus* laughing, told them: the young gentleman played the parte of a wiſe and valliant Captaine. This exployte, together with *Antigonus* teſtimony, gaue great reputacion vnto *Philopœmen*, as we may eaſily imagine. So king *Antigonus* maruelouſly intreated him he would ſerue with him, and offered him a bande of men at armes, and great enter- E
tainement, if he would go with him. But *Philopœmen* refuſed his offer, and chiefly, bicauſe he knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commaunded by any. Nothwithſtandinge, bicauſe he could not be idle, he tooke ſea, and went into CRETA, where he knewe there were warres, onely to continue him ſelfe in exerciſe thereof. So when he had ſerued a longe time with the CRETANS, which were valliant ſouldiers, and very expert in all policies and feates of warre, and moreouer were men of a moderate and ſpare dyet: he returned home againe to ACHAIA, with ſo great credit and reputacion of euery one, that he was preſently choſen Generall of all the horſemen. So when he entred into his charge, he found many horſemen very ill horſed, vpon litle Iades, ſuch as might be gotten cheapeſt, & how they vſed not to goe them ſelues in perſone to the warres, but did ſende other in their ſteade: and to be F
ſhorte, how they neither had hartes, nor experience of the warres, and all bicauſe the Generalls and Captaines of the people of the ACHAIANS that ſerued before him, did take no heede

Philopœmen hurt in fight.

Antigonus ſaying of Philopœmens skill of a ſouldier.

Philopœmen choſen Generall of the horſemen of the Achaians.

to

A to those matters, as fearinge to offende any, bicause they had the greatest authority in their handes, to punish or reward whom they thought good. *Philopœmen* fearinge none of all these thinges, would leaue no parte of his charge and duety vndone, but went him selfe in persone to all the cities, to perswade and encorage the young gentlemen, to be well horsed, and well armed, that they might winne honor in the fielde, be able to defende them selues, and ouerthrow their enemies. And where perswasion could doe no good, there he would set fynes vpon their heades that so refused, and did vse to muster them oft, and did acquainte them with tilting, turning, and barriers, and one to fight with an other, and at such times and places specially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to giue them the lookinge on: that in shorte space he made them very forwarde, proper, and ready horsemen, whose chiefest pro-

B perty is, to keepe their order and ranckes in the battell. So as when necessitie serued for the whole company of horsemen to turne together, halfe turne, or whole turne, or else euery man by him selfe: they were so throughly trained in it, that all the whole troupe set in battell ray, did seeme as it were to be but one body, they remoued so together, and withall so easily, and at all times, and so oft, as turne they woulde on the one side, or on the other. Now in a great battell the ACHAIANS had with the ÆTOLIANS and the ELIANS, by the riuer of Larissus: *Demophantus*, Generall of the horsemen of the ÆTOLIANS, came from his company to fight with *Philopœmen*, who also made towardes him, and gaue him first such a blow with his speare, that he strake him starke deade. When *Demophantus* fell to the grounde, his souldiers fled by and by vpon it. This wanne *Philopœmen* great honor, who gaue no place to the youngest men

C in fighting most valliantly with his owne handes: nor to the oldest men in wisedome, for the wise leading of his army. In deede the first man that made the people of ACHAIA grow in power and greatnes, was *Aratus*: for before his time ACHAIA was of small reckeninge, bicause the cities of the same stoode deuided betwene them selues, and *Aratus* was the first manne that made them ioyne together, and stablished amonge them an honest ciuill gouernment. Whereby it happened, that as we see in brookes and riuers where any litle thinge stoppeth and falleth to the bottome, which the course of the water bringeth downe the streame, there the rest that followeth doth vse to stay, and goe no further: euen so in the cities of GREECE that were in harde state, and sore weakened, by faction one against an other, the ACHAIANS were the first that stayed themselues, and grewe in amity one with the other, and afterwardes

D drewe on the rest of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours and confederats. Some by helpinge and deliueringe them from the oppression of tyrans, and winninge other also by their peaceable gouernment and good concorde: they had a meaninge in this wise, to bringe all the contrie of PELOPONNESVS into one body and league. Neuertheless, while *Aratus* liued, they depended most apon the strength and power of the MACEDONIANS: first with stickinge vnto kinge *Ptolomie*, and then vnto *Antigonus*, and last to *Philip*, who ruled in manner all the state of GREECE. But when *Philopœmen* came to gouerne, and to be the chiefest man, the ACHAIANS beinge stronge enough to resist the strongest, woulde marche then no more vnder any other bodies ensigne, nor woulde suffer any more straunge gouernors or Captaines ouer them. For *Aratus* (as it seemed) was somewhat to softe and colde for the

E warres, and therefore the most thinges he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, and by the kinges frendshippes with whome he was great, as we haue at large declared in his life. But *Philopœmen* beinge a manne of execution, hardy and valliant of persone, and of very good fortune, in the first battell that he euer made, did maruelously encrease the corage and hartes of the ACHAIANS: bicause vnder his charge they euer foiled their enemies, and alwayes hadde the vpper hande ouer them. The first thinge *Philopœmen* beganne withall at his comming, he chaunged the mannet of settinge of their tables, and their facion of arminge them selues. For before they caried litle light targettes, which bicause they were thinne and narrowe, did not couer halfe their bodies, and vsed speares farre shorter then pykes, by reason whereof they were very light, and good to skirmishe and fight a farre of:

F but when they came to ioyne battell, their enemies then hadde great vantage of them. As for the order of their battelles, they knewe not what it ment, nor to cast them selues into a snaill or ringe, but onely vsed the square battell, nor yet gane it any such fronte where the

Philopœmen slue Demophantus, Generall of the horsemen of the AEtolians.

The prayse of Philopœmen.

Aratus raised Achaia to greatnes.

Philopœmen and Aratus compared.

Aratus a softe man in warres.

Philopœmen chaungeth the Achaians order and discipline of warr.

pykes of many ranckes might puſhe together, and where the ſouldiers might ſtande ſo cloſe, A
that their targettes ſhould touch one an other, as they do in the ſquadron of the battell of the
MACEDONIANS: by reaſon whereof, they were ſoone broken, and ouerthrowen. *Philopœmen*
reformed all this, perſwading them to vſe the pyke and ſhielde, in ſteade of their litle target,
ſpeare, or boreſtaffe, and to put good morryans or burganettes on their heades, corſelettes
on their bodies, and good taſſes and greaues to couer their thighes and legges, that they
might fight it out manfully, not geuinge a foote of grounde, as light armed men that runne
to and fro in a skirmiſhe. And thus hauinge perſwaded and taught the younge men to arme
them ſelues throughlie, firſt he made them the bolder and more coragious to fight, as if they
had bene menne that coulde not haue bene ouercome: then he turned all their vaine ſuper-
fluous charge, into neceſſarie and honeſt expences. But he could not poſſibly bring them al- B
together from their vaine and riche apparell, they had of long time taken vp, the one to ex-
ceede an other: nor from their ſumptuous furniture of houſes, as in beddes, hanginges, cu-
rious ſeruice at the table, and delicate kinde of diſhes. But to beginne to withdrawe this de-
ſire in them which they hadde, to be fine and delicate, in all ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie
things, and to like of thinges neceſſarie, and profitable: he wiſhed them to looke more nere-
ly to their ordinarie charge about them ſelues, takinge order as well for their apparell, as alſo
for their diet, and to ſpare in them, to come honorablie armed to the fielde, for defence of
their contrie. Thereuppon, if you had looked into the goldeſmithes ſhoppes, ye ſhould haue
ſeene nothinge elſe in their handes, but breakinge and batteringe of pottes of golde and ſil- C
uer, to be caſt and molton downe againe, and then gildinge of armors and targettes, and ſil-
uering of bittes. In the ſhowe places for the runninge of horſes, there was mannedging and
breakinge of younge horſes, and younge men exerciſinge armes. Womens handes alſo were
full of morryans and heade peeces, whereto they tyed goodly braue plumes of feathers of
ſundry colours, and were alſo full of imbrodered arminge coates and caſſockes, with curious
and very riche workes. The ſight of which brauerie did heaue vppe their hartes, and made
them gallant and liuely: ſo as enuy bred ſtraight in them who ſhoulde doe beſt ſeruice, and
no way ſpare for the warres. In deede, ſumptuouſneſſe and brauerie in other ſightes, doth ſe-
cretely cary mens mindes away, and allure them to ſeeke after vanities, which makes them
tender bodied, and womaniſhe perſones: bicauſe this ſweete ticklinge, and intiſinge of the
outwarde ſence that is delighted therewith, doth ſtraight melt and ſoften the ſtrength and D
corage of the minde. But againe, the ſumptuous coſt beſtowed apon warlike furniture, doth
incorage and make great a noble harte. Euen as *Homer* ſayeth it did *Achilles*, when his mo-
ther brought him newe armor and weapons, ſhe hadde cauſed *Vulcan* to make for him, and
layed them at his feete: who ſeeinge them, coulde not tarie, but was ſtraight ſette on fyre
with deſire to occupie them. So when *Philopœmen* hadde brought the youth of ACHAIA to
this good paſſe, to come thus brauely armed and furniſhed into the fielde, he beganne then
to exerciſe them continuallie in armes: wherein they did not onely ſhewe them ſelues obe-
dient to him, but did moreouer ſtriue one to excell an other, and to doe better then their
fellowes. For they liked maruelous well the orderinge of the battell he hadde taught them,
bicauſe that ſtandinge ſo cloſe together as they did, they thought ſurely they coulde hard- E
ly be ouerthrowen. Thus by continuaunce of time, beinge muche vſed to weare their ar-
mor, they founde them a great deale eaſier and lighter then before, beſides the pleaſure they
tooke to ſee their armor ſo braue, and ſo riche: inſomuch as they longed for ſome occaſion
to trye them ſtraight vppon their enemies. Now the ACHAIANS at that time were at warres
with *Machanidas*, the tyranne of LACEDÆMON, who ſought by all deuiſe he coulde with
a great armie, to become chiefe Lorde of all the PELOPONNESIANS. When newes was
brought that *Machanidas* was come into the contrie of the MANTINIANS, *Philopœmen*
ſtraight marched towardes him with his army: ſo they mett bothe not farre from the citie
of MANTINEA, where by and by they put them ſelues in order of battell. They both hadde
entertayned in paye a great number of ſtraungers to ſerue them, beſides the whole force F
of their contrie: and when they came to ioyne battell, *Machanidas* with his ſtraungers
gaue ſuch a luſtie charge vppon certaine ſlinges and archers being the forlorne hope whome

Philopœmen

Philopœmen turned all curioſity and dainty fare, into braue & riche armors.

Braue armor incorageth mens minder to ſerue nobly.

Philopœmen made warre with Machanidas tyran of Lacedæmon.

A *Philopæmen* had caſt of before the battell of the ACHAIANS to beginne the skirmiſhe, that he ouerthrew them,& made them flie withal. But where he ſhould haue gone on directly againſt the ACHAIANS that were ranged in battell ray, to haue proued if he could haue broken them: he was very buſie, and earneſt ſtill, to follow the chaſe of them that firſt fled, and ſo came hard by the ACHAIANS that ſtoode ſtill in their battel, and kept their ranckes. This great ouerthrow fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the ACHAIANS were but caſt away. But *Philopæmen* made as though it had bene nothinge, and that he ſet light by it, and ſpying the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the ſpurre, whom they had ouerthrowen, and ſtraying ſo farre from the battell of their footemen, whome they had left naked, and the field open apon them: he did not make towardes them to ſtay them, nor did ſtriue to ſtop B thē that they ſhould not follow thoſe that fled, but ſuffered thē to take their courſe. And when he ſaw that they were gone a good way from their footemen, he made his men marche apon the LACEDÆMONIANS, whoſe ſides were naked, hauing no horſemen to gard them: and ſo did ſet vpon them on the one ſide, and ranne ſo haſtely on them to winne onē of their flancks, that he made them flie, and ſlue withall a great number of them. For it is ſaid, there were foure thouſand LACEDÆMONIANS ſlaine in the field, bicauſe they had no man to leade them: and moreouer, they ſay they did not looke to fight, but ſuppoſed rather they had wonne the fielde, whē they ſaw *Machanidas* chaſing ſtil thoſe vpon the ſpurre, whom he had ouerthrowē. After this, *Philopæmen* retyred to mete *Machanidas*, who came backe from the chaſe with his ſtraungers. But by chaunce there was a great broade ditch betwene them, ſo as both of them rode v- C pon the banckes ſides of the ſame, a great while together, one againſt an other of them: thone ſide ſeking ſome conuenient place to get ouer and flie, & the other ſide ſeking meanes to kepe them from ſtarting away. So, to ſee the one before the other in this ſorte, it appeared as they had bene wild beaſtes brought to an extreamity, to defend them ſelues by force, from ſo fierce a hunter as *Philopæmen* was. But whileſt they were ſtriuing thus, the tyrans horſe that was luſty and coragious, and felt the force of his maſters ſpurres pricking in his ſides, that the blood followed after, did venter to leape the ditche, comminge to the banckes ſide, ſtoode apon his hindemoſt legges, and aduaunced forward with his foremoſt feete, to reach to the other ſide. Then *Simmias* and *Polyænus*, who were about *Philopæmen* when he fought, ran thither ſtraight to kepe him in with their bore ſtaues that he ſhould not leape the ditche. But *Philopæmen* who D was there before thē, perceiuing that the tyrans horſe by lifting vp his head ſo high, did couer all his maiſters body: forſooke by and by his horſe, and tooke his ſpeare in both his hands, and thruſt at the tyran with ſo good a will, that he ſlue him in the ditch. In memory whereof, the ACHAIANS that did highly eſteeme this valliant acte of his, and his wiſedome alſo in leadinge of the battell: did ſet vp his image in braſſe, in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, in the forme he ſlue the tyran. They ſay, that at the aſſembly of the common games called Nemea, (which they ſolemniſe in honor of *Hercules*, not farre from the citie of ARGOS) and not long after he had wonne this battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the ſeconde time of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, and beinge at good leaſure alſo by reaſon of the feaſt: he firſt ſhewed all the GREECIANS that were come thither to ſee the games and paſtimes, his army raunging in or- E der of battell, and made them ſee how eaſily they remoued their places euery way, as neceſſity and occaſion of fight required, without troublinge or confoundinge their ranckes, and that with a maruelous force & redines. When he had done this, he went into the Theater to heare the muſitians play, and ſing to their inſtrumentes, who ſhould winne the beſt game, being accompanied with luſty young gentlemen apparrelled in purple clokes, and in skarlet coates & caſſockes they ware apon their armor, being all in the flower of their youth, and well giuen & diſpoſed: who did greatly honor & reuerence their Captaine, & beſides that, ſhewed thēſelues inwardly of noble hartes, being incoraged by many notable battells they had fought, in which they had euer attained the victory, & gotten the vpper hand of their enemies. And by chaūce, as they were entred into the Theater, *Pylades* the muſitian, ſinginge certaine poemes of *Timotheus*, called the *Perſes*, fell into theſe verſes. F

O Greekes, it is euen he, vvhich your proſperity
Hath giuen to you: and therevvithall a noble liberty.

Battell fought betwene Philopæmen and Machanidas.

Philopæmen ouercame Machanidas army, tyran of the Lacedæmonians.

Philopæmen ſlue Machanidas.

When he had ſweetely ſong out alowde theſe noble verſes, paſſingly well made: the whole A aſſembly of the GREECIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to ſee the games, caſt all their eyes ſtraight vpon *Philopœmen*, and clapped their handes one to an other for ioy, bicauſe of the great hope they had in him, that through him they ſhoulde ſoone recouer their auncient reputacion, and ſo imagined they poſſeſſed already the noble and worthy mindes of their aunceſters. And as younge horſe that doe alwayes looke to be ridden by their ordinarie riders, if any ſtraunger get vp on their backes, do ſtraight waxe ſtraunge to be handeled, and make great a do: euen ſo, when the ACHAIANS came to any daungerous battell, their hartes were euen done, if they had any other Generall or leader then *Philopœmen*, on whom ſtill they depended and looked. And when they ſawe him euer, the whole army reioyced, and deſired ſtraight to be at it, they had ſuch confidence in his valliantneſſe and good fortune: and truely B not without cauſe. For of all men, their enemies did feare him moſt, and durſt not ſtande before him: bicauſe they were afrayed to heare his name only, as it ſeemed by their doings. For *Philip* kinge of MACEDON, imagining that if he could finde meanes to diſpatche *Philopœmen* out of the way, howſoeuer it were, the ACHAIANS would ſtraight take parte againe with him: ſent men ſecretly into the city of ARGOS, to kill him by treaſon. Howbeit the practiſe was diſcouered, and the king euer after was mortally hated of all the GREECIANS generally, and taken for a cowardly and wicked Prince. It fortuned one day when the BOEOTIANS layed ſiege to the city of MEGARA, and thought certainly to haue wonne it at the firſt aſſault: there roſe a rumor ſodainely amongeſt them, that *Philopœmen* came to aide the city, and was not farre from it with his army. But it was a falſe reporte. Notwithſtandinge, the BOEOTIANS were ſo C ſcared, that for feare they left their ſcaling ladders behinde them, which they had ſet againſt the walls to haue ſcaled the towne, and fled ſtraight to ſaue them ſelues. An other time, when *Nabis* the tyran of LACEDÆMON, that ſucceeded *Machanidas*, had taken the city of MESSINA vppon the ſodaine: *Philopœmen* being then a priuate man, and hauinge no charge of ſouldiers, went vnto *Lyſippus*, General of the ACHAIANS that yere, to perſwade him that he would ſend preſent aide vnto them of MESSINA. *Lyſippus* told him, it was to late now to goe thither, and that it was but a loſt towne, not to be holpen: conſidering the enemies were in it already. *Philopœmen* perceiuing he could not procure him to go, went thither him ſelfe with the force of MESSINA only, not ſtaying for the aſſembly of the MEGALOPOLITANS, that were in coũſell about it, to giue him commiſſion by voyces of the people to take them with him: but they D all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall Generall, and the man that by nature was worthieſt of all other to commaunde them. Now when he came neere vnto MESSINA, *Nabis* hearinge of his comminge, durſt not tary him, though he had his army within the city, but ſtale out at an other gate, and marched away in all the haſt he could, thinking him ſelfe a happy man and he could ſo eſcape his handes, and retyre with ſafety, as in dede he did. And thus was MESSINA, by his meanes, deliuered frõ captiuity. All that we haue written hitherto concerning *Philopœmen*, falleth out doutleſſe to his great honor and glory: but afterwardes he was greatly diſpraiſed for a iorney he made into CRETA, at the requeſt of the GORTYNIANS, who ſent to pray him to be their Captaine, being ſore troubled with warres at that time. Bicauſe *Philopœmen* went then to ſerue the GORTYNIANS, when the tyranne *Nabis* had E greateſt warres with the MEGALOPOLITANS, in their owne contry: they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to flie the warres, or elſe that he ſought honor out of ſeaſon with foreine nations, when his poore citizens the MEGALOPOLITANS were in ſuch diſtreſſe, that their contry being loſt and deſtroyed, they were driuen to keepe them within their city, and to ſow all their voide groundes and ſtreetes in the ſame with corne, to ſuſteine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almoſt hard at their towne gates. And the rather, bicauſe him ſelfe making warres with the CRETANS, and ſeruing ſtraungers beyonde the ſea in the meane time, gaue his enemyes occaſion to ſlaunder him that he fled, that he would not tary to fight for defence of his contry. Againe, there were that ſayd, bicauſe the ACHAIANS did chooſe other for their Generall, that he being a priuate man and without charge, was the rather con- F tented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had maruelouſly intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that coulde not abide to liue idlely, and that deſired ſpecially aboue all

The onely name of Philopœmen made the Bœotians flee for feare.

Nabis tyran of Lacedæmon, wanne the city of Meſſina.

Nabis ſleeth Philopœmen. Philopœmen deliuered the city of Meſſina from Nabis the tyran of Lacedæmon.

Philopœmenes ſeconde iorney into Creta diſcommended.

A all things to ſerue continually in the warres, and to put in practiſe his skil and diſcipline in the leading of an army. The wordes he ſpake one day of king *Ptolomie* doth witneſſe as much. For when there were ſome that praiſed king *Ptolomie* highly, ſaying that he trained his army well, and that he ſtill continued his perſone in exerciſe of armes: It is not commendable for a king (ſayd he) of his yeares, to delite in traininge his men to exerciſe armes, but to doe ſome acte himſelfe in perſone. Well, in the ende, the MEGALOPOLITANS tooke his abſcence in ſuch euill parte, that they thought it a peece of treaſon, and would needes haue baniſhed him, and put him from the freedome of the citie: had not the ACHAIANS ſent their Generall *Ariſtænetus* vnto them, who would not ſuffer the ſentence of baniſhment to paſſe againſt him, although otherwiſe there was euer contention betwene them about matters of the common
B wealth. Afterwards, *Philopœmen* perceiuing his contrymen made no more accompt of him, to ſpight them withall, he made diuerſe ſmall villages and cities rebell againſt them, & taught them to ſay, & to giue it out, that they were not their ſubiects, neither payed them tribute from the beginning: and he made them ſtande to it openly, and maintaine their ſedition againſt the city of MEGALIPOLIS, before the councell of the ACHAIANS. Theſe things happened ſhortly after. But whileſt he made warres in CRETA for the GORTYNIANS, he ſhewed not himſelf a PELOPONNESIAN, nor like a man borne in ARCADIA, to make plaine & open warres: but he had learned the maner of the CRETANS, to vſe their owne policies, fine deuiſes, & ambuſhes againſt them ſelues. And made them know alſo, that all their crafts, were but childiſh ſportes as it were: in reſpect of thoſe that were deuiſed, and put in execution, by a wiſe experienced
C Captaine, and skilfull to fight a battell. So, *Philopœmen* hauing wonne great fame by his actes done in CRETA, returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, where he founde, that *Philip* kinge of MACEDON had bene ouercome in battell, by *Titus Quintius Flaminius*: and that the ACHAIANS ioyning with the ROMAINES, did make warre againſt the tyran *Nabis*, againſt whome he was made Generall immediatly vpon his returne, and gaue him battell by ſea. In the which it ſeemed he fell into like misfortune, as *Epaminondas* did: the euent of this battell ſallinge out much worſe with him, then was looked for, in reſpect of his former corage and valliantneſſe. But as for *Epaminondas*, ſome ſay he returned willingly out of ASIA, and the Iles, without any exployte done, bicauſe he would not haue his contrymen fleſhed with ſpoyle by ſea, as fearing leaſt of valliant ſouldiers by lande, they would by litle and litle (as *Plato* ſayd) become diſſolute
D mariners by ſea. But *Philopœmen* contrariwiſe, preſuming vpon the skill he had to ſet the battell in good order by lande, woulde needes take vppon him to do the ſame by ſea. But he was taught to his coſt to knowe what exerciſe and experience ment, and howe ſtronge it maketh them that are practiſed in thinges. For he loſt not onely the battell by ſea, beinge vnskilfull of that ſeruice: but he committed beſides a fowler errour. For that he cauſed an old ſhippe to be rigged, which had bene very good of ſeruice before, but not occupied in forty yeares together, and imbarked his contrymen into the ſame, which were all likely to periſh, bicauſe the ſhippe had diuerſe leakes, by fault of good calking. This ouerthrow made his enemies deſpiſe him vterly, who perſwaded them ſelues he was fled for altogether, and had giuen them ſea roome: whereupon they layed ſiege to the citie of GYTHIVM. *Philopœmen* beinge aduertiſed thereof,
E imbarked his men ſodainely, and ſet vpon his enemies ere they wiſt it, or had any thought of his comming: and founde them ſtraggling vp and downe, without watch or garde, by reaſon of the victory they had lately wonne. So he landed his men cloſely by night, and went and ſet fyre vppon his enemies campe, and burnt it euery whitte: and in this feare and hurly burly, ſlue a great number of them. Shortely after this ſtealing apon them, the tyran *Nabis* alſo ſtole apon him againe vnwares, as he was to goe through a maruelous ill and daungerous way. Which made the ACHAIANS amazed at the firſt, thinkinge it vnpoſſible for them that they could euer ſcape that daunger, conſidering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabouts. But *Philopœmen* bethinking him ſelfe, and conſidering the nature & ſcituacion of the place: after he had viewed it well, he ſhewed them plainly then, that the chiefeſt point of a good ſouldier,
F and man of warre, was to know how to put an army in battell, accordinge to the time and ſcituacion of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his battell a litle, and ſorted it according to the ſcituacion of the place, wherein he was compaſſed: and by doinge this without

Philopœmen made diuerſe cities to rebell againſt the Achaians.

The Cretans politicke men of warre.

Philopœmen made Generall of the Achaians againſt Nabis.

Philopœmen ouercome by ſea.

Nabis beſiegeth the city of Gythium.

Philopæmen ouercame Nabis tyran of Lacedæmon, in battell.

trouble or busines, he tooke away all feare of daunger, and gaue a charge vpon his enemies in such fierce wise, that in a shorte time he put the all to flight. And when he perceiued that they did not flie all in troupes together towardes the city, but scatteringwise, abroade in the fieldes in euery place: he caused the trompet to sound the retreate. Then he commaunded the chase to be followed no further, for that all the contry thereabout was full of thicke woddes and groues, very ill for horsemen: and also bicause there were many brookes, vallies, and quauemyres which they should passe ouer, he encamped him selfe presently, being yet broade day. And so, fearinge least his enemies would in the night time draw vnto the city, one after an other, and by couples: he sent a great number of ACHAIANS, & laid them in ambush amongest the brookes and hilles neere about it, which made great slaughter of *Nabis* souldiers, bicause they came not altogether in troupes, but scatteringly one after an other as they fled, one here, an other there, and so fell into their enemies handes, as birdes into the fowlers net. These acts made *Philopæmen* singularly beloued of the GREECIANS, and they did him great honor in all their Theaters and common assemblies. Whereat *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, of nature very ambitious, and couetous of honor: did much repine, and was enuious at the matter, thinking that a Consul of ROME should haue place & honor amongest the ACHAIANS, before a meane gentleman of ARCADIA. And he imagined he had deserued better of all GREECE, then *Philopæmen* had: considering, howe by the onely proclamation of an heraulde, he had restored GREECE againe to her auncient liberty, which before his comminge was subiect vnto kinge *Philip*, and vnto the MACEDONIANS. Afterwardes, *Titus Quintius* made peace with the tyran *Nabis*. *Nabis* was shortely after very traiterously slaine by the ÆTOLIANS. Whereuppon the citie of SPARTA grew to a tumult, and *Philopæmen* straight taking the occasion, went thither with his army, and handeled the matter so wisely: that partely for loue, and partely by force, he wanne the city, & ioyned it vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. So was he maruelously commended and esteemed of the ACHAIANS for this notable victory, to haue wonne their tribe and communalty so famous a city, and of so great estimacion. For the city of SPARTA was no smale encrease of their power, and being ioyned as a member of ACHAIA. Moreouer he wan by this meanes, the loue and good will of all the honest men of LACEDÆMON, of the hope they had to finde him a protector and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyran *Nabis* house and goodes were solde, as forfitted to the state: they resolued in their counsell to make him a present of the money therof, which amounted to the summe of sixe score talents, and sent Ambassadors purposely vnto him, to offer it him. Then *Philopæmen* shewed himselfe plainely to be no counterfeate honest man, but a good man in deede. For first of all, there was not one of all the LACEDÆMONIANS that durst presume to offer him this money, but euery man was afrayed to tell him of it: and euery body that was appointed to do it, made some excuse or other for them selues. Notwithstandinge, in the ende they made one *Timolaus* to take the matter vpon him, who was his familiar frend, and also his hoste. And yet the same *Timolaus* when he came vnto MEGALIPOLIS, & was lodged & entertained in *Philopæmenes* house, did so much reuerence him for his wise talke and conuersation, for his moderate diet, and iust dealing with all men: that he sawe there was no likely possibility to corrupt him with money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to speake to him of the present he had brought him, but founde some other occasion to excuse the cause of his comminge vnto him. And beinge sent vnto him againe the second time, he did euen as much as at the first time. And making a third proofe, he ventured at the last to open the matter vnto him, and told him the good will the city of SPARTA did beare him. *Philopæmen* became a glad man to heare it: and when he had heard all he had to say to him, he went him selfe vnto the citie of SPARTA. There he declared vnto the counsell, that it was not honest men, and their good frends, they should seeke to winne and corrupt with money, considering they might commaund their vertue vpon any occasion, without cost vnto them: but that they should seeke to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by seditious orations in counsell did mutine, and put a whole citie in vprore: to the ende that hauing their mouthes stopped with giftes, they should trouble them the lesse in the common wealth. For, said he, it is more necessarie to stoppe your enemies mouthes, and to sowe vp their lippes from libertie of speaking: then it is to keepe your frendes from it.

Titus Quintius enuieth Philopæmen.

Nabis slaine by the AEtolians.

Philopæmen free from couetousnes.

Philopæmenes wise counsell to the Lacedæmonians, howe they should bestowe their giftes.

So

A So noble a man was *Philopœmen* againſt all couetouſneſſe of money. Shortely after, the LACEDÆMONIANS beginning to ſtirre againe, *Diophanes* (who was then General of the ACHAIANS) beinge aduertiſed of it, beganne to prepare to puniſh them. The LACEDÆMONIANS on the other ſide preparinge for the warres, did ſet all the contry of PELOPONNESVS in armes. Hereupon *Philopœmen* ſought to pacifie *Diophanes* anger, declaring vnto him, that king *Antiochus*, and the ROMAINES, being at warres together at that preſent time, and they both hauing puiſant armies one againſt an other in the middeſt of GREECE: it was meete for a good Generall and wiſe gouernor, to haue an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the ſame, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thinge within his contry at that inſtant, but then rather to diſſemble it, and not to ſeeme to heare any fault whatſoeuer they did. *Diophanes* would

Diophanes & Ti. Quintius Flaminius do inuade Lacedæmonia.

B not be perſwaded, but entred the territories of LACEDÆMON with a great army, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* with him: and they together marched directly towardes the city of SPARTA. *Philopœmen* was ſo madde with their doings, that he tooke apon him an enterpriſe not very lawfull, nor altogether iuſt: neuertheleſſe, his attempt proceeded of a noble minde, and great corage. For he got into the citie of SPARTA, and beinge but a priuate perſone, kept out the General of the ACHAIANS, & the Conſull of the ROMAINES for entring the city: & when he had pacified all troubles and ſeditions in the ſame, he deliuered it vp againe as it was before, into the handes of the communaltie of the ACHAIANS. Neuertheleſſe, him ſelfe being afterwardes Generall of the ACHAIANS, did compell the LACEDÆMONIANS to receiue thoſe home againe whom they had baniſhed for certaine faultes, and did put foure ſcore naturall

Philopœmenes nobile act.

Philopœmenes cruelty to the Spartans.

C borne citizens of SPARTA vnto death, as *Polybius* wryteth. Or three hundred and fifty, as *Ariſtocrates* an other hiſtoriographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the walles of the city, and raſed them to the grounde, and tooke away the moſt parte of their territories, and gaue them to the MEGALOPOLITANS. All thoſe whome the tyrannes had made free denizens of SPARTA, he compelled them to departe the contry of LACEDÆMON, and forced them to dwell in ACHAIA, three thouſand only excepted, who would not obey his commaundement: all thoſe he ſolde for ſlaues, and with the money he made of them (to ſpight them the more) he built a goodly fayer walke within the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. Yet furthermore, to do the LACEDÆMONIANS all the miſchiefe he coulde, and as it were, to treade them vnder the feete in their moſt grieuous miſery: he did a moſt cruell and vniuſt acte towarde them. For he compelled

Philopœmen made the Spartans forſake Lycurgus law.

D them to leaue the diſcipline and maner of education of their children, which *Lycurgus* had of olde time inſtituted: and made them to follow the maner the ACHAIANS vſed, in liew of their olde grounded contry cuſtome, bicauſe he ſawe they would neuer be humble minded, ſo long as they kept *Lycurgus* order and inſtitucion. Thus were they driuen to put the heades in the choller, by the miſerable miſhappe that befell them: and in all deſpight, to ſuffer *Philopœmen* in this maner to cut a ſunder (as it were) the ſinewes of their common wealth. But afterwardes they made ſute to the ROMAINES, that they might be ſuffered to enioy their auncient diſcipline againe, which being graunted them, they ſtraight left the maner of the ACHAIANS, and did ſet vp againe as much as was poſſible (after ſo great miſerie and corruption of their maners) their olde auncient cuſtomes and orders of their contry. Now about the time the warres

E beganne in GREECE, betwene the ROMAINES and king *Antiochus*, *Philopœmen* was then a priuate man, and without any authority. He ſeeinge that kinge *Antiochus* lay ſtill in the citie of

Antiochus ſolace and mariage at Chalcis.

CHALCIS, and did nothing but feaſt and loue, and had maried a younge maide farre vnmeete for his yeres: and perceiuing that his SYRIAN ſouldiers wandered vp and downe the townes in great diſorder, playing many lewde partes without guide of Captaines: he was very ſory he was not at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, and tolde the ROMAINES, that he enuied their victory, hauing warres with enemies that were ſo eaſily to be ouercome. For (ſayd he) if fortune fauored me that I were Generall of the ACHAIANS at this preſent, I woulde haue killed them euery man in the cellers and tippling houſes. Now when the ROMAINES had ouercome *Antiochus*, they beganne to haue ſurer footing in GREECE: and to compaſſe in the A-

Philopœmenes counſell againſt the Romaines.

F CHAIANS of all ſides, and ſpecially, by reaſon the heades and gouernors of the cities about them did yeelde to the ROMAINES, to winne their fauor. And now their greatneſſe grewe in haſt, by the fauor of the goddes, ſo as they were become the monarche of the whole worlde,

who brought them nowe to the ende that fortune had determined. *Philopœmen* in the meane A
time did like a good pylot, bare hard againſt the billowes and roughneſſe of their waues: and
though for the time he was forced to giue place, and to let things paſſe, yet for all that he was
againſt the ROMAINES, and did withſtande them in the moſt parte of their proceedinges, by
ſeeking euer to defend the liberty of thoſe, who by their eloquence & well doing caried great
authority among the ACHAIANS. And when *Ariſtænetus* MEGALOPOLITAN, (a man of great
authority among the ACHAIANS, and one that euer bare great deuotion to the ROMAINES)
ſayd in open Senate among the ACHAIANS, that they ſhould deny the ROMAINES nothinge,
nor ſhew them ſelues vnthankefull to them: *Philopœmen* hearing what he ſayd, held his peace
a while, and ſuffered him to ſpeake (though it boyled in his hart, he was ſo angry with him)
and in the ende, breaking all pacience, and as one ouercome with choller, he ſayd. O *Ariſtæ-* B
netus, why haue you ſuch haſt to ſee the vnfortunate ende of GREECE? An other time, when
Manius, Conſull of ROME (after he had conquered king *Antiochus*) did make requeſt to the
counſell of the ACHAIANS, that ſuch as were baniſhed from LACEDÆMON, might returne
home into their contry againe, and that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* alſo did earneſtly intreate
them: *Philopœmen* was againſt it, not for any hatred he bare vnto the baniſhed men, but bicauſe
he would haue done it by his owne meane, and the only grace of the ACHAIANS, to the ende
they ſhuld not be beholding for ſo good a turne, neither vnto *Titus*, nor yet to the ROMAINES.
Afterwardes he him ſelfe, being Generall of the ACHAIANS, did reſtore them wholly to their
owne againe. Thus was *Philopœmen* ſomtime, a litle to bolde and quarrellous, by reaſon of his
great ſtomake: and ſpecially when any man of authority ſought for to haue thinges. Laſtely, C
beinge three ſcore and tenne yeares of age, he was the eight time choſen Generall of the A-
CHAIANS, and hoped well, not only to paſſe the yeare of his chrage in peace and quietnes, but
alſo all the reſt of his life without any ſturre of new warres, he ſaw the affaires of GREECE take
ſo good ſucceſſe. For like as the force & ſtrength of ſickenes declineth, as the natural ſtrength
of the ſickely body empaireth: ſo through all the cities and people of GREECE, enuy of quar-
rell and warres ſurceaſed, as their power diminiſhed. Neuertheleſſe, in the end of his yeares
gouernment, the goddes diuine (who iuſtly puniſh all inſolent wordes and deedes) threw him
to the grounde, as they ſuffer a ryder vnfortunately to take a fall of his horſe, beinge come al-
moſt to the ende of his cariere. For they wryte, thar he beinge in a place on a time amongeſt
good companie, where one was maruelouſly praiſed for a good Captaine, ſayed vnto them: D
why, maſters, can ye commende him that was contented to be taken priſoner aliue of his ene-
mies? Shortely after came newes that *Dinocrates* MESSENIAN (a priuate enemy of *Philopœ-*
menes for certaine controuerſies paſt betwene them, and a man generally hated beſides, of all
honorable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawen the city of MES-
SINA from the deuotion of the ACHAIANS: and moreouer that he came with an army to take
a towne called COLONIDE. *Philopœmen* was at that time in the city of ARGOS, ſicke of an a-
gew, and yet hearing theſe newes, tooke his iorney toward MEGALIPOLIS, making al the haſt
he could poſſible, ſo that he came aboue foure hundred furlongs that day. Straight he depar-
ted thence toward MESSINA, and taried not, but tooke with him a company of men at armes
of the luſtieſt and wealthieſt MEGALOPOLITANS: who were all young noble men of the ci- E
ty, and willingly offered them ſelues to goe with him for the goodwill they bare him, and for
the deſire they had to follow his valliantnes. Thus went they on their way towards the city of
MESSINA, and marched ſo longe, that they came nere vnto the hill of Euander, where they
met with *Dinocrates* & his cõpany, & gaue ſo fierce an onſet on them, that they made them all
turne taile: howbeit in the meane while, there came a reliefe of fiue hũdred men to *Dinocrates*,
which he had left to keepe the contry of MESSINA. The flying men that were ſcattered here
& there, ſeeing this ſupply, gathered them ſelues againe together, and ſhewed vpon the hills.
Philopœmen fearinge to be enuironned, and being deſirous to bring his men ſafe home againe,
who moſt of loue had followed him: beganne to marche away through narrow buſhy places,
him ſelfe being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes vpon his enemies, & skirmiſhed with F
them, onely to driue them away from followinge of the reſt of his company, and not a man
that durſt once ſet apon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him.

Philopœmen ch oſen the eight time Generall of the Achaians being 70 yere olde.

Philopœmenes iorney againſt Dinocrates.

Mons Euander.

How-

A Howebeit *Philopœmen* ſundry times venturinge farre from his company, to geue theſe young noble men leaſure to ſaue them ſelues one after an other: tooke no heede to him ſelfe that he was alone, enuironned on euery ſide with a great number of ennemies. Notwithſtandinge, of all his enemies there was not a man that durſt come to hande ſtrokes with him, but ſtill ſlinging and ſhooting at him a farre of, they draue him in the end amongeſt ſtony places betwene hewen rockes, where he had much a doe to guide his horſe, although he had ſpurred him that he was all of a gore blood. And as for his age, that did not lette him but he might haue ſaued him ſelfe, for he was ſtrong and luſty by the continuall exerciſe he tooke: but by curſed happe, his body being weake with ſickenes, and weary with the long iorney he had made that day, he founde him ſelfe very heauy and ill diſpoſed, that his horſe ſtumbling with him, threwe
B him to the grounde. His fall was very great, and bruſed all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and neuer ſturred nor ſpake: ſo that his enemies thinkinge he had bene dead, came to turne his body to ſtrippe him. But when they ſaw him lift vp his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once apon him, and tooke him, and bounde both his hands behinde him, and did all the villany and miſchiefe they could vnto him, and ſuch, as one would litle haue thought *Dinocrates* would haue vſed in that ſorte, or that he could haue had ſuch an ill thought towardes him. So, they that taried behinde in the city of MESSINA, were maruelous glad when they heard theſe newes, and ranne all to the gates of the city to ſee him brought in. When they ſaw him thus ſhametully bounde, and pinnioned, againſt the dignity of ſo many honors as he had receiued, and of ſo many triumphes and victories as he had paſ-
C ſed: the moſt parte of them wept for pitie, to conſider the miſhappe and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is ſo litle certainety, as in maner it is nothing. Then beganne there ſome curteous ſpeeche to runne in the mouthes of the people by litle and litle, that they ſhould remember the great good he had done vnto them in times paſt, and the liberty he had reſtored them vnto, when he expulſed the tyran *Nabis* out of MESSINA. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to pleaſe *Dinocrates*, ſayed they ſhould hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a daungerous enemy, and that would neuer forgiue man that had once offended him: and the rather, bicauſe he would be more terrible to *Dinocrates*, then euer he was before, if he eſcaped his hands, receiuing ſuch open ſhame by him. Neuertheles, in the end they caried him into a certen dungeon vnder the ground, called the treaſury, (which had neither
D light nor ayer at all into it, nor dore, nor half dore, but a great ſtone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and ſo they did let him downe the ſame, and ſtopped the hole againe with the ſtone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when theſe younge noble ACHAIAN horſemen had fled vppon the ſpurre a great way from the enemy, they remembred them ſelues, & looked round about for *Philopœmen*: & finding him not in ſight, they ſuppoſed ſtraight he had bene ſlaine. Thereuppon they ſtayed a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiuing he aunſwered not, they beganne to ſay among them ſelues, they were beaſtes and cowardes to flie in that ſorte: and how they were diſhonored for euer ſo to haue forſaken their Captaine, to ſaue themſelues, who had not ſpared his owne life, to deliuer them from daunger. Hereupon ryding on their way, and enquiring ſtill for him: they were in the end aduerti-
E ſed how he was taken. And then they went & caried thoſe newes through all the townes and cities of ACHAIA, which were very ſory for him, and tooke it as a ſigne of great ill fortune toward them. Wherupon they agreed to ſend Ambaſſadors forthwith to the MESSENIANS, to demaunde him: and in the meane time euery man ſhould prepare to arme them ſelues, to go thither, and get him either by force or loue. When the ACHAIANS had thus ſent, *Dinocrates* feared nothing ſo much, as that delay of time might ſaue *Philopœmenes* life: wherefore to preuent it, as ſoone as night came, and that the people were at reſt, he ſtraight cauſed the ſtone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let downe to *Philopœmen* with a cuppe of poiſon to offer him, who was commaunded alſo not to goe from him, vntill he had dronke it. When the hangman was come downe, he found *Philopœmen* layed on
F the grounde apon a litle cloke, hauinge no liſt to ſleepe, he was ſo grieuouſly troubled in his minde. Who when he ſawe light, and the man ſtanding by him, holding a cuppe in his hande with this poiſon, he ſate vpright vpon his cowch, howbeit with great paine he was ſo weake:

Philopœmenes miſfortune.

Philopœmen taken.

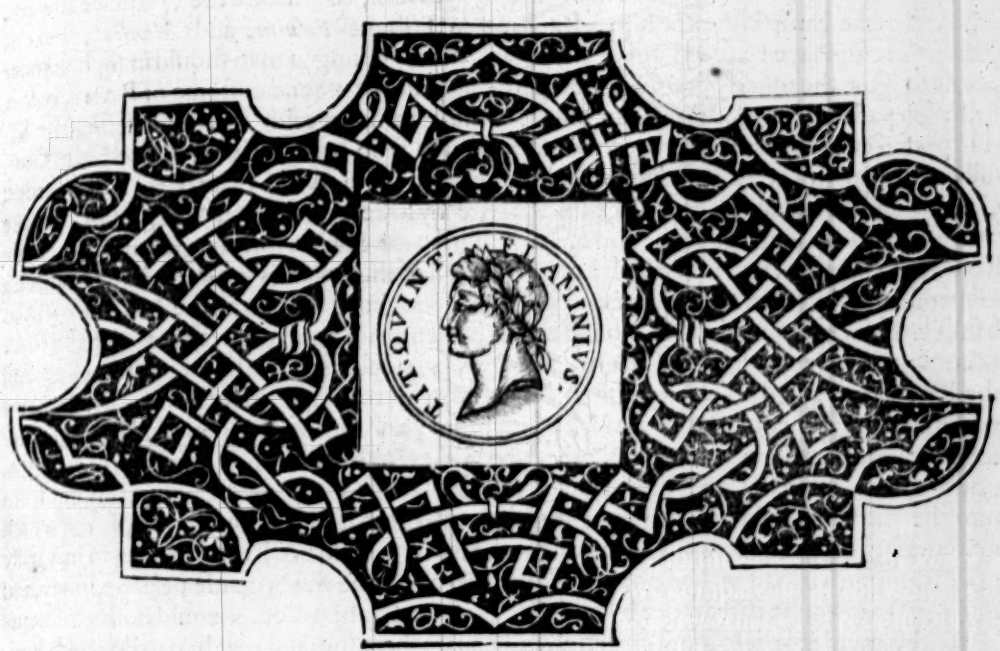
Philopœmen perſoned by Dinocrates.

and taking the cuppe in his hande, asked the hangman if he heard any newes of the horsemen A
that came with him, and specially of *Lycortas*. The hangman made him answer, that the most
of them were saued. Then he cast his handes a litle ouer his head, and looking merely on him
Philopœmenes last words. he sayd: it is well, seeing we are not all vnfortunate. Therewith speaking no moe wordes, nor
makinge other a doe, he droncke vp all the poison, and layed him downe as before. So nature
strauē not much withall, his body being brought so lowe, and thereupon the poison wrought
his effect, and rid him straight out of his paine. The newes of his death ran presently through
Philopœmenes death. all ACHAIA, which generally from high to low was lamented. Whereupon all the ACHAIAN
youth and counsellors of their cities and townes, assembled them selues in the city of MEGA-
The Achaians did reuenge Philopœmenes death. LIPOLIS, where they all agreed without delay to reuenge his death. They made *Lycortas* their
Generall, vnder whose conduct they inuaded the MESSENIANS, with force and violence, B
puttinge all to the fire and sword: so as the MESSENIANS were so feared with this mercilesse
fury, that they yelded them selues, and wholly consented to receiue the ACHAIANS into their
Dinocrates slue him selfe. city. But *Dinocrates* would not giue them leasure to execute him by iustice, for he killed him
selfe: and so did all the rest make themselues away, who gaue aduise that *Philopœmen* should be
put to death. But those that would haue had *Philopœmen* hanged on a gibbet, *Lycortas* caused
thē to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with all kind of tormēts. That done, they
Philopœmenes funerall. burnt *Philopœmenes* body, and did put his ashes into a pot. Then they straight departed from
MESSINA, not in disorder, one apon an others necke as euery man listed: but in such an order
and ray, that in the middest of these funeralles they did make a triumphe of victorie. For the
souldiers were all crowned with garlandes of lawrell in token of victory, notwithstanding, the C
teares ranne downe their cheekes in token of sorowe, and they led their enemies prisoners,
shackled and chained. The funerall pot in the which were *Philopœmenes* ashes, was so couered
with garlandes of flowers, nosegaies, and laces, that it could scant be seene or discerned, and
was caried by one *Polybius* a young man, the sonne of *Lycortas*, that was Generall at that time
to the ACHAIANS: about whom there marched all the noblest and chiefest of the ACHAIANS,
and after them also followed all the souldiers armed, and their horses very well furnished. The
rest, they were not so sorowfull in their countenance, as they are commonly which haue great
cause of sorow: nor yet so ioyful, as those that came conquerers from so great a victory. Those
of the cities, townes, and villages in their way as they past, came and presented them selues
vnto them, to touche the funerall pot of his ashes, euen as they were wont to take him by the D
hande, and to make much of him when he was returned from the warres: and did accompany
his conuoy vnto the city of MEGALIPOLIS. At the gates whereof, were olde men, women,
and children, which thrustinge them selues amongest the souldiers, did renewe the teares, so-
rowes, and lamentacions of all the miserable and vnfortunate city: who tooke it that they had
lost with their citizen, the first and chiefest place of honor among the ACHAIANS. So he was
buried very honorably as appertained vnto him: and the other prisoners of MESSINA, were
all stoned to death, about his sepulchre. All the other cities of ACHAIA, besides many other
honors they did vnto him, did set vp statues, and as like to him, as could be counterfeated. Af-
terwards in the vnfortunate time of GREECE, when the city of CORINTHE was burnt and de-
stroied by the ROMAINES, there was a malicious ROMAINE that did what he could to haue the E
same pulled downe againe, by burdening & accusing *Philopœmen* (as if he had bene aliue) that
he was alwaies enemy to the ROMAINES, and enuied much their prosperity and victories. But
Note the humanity of the Romaines, keepinge their enemies monuments from defacing. after *Polybius* had aunswered him: neither the Consul *Mummius*, nor his counsellers, nor lieu-
tenaunts, would suffer them to deface & take away the honors done in memory of so famous
& worthy a mā, although he had many waies done much hurt vnto *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, &
vnto *Manius*. So, these good men then made a differēce betwene duety & profit: & did thinke
honesty & profit two distinct things, and so separated one from the other, according to reason
and iustice. Moreouer they were perswaded, that like as men receiue curtesie and goodnes of
any, so are they bound to requite them againe, with kindenes and duety. And as men vse to ac-
knowledge the same: euen so ought men to honor and reuerence vertue. And thus much for F
the life of *Philopœmen*.

The ende of Philopœmenes life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Titus Quintius Flaminius.



A IT is easie to see *Titus Quintius Flaminius* forme, and stature, by *Philopœmenes* statue of brasse, to whome we compare him: the which is now set vppe at Rome, neere to great *Apollo* that was brought from Carthage, and is placed right against the comming in to the show place, vnder which there is an inscription in Greeke letters. But for his nature and conditions, they say of him thus: he would quickely be angry, and yet very ready to pleasure men againe. For, if he did punish any man that had angered him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continew with him. He did good also to many, and euer loued them whom he had once pleasured, as if they had done him some pleasure: & was ready
B to do for them still whom he founde thankefull, bicause he would euer make them beholding to him, and thought that as honorable a thinge, as he could purchase to him selfe. Bicause he greatly sought honor aboue all thinges, when any notable seruice was to be done, he would do it him selfe, and no man should take it out of his hand. He would euer be rather with them that needed his helpe, then with those that could helpe him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a meane to exercise his vertue with: the other, he tooke them as his fellowes and followers of honor with him. He came to mans state, when the citie of Rome had greatest warres and trouble. At that time all the youth of Rome, which were of age to cary weapon, were sent to the warres to learne to traile the pyke, and how to become good Captaines. Thus was he entred into marshall affaires, and the first charge he tooke, was in the warre against
C *Hannibal* of Carthage, where he was made Colonell of a thousande footemen, vnder *Marcellus* the consull: who being slaine by an ambush *Hannibal* had layed for him betwene the cities of Bancia, and Venvsa, then they did choose *Titus Quintius Flaminius* gouernor of the prouince and city of Tarentvm, which was now taken againe the seconde time. In this gouernment of his, he wanne the reputacion as much of a good and iust man, as he did of an expert and skilfull Captaine. By reason whereof, when the Romaines were requested to send men to inhabite the cities of Narnia & Cossa, he was appointed the chiefe leader of them, which chiefely gaue him hart and corage to aspire at the first to the Consulshippe, passinge

Titus Quintius first charge in warre.

Degrees of offices before one came to be Consull.

ouer all other meane offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by degrees) A other younge men were wont to attaine the Consulshippe. Therefore when the time came that the Consulls should be elected, he did present him selfe amonge other, accompanied with a great number of those he hadde brought with him, to inhabite the two newe townes, who did make earnest sute for him. But the two Tribunes *Fuluius*, and *Manlius*, spake against him, and sayed: it was out of all reason, that so younge a man should in such manner prease to haue the office of the highest dignitie, against the vse and custome of ROME, before he hadde passed through the inferior offices of the common wealth. Neuertheless, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voyces of the people: who presently pronounced him Consull openly, with *Sextius AElius*, although he was not yet thirtie yeare olde. Afterwardes,

T. Q. Flaminius, Sextius AElius Consulls.

T. Q. Flaminius maketh warre with Philip king of Macedon.

AElius and he deuidinge the offices of the state by lotte: it fell apon *T. Quintius* to make B warre with *Philip* kinge of MACEDON. In the which me thinkes fortune greatly fauored the ROMAINES affaires, that made such a man Generall of these warres: for, to haue pointed a Generall that by force and violence woulde haue sought all thinges at the MACEDONIANS handes, that were a people to be wonne rather by gentlenesse and perswasions, then by force & compulsion: it was all against them selues. *Philip*, to maintaine the bront of a battell against the ROMAINES, had power enough of his owne in his realme of MACEDON: but to make warre any long time, to furnish him selfe with money and vittailes, to haue a place and cities to retyre vnto, and lastly, to haue all other necessaries for his men and army: it stoode him apon to get the force of GREECE. And had not the force of GREECE bene politickely cut from him, the warres against him had not bene ended with one battell. Moreouer, GREECE (which C neuer before bare the ROMAINES any great good will) would not haue delt then so inwardly in frendshippe with them, had not their Generall bene (as he was) a gentle persone, lowly, and tractable, that wanne them more by his wisedome, then by his force, & could both eloquently vtter his minde to them, and curteously also heare them speake, that had to doe with him, and chiefely, ministred iustice and equity to euery man a like. For it is not to be thought that GREECE would otherwise so soone haue withdrawen them selues from the rule of those, with whome they were acquainted, and gouerned: and haue put them selues vnder the rule of straungers, but that they saw great iustice and lenity in them. Howbeit that may more plainly appeare, by declaring of his actes. *Titus* was informed, that the Generalls before him sent to the warre in MACEDON (as *Sulpitius*, and *Publius Iulius*) vsed to come thither about the later D end of the yeare, and made but cold warres, and certaine light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in an other against *Philip*, and all to take some straite, or to cut of vittells: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarying at home, consumed the most of their Consulshippe at ROME, in matters of gouernment, and so enioyed the honor of their office. Afterwardes in the end of their yeare, they would set out to the warres, of intent to get an other yeare ouer their heades in their office, that spending one yere in their Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the warres abroade. But *Titus* not minding to trifle out the halfe of his Consulshippe at ROME, and the other abroade in the warres: did willingly leaue all his honors and dignities he might haue enioyed by his office at ROME, and besought the Senate that they would appoint his brother *Lucius Quintius* Lieutenant of E their army by sea. Furthermore, he tooke with him selfe about three thousande olde souldiers of those that had first ouerthrowen *Asdrubal* in SPAYNE, & *Hannibal* afterwardes in AFRICKE, vnder the conduct of *Scipio*, which yet were able to serue, and were very willinge to goe with him in this iorney, to be the strength of his army. With this compani he passed the seaes without daunger, and landed in EPIRVS, where he found *Publius Iulius* encamped with his army before kinge *Philip*, who of longe time had lien in campe about the mouth of the riuer of Apsus, to kepe the straight and passage which is the entry into EPIRVS. So that *Publius Iulius* had lien still there, and done nothing, by reason of the naturall force and hardnes of the place. Then *Titus* tooke the army of him, and sent him to ROME. Afterwards, him selfe went in persone to view and consider the nature of the contry, which was in this sorte. It is a longe valley F walled on either side with great high mountaines, as those which shut in the valley of Tempe in THESSALIE. Howbeit it had no such goodly woods, nor grene forrests, nor fayer medowes,

Titus curteste wanne the Greecians more then his force.

T. Q. landed in Epirus. Apsus flu.

The description of the contry of Epirus.

nor

A nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had : but it was a great deepe marrishe or quauemyre, through the middest whereof the riuer called Apsus did runne, being in greatnes and swiftnes of streame, very like to the riuer of Peneus. The riuer did occupie all the ground at the feete of the mountaines, sauing a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, and a narrow straight pathe by the waters side, very vnhandesome for an army to passe that way, though they foũd not a man to keepe the passage. There were some in the army that counselled *Titus* to fetche a great compasse about by the contry of DASSARETIDE, and by the city of LYNCVS, where the contry is very plaine, and the way maruelous easie. Howebeit he stoode in great feare he should lacke vittells, if he stayed farre from the sea, and happely if he fell into any barren or leane contry, (*Philip* refusing the battel, and purposing to flie) he should
B be constrained in the end to returne againe towardes the sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherefore he determined to crosse the mountaines to set vpon his enemy, and to proue if he could winne the passage by force. Now *Philip* kept the top of the mountaines with his army, and when the ROMAINES forced to get vp the hilles, they were receiued with dartes, slings, and shot, that lighted amongest them here & there: insomuch as the skirmish was very hot for the time it lasted, and many were slayne and hurt on either side. But this was not the ende of the warre. For in the meane time there came certaine neateherdes of the contry vnto *Titus* (who did vse to keepe beastes on these mountaines) and tolde him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not: by the which they promised to guide his army so, that in three dayes at the furthest, they would bringe them on the top of the
C mountaine. And bicause they might be assured that their wordes were true, they sayed they were sent to him by *Charopus*, the sonne of *Machatas*. This *Caropus* was the chiefest man of the EPIROTS, who loued the ROMAINES very well, yet he fauored them but vnder hand, for feare of *Philip*. *Titus* gaue credit vnto them, and so sent one of his Captaines with them, with foure thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen. The heard men that were their guides, went before still, fast bounde: and the ROMAINES followed after. All the day time the army rested in thicke woddes, and marched all night by moone light, which was then by good happe at the ful. *Titus* hauing sent these men away, rested all the rest of his campe: sauing that some daies he entertayned them with some light skirmishes to occupy the enemy withall. But the same day, when his men that fetched a compasse about, shoulde come vnto the top of the mountaine a-
D boue the campe of his enemies, he brought all his army out of the campe by breake of day, & deuided them into three troupes, with the one of them he himselfe went on that side of the riuer where the way is straighest, making his bands to march directly against the side of the hil. The MACEDONIANS againe, they shot lustely at them from the height of the hill, and in certen places amongest the rockes they came to the sworde. At the selfe same time, the two other troupes on either hande of him did their endeuor likewise to get vp the hill, and as it were enuying one an other, they climed vp with great corage against the sharpe and steepe hanginge of the mountaine. When the sunne was vp, they might see a farre of as it were, a certen smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the mistes we see cõmonly rise from the tops of
E the mountaines. The enemies could see nothing, bicause it was behinde them, & that the top of the mountaine was possessed with the same. The ROMAINES, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the middest of the fight, that it was their fellowes they looked for. But when they saw it increased stil more, & more, & in such sorte, that it darkened all the ayer: then they did assure them selues it was certainely the token their men did giue them that they were come. Then they beganne to crie out, clyminge vp the hills with such a lusty corage, that they draue their enemies vp the hill still, euen vnto the very rough and hardest places of the mountaine. Their fellowes also that were behind the enemies, did aunswer thẽ with like lowde cries from the top of the moũtaine: wherwith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled presently apõ it. Nothwithstãding, there were not slaine aboue two thousand of thẽ, bicause the hardnes & straightnes of the place did so gard them, that they could not be chased. But the ROMAINES
F spoiled their campe, tooke all that they found in their tents, tooke also their slaues, & wan the passage into the moũtaines, by the which they entred the cõtry of EPIRVS: & did passe through it so quietly, & with so great abstinẽce, that though they were farre from their ships & the sea,

Charopus, (Machatas sonne) the chiefe man of the Epirots.

T. Q. possessed the straightes of the mountaine.

The Macedonians flee.

& lacked their ordinary portion of corne which they were wont to haue monthely, & that vi- A
tells were very ſcant with thē at that time, yet they neuer tooke any thing of the cōtry, though
they founde great ſtore & plenty of all riches in it. For *Titus* was aduertiſed, that *Philip* paſſing
Philips flying king of Macedon. by THESSALIE, and flying for feare, had cauſed the inhabitants of the cities to get them to the
mountaines, & then to ſet fire on their houſes, & to leaue thoſe goodes they could not cary a-
T. Q. Flaminius modeſty, forbearing ſpoyle: wanne him many frendes. way, by reaſon of the weight & vnhandſome cariage therof, to the ſpoyle of his ſouldiers: & ſo
(as it ſeemed) he left the whole contry to the conqueſt of the ROMAINES. Whereuppon *Titus*
looking cōſideratly to his doings, gaue his men great charge to paſſe through the contry with-
out doing any hurt or miſchief, as the ſame which their enemies had now left to them as their
owne. So they taried not long to enioy the benefit of their orderly and wiſe forbearing of the
contry. For, ſo ſoone as they were entred THESSALIE, the cities willingly yeelded them ſelues B
vnto them: & the GREECIANS inhabiting beyond the contry of THERMOPYLES, did marue-
louſly deſire to ſee *Titus*, asking no other thing, but to put them ſelues into his hands. The A-
CHAIANS alſo on the other ſide, did renoūce the league & alliance they had made with *Philip*,
and furthermore did determine in their counſell, to make warre with him on the ROMAINES
ſide. And although the ÆTOLIANS were at that time frendes and confederates with the RO-
MAINES, & that they did ſhew thē ſelues very louing to take their parte in theſe warres: neuer-
theles when they deſired the OPVNTIANS that they would put their city into their hands, and
were offred that it ſhould be kept & defended frō *Philip*: they would not harkē therto, but ſent
for *Titus*, & put thē ſelues & their goods wholly into his protection. They ſay, that when king
Pyrrus firſt ſaw the ROMAINES army range in order of battel from the top of a hill, he ſaid: this C
Pyrrus ſaying of the Romaines army. order of the barbarous people, ſetting of their men in battell ray, was not done in a barbarous
maner. And thoſe alſo that neuer had ſeene *Titus* before, & came for to ſpeake with him: were
compelled in a manner to ſay as much. For where they had hearde the MACEDONIANS ſay,
that there came a Captaine of the barbarous people that deſtroyed all before him by force of
armes, & ſubdued whole contries by violence: they ſayd to the contrary, that they found him a
man, in dede young of yeres, howbeit gentle, & curteous to looke on, & that ſpake the Greeke
tongue excellētly wel, & was a louer only of true glory. By reaſon wherof they returned home
maruelous glad, & filled all the cities & townes of GREECE with goodwill towardes him, and
ſayd: they had ſeene *Titus* the Captaine, that would reſtore them to their auncient libertie a-
gaine. Then it much more appeared, when *Philip* ſhewed him ſelfe willing to haue peace, and D
that *Titus* alſo did offer it him, and the frendſhippe of the people of ROME, with theſe condi-
tions: that he would leaue the GREECIANS their whole liberties, & remoue his garriſons out
of their cities and ſtrong holdes: which *Philip* refuſed to do. And thereupon all GREECE, and
euen thoſe which fauored *Philip*, ſayed with one voyce: that the ROMAINES were not come
to make warres with them, but rather with the MACEDONIANS in fauor of the GREECIANS.
Wherupon all GREECE came in, & offred them ſelues vnto *Titus* without cōpulſion. And as
he paſſed through the contry of BOETIA, without any ſhew at al of warres, the chiefeſt mē of
the city of THEBES wēt to mete him: who though they tooke part with the king of MACEDON,
bicauſe of a priuate mā called *Brachylelis*, yet they would honor *Titus*, as thoſe which were cō-
tented to keepe league & frendſhip with either ſide. *Titus* embraced them, & ſpake very curte- E
ouſly vnto thē, going on his way ſtil fayer & ſoftly, entertaining thē ſomtime with one matter,
& ſomtime with an other, & kept them talke of purpoſe, to the end his ſouldiers being wearied
with iornying, might in the meane time take good breath: & ſo marching on, by litle & litle, he
entred into the city with thē. Wherewith the Lords of THEBES were not greatly pleaſed, but
yet they durſt not refuſe him, thogh he had not at that time any nūber of ſouldiers about him.
Whē he was within THEBES, he praied audiēce, & began to perſwade the people (as carefully
as if he had not had the city already) that they woulde rather take parte with the ROMAINES,
King Attalus death. then with the king of MACEDON. And to further *Titus* purpoſe, king *Attalus* being by chaūce
at that time in the aſſembly, did help to exhort the THEBANS very earneſtly, that they would F
doe as *Titus* perſwaded them. But *Attalus* was more earneſt then became a man of his yeares,
for the deſire he had (as was imagined) to ſhewe *Titus* his eloquence: who did ſo ſtraine and
moue him ſelfe withall, that he ſounded ſodaynely in the middeſt of his oration, whereby the

rewme

A rewme fell downe ſo faſt vppon him, that it tooke away his ſences, ſo as he fell in a traunſe before them all, and few dayes after was conueyed againe by ſea into ASIA, where he liued not lõg after. In the meane time, the BOEOTIANS came into the ROMAINES, & tooke their parte. And *Philip* hauing ſent Ambaſſadors to ROME, *Titus* alſo ſent thither of his men to ſolicite for him, in two reſpects. The one, if the warres continued againſt *Philip*, that then they would prolong his time there. The other, if the Senate did graunt him peace: that they would do him the honor, as to make and conclude it with *Philip*. For *Titus* of his owne nature being very ambitious, did feare leaſt they would ſend a ſucceſſor to continew thoſe warres, who ſhould take the glory from him, and make an end of them. But his frends made ſuch earneſt ſute for him, that neither king *Philip* attained that he prayed: neither was there ſent any other generall in *Titus* B place, but he ſtill continued his charge in theſe warres. Wherfore, ſo ſoone as he had receiued his cõmiſſion & authority from the Senate, he went ſtraight towards THESSALIE, with great hope to ouercome *Philip*. For he had in his army aboue ſix & twenty thouſand fighting men, whereof the ÆTOLIANS made ſix thouſand footemen, and three thouſande horſemen. King *Philips* army on thother ſide was no leſſe in number, & they began to march one towards the other, vntill at the length they both drew neere the city of SCOTVSA, where they determined to try the battell. So, neither they nor their men were afraid, to ſee them ſelues one ſo neere an other: but rather to the contrary, the ROMAINES on the one ſide tooke greater hart & corage vnto them, deſiring to fight, as thinking with themſelues what great honor they ſhould win to ouercome the MACEDONIANS, who were ſo highly eſteemed for their valliantnes, by reaſon C of the famous acts that *Alexander* the great did by them. And the MACEDONIANS on the other ſide alſo, taking the ROMAINES for other maner of ſouldiers then the PERSIANS, began to haue good hope if they might winne the field, to make king *Philip* more famous in the world, then euer was *Alexander* his father. *Titus* thẽ calling his men together, ſpake, & exhorted thẽ to ſtand to it like men, & to ſhow thẽſelues valliant ſouldiers in this battel, as thoſe which were to ſhew the proofe of their valliantneſſe in the hart of GREECE: the goodlieſt Theater of the world, & againſt their enemies of moſt noble fame. *Philip* then by chaunce, or forced to it by the ſpede he made, bicauſe they were both ready to ioyne: did get vp vnwares vpon a charneil houſe, (where they had buried many bodies, being a litle hill raiſed vp aboue the reſt, & neere the trenches of his campe) and there began to encorage his ſouldiers, as all generals do before D they giue battel. Who when he ſaw them all diſcoraged, for they tooke it for an il ſigne that he was gotten vp on the top of a graue to ſpeake vnto them: he of a conceite at the matter, did of himſelfe deferre to giue battell that day. The next morning, bicauſe the night was very wet by reaſon the ſowthewindes had blowen, the clowds were turned to a miſte, & filled all the valley with a darke groſſe thicke ayer, cõming from the mountaines thereabouts, which couered the field betwene both campes with a miſt all the morning: by reaſon wherof the skowtes on both ſides that were ſent to diſcouer what the enemies did, in very ſhorte time met together, & one gaue charge vpon an other in a place they call the dogges heads, which are pointes of rockes placed vpon litle hills one before an other, and very nere one vnto an other, which haue bene called ſo, bicauſe they haue had ſome likenes of it. In this skirmiſh there were many chaũges, E as cõmonly falleth out when they fight in ſuch ill fauored ſtony places. For ſometime the ROMAINES fled, and the MACEDONIANS chaſed them: an other time the MACEDONIANS that followed the chaſe, were glad to fly themſelues, & the ROMAINES who fled before, nowe had thẽ in chaſe. This chaunge & alteracion came, by ſending new ſupplies ſtil from both campes, to relieue them that were diſtreſſed & driuen to flie. Now began the miſte to breake vp, & the ayer to clere, ſo that both generals might ſee about thẽ what was done in either campe: by reaſon wherof both of thẽ drew on their army to the field & battel. So *Philip* had the vantage on the right wing of his army, which was placed on the height of an hanging hill, frõ which they came ſo a maine to ſet vpon the ROMAINES, & with ſuch a fury, that the ſtrõgeſt & valliantest that could be, had neuer bene able to abide the front of their battel, ſo cloſely were they ioined F together, & their wall of pykes was ſo ſtrõg. But on his left wing it was not ſo, bicauſe the rãcks of his battel could not ioine ſo nere, nor cloſe target to target, the place being betwixt the hills & the rocks where the battel was cõming, ſo as they were cõpelled by reaſõ of the ſtraightnes

The Bœotians yeld vnto the Romaines.

Quintius &c. mis.

King Philip and Quintius methods their armies were Scotuſa.

Battell betwene Quintius and Philip kinge of Macedon.

& vneuennes of the ground, to leaue it open, & vnfurnished in many places. *Titus* finding that A
disaduãtage, went frõ the left wing of his battel which he saw ouerlaid by the right wing of his
enemies, & going sodainly toward the left wing of king *Philips* battell, he set vpon the MACE-
DONIANS on that side, where he saw they could not close their ranckes in the front, nor ioyne
them together in the middest of the battel (which is the whole strength & order of the MACE-
DONIAN fight) bicause the field was vp hill & downe hill: & to fight hand to hand they were so

The propertie of the Macedonian battell.

pestered behind, that one thronged & ouerlaid an other. For the battel of the MACEDONIANS
hath this property, that so lõg as the order is kept close & ioyned together, it semeth as it were
but the body of a beast of a force inuincible. But also after that it is once open, & that they are
sundered & not ioyned together, it doth not only loose the force & power of the whole body,
but also of euery priuate souldier that fighteth: partly by reason of the diuersity of the weapons B
wherewith they fight, & partely for that their whole strength consisteth most, in the disposing
& ioyning together of their ranckes & orders which doth stay vp one an other, more thẽ doth
euery priuate souldiers strength. So when this left wing of the MACEDONIANS was broken, &
that they ran their way: one parte of the ROMAINES followed the chase, & the other ranne to
giue a charge vppon the flanckes of the right winge which fought yet, and they made great
slaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, beganne to stagger

Quintius ouercame Philippes army.

and breake, & in the ende ranne away as fast as the other did, throwing downe their weapons:
insomuch as there were slaine of them eight thousande in the fielde, and fiue thousande taken
prisoners in the chase. And had not the fault bene in the ÆTOLIANS, *Philip* had not saued him
selfe by flyinge as he did. For whilest the ROMAINES had their enemies in chase, the ÆTOLI- C

Mutinie betwixt the AEtolians & the Romaines.

ANS taried, and rifled all kinge *Philips* campe, so as they had left the ROMAINES nothinge to
spoyle at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell, & hot words betwene them, &
one with an other. But afterwardes they angered *Titus* worse, chalenginge the honor of this
victory to thẽ selues, bicause they gaue it out through GREECE, that they alone had ouerthro-
wen king *Philip* in the battell. So that in the songs and ballets the Poets made in praise of this
victory, which euery cõtry & townes man had in his mouth: they alwaies put the ÆTOLIANS
before the ROMAINES, as in this that followeth, which was currantly song in euery place.

Oh frend, vvhich passest by: here lye vve vvretched pheares,
VVithouten honor of the graue, vvithout lamenting teares.
VVe thirty thousand vvere, vvhich ended haue our dayes: D
In cruell coasts of Thessalie, vvhich caused our decayes.
VVe haue bene ouerthrovven by th AEtolians men of vvarre:

Alcæus verses in disgrace of kinge Philip.

And by the Latine crevves like vvise, vvhom Titus led from farre.
Euen out of Italie, to Macedonie lande,
Vs to distroy, he (captaine like) did come vvith mighty bande.
And Philip stovvte, there vvhiles for all his provvde fierce face:
Is fled more svvift, then hartes doe runne, vvhich are pursued in chace.

The Poet was *Alcæus* that made these verses for to singe, who did them in disgrace of kinge
Philip, falsely increasinge the number of his men which died in the battell, only to shame and
spite him the more: howbeit he spited *Titus* thereby, more then *Philip*, bicause it was song in E
euery place. For *Philip* laughed at it, & to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made
a song to counterfeate his, as followeth.

Philips verses against Alcæus.

This gibbet on this hill, vvhich passers by may marke:
VV as set to hang Alcæus vp, vvithouten leaues or barke.

Priuy grudge betwixt Quintius and the AEtolians.

But *Titus* tooke it greuously, who chiefly desired to be honored amongest the GREECIANS,
by reason wherof from that time forwards he delt in the rest of his matters alone, without ma-
king accompt of the ÆTOLIANS: wherwith they were maruelous angry, & specially when he
receiued an Ambassador from *Philip*, and gaue eare vnto a treaty of peace which he offred. For
then they were so netled against him, that they gaue it out through all GREECE, that *Titus*
had solde peace vnto *Philip*, when he might altogether haue ended the warre, and vtterly haue F
destroyed *Philips* whole power and Empire, who had first brought GREECE into bondage.
These slaunderous reports & false tales which the ÆTOLIANS spred thus abroade, did much

trouble

A trouble the ROMAINES frendes and confederates: but *Philip* ſelfe pulled this ſuſpicion out of their heades, when he came in perſon to require peace, and did ſubmit him ſelfe wholly to the diſcretion of *Titus* and the ROMAINES. *Titus* then graunted him peace, and deliuered to him his realme of MACEDON, and commaunded him he ſhoulde giue ouer all that he helde in GREECE, and beſides, that he ſhould pay one thouſande talents for tribute, taking from him all his army by ſea, ſauing only tenne ſhippes: and for aſſurance of this peace, he tooke one of his ſonnes for hoſtage, whome he ſent to ROME. Wherein *Titus* certainely did very well, and wiſely did foreſee the time to come. For then *Hanniball* of CARTHAGE, (the great enemy of the ROMAINES) was baniſhed out of his contry, and commen to kinge *Antiochus*, whome he put in the head, and earneſtly moued, to follow his good fortune, and the increaſe of his Em-

T. Quintius graunted Philip peace.

Hannibal was with kinge Antiochus.

B pire. Whom *Hanniball* ſo followed with theſe perſwaſions, that kinge *Antiochus* at length was come to it. And truſting to his former good ſucceſſe, and notable acts, whereby in the warres before he had attained the ſurname of great: he began now to aſpire to the monarchy of the whole world, & ſought how to finde occaſion to make warres with the ROMAINES. So that if *Titus* (foreſeeing that a far of) had not wiſely inclined to peace, but that the wars of *Antiochus* had fallen out together with the warres of king *Philip*, and that theſe two the mightieſt Prin-

C ces of the worlde had ioyned together againſt the city of ROME: then it had bene in as great trouble and daunger, as euer it was before, in the time of their warres againſt *Hannibal*. Howbeit *Titus* hauinge happely thruſt in this peace betwene both warres, he cut of the warre that was preſent, before the other that was comminge: by which meanes he tooke from one of the kinges his laſt, and from the other his firſt hope. In the meane time, the tenne commiſſioners that were ſent by the Senate from ROME to *Titus*, to aide and aſſiſt him in the order of the affaiers of GREECE: did counſell him to ſet all the reſt of GREECE at liberty, and onely to kepe in their handes with good garriſon, the cities of CHALCIDE, of CORINTHE, and of DEMETRIADE, to make ſure that by practiſe they ſhould not enter into league and alliance with *Antiochus*. Then the ÆTOLIANS (that were the common ſlaunderers of *Titus* proceedinges) beganne openly to make theſe cities to rebell, and did ſummone *Titus* to looſe the chaines of GREECE: for ſo did kinge *Philip* call theſe three cities. Then they asked the GREECIANS in mockery, whether they were willing now to haue heauier fetters on their legges, then before, being ſomwhat brighter and fayrer then thoſe they had bene ſhackled with: and alſo whether

Chalcide, Corinthe, Demetriade, called by Philip of Macedon, the Chaines of Greece.

D they were not greatly beholding to *Titus* for taking of the fetters from the GREECIANS legs, and tyinge them about their neckes. *Titus* beinge marueloufly troubled and vexed with this, moued the tenne counſellers ſo earneſtly, that he made them graunt his requeſt in the ende, that thoſe three cities alſo ſhould be deliuered frō garriſon: bicauſe the GREECIANS thenceforth might no more complaine, that his grace and liberality was not throughly performed, and accompliſhed in euery reſpect on them all. Wherefore, when the feaſt called Iſthmia was come, there were gathered together an infinite multitude of people come to ſee the ſporte of the games played there: for GREECE hauing bene long time troubled with warres, they ſeeing them ſelues now in ſure peace, & in very good hope of ful liberty, looked after no other thing, but delited only to ſee games, and to make mery. Proclamation was then made by ſounde of

Iſthmia.

E trompet in the aſſembly, that euery man ſhoulde keepe ſilence. That done, the heraulde went forward, and thruſt into the middeſt of the multitude, and proclaimed out alowde: that the Senate of ROME, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, Conſul of the people of ROME (now that they had ouerthrowen kinge *Philip* and the MACEDONIANS in battell) did thenceforth diſcharge from all garriſons, and ſet at liberty from all taxes, ſubſidies, and impoſitions for euer, to liue after their olde auncient lawes, and in full liberty: the CORINTHIANS, the LOCRIANS, thoſe of PHOCIDE, thoſe of the Ile of EVBOEA, the ACHAIANS, the PHTHIOTES, the MAGNESIANS, the THESSALIANS, and the PERRHOEBEIANS. At the firſt time of the proclamation, all the people could not heare the voice of the heraulde, and the moſt parte of thoſe that hearde him, coulde not tell diſtinctly what he ſayed: for there ranne vp and downe the ſhewe place

F where the games were played, a confuſed brute and tumult of the people that wondered, and asked what the matter ment, ſo as the heraulde was driuen againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after ſilence made, the herauld puttinge out his voice farre lowder then before,

did proclaime it in ſuch audible wiſe, that the whole aſſembly heard him: and then roſe there A
ſuch a lowde ſhowte and crie of ioy through the whole people, that the ſound of it was heard
to the ſea. Then all the people that had taken their places, & were ſet to ſee the Swordplayers
play, roſe vp all on their feete, lettinge the games alone, and went together with great ioy to
ſalute, to embrace, and to thanke *Titus* the recouerer, protector, and patrone of all their li-
berties of GREECE. Then was ſeene (which is much ſpoken of) the power of mens voyces:
Crowes flying, fell downe by the ſounde of mens voices. for crowes fel downe at that preſent time among the people, which by chaunce flew ouer the
ſhow place at that time that they made the ſame out ſhowte. This came to paſſe, by reaſon the
ayer was broken and cut a ſunder, with the vehemency and ſtrength of the voyces, ſo as it had
not his naturall power in it, to keepe vp the flying of the birdes: which were driuen of neceſſi-
ty to fall to the grounde, as flyinge through a voide place where they lacked ayer. Vnleſſe we B
will rather ſay, that it was the violence of the crie, which ſtrooke the birdes paſſinge through
the ayer, as they had bene hit with arrowes, and ſo made them fall downe dead to the earth.
It may be alſo, that there was ſome hurlinge winde in the ayer, as we doe ſee ſometime in the
ſea, when it riſeth high, and many times turneth about the waues, by violence of the ſtorme.
So it is, that if *Titus* hadde not preuented the whole multitude of people which came to ſee
him, and that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended: he had hard-
ly ſcaped from being ſtifled amongeſt them, the people came ſo thicke about him from euery
place. But after that they were weary of crying, and ſinging about his pauillion vntill night, in
the ende they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kinne, frendes or citi-
zens, they did kiſſe and embrace one an other for ioy, and ſo ſupped, and made mery together. C
In their more reioycinge yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table,
but of the warres of GREECE, diſcourſing amongeſt them what ſundry great warres they had
made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recouer their liberty. And yet
for all that, they coulde neuer ſo ioyfully nor more aſſuredly obtaine it, then they did euen at
that preſent, receiuing the honorableſt reward, & that which deſerued greateſt fame through
the worlde: that by the valliantneſſe of ſtraungers who fought for the ſame (without any ſpilt
blood of their owne in compariſon, or that they loſt the life of any one man, whoſe death they
had cauſe to lament) they were ſo reſtored to their auncient freedome and liberty. It is a very
rare thinge amongeſt men, to finde a man very valliant, and wiſe withall: but yet of all ſortes
of valliant men, it is harder to finde a iuſt man. For *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſander*, *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, D
and all other the famous Captaines of former times, had very good skill to lead an army, and
to winne the battell, as well by ſea as by lande: but to turne their victories to any honorable
benefit, or true honor among men, they could neuer skill of it. And if you doe except the bat-
tell againſt the barbarous people, in the plaine of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, the
iorney of PLATEES, the battell of THERMOPYLES, the battell *Cimon* fought about CIPRVS,
and vpon the riuer of Eurymedon: all the other warres & battels of GREECE that were made,
fell out againſt them ſelues, and did euer bringe them into bondage: and all the tokens of tri-
umphe which euer were ſet vp for the ſame, was to their ſhame and loſſe. So that in the end,
GREECE was vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrowen, and that chiefly through the wickednes and
ſelfe will of her gouernors and captaines of the cities, one enuying an others doing. Where a E
ſtraunge nation, the which (as it ſhould ſeeme) had very ſmall occaſion to moue them to do it
(for that they haue had no great familiarity with auncient GREECE, & through the counſel &
good wiſedome of the which it ſhould ſeeme very ſtraunge that GREECE coulde receiue any
benefit) haue notwithſtanding with daungerous battels and infinite troubles, deliuered it from
oppreſſion, and ſeruitude, of violent Lordes and tyrans. This, and ſuch like talke, did at that
time occupy the GREECIANS heades: and moreouer, the deedes following did aunſwer and
performe the words of the proclamatiō. For at one ſelfe time, *Titus* ſent *Lentulus* into ASIA, to
ſet the BARGYLIANS at liberty, and *Titillius* into THRACIA, to remoue the garriſons out of the
Iles & cities which *Philip* had kept there: and *Publius Iulius* was ſent alſo into ASIA, vnto king
Quintius cause to establish the liberty of the Grecians. *Antiochus*, to ſpeake vnto him to ſet the GREECIANS at liberty which he kept in ſubiection. F
And as for *Titus*, he went him ſelfe vnto the city of CHALCIDE, where he tooke ſea, and went
into the prouince of MAGNESIA, out of the which he tooke all the garriſons of the cities, and

redeliuered

redeliuered the gouernment of the common wealth vnto the citizēs of the same. Afterwards when time came, that the feast of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of Argos in the honor of *Hercules*, *Titus* was chosen iudge, & rector of the games that were plaied there: where, after he had set all thinges in very good order, pertaining vnto the solemnity of the feast, he caused againe solemne proclamation to be made openly, for the generall liberty of all Greece. Furthermore, visiting the cities, he did stablish very good lawes, reformed iustice, and did set the inhabitants and citizens of euery one of them in good peace, amity, and concord one with an other: and did call home also all those that were outlawes and banished men, and pacified all olde quarrells and dissentions amonge them. The which did no lesse please and content him, that by perswasions he could bring the Greecians to be reconciled one with the other: then if he had by force of armes ouercome the Macedonians. Insomuch, as the recouery of the libertie which *Titus* had restored vnto the Greecians, seemed vnto them the least parte of the goodnesse they had receiued at his handes. They say, that *Lycurgus* the orator seeinge the collectors of taxes, cary *Zenocrates* the Philosopher one day to prison, for lacke of payment of a certaine imposition, which the straungers inhabiting within the citie of Athens were to pay: he rescued him from them by force, and moreouer prosecuted law so hard against them, that he made them pay a syne for the iniury they had done vnto so worthy a person. And they tell, how the same Philosopher afterwardes meeting *Lycurgus* children in the city, sayed vnto them. I doe wel requite your fathers good turne he did me: for I am the cause that he is praised and commended of euery man, for the kindenesse he shewed on my behalfe. So the good deedes of the Romaines, and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius* vnto the Greecians, did not only reape this benefit vnto them, in recompence that they were praised and honored of all the worlde: but they were cause also of increasinge their dominions and Empire ouer all nations, and that the worlde afterwardes had great affiance and trust in them, and that most iustly. So that the people and cities did not onely receiue the Captaines and gouernors the Romaines sent them: but they also went to Rome vnto them, and procured them to come, and did put them selues into their handes. And not only the cities and communalties, but kings & princes also (which were oppressed by other more mighty than them selues) had no other refuge, but to put them selues vnder their protection: by reason whereof in a very shorte time (with the fauor and helpe of the goddes as I am perswaded) all the world came to submit them selues to their obedience, and vnder the protection of their Empire. *Titus* also did glory more, that he had restored Greece againe vnto liberty, then in any other seruice or exployte he had euer done. For when he offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo* in the citie of Delphes, the targets of siluer with his owne shielde, he made these verses to be grauen vpon them, in effect as followeth.

The feast Nemea kept at Argos.

Lycurgus the orator, rescued Zenocrates the Philosopher, & saued him from prison.

O noble twynnes Tyndarides, Dan Ioue his children deare:
Throuv out louvde shoutes of ioy, and mirth, reioyce and make good cheare.
O noble kings of Spartan soyle, vvhich take delight to ryde,
Your trampling steedes, vvith fomy byt, and trappings by their side:
Reioyce you novv, for Titus he, the valliant Romaine knight,
These giftes so great to you hath got, euen by his force and might.
That hauing taken cleane avvay, from of the Greekishe neckes,
The heauy yoke of seruitude, vvhich held them thrall to checkes,
Vnto their former liberty, he hath restorde them free,
VVhich altogether perisht vvas, as men might plainely see.

He gaue a crowne of massie gold vnto *Apollo*, vppon the which he made this inscription to be wrytten.

A valliant Romaine knight, euen Titus by his name,
A captaine vvorthy by desert, of high renovvne and fame:
To thee (Apollo god) this crovvne of pure fine golde,
Hath geuen thy godhead to adorne, vvith iuells manifolde,
Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace)
VVith fauor to requite this loue, to him and to his race:

That his renovvmed fame, and vertue may be ſpred,
And blaſed through the vvorlde ſo vvide, to shevv vvhat life he led.

So hath the city of CORINTHE enioyed this good happe, that the GREECIANS haue bene twiſe proclaimed to be ſet at liberty: the firſt time by *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and the ſecond time, by *Nero* in our time, and at the ſelfe ſame inſtant when they ſolemnly kept the feaſt called Iſthmia. Howebeit the firſt proclamation of their liberty (as we haue tolde ye before) was done by the voyce of a herauld: and the ſeconde time it was done by *Nero* him ſelfe, who proclaimed it in an oration he made vnto the people in open aſſembly, in the market place of the city of CORINTHE. But it was a longe time after. Furthermore, *Titus* beganne then a goodly and iuſt warre againſt *Nabis*, the curſed and wicked tyran of LACEDÆMON. Howebeit in the ende he deceaued the expectation of GREECE. For when he might haue taken him, he would not doe it, but made peace with him, forſakinge poore SPARTA vnworthily oppreſſed vnder the yoke of bondage: either bicauſe he was afrayed that if the warre helde on, there ſhoulde come a ſucceſſor vnto him from ROME, that ſhould cary the glory away to ende the ſame, or elſe he ſtoode Iealous and enuious of the honor they did vnto *Philopœmen*. Who hauing ſhewed him ſelfe in euery place as excellent a Captaine as euer came in GREECE, and hauinge done notable actes and famous ſeruice, both of great wiſedome, and alſo of valliantneſſe, and ſpecially in the ACHAIANS warre: he was as much honored & reuerenced of the ACHAIANS, in the Theaters and common aſſemblies, euen as *Titus* was. Whereat *Titus* was maruelouſly offended, for he thought it vnreaſonable, that an ARCADIAN who had neuer bene generall of an army, but in ſmall litle warres againſt his neighbours, ſhould be as much eſteemed and honored, as a Conſull of ROME, that was come to make warres for the recouery of the libertie of GREECE. But *Titus* alleaged reaſonable excuſe for his doinges, ſaying that he ſaw very well he coulde not deſtroy this tyran *Nabis*, without the great loſſe and miſery of the other SPARTANS. Furthermore, of all the honors the ACHAIANS euer did him (which were very great) me thinkes there was none that came neere any recompence of his honorable and well deſeruing, but one onely preſent they offered him, and which he aboue all the reſt moſt eſteemed: and this it was. Duringe the ſeconde warres of AFRICKE, which the ROMAINES had againſt *Hanniball*, many ROMAINES were taken priſoners in the ſundry battells they loſt, and beinge ſolde here and there, remained ſlaues in many contries: and amongeſt other, there were diſperſed in GREECE to the number of twelue hundred, which from time to time did moue men with pitie and compaſſion towardes them, that ſaw them in ſo miſerable chaunge and ſtate of fortune. But then much more was their miſerie to be pitied, when theſe captiues found in the ROMAINES army, ſome of them their ſonnes, other their brethren, and the reſt their fellowes and frendes, free, and conquerours, and them ſelues ſlaues and bondemen. It grieued *Titus* much to ſee theſe poore men in ſuch miſerable captiuity, notwithſtanding he would not take them by force from thoſe that had them. Whereupon the ACHAIANS redeemed and bought them for fiue hundred pence a man, and hauinge gathered them together into a troupe, they preſented all the ROMAINE captiues vnto *Titus*, euen as he was ready to take ſhip to returne into ITALIE: which preſent made him returne home with greater ioy and contentacion, hauing receiued for his noble deedes ſo honorable a recompence, and worthy of him ſelfe, that was ſo louing a man to his citizens and contry. And ſurely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did moſt beautifie his triumphe. For theſe poore redeemed captiues did that, which the ſlaues are wont to doe on that day when they be ſet at liberty: to witte, they ſhaue their heades, and doe weare litle hattes apon them. The ROMAINES that were thus redeemed, did in like maner: and ſo followed *Titus* charret, on the day of his triumphe and entrie made into ROME in the triumphing manner. It was a goodly ſight alſo, to ſee the ſpoyles of the enemies, which were caried in the ſhow of this triumphe: as, ſtore of helmets after the GREECIANS facion, heapes of targets, ſhieldes, and pykes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull ſumme of gold and ſiluer. For *Itanius* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that there was brought a maruelous great maſſe of treaſure in niggots of golde, of three thouſand ſeuen hundred and thirteene pounde weight, and of ſiluer, of forty three thouſande, two hundred, three ſcore and tenne pound weight, and of gold ready coyned in peeces called *Philips* foure-

Nero did ſet Greece at liberty.

VVhy Quintius made peace with Nabis the tyran of Lacedemon.

The honor of Philopœmen.

Twelue hundred Romaines ſolde for ſlaues.

The Achaians redeemed the Romaines that were ſolde for ſlaues in Greece.

The ceremony of ſlaues manumiſed.

T. Quintius triumphe.

teene

A teene thousand, fiue hundred, and foureteene, besides the thousand talents king *Philip* should pay for a raunsome. The which summe, the Romaines afterwardes forgaue him, chiefly at *Titus* sute and intercession, who procured that grace for him, and caused him to be called a frend and confederate of the people of Rome, and his sonne *Demetrius* to be sent vnto him againe, who remained before as an hostage at Rome. Shortely after, king *Antiochus* went out of Asia into Greece with a great fleete of shippes, and a very puisant army, to stirre vp the cities to forsake their league and allyance with the Romaines, and to make a dissention amongest them. To further this his desire and enterprise, the Ætolians did aide and backe him, which of long time had borne great and secrete malice against the Romaines, and desired much to haue had warres with them. So they taught king *Antiochus* to say, that the warre
B which he tooke in hande, was to set the Greecians at liberty, whereof they had no neede, bicause they did already enioy their liberty: but for that they had no iust cause to make warre, they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he coulde. Wherefore the Romaines fearinge greatly the rising of the people, & the rumor of the power of this great king, they sent thither *Manius Acilius* their generall, and *Titus*, one of his Lieutenaunts for the Greecians sakes. Which arriuall did the more assure them that already bare good will to the Romaines, after they had once seene *Manius* and *Titus*: and the rest that beganne to flie out, and to shrinke from them, those *Titus* kept in obedience from starting, remembringe them of the frendship and good will they had borne him, euen like a good skilfull phisitian that coulde geue his pacient phisicke to preserue him from a contageous disease. In deede there were some (but fewe
C of them) that left him, which were won and corrupted before by the Ætolians: and though he had iust cause of offence towardes them, yet he saued them after the battell. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome in the contry of Thermopyles, fled his way, and in great hast tooke the sea to returne into Asia. And the Consull *Manius* following his victory, entred into the contry of the Ætolians, where he tooke certaine townes by force, and left the other for a pray vnto kinge *Philip*. So *Philip* kinge of Macedon on the one side, spoyled and sacked the Dolopians, the Magnesians, the Athamanians, and the Aperantines: and the Consull *Manius* on the other side, destroyed the city of Heraclea, and layed siege to the citie of Naupactvm, which the Ætolians kept. But *Titus* takinge compassion of them, to see the poore people of Greece thus spoiled and turned out of all: went out of Peloponnesvs
D (where he was then) vnto *Manius Acilius* campe, and there reproued him for suffering king *Philip* to vsurpe the benefit and reward of his honorable victory, still conqueringe many people, kings, and contries, whilest he continued siege before a city, and only to wreake his anger vpon them. Afterwardes, when they that were besieged saw *Titus* from their walles, they called him by his name, and helde vp their handes vnto him, prayinge him he would take pitie vpon them: but he gaue them neuer a word at that time, and turning his backe vnto them, he fell a weeping. Afterwards he spake with *Manius*, and appeasing his anger, got him to graunt the Ætolians truce for certaine dayes, in which time they might sende Ambassadors to
E Rome, to see if they could obtaine grace and pardon of the Senate. But the most trouble and difficulty he had, was to intreate for the Chalcidians, with whome the Consull *Manius* was more grieuously offended, then with all the rest: bicause that kinge *Antiochus* after the warres was begonne, had maried his wife in their citie, when he was past yeares of mariage, and out of all due time. For he was now very olde, and beinge in his extreame age, and in the middest of his warres, he fell in dotage with a yoūg gentlewomē, the daughter of *Cleoptolemus*, the fayrest woman that was at that time in all Greece. Therefore the Chalcidians were much affected vnto king *Antiochus*, and did put their city into his handes, to serue him in this warre, for a strong & safe retyring place. Wherupō, whē *Antiochus* had lost the battel, he came
F thither with all possible speede, and takinge from thence with him his passinge fayer younge Queene which he had maried, and his golde, his siluer, and frendes, he tooke the seaes incontinently, and returned into Asia. For this cause the Consull *Manius* hauing wonne the battell, did marche straight with his army towardes the citie of Chalcide in a great rage and fury. But *Titus* that followed him, did alwayes lye vppon him to pacifie his anger, and did so much intreate him, together with the other Romaines of state and authoritie in counsell:

Manius Acilius Consul, & T. Quintius Lieutenaunt sent into Greece.

Antiochus ouerthrowen in Thermopyles, by Manius the Consull.

Quintius intreateth for the AEtolians.

King Antiochus maried Cleoptolemus daughter in the city of Chalcide.

that in the ende, he gotte him to pardone them of CHALCIDE alſo. Who, bicauſe they were preſerued from perill by his meanes, they, to recompence this fact of his, did conſecrate vnto him, all their moſt ſtately and ſumptuous buildinges and common workes in their citie, as appeareth yet by the ſuperſcriptions remaininge to be ſeene at this day. As in the ſhow place of exerciſes: The people of CHALCIDE did dedicate this ſhow place of exerciſes, vnto *Titus* & *Hercules*. And in the temple called Delphinium: The people of CHALCIDE did conſecrate this temple, vnto *Titus*, and vnto *Apollo*. And furthermore, vnto this preſent time, there is a prieſt choſen by the voyce of the people, purpoſely to do ſacrifice vnto *Titus*: in which ſacrifice, after that the thing ſacrificed is offered vp, and wine powred apon it, the people ſtanding by, do ſing a ſong of triumphe made in praiſe of him. But bicauſe it were to long to wryte it all out, we haue only drawen in briefe the latter end of the ſame: and this it is.

Honors done vnto T. Quintius for ſauing the Chalcidians and the Greecians.

The cleare vnſpotted faith, of Romaines vve adore,
And vovv to be their faithfull frendes, both novv and euer more.
Sing out you Muſes nyne, to Ioues eternall fame,
Sing out the honor due to Rome, and Titus vvorthy name.
Sing out (I ſay) the praiſe, of Titus and his faith:
By vvhom you haue preſerued bene, from ruine, dole, and death.

Now the CHALCIDIANS did not alone only honor & reuerence *Titus*, but he was generally honored alſo by the GREECIANS as he deſerued, & was maruelouſly beloued for his curteſie and good nature: which argueth plainely that they did not fainedly honor him, or through compulſion, but euen from the hart. For though there was ſome iarre betwixt him and *Philopœmen* at the firſt about ſeruice, for emulation of honor, and after betwixt him and *Dropbines* alſo, both generalls of the ACHAIANS: yet he neuer bare them any malice in his hart, neither did his anger moue him at any time to hurt them any way, but he euer ended the heate of his wordes, in counſell and aſſemblies, where he vttered his minde franckely to them both. Therefore none thought him euer a cruell man, or eger of reuenge: but many haue thought him raſhe, and haſty of nature. Otherwiſe, he was as good a companion in company as poſſibly could be, and would vſe as pleaſaunt wiſe mirthe as any man. As when he ſayed to the ACHAIANS, on a time, who would needes vniuſtly vſurpe the Ile of the ZACYNTHIANS, to diſſwade them from it: my Lordes of ACHAIA, if ye once goe out of PELOPONNESVS, you put your ſelues in daunger, as the torteyſes doe, when they thruſt their heades out of their ſhell. And the firſt time he parled with *Philip* to treate of peace: when *Philip* ſaid vnto him, you haue brought many men with you, and I am come alone. In deede it is true you are alone, ſayd he, bicauſe you made all your frendes and kinne to be ſlaine. An other time, *Dinocrates* MESSENIAN being in ROME, after he had taken in his cuppes in a feaſt where he was, he diſguiſed him ſelfe in womans apparell, and daunced in that manner: and the next day followinge he went vnto *Titus*, to pray him to helpe him through with his ſute, which was, to make the citie of MESSINA to rebell, and leaue the tribe of the ACHAIANS. *Titus* made him aunſwer, that he would thinke vpon it: but I can but wonder at you (ſayd he) howe you can daunce in womans apparell, and ſinge at a feaſt, hauinge ſuch matters of weight in your head. In the counſell of the ACHAIANS, king *Antiochus* ambaſſadors beinge come thither, to moue them to breake their league with the ROMAINES, and to make alliance with the king their maſter, they made a maruelous large diſcourſe of the great multitude of ſouldiers that were in their maſters army, and did number them by many diuerſe names. Whereunto *Titus* aunſwered, and tolde how a frend of his hauing bidden him one night to ſupper, and hauing ſerued ſo many diſhes of meate to his bord, as he was angry with him for beſtowing ſo great coſt apon him, as wonderinge howe he could ſo ſodainely get ſo much ſtore of meate, and of ſo diuerſe kindes. My frende ſayed to me againe, that all was but porke dreſſed ſo many wayes, and with ſo ſundry ſawces. And euen ſo (quod *Titus*) my Lords of ACHAIA, eſteeme not king *Antiochus* army the more, to heare of ſo many men of armes, numbred with their launces, and of ſuch a number of footemen with their pykes: for they are all but SYRIANS, diuerſely armed, only with ill fauored litle weapons. Furthermore, after *Titus* had done theſe thinges, and that the warre with *Antiochus* was ended, he was choſen Cenſor at ROME, with the ſonne of that ſame *Marcellus*, who

Quintius curteſie and good nature.

Emulation betwixt T. Quintius and Philopœmen.

T. Quintius ſayinges.

Antiochus Ambaſſadors due boaſt of their kinges great army.

Titus Quintius witty anſwere to the Ambaſſadors braggez.

T. Quintius choſen Cenſor with Marcellus.

A who had bene fiue times Conſull. This office is of great dignitie, and as a man may ſay, the crowne of all the honors that a citizen of ROME can haue in their common wealth. They put of the Senate, foure men only: but they were not famous. They did receiue all into the number of citizens of ROME, that would preſent them ſelues to be enrolled in their common regeſter: with a prouiſo, that they were borne free by father and mother. They were compelled to doe it, by *Terentius Culeo*, Tribune of the people, who to deſpight the nobility, perſwaded the people of ROME to commaunde it ſo. Nowe at that time, two of the nobleſt and moſt famous men of ROME were great enemies one againſt an other: *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, and *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Of theſe two, *Titus* named *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, to be prince of the Senate, as the chiefeſt and worthieſt perſone in the citie: and got the diſpleaſure of the other, B which was *Cato*, by this miſhappe. *Titus* had a brother called *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, nothing like vnto him in condition at all: for he was ſo diſſolutely and licentiouſly giuen ouer to his pleaſure, that he forgatte all comlineſſe and honeſty. This *Lucius* loued well a younge boy, and caried him alwayes with him when he went to the warres, or to the charge and gouernment of any prouince. This boy flattering him, one day ſayd vnto *Lucius Quintius*, that he loued him ſo well, that he did leaue the ſight of the Swordplayers at the ſharpe, which were making ready to the fight, although he had neuer ſeene man killed before: to waite vpon him. *Lucius* being very glad of the boyes wordes, aunſwered him ſtraight, thou ſhalt looſe nothing for that my boy, for I will by & by pleaſe thee as well. So he commaunded a condemned man to be fetched out of priſon, and withall called for the hangman, whome he willed to ſtrike of C his head in the middeſt of his ſupper, that the boy might ſee him killed. *Valerius Antias* the hiſtoriographer wryteth, that it was not for the loue of the boy, but of a woman which he loued. But *Titus Liuius* declareth, that in an oration which *Cato* him ſelfe made, it was wrytten, that it was one of the GAVLES: who beinge a traitor to his contry men, was come to *Flaminius* gate with his wife and children, and that *Flaminius* making him come into his halle, killed him with his owne handes, to pleaſe a boy he loued, that was deſirous to ſee a man killed. Howebeit it is very likely that *Cato* wrote in this ſorte, to aggrauate the offence, and to make it more cruell. For, many haue wrytten it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offendor condemned to dye: and amonge other, *Cicero* the orator doth recite it in a booke he made of age, where he made it to be tolde vnto *Catoes* owne perſone. Howeſoeuer it was, *Marcus Ca-*
D *to* being choſen Cenſor, and clenſing the Senate of all vnworthy perſones, he put of the ſame *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, although he had bene Conſull: which diſgrace did ſeeme to redowne to his brother *Titus Quintius Flaminius* alſo. Whereupon both the brethren came weping with all humility before the people, and made a petition that ſeemed very reaſonable & ciuill: which was that they would commaunde *Cato* to come before them, to declare the cauſe openly why he had with ſuch open ſhame defaced ſo noble a houſe as theirs was. *Cato* then without delay, or ſhrinking backe, came with his companion into the market place, where he asked *Titus* out alowde, if he knew nothing of the ſupper where ſuch a fact was committed. *Titus* aunſwered, he knewe not of it. Then *Cato* opened all the whole matter as it was, and in the ende of his tale, he bad *Lucius Quintius* ſweare openly, if he would deny that he had ſayed E was true. *Lucius* aunſwered not a worde. Whereuppon the people iudged the ſhame was iuſtly layed vpon him: and ſo to honor *Cato*, they did accompany him from the pulpit for orations, home vnto his owne houſe. But *Titus* beinge much offended at the diſgrace of his brother, became enemy to *Cato*, and fell in with thoſe that of long time had hated him. And ſo by practiſe he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of leaſes, and all deedes of ſales made by *Cato* during his office, were called in, and made voyde: and cauſed many ſutes alſo to be commenced againſt him. Wherein, I can not ſay he did wiſely or ciuilly, to become mortall enemy to an honeſt man, a good citizen, and duetifull in his office, for his yeare, but vnworthy kinſeman, who had iuſtly deſerued the ſhame layed vpon him. Notwithſtanding, ſhortely after when the people were aſſembled in the Theater to ſee games played, & the Senators were F ſet according to their cuſtome, in the moſt honorable places: *Lucius Flaminius* came in alſo, who in lowly and humble maner went to ſit downe in the furtheſt ſeates of the Theater, without regard of his former honor: which when the people ſaw, they tooke pity of him, & could

P. Scipio, and M. P. Cato great enemies.

Secret grudge betwixt Titus and Cato.

A cruell dede of Lucius Quintius.

Cato beinge Cenſor did put Lucius Quintius Flaminius of the Senate.

T. Quintius vnworthy acts againſt Cato.

Lucius Quintius restored to his place by the people.

not abide to see him thus dishonored. So they cried out to haue him come and sit among the A other Senators the Consulls, who made him place, and receiued him accordingly. But to re-

T. Quintius ambition.

turne againe to *Titus*. The naturall ambition & couetous greedy minde he had of honor, was very well taken and esteemed, so long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise it in the warres, which we haue spoken of before. For, after he had bene Consull, of his owne seeking he became a Colonell of a thousand footemen, not being called to it by any man. So when he beganne to stoupe for age, and that he had giuen ouer as a man at the last cast, to beare office any longer in the state: they saw plainely he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer himselfe in olde age to be ouercome with such youthfull violence, beinge farre vnmeete for any of his yeares. For me thinkes his ambition was the only cause that moued him to procure *Hannibals*

T. Quintius cause of Hanniballs death.

death, which bred him much disliking and ill opinion with many. For, after *Hannibal* had fled B out of his owne contry, he went first vnto king *Antiochus*: who, after he lost the battel in PHRYGIA, was glad the ROMAINES graũted him peace with such conditions as them selues would. Wherefore *Hannibal* fled againe from him, and after he had long wandered vp and downe, at the length he came to the realme of BITHYNIA, and remained there about king *Prusias*, the ROMAINES knowinge it well enough: and bicause *Hannibal* was then an olde broken man, of no force nor power, and one whome fortune had spurned at her feete, they made no more

Titus sent Ambassador vnto Prusias king of Bithynia.

reckening of him. But *Titus* being sent Ambassador by the Senate, vnto *Prusias* kinge of BITHYNIA, and finding *Hannibal* there, it grieued him to see him aliue. So that notwithstanding *Prusias* maruelously intreated him, to take pitie apon *Hannibal* a poore olde man, & his frend who came to him for succor: yet he coulde not perswade *Titus* to be content he should liue. C

Hannibal deceiued by an oracle concerning his death.

Hannibal long before had receiued aunswer of his death from an oracle, to this effect.

The lande of Lybia, shall couer vnder mouvlde,
The valliant corps of Hannibal, vvhen he is dead and colde.

Hannibal kept at Libyssa in Bithynia.

So *Hannibal* vnderstoode that of LYBIA, as if he should haue dyed in AFRICKE, and bene buried in CARTHAGE. There is a certaine sandy contry in BITHYNIA neere to the seaes side, where there is a litle village called LIBYSSA, and where *Hannibal* remained continually. He mistrusting king *Prusias* faynte harte, and fearing the ROMAINES malice also, had made seuen priuy caues and vaultes vnder grounde longe before, that he might secretly go out at either of them which way he woulde, and euery one of them came to the maine vault where him selfe did lye, and coulde not be discerned outwardly. When it was tolde him that *Titus* had willed D *Prusias* to deliuer him into his handes, he sought then to saue him selfe by those mynes: but he found that all the ventes out, had watch and ward apon them by the kinges commaundement. So then he determined to kill him selfe. Now some say, that he wounde a linnen towell harde about his necke, and commaunded one of his men he should set his knee vpon his buttocke, and waying hard vpon him, holding the towell fast he should pull his necke backeward with all the power and strength he could, and neuer linne pressing on him, till he had strangled him.

Hannibals death.

Midas and Themistocles poysoned them selues.

Other say that he drancke bulles blood, as *Midas* and *Themistocles* had done before him. But *Titus Liuius* wryteth, that he had poyson which he kept for such a purpose, and tempered it in a cuppe he helde in his handes, and before he dranke, he spake these wordes. Come on, let vs deliuer the ROMAINES of this great care, sith my life is so grieuous to them, that they thinke E it to long to tary the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate so much: and yet *Titus* by this shall winne no honorable victorie, nor worthie the memorie of the auncient ROMAINES, who aduertised king *Pyrrus* their enemy, euen when he made warres with them, and had wonne battels of them, that he should beware of poysoning which was intended towards him. And this was *Hanniballs* ende, as we finde it wrytten. The newes whereof being come to ROME vnto the Senate, many of them thought *Titus* to violent and cruell, to haue made *Hannibal* kill him selfe in that sorte, when extreamity of age had ouercome him already, and was as a birde left naked, her feathers fallinge from her for age: and so much the more, bicause there was no instant occasion offered him to vrge him to doe it, but a couetous minde of honor, for that he would be chronicled to be the cause and author of *Hanniballs* death. And then F in contrariwise they did much honor and commend the clemency and noble minde of *Scipio* AFRICAN. Who hauing ouercomen *Hannibal* in battell, in AFRICKE selfe, and being then

Hanniballs last wordes.

Looke in Pyrrus life for the story at large.

Scipio Africans clemency commended.

in

A in deede to be feared, and had bene neuer ouercome before: yet he did not cause him to be driuen out of his contry, neither did aske him of the CARTHAGINIANS, but both then, & before the battel, when he parled with him of peace, he tooke *Hannibal* curteously by the hand, and after the battell, in the condicions of peace he gaue them, he neuer spake word of hurt to *Hanniballs* person, neither did he shew any cruelty to him in his misery. And they tell how afterwardes they met againe together in the city of EPHESVS, and as they were walkinge, that *Hannibal* tooke the vpper hand of *Scipio*: and that *Scipio* bare it paciently, and left not of walking for that, neither shewed any countenaunce of misliking. And in entring into discourse of many matters, they discended in the ende to talke of auncient Captaines: and *Hannibal* gaue iudgement, that *Alexander* the great was the famousest Captaine, *Pyrrus* the second, and him
B selfe the thirde. Then *Scipio* smilinge, gently asked him: what wouldest thou say then, if I had not ouercome thee? Truely, quod *Hannibal*, I would not then put my selfe the third man, but the first, and aboue all the Captaines that euer were. So diuers greatly cõmending the goodly sayinges and deedes of *Scipio*, did maruelously mislike *Titus*, for that he had (as a man may say) layed his handes vpon the death of an other man. Other to the contray againe sayd, it was well done of him, sayinge, that *Hannibal* so longe as he liued, was a fire to the Empire of the ROMAINES, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in his best force and lusty age, it was not his hande nor body that troubled the ROMAINES, so much, but his great wisedome and skill he had in the warres, and the mortall hate he bare in his hart towardes the ROMAINES, which neither yeares, neither age would diminishe or take away. For mens naturall
C condicions do remaine still, but fortune doth not alwayes keepe in a state, but chaungeth still, and then quickeneth vp our desires to set willingly vppon those that warre against vs, bicause they hate vs in their hartes. The thinges which fell out afterwards, did greatly proue the reasons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of *Titus*. For one *Aristonicus*, sonne of a daughter of a player vpon the citherne, vnder the fame and glory of *Eumenes*, whose bastard he was, filled all ASIA with warre & rebellion, by reason the people rose in his fauor. Againe *Mithridates*, after so many losses he had receiued against *Sylla* and *Fimbria*, and after so many armies ouerthrowen by battell and warres, and after so many famous Captaines lost and killed: did yet recouer againe, and came to be of great power both by sea and land against *Lucullus*. Truely *Hannibal* was no lower brought then *Caius Marius* had bene. For he had a king to his frend,
D that gaue him entertainment for him and his family, and made him Admirall of his shippes, and Generall of his horsemen and footemen in the field. *Marius* also went vp and downe AFRICKE a begging for his liuing, insomuch as his enemies at ROME mocked him to scorne: & soone after notwithstanding they fell downe at his feete before him, when they saw they were whipped, murthered, and slaine within ROME by his commaundement. Thus we see no man can say certainely he is meane or great, by reason of the vncertainty of thinges to come: consideringe there is but one death, and chaunge of better life. Some say also, that *Titus* did not this act alone, and of his owne authority: but that he was sent Ambassador with *Lucius Scipio* to no other end, but to put *Hannibal* to death, by what meanes soeuer they could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, we do not finde any notable thing written of *Titus* worthy of memory, neither in peace, nor in warres. For he died quietely of naturall death at home in his contrie.
E

Talke betwixt Scipio African & Hannibal.

Hannibals iudgement of Captaines.

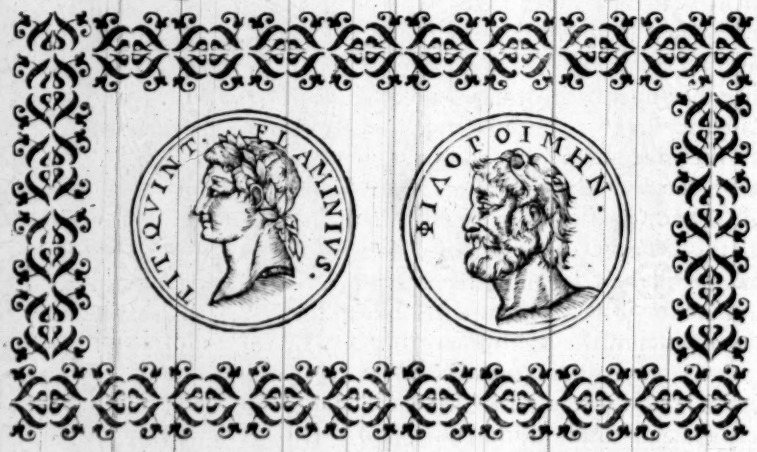
Aristonicus.

Mithridates.

Marius.

To be meane or great in this life is nothing: but death bringeth the estimation.

THE COMPARISON OF
Titus Quintius Flaminius with Philopœmen.



T. Quintius benefits vnto Greece.

IT is time nowe we come to compare them together. Therefore as touchinge the great benefits that came to the GREECIANS, neither *Philopœmen*, nor all the other former Captaines are to be compared with *Titus*. For all the auncient Captaines almoſt being GREECIANS, made warres with other GREECIANS: but *Titus* beinge a ROMAINE, and no GREECIAN, made warres for the liberty of GREECE. When *Philopœmen* was not able to helpe his poore citizens diſtreſſed ſore, & vexed with warres, he ſayled away into CRETA. *Titus* hauing ouercome *Philip* kinge of MACEDON in battell, did reſtore againe to liberty all the people and cities of the ſame, which were kept before in bondage. And if any wil narrowly examine the battells of either partie: they ſhall finde, that *Philopœmen* being Generall of the ACHAIANS, made more GREECIANS to be ſlaine, then *Titus* did of the MACEDONIANS, fightinge with them for the liberty of the GREECIANS. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obſtinate: the one was quicke and ſodainly angered, the other was very hard to be pacified. *Titus* left kinge *Philip* his realme and crowne after he had ouercome him, and vſed great clemency towardes the ÆTOLIANS: where *Philopœmen* for ſpite, & malice, tooke townes and villages from his owne natiue contry, and city, wherein he was borne, that had alwayes payed them tribute. Furthermore, *Titus* continued a ſounde frend to them, to whome he had once profeſſed frendſhippe, and done pleaſure vnto: and *Philopœmen*, in a geare and anger, was ready to take away that he had giuen, and to ouerthrow the pleaſure and good turne he had ſhewed. For *Philopœmen* when he had done the LACEDÆMONIANS great pleaſure, did afterwards raſe the walls of their city, and ſpoyled and deſtroyed all their contry: and laſtly, ouerthrew their whole gouernment. It ſeemeth alſo by reaſon of his immoderate choller, he was him ſelfe cauſe of his owne death, for that he made more haſt then good ſpeede, to go out of time to ſet vpon thoſe of MESSINA: and not as *Titus*, who did all his affaires with wiſedome, and euer conſidered what was beſt to be done. But if we looke into the number of battells, and victories: the warre which *Titus* made againſt *Philip* was ended with two battells. Whereas *Philopœmen* in infinite battells in which he had the better, neuer left it doutfull, but that his skill did euer helpe him the more to victory, then the good fortune he had. Moreouer, *Titus* wanne honor by meanes of the power of ROME, when it floriſhed moſt, and was in beſt proſperitie: *Philopœmen* made him ſelfe famous by his deedes, when GREECE beganne to ſtoupe and fall all together. So that the deedes of the one, were common to all the ROMAINES: & the dedes of the other, were priuate to himſelfe alone. For *Titus* was General ouer good and valliant ſouldiers, that were already trained to his hand: and *Philopœmen* being choſen Generall, did traine his men him ſelfe, & made them afterwards very

Philopœmenes malice.

Titus Quintius wiſer thē Philopœmen.

Quintius commanded good ſouldiers: Philopœmen made good ſouldiers.

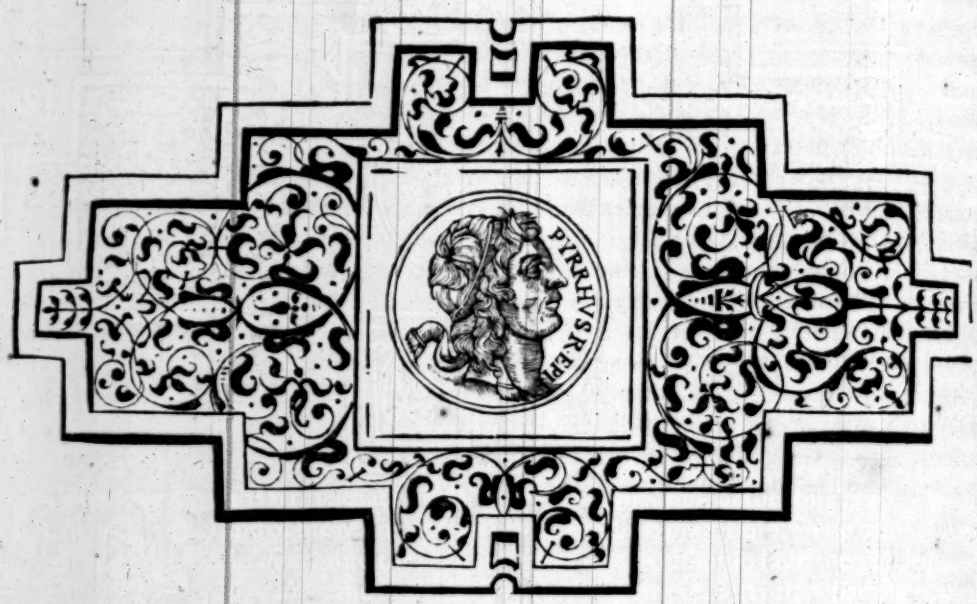
A very expert and valliant, that were but meane and greene ſouldiers before. And whereas *Philopœmen* had continuall warres with the GREECIANS, it was not for any good fortune he had, but that it made a certaine proofe of his valliantneſſe. For where all other thinges are aunſwerable to his, there we muſt iudge that ſuch as ouercome, haue the moſt corage. Now *Philopœmen* making warres with the moſt warlike nations of all GREECE, (as the CRETANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS) did ouercome the ſubtilleſt of them, by fineneſſe and policy: and the moſt valliant, by prowes and hardineſſe. But *Titus* ouercame, by putting that only in practiſe, which was already found and ſtabliſhed: as the diſcipline of the warres, and order of battell, in the which his ſouldiers had longe before bene trained. Whereas *Philopœmen* brought into his contry, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were B accuſtomed vnto. So that the chiefeſt point how to winne a battell, was found out a new, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was neuer before: and onely employed by the other, which could very good skill to vſe it, and had founde it out already before. Againe, touching the valliant actes done in the perſon of them ſelues, many notable actes may be told of *Philopœmen*, but none of *Titus*: but rather to the contrary. For there was one *Archedemus* an ÆTOLIAN, who ſlowtinge *Titus* one day, ſayd in his reproche: that at a day of battell, when *Philopœmen* ranne with his ſword in his hande, to that ſide where he ſaw the MACEDONIANS fighting, & making hed againſt the enemy, *Titus* held vp his hands vnto heauen, and was buſie at his prayers to the gods, not ſtirring one foote, when it was more time to handle the ſword, & to fight of all handes. All the goodly deedes *Titus* euer did, were done alwaies as a Conſul, C or Lieutenant, or a Magiſtrate: whereas *Philopœmen* ſhewed him ſelfe vnto the ACHAIANS, a man no leſſe valliant, and of execution, being out of office, then when he was a Generall. For when he was a Generall, he did driue *Nabis* the tyran of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of MESSINA, and deliuered the MESSENIANS out of bondage: and being a priuate man, he ſhut the gates of the city of SPARTA, in the face of *Diophanes* (Generall of the ACHAIANS) and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and kept them both from comminge in, and thereby ſaued the city from ſacking. Thus being borne to commaunde, he knew not only how to commaunde according to the law, but could commaund the law it ſelfe apon neceſſity, & when the common wealth required it. For at ſuch a time he would not tary, while the Magiſtrates which ſhould gouerne him, did geue him authority to commaund, but he tooke it of him ſelfe, and vſed them when D the time ſerued: eſteeming him in deede their Generall, that knew better then they what was to be done, then him whom they choſe of them ſelues. And therefore they doe well, that doe commende *Titus* actes, for his clemency, and curteſie, vſed to the GREECIANS: but much more the noble and valliant actes of *Philopœmen* vnto the ROMAINES. For it is much eaſier to pleaſure and gratifie the weake, then it is to hurt and reſiſt the ſtrong. Therfore, ſithence we haue throughly examined, and compared the one with the other: it is very harde to iudge altogether the difference that is betwene them. Peraduenture therefore the iudgement woulde not ſeeme very ill, if we doe geue the GREECIAN, for diſcipline of warre, the preheminence and praiſe of a good Captaine: and to the E ROMAINE, for iuſtice and clemency, the name and dignity of a moſt iuſt and curteous gentleman.

A Generall muſt not be as his prayere, whe he ſhould occupy his ſword.

Quintius clemency to the Greecians: Philopœmenes loue to the Romaines.

The ende of Titus Quintius Flaminius life.

THE LIFE OF *Pyrrus.*



Pyrrus lineal, and beginning of the kingdome of Epirus.

IT is writtē, that since *Noes* floud, the first king of the THESPROTIANS, A and of the MOLOSSIANS, was *Phaëton*, one of those who came with *Pelasgus*, into the realme of EPIRVS. But some say otherwise, that *Deucalion*, and his wife *Pyrra* remained there, after they had built and founded the temple of Dodone, in the contry of the MOLOSSIANS. But howsoeuer it was, a great while after that, *Neoptolemus* the sonne of *Achilles*, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the contry, and after him left a succession of kinges, which were called after his name, the *Pyrrides:* bicause that from his infancy he was surnamed *Pyrrus*, as much to say, as redde: and one of his legittimate sonnes whom he had by *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Cleodes*, the sonne of *Hillus*, was also named by him *Pyrrus*. B And this is the cause why *Achilles* is honored as a god in EPIRVS, beinge called in their language, *Aspetos*, that is to say, mighty, or very great. But from the first kinges of that race vntill the time of *Tharrytas*, there is no memory nor mencion made of them, nor of their power that raigned in the meane time, bicause they all became very barbarous, and vtterly voyde of ciuility. *Tharrytas* was in deede the first that beautified the cities of his contry with the GRECIAN tongue, brought in ciuill lawes and customes, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed. This *Tharrytas* left a sonne called *Alcetas*, of *Alcetas* came *Arymbas*, of *Arymbas* and *Troiade* his wife, came *AEacides*, who maried *Phthia*, the daughter of *Menon* THESSALIAN: A famous man in the time of the warres surnamed *Lamiacus*, and one that had farre greater authority then any other of the confederates, after *Leosthenes*. This *AEacides* had two daughters by his wife *Phthia*, to say, *Deidamia* and *Troiade*, and one sonne called *Pyrrus*. In his time the MOLOSSIANS rebelled, draue him out of his kingdome, & put the crowne into the hands of the sonnes of *Neoptolemus*. Whereupon all the frends of *AEacides* that could be taken, were generally murdered, and slaine outright. *Androclides*, & *Angelus* in the meane time stale away *Pyrrus*, being yet but a suckling babe (whome his enemies neuertheless egerly sought for to haue destroyed) and fled away with him as fast as possibly they might, with few seruauntes, his nurses and necessary women only to looke to the childe, and giue it sucke: by reason whereof their flight was much hindered, so as they could go no great iorneys, but that they might easily be ouertaken by them that followed. For which cause they put the childe into the handes of

Pyrrus, redd.

How Pyrrus being an infant was saued.

Androcli-

A *Androclion*, *Hippias*, and *Neander*, three lusty young men, whome they trusted with him, and commaunded them to runne for life to a certaine citie of MACEDON, called MEGARES: and they them selues in the meane time, partely by intreaty,& partely by force,made stay of those that followed them till night. So as with much a doe hauinge driuen them backe, they ranne after them that caried the childe *Pyrrus*,whom they ouertooke at sunne set. And now,wening they had bene safe,and out of all daunger: they found it cleane contrary.For when they came to the riuer vnder the towne walles of MEGARES, they saw it so rough and swift, that it made them afrayed to beholde it: and when they gaged the forde, they found it vnpossible to wade through, it was so sore risen and troubled with the fall of the raine, besides that the darkenesse of the night made euery thing seeme feareful vnto them.So as they now that caried the child, B thought it not good to venter the passage ouer of themselues alone,with the women that tended the childe: but hearing certaine contrymen on the other side, they prayed and besought them in the name of the goddes, that they would helpe them to passe ouer the child,showing *Pyrrus* vnto them a farre of. But the contrymen by reason of the roaringe of the riuer vnderstoode them not. Thus they continued a longe space, the one cryinge, the other lystning, yet could they not vnderstand one an other,til at the last one of the company bethought him selfe to pill of a peece of the barke of an oke, & vpon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the childe. Which he tyed to a stone to geue it weight, and so threw it ouer to the other side of the riuer:other say that he did pricke the barke through with the point of a dart which he cast ouer. The contrymen on the other side of the riuer, hauinge C red what was wrytten, and vnderstanding thereby the present daunger the childe was in: felled downe trees in all the hast they could possibly, bounde them together, and so passed ouer the riuer. And it fortuned that the first man of them that passed ouer, and tooke the child,was called *Achilles*: the residue of the contrymen passed ouer also,and tooke the other that came with the childe, and conueyed them ouer as they came first to hand.And thus hauing escaped their hãds,by easie iorneys they came at the length vnto *Glaucias* king of ILLYRIA,whom they found in his house sitting by his wife: and layed downe the childe in the middest of the flower before him. The king hereuppon stayed a long time without vttering any one word, waying with him selfe what was best to be done: bicause of the feare he had of *Cassander*, a mortall enemy of *AEacides*. In the meane time, the childe *Pyrrus* creeping of all foure, tooke hold of D the kinges gowne, and scrawled vp by that, and so got vp on his feete against the kings knees. At the first, the king laughed to see the childe: but after it pitied him againe,bicause the child seemed like an humble suter that came to seeke sanctuary in his armes. Other say that *Pyrrus* came not to *Glaucias*, but vnto the alter of the familiar gods, alongest the which he got vp on his feete,and embraced it with both his hands.Which *Glaucias* imagining to be done by gods prouidence, presently deliuered the childe to his wife, gaue her the charge of him, and willed her to see him brought vp with his owne. Shortely after, his enemies sent to demaunde the childe of him: and moreouer, *Cassander* caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliuer the childe *Pyrrus* into his handes. Howebeit *Glaucias* would neuer graunt thereunto, but contrarily, when *Pyrrus* was comen to twelue yeares olde, brought him into his contry of E- E PIRVS with an army, and stablished him king of the realme againe. *Pyrrus* had a great maiesty in his countenaunce, but yet in deede more fearefull then frendly. He had also no teeth in his vpper iawe that stoode distinctly one from an other, but one whole bone through out his gomme, marked a litle at the top only, with certaine riftes in the place where the teeth should be deuided. Men helde opinion also, that he did heale them that were sicke of the splene, by sacrificinge a white cocke, and touchinge the place of the splene on the left side of them that were sicke, softely with his right foote,they lying on their backes: and there was not so poore nor simple a man that craued this remedy of him, but he gaue it him, and tooke the cocke he sacrificed,for reward of the remedy, which pleased him very well. They say also that the great toe of his right foote had some secrete vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they had F burnt all partes of his body, and consumed it to ashes:his great toe was whole,and had no hurt at all. But of that, we will wryte more hereafter. Now,when he was seuenteene yeares of age, thinking him selfe sure enough of his kingdome,it chaunced him to make a iorney into ILLY-

Megares a citie of Macedon.

Glaucias king of Illyria.

Pyrrus countenaunce and teeth.

Pyrrus healed them that were sicke of the splene.

The fier could not burne Pyrrus great toe.

RIA, where he maried one of *Glaucias* daughters, with whom he had bene brought vp. But his backe was no ſooner turned, but the MOLOSSIANS rebelled againe againſt him, & draue out his frends, & ſeruaunts, and deſtroyed all his goods, and yelded themſelues vnto his aduerſary *Neoptolemus*. King *Pyrrus* hauing thus loſt his kingdom, & ſeeing himſelf forſaken on all ſides, went to *Demetrius* (*Antigonus* ſonne) that had maried his ſiſter *Deidamia*, who in her young age was aſſured to *Alexander*, the ſonne of *Alexander* the great, and of *Roxane*, and was called his wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked ende, *Demetrius* then maried her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was ſtriken neere to the citie of HIPSVS, where all the kinges fought together, *Pyrrus* being then but a young man, and with *Demetrius*, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthely reputed for the valianteſt prince amongeſt them all. Furthermore, when *Demetrius* was ouercome, and had loſt the battell: *Pyrrus* neuer forſooke him, but faithfully did keepe for him the cities of GREECE, which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*, *Pyrrus* was ſent an oſtage for *Demetrius* into the realme of ÆGIPTE: where he made *Ptolomie* know (both in huntinge, and in other exerciſes of his perſone) that he was very ſtrong, harde, and able to endure any labor. Furthermore perceiuing that *Berenice* amongeſt all king *Ptolomies* wiues, was beſt beloued and eſteemed of her husbande, both for her vertue and wiſedome: he beganne to entertaine and honor her aboue all the reſt. For he was a man that could tell how to humble him ſelfe towardes the great (by whom he might winne benefit) and knewe alſo how to creepe into their credit: and in like manner was he a great ſcorner and deſpiſer of ſuch as were his inferiors. Moreouer, for that he was found maruelous honorable and of fayer condicion, he was preferred before all other young princes, to be the huſbande of *Antigona*, the daughter of Queene *Berenice*, whom ſhe had by *Philip*, before ſhe was maried vnto *Ptolomie*. From thenceforth growing through the allyance of that mariage, more and more into eſtimacion and fauor by meanes of his wife *Antigona*, who ſhewed her ſelfe very vertuous and louing towardes him: he found meanes in the ende, to get both men and money to returne againe into the realme of EPIRVS, and to conquer it: ſo was he then very well receiued of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to *Neoptolemus*, bicauſe he delt both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithſtandinge, *Pyrrus* fearinge leaſt *Neoptolemus* would repaire vnto ſome of the other kings, to ſeeke ayde againſt him, thought good to make peace with him. Whereupon it was agreed betwene them, that they ſhould both together be kinges of EPIRVS. But in proceſſe of time, ſome of their men ſecretly made ſtrife againe betwene them, and ſet them at defyance one with an other: and the chiefeſt cauſe as it is ſayed, that angered *Pyrrus* moſt, grew apon this. The kinges of EPIRVS had an auncient cuſtome of great antiquity, after they had made ſolemne ſacrifice vnto *Iupiter Martiall*, (in a certaine place in the prouince of MOLOSSIDE, called PASSARON) to take their othe, and to be ſworne to the EPIROTES, that they would raigne well and iuſtly, accordinge to the lawes and ordinaunces of the contry: and to receiue the ſubiectes othes interchaungeably alſo, that they would defend and maintaine them in their kingdome, according to the lawes in like maner. This ceremony was done in the preſence of both the kinges, and they with their frendes did both geue and receiue preſentes eche of other. At this meetinge and ſolemnity, amonge other, one *Gelon* a moſt faithfull ſeruaunt and aſſured frend vnto *Neoptolemus*, who beſides great ſhowes of frendſhippe and honor he did vnto *Pyrrus*, gaue him two payer of draught oxen, which one *Myrtilus* a cuppebearer of *Pyrrus* beinge preſent, and ſeeinge, did craue of his maſter. But *Pyrrus* denyed to geue them vnto him whereat *Myrtilus* was very angry. *Gelon* perceiuinge that *Mytilus* was angry, prayed him to ſuppe with him that night. Now ſome ſay, he ſought to abuſe *Myrtilus*, bicauſe he was fayer and younge: and beganne to perſwade him after ſupper to take parte with *Neoptolemus*, and to poyſon *Pyrrus*. *Myrtilus* made as though he was willing to geue eare to this perſwaſion, and to be well pleaſed withall. But in the meane time, he went and tolde his maſter of it, by whoſe commaundement he made *Alexicrates*, *Pyrrus* chiefe cuppebearer, to talke with *Gelon* about this practiſe, as though he had alſo geuen his conſent to it, and was willinge to be partaker of the enterpriſe. This did *Pyrrus* to haue two witneſſes, to proue the pretended poyſoninge of him. Thus *Gelon* beinge finely deceiued, and

Pyrrus realme taken frō him in his abſence.

Pyrrus valiaūtnes at the battell of Hipſus.

Pyrrus behauior.

Pyrrus maried to Antigona the daughter of Philip king of Macedon, and of his wife Berenice.

Pyrrus reſtored to his kingdome againe.

Pyrrus deuideth the realme of Epirus with Neoptolemus.

A *Neoptolemus* alſo with him, both imagininge they had cunningly ſponne the threde of their treaſon: *Neoptolemus* was ſo glad of it, that he could not kepe it to him ſelfe, but told it to certaine of his frendes. And on a time going to be mery with his ſiſter, he could not keepe it in, but muſt be pratling of it to her, ſuppoſing no body had heard him but her ſelfe, bicauſe there was no liuing creature neere them, ſauing *Phœnareta Samons* wife, the kinges chiefe heardman of all his beaſtes, and yet ſhe was layed apon a litle bed by, and turned towards the wall: ſo that ſhe ſeemed as though ſhe had ſlept. But hauing heard all their talke, and no body miſtruſting her: the next morning ſhe went to *Antigona* king *Pyrrus* wife, and told her euery worde what ſhe had heard *Neoptolemus* ſay to his ſiſter. *Pyrrus* hearing this, made no countenaunce of any thing at that time. But hauinge made ſacrifice vnto the goddes, he bad *Neoptolemus* to ſupper
B to his houſe, where he ſlue him, being well informed before of the good will the chiefeſt men of the realme did beare him, who wiſhed him to diſpatch *Neoptolemus*, & not to content him ſelfe with a peece of Epirvs only, but to follow his naturall inclination, being borne to great thinges: and for this cauſe therefore, this ſuſpition fallinge out in the meane while, he preuented *Neoptolemus*, and ſlue him firſt. And furthermore, remembringe the pleaſures he had receiued of *Ptolomie* and *Berenice*, he named his firſt ſonne by his wife *Antigona*, *Ptolomie*, and hauing built a city in the Prescqve, an Ile of Epirvs, did name it Berenicida. When he had done that, imagining great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he firſt determined with him ſelfe howe to winne that which lay neereſt vnto him: and ſo tooke occaſion by this meanes, firſt to ſet foote into the Empire of Macedon. The eldeſt ſonne of *Caſſander*, called
C *Antipater*, put his owne mother *Theſſalonica* to death, and draue his brother *Alexander* out of his owne contry, who ſent to *Demetrius* for helpe, and called in *Pyrrus* alſo to his ayde. *Demetrius* being troubled with other matters, could not ſo quickely go thither. And *Pyrrus* being arriued there, demaunded for his charge ſuſteined, the citie of Nymphæa, with all the ſea coaſtes of Macedon: and beſides all that, certaine landes alſo that were not belonginge to the auncient crowne and reuenues of the kinges of Macedon, but were added vnto it by force of armes, as *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. All theſe, the young king *Alexander* leauinge vnto him, he tooke poſſeſſion thereof, and put good garriſons into the ſame in his owne name: and conquering the reſt of Macedon in the name of *Alexander*, put his brother *Antipater* to great diſtreſſe. In the meane time kinge *Lyſimachus* lacked no good will to helpe
D *Antipater* with his force, but being buſied in other matters, had not the meane to doe it. Howbeit knowinge very well that *Pyrrus* in acknowledginge the great pleaſures he had receiued of *Ptolomie*, woulde deny him nothinge: he determined to wryte counterfeate letters to him in *Ptolomies* name, and thereby inſtantly to pray and require him to leaue of the warres begonne againſt *Antipater*, and to take of him towardes the defrayinge of his charges, the ſumme of three hundred talentes. *Pyrrus* opening the letters, knew ſtraight that this was but a fetch and deuiſe of *Lyſimachus*. For king *Ptolomies* common manner of greeting of him, which he vſed at the beginning of his letters, was not in them obſerued: To my ſonne *Pyrrus*, health. But in thoſe counterfeate was, king *Ptolomie*, vnto king *Pyrrus*, health. Whereupon he preſently pronounced *Lyſimachus* for a naughty man: neuertheleſſe, afterwardes he made peace with *An-*
E *tipater*, and they met together at a day appointed, to be ſworne vpon the ſacrifices vnto the articles of peace. There were three beaſtes brought to be ſacrificed, a goate, a bul, and a ramme: of the which, the ramme fell downe dead of him ſelfe before he was touched, whereat all the ſtanders by fell a laughinge. But there was a Soothſayer, one *Theodotus*, that perſwaded *Pyrrus* not to ſweare: ſaying, that this ſigne and token of the gods did threaten one of the three kings with ſodaine death. For which cauſe *Pyrrus* concluded no peace. Now *Alexanders* warres beinge ended, *Demetrius* notwithſtanding came to him, knowing well enough at his comming that *Alexander* had no more neede of his aide, and that he did it only but to feare him. They had not bene many dayes together, but thone beganne to miſtruſt thother, and ſo ſpie all the wayes they could to intrappe eche other: but *Demetrius* embracing the firſt occaſion offered,
F preuented *Alexander*, and ſlue him, being a young man, and proclaimed him ſelfe king of Macedon in his roome. Now *Demetrius* had certaine quarrells before againſt *Pyrrus*, bicauſe he had ouerrunne the contry of Theſſalie: and furthermore, greedy couetouſnes to haue the

Pyrrus ſlue Neoptolemus.

Berenicida, a city of Epirus in the Ile of Preſcque.

Pyrrus firſt iorney into Macedon.

King Lyſimachus craft to deceiue Pyrrus.

Theodotus iudgement, a Soothſayer.

Pyrrus quarrell and warre with Demetrius.

more(which is a common vice with princes and noble men)made,that being ſo neere neighbours, the one ſtoode in feare and miſtruſt of the other, and yet much more after the death of *Deidamia*. But now that they both occupied all MACEDON betwene them, and were to make diuiſion of one ſelfe kingdome. Now I ſay began the matter and occaſion of quarrell, to grow the greater betwene them. Whereupon *Demetrius* went with his army to ſet apon the ÆTOLIANS, and hauinge conquered the contry, left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenaunt there with a great army: and him ſelfe in perſon in the meane time, marched againſt *Pyrrus*, and *Pyrrus* on thother ſide againſt him. They both miſſed of meetinge, and *Demetrius* goinge on further on the one ſide, entred into the realme of EPIRVS, and brought a great ſpoyle away with him: *Pyrrus* on the other ſide marched on, till he came to the place where *Pantauchus* was. To whome he gaue battell, and it was valliantly fought out betwene the ſouldiers of either party, but ſpecially betwene the two Generalls. For doutleſſe, *Pantauchus* was the valliantеſt Captaine, the ſtowteſt man, and of the greateſt experience in armes, of all the Captaines and ſouldiers *Demetrius* had. Whereupon, *Pantauchus* truſting in his ſtrength and corage, aduaunced him ſelfe forwardes, and luſtely chalenged the combat of *Pyrrus*. *Pyrrus* on the other ſide being inferior to no king in valliantnes, nor in deſire to winne honor, as he that would aſcribe vnto himſelfe the glory of *Achilles*, more for the imitacion of his valliancy, then for that he was diſcended of his blood: paſſed through the middeſt of the battell vnto the firſt rancke, to buckle with *Pantauchus*. Thus they beganne to charge one an other, firſt with their dartes, and then comming nearer, fought with their ſwordes, not only artificially, but alſo with great force and fury: vntill ſuch time as *Pyrrus* was hurte in one place, and he hurte *Pantauchus* in two. The one neere vnto his throte and the other in his legge: ſo as in the ende *Pyrrus* made him turne his backe, and threw him to the ground, but neuertheleſſe killed him not. For, ſo ſoone as he was downe, his men tooke him, and caried him away. But the EPIROTES encoraged by the victory of their kinge, and the admiration of his valliantneſſe, ſtucke to it ſo luſtely, that in the end they brake the battell of the MACEDONIAN footemen: & hauing put them to flight, followed them ſo liuely, that they ſlewe a great number of them, and tooke fiue thouſande priſoners. This ouerthrowe did not ſo much fill the hartes of the MACEDONIANS with anger, for the loſſe they had receiued, nor with the hate conceiued againſt *Pyrrus*: as it wanne *Pyrrus* great fame & honor, making his corage and valliantnes to be wondred at of all uch as were preſent at the battell that ſaw him fight, and how he layed about him. For they thought that they ſaw in his face the very life and agility of *Alexander* the great, and the right ſhadow as it were, ſhowinge the force and fury of *Alexander* him ſelfe in that fight. And where other kinges did but only counterfeate *Alexander* the great in his purple garments, and in numbers of ſouldiers and gardes about their perſones, and in a certaine facion and bowing of their neckes a litle, and in vttering his ſpeech with an high voyce: *Pyrrus* only was like vnto him, and followed him in his marſhall deedes and valliant actes. Furthermore, for his experience and skill in warlike diſcipline, the bookes he wrote him ſelfe thereof, do amply proue and make manifeſt. Furthermore, they reporte, that kinge *Antigonus* being asked, whome he thought to be the greateſt Captaine: made aunſwer, *Pyrrus*, ſo farre foorth as he might liue to be olde, ſpeaking only of the Captaines of his time. But *Hanniball* generally ſayd, *Pyrrus* was the greateſt Captaine of experience and skil in warres of all other, *Scipio* the ſecond, and him ſelfe the third: as we haue wrytten in the life of *Scipio*. So it ſeemeth that *Pyrrus* gaue his whole life and ſtudy to the diſcipline of warres, as that which in dede was princely and meete for a king, making no reckening of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they reporte that he being at a feaſt one day, a queſtion was asked him, whom he thought to be the beſt player of the flute, *Python* or *Cepheſius*: whereunto he aunſwered, that *Polyperchon* in his opinion was the beſt Captaine, as if he would haue ſayd, that was the only thing a prince ſhould ſeeke for, and which he ought chiefly to learne and know. He was very gentle and familiar with his frendes, eaſie to forgeue when any had offended him, and maruelous deſirous to requite and acknowledge any curteſie or pleaſure by him receiued. And that was the cauſe why he did very vnpaciently take the death of *AEropus*, not ſo much for his death (which he knewe was a common thing to euery liuing creature) as for that he was angry with himſelfe he had deferred the time

Pantauchus, Demetrius Lieutenant in AEtolia.

Pyrrus fight, with Pantauchus.

Pyrrus victory of Pantauchus.

Pyrrus likened to Alexander the great.

Pyrrus skil in warlike diſcipline.

Hannibalis iudgement of Captaines.

Pyrrus noſe aunſwer.

Pyrrus gentlenes and curteſie.

ſo

A so long, that time it selfe had cut him of from all occasion and meanes to requite the curtesies he had receiued of him. True it is that money lent, may be repayed againe vnto the heires of the lender: but yet it greueth an honest nature, when he can not recompence the good will of the lender, of whom he hath receiued the good turne. An other time *Pyrrus* being in the city of AMBRACIA, there were certaine of his frends that gaue him counsel to put a naughty man out of the city that did nothing but speake ill of him. But he aunswered, it is better (quod he) to keepe him here still, speakinge ill of vs but to a fewe: then driuing him away, to make him speake ill of vs euery where. Certaine youthes were brought before him on a time, who making mery together, drinking freely, were bolde with the king to speake their pleasure of him in very vndueitull sorte. So, *Pyrrus* askinge them whether it was true they sayed so or no: it B is true, and it please your grace, sayed one of them, we sayed it in deede, and had not our wine failed vs, we had spoken a great deale more. The king laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of *Antigona*, he maried many wiues to increase his power withall, and to gette moe frendes. For he maried the daughter of *Autoleon* kinge of PÆONIA, and *Bircenna* the daughter of *Bardillis*, king of ILLYRIA, and *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, tyran of SYRACVSA, that brought him for her dower the Ile of CORPHVE, which her father had taken. By *Antigona* his first wife, he had a sonne called *Ptolomie*: By *Lanassa*, an other called *Alexander*: and by *Bircenna*, an other (the youngest of all) called *Helenus*: all which though they were marshall men by race and naturall inclination, yet were they brought vp by him in warres, and therein trained as it were euen from their cradell. They wryte, that one of his sonnes beinge C but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leaue his kingdome: *Pyrrus* aunswered the boy, to him that hath the sharpest sworde. That was much like the tragicall curse wherewith *Oedipus* cursed his children.

Certaine witty sayinges of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus wiues and children.

Let them (for me) deuide, both goodes, yea rentes and lande:
VVith trenchaunt swoord, and bloody blowes, by force of mighty hande.

So cruell, hatefull, and beastly is the nature of ambition and desire of rule. But after this battell, *Pyrrus* returned home againe to his contry, full of honor and glory, his hart highly exalted, and his minde throughly contented. And as at his returne the EPIROTES his subiectes called him an Eagle, he aunswered them: if I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am so, for your weapons are the winges that haue raised me vp. Shortely after, beinge aduertised that D *Demetrius* was fallen sicke, and in great daunger of death, he sodainely went into MACEDON, only to inuade it, and to make pray thereof: howbeit he had in deede almost taken the whole realme, and made him selfe Lord of all without stroke striken. For he came as farre as the city of EDESSA, and found no resistance: but rather to the contrary, many of the contry willingly came to his campe, and submitted them selues. The daunger *Demetrius* was in to loose his realme, did moue him more: then the disease and sickenes of his body. And on the other side, his frendes, seruauntes, and Captaines, hauing gathered a great number of men of warre together in maruelous shorte time, marched with great speede towardes *Pyrrus*, being earnestly bent to do some exploite against him: who being come into MACEDON but to make a roade only apon them, would not tary them, but fled, and flying, lost parte of his men, bicause the E MACEDONIANS followed him hard, and set apon him by the way. But now, though they had driuen *Pyrrus* thus easily out of MACEDON, *Demetrius* for all that did not make light accompt of him: but pretending greater thinges, (as to recouer the landes and dominions of his father, with an army of an hundred thousand fighting men, and of fiue hundred sayle which he put to the sea) would not stande to make warres against *Pyrrus*, neither yet leaue the MACEDONIANS (whileste he was absent) so daungerous a neighbour, and so ill to deale withall. But lacking leasure to make warres with *Pyrrus*, concluded a peace with him, to the ende he might with the more liberty set apon the other kinges. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt *Demetrius* & *Pyrrus*, the other kinges and princes beganne to finde out *Demetrius* intent, and why he had made so great preparation and being afrayed therof, wrote vnto *Pyrrus* by their Ambassadors, F that they wondred how he could let go such oportunity and occasion, and to tary till *Demetrius* might with better leasure make warres vpon him. And why he chose rather to tary & fight with him for the aulters, temples, and sepulchers of the MOLOSSIANS, when he shoulde be

Pyrrus called an Eagle.

Pyrrus inuadeth Macedon.

Demetrius army both by land and sea.

of greater power, and haue no warres elsewhere to trouble him: then now that he might easily A
driue him out of MACEDON, hauing so many things in hand, & being troubled as he was in o-
ther places. And cõsidering also that very lately he had taken one of his wiues from him, with
the city of CORPHVE. For *Lanassa* mislikinge, that *Pyrrus* loued his other wiues better then
her, (they being of a barbarous natiõ) got her vnto CORPHVE: & desiring to mary some other
king, sent for *Demetrius*, knowinge that he of all other kinges would sooneste be wonne there-
unto. Whereuppon *Demetrius* went thither, and maried her, and left a garrison in his citie of
Demetrius maried Lanassa Pyrrus wife. CORPHVE. Nowe these other kinges that did aduertise *Pyrrus* in this sorte, them selues did
trouble *Demetrius* in the meane while: who tracted time, & yet went on with his preparacion
notwithstãding, For on the one side, *Ptolomie* entred GREECE with a great army by sea, where
he caused the cities to reuolt against him. And *Lysimachus* on the other side also, entring into B
high MACEDON by the contry of THRACIA, burnt and spoyled all as he went. *Pyrrus* also ar-
minge him selfe with them, went vnto the city of BERROEA, imagining (as afterwardes it fell
out) that *Demetrius* goinge against *Lysimachus*, would leaue all the lowe contry of MACEDON
naked, without garrison or defence. And the selfe same night that *Pyrrus* departed, he imagi-
ned that king *Alexander* the great did call him, and that also he went vnto him, & found him
Pyrrus dreame. sicke in his bed, of whom he had very good wordes and entertainment: insomuch as he pro-
mised to helpe him throughly. And *Pyrrus* imagined also that he was so bolde to demaund of
him againe: how (my Lord) can you helpe me, that lye sicke in your bed? and that *Alexander*
made aunswer: with my name only. And that moreouer he sodainely therewithall got vp on
his horse Nisea, & rode before *Pyrrus* to guide him the way. This vision he had in his dreame, C
which made him bolde, and furthermore encouraged him to goe on with his enterprise. By
which occasion, marching forward with all speede, in few dayes he ended his intended iorney
Pyrrus seçõde ernet ius Macedon. to the city of BERROEA, which sodainely he tooke at his first comming to it: the most parte of
his army he layed in garrison there, the residue he sent away vnder the conduct of his Cap-
taines, here and there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence here-
of, and hearing also an ill rumor that ranne in his campe amongest the MACEDONIANS, durst
not leade them any further, for feare least (when he should come nere to *Lysimachus* beinge a
MACEDONIAN king by nation, & a prince estemed for a famous captaine) they would shrinke
from him, & take *Lysimachus* parte: for this cause therefore he turned againe vpon the sodaine
against *Pyrrus*, as against a straunge prince, & ill beloued of the MACEDONIANS. But when he D
came to incampe nere him, many cõminge from BERROEA into his campe, blew abroade the
Pyrrus prai-ses. praises of *Pyrrus*, saying, that he was a noble prince, inuincible in warres, & one that curteously
intreated all those he tooke to his party: & amongest those, there were other that were no na-
tural MACEDONIANS borne, but set on by *Pyrrus*, & fained them selues to be MACEDONIANS,
who gaue out, that nowe occasion was offered to set them at liberty, from *Demetrius* prowde
and stately rule, and to take kinge *Pyrrus* parte, that was a curteous prince, and one that loued
souldiers and men of warre. These wordes made the most parte of *Demetrius* army very dout-
full, insomuch as the MACEDONIANS looked about, to see if they could finde out *Pyrrus* to
yelde them selues vnto him. He had at that present left of his head peece: by meane whereof,
How Pyrrus ware his head peece. perceiuing he was not knowen, he put it on againe, and then they knew him a farre of, by the E
sight of his goodly fayer plume, and the goates hornes which he caried on the toppe of his
creast. Whereupon there came a great number of MACEDONIANS to his parte, as vnto their
soueraine Lord and king, and required the watche word of him. Other put garlandes of oken
bowes about their heades, bicause they saw his men crowned after that sorte. And some were
so bolde also, as to go to *Demetrius* him selfe, and tell him, that in their opinions he should do
very well and wisely to geue place to fortune, and referre all vnto *Pyrrus*. *Demetrius* hereupon,
seeing his campe in such vprore, was so amased, that he knewe not what way to take, but stale
away secretly, disguised in a threde bare cloke, & a hoode on his head to kepe him from know-
ledge. *Pyrrus* foorthwith seased vppon his campe, tooke all that he founde, and was presently
Pyrrus proclaimed kinge of Macedon. proclaimed in the fielde, king of MACEDON. *Lysimachus* on thother side, came straight thither F
after him, and sayed that he had holpen to chase *Demetrius* out of his realme, and therefore
claimed halfe the kingdome with him. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* not trustinge the MACEDONIANS
too

A to farre as yet, but rather ſtanding in doubt of their faith: graunted *Lyſimachus* his deſire, and thereupon deuided all the cities and prouinces of the realme of MACEDON betwene them. This particion was profitable for them both at that preſent, and ſtoode then to good purpoſe to pacifie the warre, that otherwiſe might ſodainely haue riſen betwene them. But ſhortly after, they found that this particion was no end of their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrell and diſſention betwene them. For they whoſe auarice and inſatiable greedy appetite, neither the ſea, the mountaines, nor the vnhabitable deſertes coulde containe, nor yet the confynes that ſeparate ASIA from EVROPE determine: howe ſhould they be content with their owne, without vſurping others, when their fronters ioyne ſo neere together, that nothing deuides them? Sure it is not poſſible. For to ſay truely, they are willingly together by the eares, B hauing theſe two curſed thinges rooted in them: that they continually ſeeke occaſion how to ſurprile eche other, and either of them enuies his neighbours well doing. Howbeit in apparaunce they vſe theſe two tearmes, of peace and warres, as they doe money: vſinge it as they thinke good, not accordinge to right and iuſtice, but for their priuate profit. And truely they are men of farre greater honeſty, that make open warre, and auow it: then thoſe that diſguiſe and colour the delay of their wicked purpoſe, by the holy name of iuſtice or frendſhip. Which *Pyrrus* did truely then verifie. For deſiring to kepe *Demetrius* downe from riſing an other time, and that he ſhould not reuiue againe as eſcaped from a long daungerous diſeaſe: he went to aide the GREECIANS againſt him, and was at ATHENS, where they ſuffered him to come in- to the caſtell, and doe ſacrifice there vnto the goddeſſe *Minerua*. But comming out of the ca- C ſtle againe the ſame day, he tolde the ATHENIANS he was greatly beholdinge vnto them for their curteſie, and the great truſt they had repoſed in him: wherefore to requite them againe, he gaue them counſell, neuer to ſuffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their city, if they were wiſe, nor once open their gates vnto them. So, after that he made peace with *Demetrius*, who within ſhorte time beinge gone to make warres in ASIA, *Pyrrus* yet once againe (perſwaded thereunto by *Lyſimachus*) cauſed all THESSALIE to riſe againſt him, & went him ſelfe to ſet vpon thoſe garriſons which *Demetrius* had left in the cities of GREECE, liking better to continue the MACEDONIANS in warre, then to leaue them in peace: beſides that him ſelfe alſo was of ſuch a nature, as could not long continue in peace. *Demetrius* thus in the ende being vtterly ouerthrowen in SYRIA, *Lyſimachus* ſeeing him ſelfe free from feare on that D ſide, and being at good leaſure, as hauing nothing to trouble him otherwayes: went ſtraight to make warre apon *Pyrrus*, who then remained neere vnto the city of EDESSA, & meeting by the way with the conuoy of vittells comming towards him, ſet vpon the conducters, and rifled them wholly. By this meanes, firſt he diſtreſſed *Pyrrus* for want of vittels: then he corrupted the princes of MACEDON with letters & meſſengers, declaring vnto thē, what ſhame they ſuſteined to haue made a ſtraunger their king (whoſe aunceſters had euer bene their vaſſalls & ſubiectes) and to haue turned all thoſe out of MACEDON, that had bene familiar frendes of king *Alexander* the great. Many of the MACEDONIANS were wonne by theſe perſwaſions, which fact ſo feared *Pyrrus*, that he departed out of MACEDON with his men of warre, the EPIROTES, and other his confederates: and ſo loſt MACEDON by the ſelfe ſame meanes he wanne E it. Kinges and princes therefore muſt not blame priuate men, though they chaunge and alter ſometime for their profit: for therein they do but follow the example of princes, who teache them all diſloyalty, treaſon, and infidelity, iudging him moſt worthy of gaine, that leaſt obſerueth iuſtice and equity. So *Pyrrus* being come home againe to his kingdome of EPIRVS, forſakinge MACEDON altogether, fortune made him happy enough, and in deede he had good meanes to liue peaceably at home, without any trouble, if he could haue contented him ſelfe only with the ſouerainty ouer his owne naturall ſubiectes. But thinking, that if he did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, he could not tell how to ſpend his time, and by peace he ſhould pyne away for ſorow, as *Homer* ſayd of *Achilles*:

He languiſhed and pynde by taking eaſe and reſt:
F *And in the vvarres vvhere trauaile vvas, he liked euer beſt.*

And thus ſeeking matter of newe trouble, fortune preſented him this occaſion. About this time, the ROMAINES by chaunce made warre with the TARENTINES, who could nether beare

Macedon deuided betwene Pyrrus and Lyſimachus.

Couetouſnes hath no ende.

Peace, and warre, vſed lyke money.

Pyrrus ayded the Græcians againſt Demetrius.

Lyſimachus maketh warre with Pyrrus.

their force, nor yet deuiſe how to pacifie the ſame, by reaſon of the raſhneſſe, folly, and wickednes of their gouernors, who perſwaded them to make *Pyrrus* their Generall, and to ſende for him for to conduct theſe warres: bicauſe he was leſſe troubled at that time, then any of the other kinges about them, and was eſteemed of euery man alſo to be a noble ſouldier, and famous Captaine. The elders, and wiſe men of the city, vtterly miſliked that counſell: but ſome of them were put to ſilence, through the noyſe and fury of the people, who cried for warres. Some other ſeeing them checked, and taken vp by the multitude in this manner, woulde no more repayre to their common aſſemblies. Among the reſt, there was one *Meton*, an honeſt worſhipfull citizen, who when the day was come that the people ſhoulde conclude in counſel, the decree for the calling in of *Pyrrus*: all the people of TARENTVM being aſſembled, & ſet in the Theater, this *Meton* put an olde withered garlande of flowers vpon his head, and carying a torch in his hande as though he had bene dronke, and hauing a woman minſtrell before him playing on a pype, went daunſinge in this goodly aray through the middeſt of the whole aſſembly. And there, (as it happeneth commonly in euery hurly burly of people that will be maſters them ſelues, and where no good order is kept) ſome of them clapped their handes, other burſt out in a laughter, and euery man ſuffered him to doe what he luſt: but they all cried out to the woman minſtrell, to play on and ſpare not, and to *Meton* him ſelfe, that he ſhould ſing, and come forward. So *Meton* made ſhewe as though he prepared him ſelfe vnto it: and when they had geuen ſilence to heare him ſing, he ſpake vnto them with a lowd voice in this manner. My Lordes of TARENTVM, ye doe well ſure, not to forbid them to play and to be mery that are ſo diſpoſed, whileſt they may lawfully do it: and if ye be wiſe, euery of you alſo (as many as you be) will take your liberty whileſt you may enioy it. For when king *Pyrrus* ſhalbe in this city, you ſhall liue I warrant ye after an other ſorte, and not as ye now do. Theſe wordes of *Meton* moued many of the TARENTINES, and ſodainly there ran a rumor through all the aſſembly, that he had ſayed truely. But they that had offended the ROMAINES, fearing if peace were made, that they ſhoulde be deliuered into their handes, they checked the people, asking them if they were ſuch fooles, as would abide to be mocked and played withall to their teeth: and with thoſe wordes all ranne vppon *Meton*, and draue him out of the Theater. The decree thus confirmed by voyces of the people, they ſent Ambaſſadors into EPIRVS, to cary preſents vnto king *Pyrrus*, not only from the TARENTINES, but from other GREECIANS alſo that dwelt in ITALIE, ſaying that they ſtoode in neede of a wiſe and skilful Captaine, that was reputed famous in marſhall diſcipline. And as to the reſt, for numbers of good ſouldiers, they had men enough in ITALIE, & were able to bring an army into the field, of the LVCANIANS, the MESSAPIANS, the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, of twenty thowſande horſe, & three hundred thowſand footemen being all aſſembled together. Theſe wordes of the Ambaſſadors did not only lift vp *Pyrrus* harte, but made the EPIROTES alſo maruelous deſirous to go this iorney. There was in kinge *Pyrrus* courte one *Cineas* THESSALIAN, a man of great vnderſtanding, and that had bene *Demoſthenes* the orators ſcholler, who ſeemed to be the onely man of all other in his time in common reputacion, to be moſt eloquent, following the liuely image and ſhadow of *Demoſthenes* paſſing eloquence. This *Cineas*, *Pyrrus* euer entertained about him, and ſent him Ambaſſador to the people and cities thereabouts: where he vered *Euripides* wordes.

As much as trenchant blades, in mighty handes may doe,
So much can skill of eloquence, atchieue and conquer too.

And therfore *Pyrrus* would often ſay, that *Cineas* had wonne him moe townes with his eloquence, then him ſelfe had done by the ſword: for which he did greatly honor and imploy him in all his chiefe affaires. *Cineas* perceiuinge that *Pyrrus* was maruelouſly bent to theſe warres of ITALIE, finding him one day at leaſure, diſcourſed with him in this ſorte. It is reported, and it pleaſe your maieſty, that the ROMAINES are very good men of warre, & that they cōmaund many valliant and warlike nations: if it pleaſe the goddes we doe ouercome them, what benefit ſhall we haue of that victory? *Pyrrus* aunſwered him againe, thou doeſt aske me a queſtion that is manifeſt of it ſelfe. For when we haue once ouercome the ROMAINES, there can nether GREECIAN nor barbarous city in all the contry withſtande vs, but we ſhall ſtraight conquer

The Tarentines hauinge warrewish the Romaines, determine to make king Pyrrus their Generall.

Meton counterfeating the foole, wiſely perſwaded the Tarentines not to ſend for Pyrrus.

Tarentum a city in Italie.

Metons counſell to the Tarentines.

The Tarentines ſende Ambaſſadors to Pyrrus.

Cineas the orator, a Theſſalian borne, and attending in Pyrrus courte.

Cineas graue talke with Pyrrus, to moderate his ambitious minde.

A quer all the reſt of ITALIE with eaſe: whoſe greatnes, wealth, and power, no man knoweth better then thy ſelfe. *Cineas* pawſing a while, replied: and when we haue taken ITALIE, what ſhal we do then? *Pyrrus* not finding his meaning yet, ſaid vnto him. SICILIA as thou knoweſt, is hard adioyning to it, & doth as it were offer it ſelfe vnto vs, & is a maruelous populous and riche lande, and eaſie to be taken: for all the cities within the Ilande are one againſt an other, hauing no head that gouernes thē, ſince *Agathocles* died, more thē orators only that are their counſeilers, who will ſoone be wonne. In dede it is likely which your grace ſpeaketh, quod *Cineas*: but when we haue wonne SICILIA, ſhall then our warres take ende? If the goddes were pleaſed, ſayed *Pyrrus*, that victory were atchieued: the way were then broade open for vs to attaine great conqueſtes. For who would not afterwardes goe into AFRICKE, and ſo to CAR-

Pyrrus iudgemēs of orators corruption.

B THAGE, which alſo will be an eaſie conqueſt, ſince *Agathocles* ſecretly flying from SYRACVSA, and hauing paſſed the ſeaes with a fewe ſhippes, had almoſt taken it? And that once conquered, it is moſt certaine there durſt not one of all our enemies that now doe daily vexe and trouble vs, lift vp their heades or handes againſt vs. No ſurely, ſayd *Cineas*: for it is a cleare caſe, that with ſo great a power we may eaſily recouer the realme of MACEDON againe, and commaunde all GREECE beſides, without let of any. But when we haue all in our handes: what ſhall we doe in the ende? Then *Pyrrus* laughing, tolde him againe: we will then (good *Cineas*) be quiet, & take our eaſe, and make feaſts euery day, & be as mery one with an other as we can poſſible. *Cineas* hauing brought him to that poynt, ſayd againe to him: my Lord, what letteth

C vs now to be quiet, and mery together, ſith we enioy that preſently without further trauel and trouble, which we will now go ſeeke for abroade, with ſuch ſheading of blood, and ſo manifeſt daunger? and yet we know not whether euer we ſhall attaine vnto it, after we haue both ſuffered, and cauſed other to ſuffer infinite ſorowes and troubles. Theſe laſt wordes of *Cineas*, did rather offende *Pyrrus*, then make him to alter his minde: for he was not ignorant of the happy ſtate he ſhoulde thereby forgoe, yet could he not leaue of the hope of that he did ſo much deſire. So he ſent *Cineas* before vnto the TARENTINES, with three thouſand footemen: and afterwardes the TARENTINES hauing ſent him great ſtore of flatbottomes, gallies, and of all ſortes of paſſengers, he ſhipped into them twenty elephantes, three thouſand horſemen, and two and twenty thowſande footemen, with fiue hundred bowe men and ſlinges. All thinges thus ready, he wayed anckers, and hoyſed ſayles, and was no ſooner in the maine ſea, but the

A daungerous thing to withſtande the Princes mind.

Pyrrus iorney into Italy.

D north winde blew very roughly, out of ſeaſon, and draue him to leeward. Notwithſtandinge, the ſhip which he was in him ſelfe, by great toile of the pilots and mariners turning to windeward, and with much a do, and maruelous daunger recouered the coaſt of ITALIE. Howbeit the reſt of his fleete were violently diſperſed here and there, whereof ſome of them failinge their courſe into ITALIE, were caſt into the ſeas of LIBYA, and SICILIA. The other not able to recouer the pointe of APVLIA, were benighted, and the ſea being hie wrought, by violence caſt them apon the ſhoare, and againſt the rockes, and made ſhipwrackes of them, the Admirall onely reſerued, which through her ſtrength, and the greatnes of her burden, reſiſted the force of the ſea that moſt violently bet againſt her. But afterwards, the winde turning & comming from the lande, the ſea cruelly raking ouer the height of her forecaſtell: in fyne brought

Pyrrus daunger by tempeſt on the ſea.

E her in manifeſt perill of openinge, and ſplitting, and in daunger to be driuen from the coaſt, puttinge her out againe to the mercy of the windes, which chaunged euery hower. Wherefore *Pyrrus* caſtinge the perill euery way, thought beſt to leape into the ſea. After him foorthwith lept his gard, his ſeruauntes, and other his familiar frendes, venturing their liues to ſaue him. But the darkenes of the night, and rage of the waues (which the ſhore breakinge, forced ſo to rebound backe vpon them) with the great noyſe alſo, did ſo hinder their ſwimming: that it was euen day before they could recouer any lande, and yet was it by meanes that the winde fell. As for *Pyrrus*, he was ſo ſea beaten, and wearied with the waues, that he was able to do no more: though of himſelfe he had ſo great a harte, & ſtowte a corage, as was able to ouercome

Pyrrus caſt on ſhoare apon the contry of the Meſſapians.

F any peril. Moreouer, the MESSAPIANS (vpon whoſe coaſt the ſtorme had caſt him) ran out to helpe him, and diligently labored in all they coulde poſſible to ſaue him, and receiued alſo certaine of his ſhippes that had ſcaped, in which were a few horſemen, about two thowſande footemen, and two elephantes. With this ſmall force, *Pyrrus* marched on his iorney to goe

by lande vnto TARENTVM: and *Cineas* being aduertiſed of his comming, went with his men to meete him. Now when he was come to TARENTVM, at the firſt he would doe nothing by force, nor againſt the goodwill of the inhabitantes: vntill ſuch time as his ſhippes that had eſcaped the daungers of the ſea, were all arriued, and the greateſt parte of his army comen together againe. But when he had all his army he looked for, ſeeing that the people of TARENTVM could neither ſaue them ſelues, nor be ſaued by any other, without ſtraight order & compulſion, bicauſe they made their reckening that *Pyrrus* ſhould fight for them, & in the meane time they would not ſtirre out of their houſes from bathing them ſelues, from banketing, and making good chere: firſt of all he cauſed all the parkes & places of ſhew to be ſhut vp, where they were wont to walke and diſporte them ſelues, in any kind of exerciſe, and as they walked, to talke of warres as it were in paſtime, & to fight with words, but not to come to the blowes. And further he forbad all feaſtinges, mommeries, and ſuch other like pleaſures, as at that time were out of ſeaſon. He trained them out alſo to exerciſe their weapons, and ſhewed him ſelfe very ſeuere in maſters, not pardoning any whoſe names were billed to ſerue in the warres: inſomuch as there were many (which vnacquainted with ſuch rough handling & gouernment) forſooke the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to haue liberty to liue at their pleaſure. Furthermore, *Pyrrus* hauing intelligence that *Leuinus* the ROMAINE Conſul came againſt him with a great puiſant army, and that he was already entred into the lande of LVCANIA, where he deſtroyed and ſpoyled all the contry before him: albeit the TARENTINES aide of their confederates was not as yet comen, he thought it a great ſhame to ſuffer his enemies approche ſo nere him, and therefore taking that ſmall number he had, brought them into the fielde againſt *Leuinus*. Howbeit he ſent a herauld before to the ROMAINES, to vnderſtand of them, if (before they entred into this warre) they coulde be content the controuerſies they had with all the GREECIANS dwellinge in ITALIE, might be decided by iuſtice, and therein to referre them ſelues to his arbitrement, who of him ſelfe would vndertake the pacification of the. Whereunto the Conſull *Leuinus* made aunſwere, that the ROMAINES would neuer allow him for a iudge, neither did they feare him for an enemy. Wherfore *Pyrrus* going on ſtil, came to lodge in the plaine which is betwene the cities of PANDOSIA, & of HERACLEA: & hauing newes brought him that the ROMAINES were encamped very nere vnto him on the other ſide of the riuer of Siris, he tooke his horſe, and rode to the riuers ſide to view their campe. So hauing throughly conſidered the forme, the ſcituation, and the order of the ſame, the maner of charging their watche, and all their facions of doing: he wondered much thereat. And ſpeaking to *Megacles*, one of his familiars about him, he ſayd: this order *Megacles* (quod he) though it be of barbarous people, yet is it not barbarouſly done, but we ſhall ſhortely proue their force. After he had thus taken this view, he beganne to be more carefull then he was before, and purpoſed to tary till the whole aide of their confederates were comen together, leauing men at the riuers ſide of Siris, to kepe the paſſage, if the enemies ventured to paſſe ouer as they did in dede. For they made haſt to preuent the aide that *Pyrrus* looked for, & paſſed their footemen ouer apon a bridge, and their horſemen at diuerſe fordes of the riuer: inſomuch as the GREECIANS fearinge leaſt they ſhoulde be compaſſed in behinde, drew backe. *Pyrrus* aduertiſed thereof, and being a litle troubled therwithall, cõmaunded the Captaines of his footemen preſently to put their bandes in battell ray, and not to ſturre till they knew his pleaſure: and he him ſelfe in the meane time marched on with three thowſande horſe, in hope to finde the ROMAINES by the riuer ſide, as yet out of order, & vtterly vnprouided. But when he ſaw a farte of a greater number of footemen with their targettes ranged in battell, on this ſide the riuer, and their horſemen marching towardes him in very good order: he cauſed his men to ioyne cloſe together, and him ſelfe firſt beganne the charge, being eaſie to be knowen from other, if it had bene no more but his paſſinge riche gliſteringe armor and furniture, and withall, for that his valliant dedes gaue manifeſt proofe of his well deſerued fame and renowne. For, though he valliantly beſturred his hands and body both, repulſing them he encountered withall in fight, yet he forgate not him ſelfe, nor neglected the iudgement & foreſight, which ſhould neuer be wanting in a Generall of an army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and diſcretly gaue order for euerie thinge, rydinge to and fro, to defende and encorage his men in thoſe places, where

Pyrrus being receiued of the Tarẽtines reformed their vaine voluptuous life.

Marſhall diſcipline.

Leuinus Conſul, ſent againſt Pyrrus.

Pyrrus camped in the plaine, betwene Pandoſia and Heraclea. Siris fl.

Pyrrus Battell.

Pyrrus firſt conflict with the Romaines.

Pyrrus wiſedom & foreſight in battell.

A where he ſawe them in moſt diſtreſſe. But euen in the hotteſt of the battell, *Leonatus* MACEDONIAN, ſpyed an ITALIAN a man of armes, that followed *Pyrrus* vppe and downe where he went, and euer kept in manner of euen hande with him, to ſet apon him. Wherefore he ſayd to *Pyrrus*: my Lord doe you not ſee that barbarous man there vppon a baye horſe with white feete? Sure he looketh as though he ment to doe ſome notable feate and miſchiefe with his owne handes: for his eye is neuer of you, but wayteth only apon you, being ſharpe ſet to deale with your ſelfe & none other, & therefore take hede of him. *Pyrrus* aunſwered him, it is impoſſible *Leonatus*, for a man to auoyde his deſtinie: but neither he, nor any other ITALIAN whatſoeuer, ſhall haue any ioy to deale with me. And as they were talkinge thus of the matter, the ITALIAN taking his ſpeare in the middeſt, and ſetting ſpurres to his horſe, charged apon *Pyr-*
B *rus*, and ranne his horſe through and through with the ſame. *Leonatus* at the ſelfe ſame inſtant ſerued the ITALIANS horſe in the like manner, ſo as both their horſes fell dead to the ground. Howbeit *Pyrrus* men that were about him, ſaued him preſently, and ſlew the ITALIAN in the fielde, although he fought it out right valliantly. The ITALIANS name was *Oplacus*, borne in the city of FERENTVM, and was Captaine of a bande of men of armes. This miſchaunce made kinge *Pyrrus* looke the better to him ſelfe afterwardes, and ſeeinge his horſemen geue backe, ſent preſently to haſten his footemen forward, whom he ſtraight ſet in order of battell: and deliuering his armor and cloke to one of his familiars called *Megacles*, and being hidden as it were in *Megacles* armor, returned againe to the battell againſt the ROMAINES, who valiantly reſiſted him, ſo that the victory depended longe in doubt. For it is ſayd, that both the one ſide
C and the other did chaſe, and was chaſed, aboue ſeuen times in that conflict. The chaunginge of the kinges armor ſerued very well for the ſafety of his owne perſone, howebeit it was like to haue marred all, and to haue made him looſe the fielde. For many of his enemies ſet vppon *Megacles*, that ware the kings armor: and the partie that ſlue him dead, and threw him ſtarke to the grounde, was one *Dexius* by name, who quickely ſnatched of his head peece, tooke away his cloke, and ranne to *Leuinus* the Conſul, crying out alowde, that he had ſlaine *Pyrrus*, and withall ſhewed foorth the ſpoyles he ſuppoſed to haue taken from him. Which being caried about through all the bands, & openly ſhewed from hand to hand, made the ROMAINES maruelous ioyfull, and the GREECIANS to the contrary, both afeard and right ſorowfull: vntill ſuch time as *Pyrrus* hearing of it, went and paſſed alongeſt all his bandes bare headed, and
D bare faced, holdinge vp his hande to his ſouldiers, and geuinge them to vnderſtande with his owne voyce, that it was him ſelfe. The elephantes in the ende were they in deede that wanne the battell, and did moſt diſtreſſe the ROMAINES: for, their horſes ſeeing them a farre of, were ſore afrayed, and durſt not abide them, but caried their maſters backe in deſpite of them. *Pyrrus* at the ſight thereof, made his THESSALIAN horſemen to geue a charge apon them whileſt they were in this diſorder, and that ſo luſtely, as they made the ROMAINES flie, and ſuſteine great ſlaughter. For *Dionyſius* wryteth, that there dyed few leſſe, then fifteene thowſand ROMAINES at that battell. But *Hieronymus* ſpeaketh onely of ſeuen thowſande. And of *Pyrrus* ſide, *Dionyſius* wryteth, there were ſlaine thirteene thowſande. But *Hieronymus* ſayth leſſe then foure thowſande: howebeit they were all of the beſt men of his army, and thoſe whome moſt
E he truſted. King *Pyrrus* preſently hereupon alſo tooke the ROMAINES campe, which they forſooke, and wan many of their cities from their allyance, ſpoyled, and ouercame much of their contry. Inſomuch as he came within ſix and thirty mile of ROME, whither came to his aide, as confederates of the TARENTINES, the LVCANIANS, & the SAMNITES, whom he rebuked bicauſe they came to late to the battel. Howbeit a man might eaſily ſee in his face, that he was not a litle glad and proude to haue ouerthrowen ſo great an army of the ROMAINES with his owne men, and the aide of the TARENTINES onely. On thother ſide, the ROMAINES hartes were ſo great, that they would not depoſe *Leuinus* from his Conſullſhippe, notwithſtandinge the loſſe he had receiued: and *Cains Fabricius* ſayed openly, that they were not the EPIROTES that had ouercomen the ROMAINES, but *Pyrrus* had ouercome *Leuinus*: meaning there-
F by, that this ouerthrow chaunced vnto them, more through the ſubtilty and wiſe conduction of the Generall, then through the valliant feates and worthines of his army. And hereuppon they ſpeedily ſupplied their legyons againe that were miniſhed, with other newe ſouldiers

Pyrrus changed his armor & cloke.

Megacles ſlaine, taken for Pyrrus.

Tyrrus victory of Leuinus the Conſull.

in the dead mens place, and leauied a freſh force beſides, ſpeaking brauely and fiercely of this warre, like men whoſe hartes were nothinge appawled. Whereat *Pyrrus* maruelinge much, thought good firſt to ſend to the ROMAINES, to proue if they would geue any eare to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the city of ROME was no eaſie matter to cõpaſſe, or attaine, with that ſtrength he preſently had: and alſo that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this his valliant victory. And hereupon he ſent *Cineas* to ROME, who ſpake with the chiefeſt of the city, and offred preſentes to them and their wiues, in the behalfe of the king his maſter. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receiue any at his handes, but aunſwered all with one voyce: that if the peace might be general to all, they all priuately woulde be at the kinges commaundement, and woulde be glad of his frendſhippe. Moreouer, when *Cineas* had talked in open audience before the Senate, of many curteous offers, and had deliuered them profitable capitulacions of peace: they accepted none, nor ſhewed any affection to geue eare vnto them, although he offered to deliuer them their priſoners home againe without raunſome, that had bene taken at the battell, and promiſed alſo to aide them in the conqueſt of ITALIE, requiring no other recompence at their handes, ſauing their goodwills only to his maſter, & aſſurance for the TARENTINES, that they ſhould not be annoyed for any thinge paſt, without demaunde of other matter. Neuertheleſſe in the ende, when they had hearde theſe offers, many of the Senators yeelded, and were willinge to make peace: alleaginge that they had already loſt a great battell, and howe they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of ITALIE ſhould ioyne together with king *Pyrrus* power. But *Appius Claudius*, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor deſt in matters of ſtate at all by reaſon of his age, and partely bicauſe he was blinde: when he vnderſtoode of king *Pyrrus* offers, and of the common brute that ranne through the city, howe the Senate were in minde to agree to the capitulacions of peace propounded by *Cineas*, he could not abide, but cauſed his ſeruauntes to cary him in his chayer apon their armes vnto the Senate dore, his ſonnes, and ſonnes in law taking him in their armes, caried him ſo into the Senate houſe. The Senate made ſilence to honor the comming in of ſo notable & worthy a perſonage: and he ſo ſoone as they had ſette him in his ſeate, beganne to ſpeake in this ſorte. Hitherunto with great impacience (my Lordes of ROME) haue I borne the loſſe of my ſight, but now, I would I were alſo as deafe as I am blinde, that I might not (as I doe) heare the reporte of your diſhonorable conſultacions determined vpon in Senate, which tende to ſubuert the glorious fame and reputacion of ROME. What is now become of all your great and mighty bragges you blaſed abroade, through the whole worlde? that if *Alexander* the great him ſelfe had come into ITALIE, in the time that our fathers had bene in the flower of their age, and we in the prime of our youth, they would not haue ſayed euery where that he was altogether inuincible, as now at this preſent they doe: but either he ſhould haue left his body ſlaine here in battell, or at the leaſt wiſe haue bene driuen to flie, and by his death or flyinge ſhoulde greatly haue enlarged the renowne and glory of ROME? you plainly ſhow it now, that all theſe words ſpoken thẽ, were but vaine & arrogant vaunts of fooliſh pride. Conſidering that you tremble for feare of the MOLOSSIANS & CHAONIANS, who were euer a pray to the MACEDONIANS: and that ye are afrayed of *Pyrrus* alſo, who all his life time ſerued and followed one of the gard vnto *Alexander* the great, and nowe is come to make warres in theſe partes, not to aide the GREECIANS inhabiting in ITALIE, but to flie from his enemies there about his owne contry, offering you to conquer all the reſt of ITALIE with an army, wherewith he was nothing able to kepe a ſmall parte of MACEDON only for him ſelfe. And therefore you muſt not perſwade your ſelues, that in making peace with him, you ſhall thereby be rid of him: but rather ſhall you draw others to come & ſet apon you beſides. For they will vtterly deſpiſe you, when they ſhal heare ye are ſo eaſily ouercome, and that you haue ſuffered *Pyrrus* to eſcape your handes, before you made him feele the iuſt reward of his bolde preſumptuous attempt vpon you: carying with him for a further hier, this aduantage ouer you, that he hath geuen a great occaſion both to the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, hereafter to mocke and deride you. After that *Appius* had tolde this tale vnto the Senate, euery one through the whole aſſembly, deſired rather warre then peace. They diſpatched *Cineas* away thereupon with this aunſwere, that

Cineas ſent Ambaſſador to Rome.

The noble minde of the Romaines.

Appius Claudius diſſuaded the Romaines from making peace with Pyrrus.

Appius Claudius oration to the Senate.

if

if *Pyrrus* sought the ROMAINES frendshippe, he must first departe out of ITALIE, and then sende vnto them to treate of peace: but so longe as he remained there with his army, the ROMAINES would make warres vpon him, with all the force and power they could make, yea although he had ouerthrowen and slaine tenne thowsand such Captaines as *Leuinus* was. They say that *Cineas*, during the time of his abode at ROME, intreating for this peace, did curiously labor to consider and vnderstande, the manners, order, and life of the ROMAINES, and their common weale, discoursing thereof with the chiefest men of the city: and how afterwards he made ample reporte of the same vnto *Pyrrus*, and tolde him amongest other thinges, that the Senate appeared to him, a counsell house of many kinges. And furthermore (for the number of people) that he feared greatly they should fight against such a serpent, as that which was in olde time in the marises of LERNE, of which, when they had cut of one heade, seuen other came vp in the place: bicause the Consull *Leuinus* had nowe leauied an other army, twise as great as the first was, and had left at ROME also, many times as many good able men to cary armor. After this, there were sent Ambassadors from ROME vnto *Pyrrus*, and amongest other, *Caius Fabricius* touching the state of the prisoners. *Cineas* tolde the kinge his master, that this *Fabricius* was one of the greatest menne of accompt in all ROME, a right honest man, a good Captaine, and a very valliant man of his handes, yet poore in deede he was notwithstanding. *Pyrrus* taking him secretly a side, made very much of him, and amongest other thinges, offered him bothe golde and siluer, prayinge him to take it, not for any dishonest respect he ment towardes him, but only for a pledge of the goodwill and frendshippe that should be betwene them. *Fabricius* would none of his gift: so *Pyrrus* left him for that time. Notwithstanding, the next morninge thinkinge to feare him, bicause he had neuer seene elephant before, *Pyrrus* commaunded his men, that when they sawe *Fabricius* and him talkinge together, they shoulde bringe one of his greatest elephantes, and set him harde by them, behinde a hanging: which being done at a certaine signe by *Pyrrus* geuen, sodainly the hanging was pulled backe, and the elephant with his troncke was ouer *Fabricius* heade, and gaue a terrible and fearefull crie. *Fabricius* softely geuing backe, nothing afrayed, laughed and sayd to *Pyrrus* smiling: neither did your golde (oh king) yesterday moue me, nor your elephant to day feare me. Furthermore, whilest they were at supper, fallinge in talke of diuerse matters, specially touchinge the state of GREECE, and the Philosophers there: *Cineas* by chaunce spake of EPICVRVS, and rehearsed the opinions of the EPICVRIANS touching the goddes and gouernment of the common wealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleasure, how they fled from all office & publike charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: howe they maintained that the goddes were immortall, neither moued with pity nor anger, and led an idle life full of all pleasures and delightes, without taking any regarde of mens doinges. But as he still continued this discourse, *Fabricius* cried out alowde, and sayd: the goddes graunt that *Pyrrus* and the SAMNITES were of such opinions, as long as they had warres against vs. *Pyrrus* marueling much at the constancy and magnanimity of this man, was more desirous a great deale to haue peace with the ROMAINES, then before. And priuately prayed *Fabricius* very earnestly, that he would treate for peace, whereby he might afterwards come and remaine with him, saying: that he would giue him the chiefe place of honor about him, amongest all his frendes. Whereunto *Fabricius* aunswered him softly: that were not good (oh king) for your selfe, quod he: for your men that presently doe honor and esteeme you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather choose me for their kinge, then your selfe. Such was *Fabricius* talke, whose wordes *Pyrrus* tooke not in ill parte, neither was offended with them at all, as a tyran woulde haue bene: but did him selfe reporte to his frendes and familiars the noble minde he founde in him, and deliuered him apon his faith only, all the ROMAINE prisoners: to the ende that if the Senate would not agree vnto peace, they might yet see their frendes, and kepe the feast of Saturne with them, and then to send them backe againe vnto him. Which the Senate established by decree, vpon paine of death to all such as should not performe the same accordingly. Afterwardes *Fabricius* was chosen Consull, and as he was in his campe, there came a man to him that brought him a letter from kinge *Pyrrus* Phisitian, wrytten with his owne handes: in which the Phisitian offered to poyson his maister, so he would promise him a good reward, for

The maiestie of the Senate at Rome.

Caius Fabricius, Ambassador to Pyrrus.

Caius Fabricius a noble Captaine, but very poore.

Fabricius refused king Pyrrus gyft.

The opinion of the Epicuriã, touchinge felicity.

King Pyrrus Phisitian wryteth to Fabricius, & offereth to poyson his master.

ending the warres without further daunger. *Fabricius* deteſtinge the wickedneſſe of the Phiſtian, and hauing made *Q. AEmilius* his colleague, and fellowe Conſull alſo, to abhorre the ſame: wrote a letter vnto *Pyrrus*, and bad him take heede, for there were that ment to poyſon him. The contentes of his letter were theſe: *Caius Fabricius*, and *Quintus AEmylius* Conſuls of ROME, vnto king *Pyrrus* greeting. You haue (oh king) made vnfortunate choiſe, both of your frendes and of your enemies, as ſhall appeare vnto you by reading of this letter, which one of yours hath wrytten vnto vs: for you make warres with iuſt and honeſt men, and do your ſelfe truſt altogether the wicked and vnfaithfull. Hereof therfore we haue thought good to aduertiſe you, not in reſpect to pleaſure you, but for feare leaſt the misfortune of your death might make vs vniuſtly to be accuſed: imagining that by trechery of treaſon, we haue ſought to end this warre, as though by valliantneſſe we coulde not otherwiſe atchieue it. *Pyrrus* hauing red this letter, and proued the contentes thereof true, executed the Phiſitian as he had deſerued: and to requite the aduertiſement of the Conſulls, he ſent *Fabricius* and the ROMAINES their priſoners, without payinge of raunſome, and ſent *Cineas* againe vnto them, to proue if he could obtaine peace. Howbeit, the ROMAINES, bicauſe they would neither receiue pleaſure of their enemies, and leaſt of all reward, for that they conſented not vnto ſo wicked a deede: did not only refuſe to take their priſoners of free gift, but they ſent him againe ſo many SAMNITES, and TARENTINES. And furthermore, for peace, and his frendſhippe, they would geue no eare to it, before the warres were ended, and that he had ſent away his army againe by ſea, into his kingdome of EPIRVS. Wherefore *Pyrrus* ſeing no remedy, but that he muſt needes fight an other battell, after he had ſomewhat refreſhed his army, drewe towardes the citie of ASCVLVM, where he fought the ſeconde time with the ROMAINES: and was brought into a maruelous ill grounde for horſemen, by a very ſwift running riuer, from whence came many brookes and deepe mariſhes, inſomuch as his elephantes could haue no ſpace nor ground to ioine with the battel of the footemen, by reaſon wherof there was a great number of men hurt and ſlaine on both ſides. And in the ende, the battell being fought out all day longe, the darke night did ſeuer them: but the next morninge, *Pyrrus* to winne the aduantage to fight in the plaine field, where he might preuaile with the force of his elephantes, ſent firſt certaine of his bandes to ſeaſe vpon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy hauing brought the ROMAINES into the plaine field, he thruſt in amongeſt his elephants, ſtore of ſhot, and ſlingmen, and then made his army marche (being very well ſet in order) with great furie againſt his enemies. They miſſinge thother dayes turninges and places of retyre, were now compelled to fight all on a fronte in the plaine fielde: and ſtriuing to breake into the battell of *Pyrrus* footemen before the elephantes came, they deſperately preaced in apon their enemies pykes with their ſwordes, not caring for their owne perſones what became of them, but only looked to kill and deſtroy their enemies. In the ende notwithſtandinge, after the battell had holden out very long, the ROMAINES loſt it, and they firſt beganne to breake and flie on that ſide where *Pyrrus* was, by reaſon of the great force and furie of his charge, and much more through the violence of the elephantes: againſt which, the ROMAINES valliantnes nor corage coulde ought preuaile, but that they were driuen to geue them place (much like the rage of ſurging waues, or terrible tremblinge of the earth) rather then tary to be troden vnder feete, and ouerthrowen by them, whome they were not able to hurte againe, but be by them moſt greuouſly martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothinge eaſed. The chaſe was not long, bicauſe they fled but into their campe: and *Hieronymus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that there died ſix thowſande men of the ROMAINES, and of *Pyrrus* parte about three thowſande fiue hundred and fiue, as the kinges owne Chronicles doe witneſſe. Neuertheleſſe, *Dionyſius* makes no mencion of two battells geuen neere vnto the citie of ASCVLVM, nor that the ROMAINES were certainely ouerthrowen: howbeit he confirmeth that there was one battell only that continued vntil ſunne ſet, and that they ſcarcely ſeuered alſo when night was come on, *Pyrrus* being hurte on the arme with a ſpeare, and his cariage robbed and ſpoiled by the SAMNITES beſides. And further, that there died in this battell, aboue fifteene thowſande men, as well of *Pyrrus* ſide, as of the ROMAINES parte: and that at the laſt, both the one and the other did retyre. And ſome ſay, that it was at that time *Pyrrus* aunſwered one, who reioyced with him

Fabricius letter to Pyrrus, aduertiſing him of his Phiſitions treaſon.

Pyrrus ſendeth the Romaines their priſoners with out raunſome.

Pyrrus ſecond battel with the Romaines, by the city of Aſculum.

Pyrrus victory of the Romaines.

The wryters agree not about Pyrrus battell.

A him for the victory they had wonne: if we winne an other of the price, quod he, we are vtterly vndone. For in dede thē had he loſt the moſt parte of his army he brought with him out of his realme, and all his frendes and Captaines in manner euery one, or at the leaſt there lacked litle of it: and beſides that, he had no meanes to ſupplie them with other from thence, and perceiued alſo that the confederates he had in ITALIE, beganne to waxe colde. Where the ROMAINES to the contrary, did eaſily renue their army with freſhe ſouldiers, which they cauſed to come from ROME as neede required, (much like vnto a liuely ſpring, the head whereof they had at home in their contry) and they fainted not at all for any loſſes they receiued, but rather were they ſo much the more hotly bent, ſtowtely determining to abide out the warres, what euer betyde. And thus whileſt *Pyrrus* was troubled in this ſorte, newe hopes, and newe enter-

B priſes were offred vnto him, that made him doubtful what to do. For euē at a clap came Ambaſſadors to him out of SICILIA, offering to put into his handes, the cities of SYRACVSA, of AGRIGENTVM, and of the LEONTINES, and beſeeching him to aide them to driue the CARTHAGINIANS out of the Ile, thereby to deliuer them from all the tyrannes. And on the other ſide alſo, newes was brought him from GREECE, howe *Ptolomie* ſurnamed the lightning, was ſlaine, and all his army ouerthrowen in battell againſt the GAVLES, and that now he ſhoulde come in good hower for the MACEDONIANS, who lacked but a king. Then he curſed his hard fortune that preſented him all at once, ſuch ſundry occaſions to doe great thinges: and as if both enterpriſes had bene already in his hande, he made his accompt that of neceſſitie he muſt looſe one of them. So, long debating the matter with him ſelfe, which of the two wayes

C he ſhould conclude vppon: in the ende he reſolued, that by the warres of SICILIA, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, conſidering that AFRICKE was not farre from them. Wherefore, diſpoſinge him ſelfe that way, he ſent *Cineas* thither immediatly to make his way, and to ſpeake to the townes and cities of the contry as he was wont to doe: and in the meane time left a ſtrong garriſon in the city of TARENTVM, to kepe it at his deuotion, where-

Ambaſſadors out of Sicilia, to pray aide of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus iorney into Sicilia.

with the TARENTINES were very angry. For they made requeſt vnto him, either to remaine in their contry to maintaine warres with them againſt the ROMAINES, (which was their meaning why they ſent for him) or elſe if he would needes go, at the leaſt wiſe to leaue their city in as good ſtate as he founde it. But he aunſwered them againe very roughly, that they ſhoulde ſpeake no more to him in it, and that they ſhould not chooſe but tary his occaſion. And with

D this aunſwere tooke ſhippe, and ſailed towardes SICILIA: where ſo ſoone as he was arriued, he founde all that he hoped for, for the cities did willingely put them ſelues into his handes. And where neceſſity of battell was offered him to employ his army, nothing at the beginning could ſtande before him. For, with thirty thowſande footemen, two thowſande fiue hundred horſemen, and two hundred ſayle which he brought with him, he draue the CARTHAGINIANS before him, and conquered all the contry vnder their obedience. Nowe at that time, the city of ERIX was the ſtrongeſt place they had: and there were a great number of good ſouldiers within it to defende it. *Pyrrus* determined to proue the aſſault of it, and when his army was ready to geue the charge, he armed him ſelfe at all peeces from toppe to toe, and approching the walls, vowed vnto *Hercules* to geue him a ſolemne ſacrifice, with a feaſt of common

Pyrrus wanne the city of Erix in Sicilia.

E playes, ſo that he would graunt him grace to ſhew him ſelfe vnto the GREECIANS inhabiting in SICILIA, worthy of the noble auncеſters from whence he came, and of the great good fortune he had in his handes. This vowe ended, he ſtraight made the trompettes ſound to the aſſault, & cauſed the barbarous people that were on the walles, to retyre with force of his ſhot. Then when the ſcaling ladders were ſet vp, him ſelfe was the firſt that mounted on the walle, where he found diuerſe of the barbarous people that reſiſted him. But ſome he threw ouer the walles on either ſide of him, and with his ſword ſlew many dead about him, himſelfe not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the harte to looke him in the face, his countenaunce was ſo terrible. And this doth proue that *Homer* ſpake wiſely, and like a man of experience,

Homer of valiaunce.

F when he ſayd: that valiantneſſe onely amongeſt all other morall vertues is that, which hath ſomtimes, certaine furious motions and diuine prouocations, which make a man beſides him ſelfe. So the city being taken, he honorably performed his vowed ſacrifice to *Hercules*, & kept a feaſt of all kindes and ſortes of games and weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that

time about MESSINA, called the MAMERTINES, who did much hurt to the GREECIANS thereabouts, makinge many of them pay taxe and tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of warre and good ſouldiers, and had their name alſo of *Mars*, bicauſe they were marſhall men, and geuen to armes. *Pyrrus* led his army againſt them, and ouerthrew them in battell: and put their collectors to death, that did leauy and exact the taxe, and raſed many of their fortreſſes. And when the CARTHAGINIANS required peace and his frendſhip, offering him ſhippes and money, pretending greater matters: he made them a ſhorte aunſwere, that there was but one way to make peace and loue betwene them, to forſake SICILIA altogether, and to be contented to make Mare Libycum the border betwixt GREECE and them. For his good fortune, and the force he had in his handes, did ſet him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into SICILIA, aſpiring firſt of all vnto the conqueſt of LIBYA. Now, to paſſe him ouer thither, he had ſhips enough, but he lacked owers & mariners: wherefore when he would preſſe them, then he began to deale roughly with the cities of SICILIA, and in anger compelled, and ſeuerely puniſhed them, that would not obey his commaundement. This he did not at his firſt comminge, but contrarily had wonne all their good wills, ſpeaking more curteouſly to them then any other did, and ſhewing that he truſted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But ſodainly being altered from a populer prince, vnto a violent tyran, he was not only thought cruell and rigorous, but that worſt of all is, vnfaithfull and ingratefull: neuertheleſſe, though they receiued great hurt by him, yet they ſuffered it, and graunted him any needefull thing he did demaund. But when they ſaw he began to miſtruſt *Thænon* and *Soſtratus*, the two chiefe Captaines of SYRACVSA, and they who firſt cauſed him to come into SICILIA, who alſo at his firſt arriuall deliuered the city of SYRACVSA into his hands, & had bene his chiefe aiders in helping him to compaſſe that he had done in SICILIA: when I ſay they ſaw he would no more cary them with him, nor leaue them behinde him for the miſtruſt he had of them, and that *Soſtratus* fled from him, and abſented him ſelfe, fearing leaſt *Pyrrus* would doe him ſome miſchiefe: and that *Pyrrus* moreouer, had put *Thænon* to death, miſtruſting that he would alſo haue done him ſome harme. Then all things fell out againſt *Pyrrus*, not one after an other, nor by litle and litle, but all together at one inſtant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe ſome of them confederate with the CARTHAGINIANS, and others with the MAMERTINES, to ſet vpon him. But when all SICILIA was thus bent againſt him, he receiued letters from the SAMNITES & TARENTINES, by which they aduertiſed him, how they had much a doe to defende them ſelues within their cities and ſtrong holdes, and that they were wholly driuen out of the field: wherefore they earneſtly beſought him ſpeedily to come to their aide. This newes came happely to him, to cloke his flying, that he might ſay it was not for diſpaire of good ſucceſſe in SICILIA that he went his way: but true it was in dede, that when he ſaw he could no longer keepe it, then a ſhippe could ſtand ſtill among the waues, he ſought ſome honeſt ſhadow to colour his departing. And that ſurely was the cauſe why he returned againe into ITALIE. Neuertheleſſe, at his departure out of SICILE, they ſay that looking backe apon the Ile, he ſaid to thoſe that were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell, my frendes, doe we leaue to the ROMAINES and CARTHAGINIANS, to fight thone with thother? And verily ſo it fell out ſhortely after, as he had ſpoken. But the barbarous people conſpiringe together againſt *Pyrrus*, the CARTHAGINIANS on the one ſide watching his paſſage, gaue him battel on the ſea, in the very ſtraight it ſelfe of MESSINA, where he loſt many of his ſhips, and fled with the reſt, & tooke the coaſt of ITALIE. And there the MAMERTINES on the other ſide, being gone thither before, to the number of eighteene thowſande fighting men: durſt not preſent him battell in open fielde, but taried for him in certaine ſtraites of the mountaines, & in very hard places, and ſo ſet vpon his rereward, and diſordered all his army. They ſlew two of his elephants, and cut of a great number of his rereward, ſo as he was compelled him ſelfe in perſone to come from his vangard, to helpe them againſt the barbarous people, which were luſty valliant men, and olde trained ſouldiers. And there *Pyrrus* caught a blow on his head with a ſworde, and was in great daunger: inſomuch as he was forced to retyre out of the preaſe and fight, which did ſo much the more encorage his enemies. Among which there was one more aduenturous then the

The Mamertines why ſo called.

Pyrrus cruelty in Sicilia.

The Samnites and Tarentines ſent for Pyrrus to returne into Italie.

Pyrrus returne into Italy out of Sicile.

Pyrrus hurt on his head with a ſworde.

A the reſt, a goodly man of perſonage, fayer armed in white armor, who aduauncing him ſelfe farre before his company, cried out to the king with a bolde and fierce voyce, and chalenged him to fight with him if he were aliue. *Pyrrus* beinge mad as it were with this brauery, turned againe with his garde, in ſpight of his men, hurt as he was. And beſides that he was all on a fire with choller, and his face all bloody and terrible to behold, he went through his men, and came at the length to this barbarous villen that had challenged him: & gaue him ſuch a blow on his head with all his force and power, that what by the ſtrength of his arme, and through the goodnes of the temper and mettle of the ſword, the blow claue his head right in the middeſt, downe to the ſhoulders: ſo that his heade beinge thus deuided, the one parte fell on the one ſhoulder, & the other parte on the other. This matter ſodainly ſtayed the barbarous peo-

Pyrrus with a blow of his ſword claue his enimies head in the middeſt, and lyed it in his ſhoulders.

B ple, and kept them from goinge any further, they were ſo afrayed and amaſed both to ſee ſo great a blowe with ones hande, and it made them thinke in dede that *Pyrrus* was more then a man. After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more. *Pyrrus* holding on his iorney, atriued at the length in the city of TARENTVM, with twenty thowſand footemen, & three thowſand horſe. And with theſe (ioyning thereto the choyceſt pyked men of the TARENTINES) he went incontinently into the field to ſeeke out the ROMAINES, who had their campe within the territories of the SAMNITES, which were then in very hard ſtate. For their hartes were killed, bicauſe that in many battells and encounters with the ROMAINES, they were euer ouerthrowen. They were very angry beſides with *Pyrrus*, for that he had forſaken them, to goe his voyage vnto SICILIA, by reaſon whereof there came no great number of ſouldiers into his

C campe. But notwithſtanding, he deuided all his ſtrength into two partes, whereof he ſent the one parte into LVCANIA, to occupy one of the ROMAINE Conſulls that was there, to the end he ſhould not come to aide his companion: and with the other parte he went him ſelfe againſt *Manius Curius*, who lay in a very ſtraunge place of aduantage nere to the citie of BENEVENTO, attending the aide that ſhould come to him out of LVCANIA, beſides alſo that the Soothſayers (by the ſignes & tokens of the birdes and ſacrifices) did counſell him not to ſturre from thence. *Pyrrus* to the contrary, deſiring to fight with *Manius* before his aide came vnto him, which he looked for out of LVCANIA, tooke with him the beſt ſouldiers he had in all his army, and the warlikeſt elephantes, and marched away in the night, ſuppoſing to ſteale vpon *Manius* on the ſodaine, and geue an aſſault vnto his campe. Now *Pyrrus* hauing a long way to

Manius Curius Conſull.

D go, and through a woddy contry, his lightes and torches failed him, by reaſon whereof many of his ſouldiers loſt their way, and they loſt a great deale of time alſo, before they could againe be gathered together: ſo as in this ſpace the night was ſpent, and the day once broken, the enemies perceiued plainely how he came downe the hills. This at the firſt ſight made thē muſe awhile, and put them in a litle feare: neuertheleſſe *Manius* hauing had the ſignes of the ſacrifices fauorable, and ſeeing that occaſion did preſſe him to it, went out into the field, and ſet apon the vowarde of his enemies, and made them turne their backes. The which feared all the reſt in ſuch wiſe, that there were ſlaine a great number of them in the fielde, and certaine elephantes alſo taken. This victory made *Manius Curius* leaue his ſtrength, and come into the plaine field, where he ſet his men in battell ray, and ouerthrew his enemies by plaine force on

Pyrrus thirde battell with the Romaines. Pyrrus ouerthrowen by Manius Curius in battell.

E the one ſide: but on the other he was repulſed by violence of the elephantes, and compelled to drawe backe into his owne campe, wherein he had left a great number of men to garde it. So when he ſaw them vpon the rampers of his campe all armed, ready to fight, he called them out, and they comming freſh out of places of aduantage to charge vpon the elephantes, compelled them in a very ſhorte time to turne their backes, & flie through their owne men, whom they put to great trouble, and diſorder: ſo as in the ende, the whole victory fell apon the ROMAINES ſide, and conſequently by meanes of that victory, followed the greatnes and power of their Empire. For the ROMAINES being growen more coragious by this battell, and hauing increaſed their force, and wonne the reputacion of men vnconquerable: immediatly after conquered all ITALIE beſides, and ſoone after that, all SICILIA. To this ende as you ſee,

F came king *Pyrrus* vaine hope he had to conquer ITALIE and SICILIA, after he had ſpent ſixe yeares continually in warres, during which time his good fortune decayed, & his army conſumed. Notwithſtanding, his noble corage remained alwayes inuincible, what loſſes ſoeuer he

had ſuſteined: and moreouer whileſt he liued, he was euer eſteemed the chieſeſt of all the kings & princes in his time, as well for his experience & ſufficiency in warres, as alſo for the valliantnes and hardines of his perſon. But what he wanne by famous deedes, he loſt by vaine hopes: deſiring ſo earneſtly that which he had not, as he forgate to kepe that which he had. Wherefore *Antigonus* compared him vnto a dice player that caſteth well, but can not vſe his lucke. *Pyrrus compared to a dyce player.* Now hauing brought backe againe with him into EPIRVS, eight thowſande footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen, and being without money to pay them, he deuiſed with himſelfe to ſeeke out ſome new warre to entertaine thoſe ſouldiers, and kepe them together. Wherefore vppon a newe aide of certaine of the GAVLES beinge comen vnto him, he entered into the realme of MACEDON (which *Antigonus, Demetrius* ſonne held at that time) with intent only to make a forrey, and to get ſome ſpoyle in the contry. But when he ſaw that he had taken diuerſe holdes, and moreouer, that two thowſand men of warre of the contry came and yelded themſelues vnto him: he beganne to hope of better ſucceſſe, then at the firſt he looked for. *Pyrrus returne into Epirus out of Italie.* *Pyrrus victory of Antigonus king of Macedon.* For vpon that hope he marched againſt king *Antigonus* ſelfe, whom he met in a very ſtraight valley, and at his firſt comming, gaue ſuch a luſty charge vpon his rereward, that he put all *Antigonus* army in great diſorder. For *Antigonus* had placed the GAVLES in the rereward of his army to cloſe it in, which were a conuenient number, and did valliantly defend the firſt charge: and the skirmiſhe was ſo hotte, that the moſt of them were ſlaine. After them, the leaders of the elephantes perceiuing they were enuironned on euery ſide, yelded themſelues and their beaſtes. *Pyrrus* ſeeing his power to be now increaſed with ſuch a ſupply, truſting more to his good fortune, then any good reaſon might moue him: thruſt further into the battel of the MACEDONIANS, who were all afrayed, and troubled for the ouerthrowe of their rereward, ſo as they would not once baſe their pykes, nor fight againſt him. He for his parte holdinge vp his hande, and callinge the Captaines of the bandes by their names, ſtraight wayes made all the footemen of *Antigonus* turne wholly to his ſide: who flying, ſaued himſelfe with a few horſemen, and kept certaine of the cities in his realme apon the ſea coaſt. *Antigonus flieth from kinge Pyrrus.* But *Pyrrus* in all his proſperity, iudging nothing more to redownde to his honor and glory, then the ouerthrow of the GAVLES, layed aſide their goodlieſt and richeſt ſpoyles, and offred vp the ſame in the temple of *Minerua Itonida*, with this inſcription.

VVhen Pyrrus had ſubdude, the puiſant Gaules in fields,
He cauſed of their ſpoyles to make, theſe targets, armes, and shields:
The vvhich he hanged vp, in temple all on high,
Before Minerua (goddeſſe here) in ſigne of victory.
VVhen he had ouercome, the vvhole and hugie hoaſt:
The vvhich Antigonus did bring, into his contries coaſt.
Ne maruell should it ſeeme, though victory he vvonne,
Since valliantnes bringes victory, and euermore hath done:
And valliantnes alvvayes, hath conſtantly kept place,
From age to age, and time to time, in AEacus his race.

Immediatly after this battell, all the cities of the realme of MACEDON yelded vnto him: but when he had the citie of ÆGES in his power, he vſed the inhabitantes thereof very hardly, & ſpecially bicauſe he left a great garriſon of the GAVLES there which he had in pay. This nation is extreame couetous, as then they ſhewed themſelues: for they ſpared not to breake vp the tombes wherein the kinges of MACEDON lay buried there, tooke away all the gold and ſiluer they could finde, and afterwards with great inſolency caſt out their bones into the open winde. *Pyrrus* was tolde of it, but he lightly paſſed it ouer, and made no reckening of it: either bicauſe he deferred it till an other time, by reaſon of the warres he had then in hande: or elſe for that he durſt not meddle with puniſhing of theſe barbarous people at that time. But whatſoeuer the matter was, the MACEDONIANS were very angry with *Pyrrus*, & blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, hauing not yet made all thinges ſure in MACEDON, nor being fully poſſeſt of the ſame: new toyes and hope came into his head, and mocking *Antigonus*, ſayd, he was a mad man to goe apparrelled in purple like a king, when a poore cloke might become him like a priuate man. Now, *Cleonymus* king of SPARTA being come to procure him to bring

The couetouſneſſe of the Gaules.

A his army into the contry of LACEDÆMON, *Pyrrus* was very willing to it. This *Cleonymus* was of the blood royall of SPARTA, but bicauſe he was a cruell man, and would do all thinges by authority, they loued him not at SPARTA, nor truſted him at all: and therefore did they put him out, & made *Areus* king, a very quiet man. And this was the oldeſt quarrell *Cleonymus* had againſt the cõmon wealth of SPARTA: but beſides that, he had an other priuate quarrel, which grewe vppon this cauſe. In his olde yeares, *Cleonymus* had maried a fayer younge Lady called *Chelidonide*, which was alſo of the blood royall, and the daughter of *Leotychides*. This Lady being fallen extreamely in loue with *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* ſonne, a goodly young gentleman, and in his luſty youth, ſhe greatly vexed and diſhonored her husbande *Cleonymus*, who was ouer heade and eares in loue and iealouſie with her: for there was not one in all SPARTA, but

Areus made king of Sparta, and Cleonymus put downe.

B plainely knewe that his wife made none accompt of him. And thus his home ſorowes, being ioyned with his outwarde common greues, euen for ſpight, deſiring a reuenge, in choller he went to procure *Pyrrus* to come vnto SPARTA, to reſtore him againe to his kingdome. Hereupon he brought him into LACEDÆMONIA forthwith, with fiue and twenty thowſand footemen, two thowſand horſe, and foure and twenty elephantes: by which preparacion, though by nothing elſe, the worlde might plainely ſee, that *Pyrrus* came with a minde not to reſtore *Cleonymus* againe vnto SPARTA, but of intent to conquer for him ſelfe (if he could) all the contrie of PELOPONNESVS. For in wordes he denied it to the LACEDÆMONIANS them ſelues, who ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him when he was in the city of MEGALIPOLIS, where he tolde them that he was come into PELOPONNESVS, to ſette the townes and cities at libertie which

The cauſe of Pyrrus inuading Peloponneſus.

Pyrrus ſtrangeanſwere to the Spartans.

C *Antigonus* kept in bondage: & that his true intent and meaning was to ſend his young ſonnes into SPARTA (ſo they would be contented) to the end they might be trained after the LACONIAN manner, and from their youth haue this aduantage aboue all other kinges, to haue bene well brought vp. But faining theſe thinges, and abuſing thoſe that came to meete him on his way, they tooke no heede of him, till he came within the coaſt of LACONIA, into the which he was no ſooner entred, but he beganne to ſpoyle and waſt the whole contry. And when the Ambaſſadors of SPARTA reproued and founde fault with him, for that he made warres vpon them in ſuch ſorte, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them aunſwer: no more haue you your ſelues vſed to proclaime that, which you purpoſed to do to others. Then one of the Ambaſſadors called *Mandricidas*, replied againe vnto him in the LACONIAN tongue. If thou

Mandricidas ſtout aunſwer to king Pyrrus.

D be a god, thou wilt doe vs no hurt, bicauſe we haue not offended thee: and if thou be a man, thou ſhalt meete with an other that ſhalbe better then thy ſelfe. Then he marched directly to SPARTA, where *Cleonymus* gaue him counſell euen at the firſt, to aſſault it. But he would not ſo do, fearing (as they ſayd) that if he did it by night, his ſouldiers would ſacke the city: and ſayd it ſhould be time enough to aſſault it the next day at broad day light, bicauſe there were but few men within the towne, and beſide they were very ill prouided. And furthermore, king *Areus* him ſelfe was not there, but gone into CRETA to aide the GORTYNIANS, who had warres in their owne contry. And doutleſſe, that only was the ſauing of SPARTA from taking, that they made no reckening to aſſault it hotly: bicauſe they thought it was not able to make reſiſtaunce. For *Pyrrus* camped before the towne, throughly perſwaded with him ſelfe, that he

Pyrrus beſiegeth Lacedæmon.

E ſhould finde none to fight with him: and *Cleonymus* frends and ſeruauntes alſo did prepare his lodging there, as if *Pyrrus* ſhould haue come to ſupper to him, and lodged with him. When night was come, the LACEDÆMONIANS counſelled together, & ſecretly determined to ſend away their wiues, and litle children into CRETA. But the women them ſelues were againſt it, and there was one amonge them called *Archidamia*, who went into the Senate houſe with a ſword in her hand, to ſpeake vnto them in the name of all the reſt, and ſayd: that they did their wiues great wronge, if they thought them ſo fainte harted, as to liue after SPARTA were deſtroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in counſell, that they ſhould caſt a trenche before the enemies campe, and that at both the endes of the ſame they ſhould bury cartes in the ground vnto the middeſt of the wheeles, to the end that being faſt ſet in the ground, they ſhould ſtay the

The corage of the women of Sparta.

F elephantes, and kepe them from paſſing further. And when they beganne to go in hand withall, there came wiues and maides vnto them, ſome of them their clothes girte vp round about them, and others all in their ſmockes, to worke at this trenche with the old men, aduiſing the

young men that ſhould fight the next morning, to reſt them ſelues in the meane while. So the A
Women wrought in the trench. women tooke the third parte of the trenche to taske, which was ſix cubittes broade, foure cubits deepe, and eight hundred foote long as *Philarchus* ſayth: or litle leſſe as *Hieronymus* wryteth. Then when the breake of day appeared, & the enemies remoued to come to the aſſault
Women encouraged their men to fight. the women them ſelues fetched the weapons which they put into the young mens hands, and deliuered them the taske of the trenche ready made, which they before had vndertaken, praying them valliantly to keepe and defend it, tellinge them withall, howe great a pleaſure it is to ouercome the enemies, fighting in view and ſight of their natiue contry, and what great felicity and honor it is to dye in the armes of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valliantly like an honeſt man, and worthy of the magnanimity of SPARTA. But *Chelidonida* being gone aſide, had tyed a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to ſtrangle & hang her ſelfe, B
rather thē to fall into the hands of *Cleonymus*, if by chaunce the city ſhould come to be taken.
Pyrrus battel. Now *Pyrrus* marched in perſon with his battell of footemen, againſt the fronte of the SPARTANS, who being a great number alſo, did tary his comming on the other ſide of the trenche: the which, beſides that it was very ill to paſſe ouer, did let the ſouldiers alſo to fight ſteadely in order of battell, bicauſe the earth being newly caſt vp, did yeld vnder their feete. Wherefore, *Ptolomie* king *Pyrrus* ſonne, paſſing all alongeſt the trench ſide with two thowſand GAVLES, & all the choyce men of the CHAONIANS, aſſayed if he could get ouer to the other ſide at one of the endes of the trenche where the cartes were: which being ſet very deepe into the ground, and one ioyned vnto an other, they did not only hinder thaſſaylants, but the defendants alſo. Howbeit in the end, the GAVLES began to plucke of the wheeles of theſe cartes, and to draw C
them into the riuer. But *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* ſonne, a young man, ſeeing the daunger, ranne through the city with a troupe of three hundred luſty youthes beſides, & went to incloſe *Ptolomie* behinde before he eſpied him, for that he paſſed a ſecret hollow way till he came euento geue the charge vpon them: whereby they were enforced to turne their faces towardes him, one runninge in an others necke, and ſo in great diſorder were thruſt into the trenches, and vnder the cartes: inſomuch as at the laſt, with much a doe, and great bloodſhed, *Acrotatus* and his company draue them backe, and repulſed them. Now the women and old men, that were
Acrotatus valliantnes. on thother ſide of the trenche, ſaw plainly before their face, howe valliantly *Acrotatus* had repulſed the GAVLES. Wherefore, after *Acrotatus* had done this exployte, he returned againe through the city vnto the place from whence he came, all on a goare blood, coragious and D
liuely, for the victory he came newly from. The women of SPARTA thought *Acrotatus* farre more noble and fayrer to beholde, then euer he was: ſo that they all thought *Chelidonida* happy to haue ſuch a frend and louer. And there were certaine olde men that followed him, crying after him, goe thy way *Acrotatus*, and enioy thy loue *Chelidonida*: beget noble children of her vnto SPARTA. The fight was cruell on that ſide where *Pyrrus* was, and many of the SPARTANS fought very valliantly. Howbeit amongeſt other, there was one named *Phillius*, who after he had fought long, and ſlaine many of his enemies with his owne handes, that forced to paſſe ouer the trenche: perceiuing that his hart fainted for the great number of woundes he had apon him, called one of them that were in the rancke next behinde him, and geuing him his place, fell downe deade in the armes of his frendes, bicauſe his enemies ſhoulde not haue E
his body. In the ende, the battell hauinge continued all the day longe, the night did ſeparate
Pyrrus dreame. them: and *Pyrrus* being layed in his bed, had this viſion in his ſleepe. He thought he ſtrake the city of LACEDÆMON with lightning, and that he vtterly conſumed it: whereat he was ſo paſſing glad, that euen with the very ioy he awaked. And thereuppon foorthwith commaunded his Captaines to make their men ready to the aſſault: and told his dreame vnto his familiers, ſuppoſing that out of dout it did betoken he ſhould in that approache take the citie. All that heard it, beleued it was ſo, ſauing one *Lyſimachus*: who to the contrary, ſayed that this viſion liked him not, bicauſe the places ſmitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawfull to enter into them: by reaſon whereof he was alſo affraied, that the goddes did ſignifie vnto him, that he ſhould not enter into the citie of SPARTA. *Pyrrus* aunſwered him: that ſaied he, is a matter F
diſputable to & fro in an open aſſembly of people, for there is no maner of certainty in it. But furthermore, euery man muſt take his weapon in his hand, & ſet this ſentence before his eyes

A *A right good ſigne it is, that he vvould hazard life*
In iuſt defence of maſters cauſe vvith ſpeare and bloody knife.

Alludinge vnto *Homers* verſes, which he wrote for the defence of his contry. And ſaying thus, he roſe, and at the breake of day led his army vnto the aſſault. On thother ſide alſo, the LACEDÆMONIANS with a maruelous corage & magnanimity, farre greater then their force beſtirred them ſelues wonderfully to make reſiſtaunce, hauing their wiues by them that gaue them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to geue meate & drinke to them that needed, and did alſo withdrawe thoſe that were hurt to cure them. The MACEDONIANS likewiſe for their parte, endeuored them ſelues with all their might to fill vppe the
B trenche with wodde and other thinges, which they caſt vpon the dead bodies and armors, lying in the bottome of the ditche: & the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, labored all that they could poſſible to let them. But in this great broyle, one perceiued *Pyrrus* a horſe backe to haue lept the trenche, paſt ouer the ſtrength of the cartes, and make force to enter into the city. Wherfore thoſe that were appointed to defende that parte of the trench, cried out ſtraight: and the women fell a ſhreeking, and running, as if all had bene loſt. And as *Pyrrus* paſſed further, ſtriking downe with his owne handes all that ſtoode before him, a CRETAN ſhot at him, & ſtrake his horſe through both ſides: who leapinge out of the preaſe for paine of his wounde, dying, caried *Pyrrus* away, and threw him vppon the hanging of a ſteepe hill, where he was in great daunger to fall from the toppe. This put all his ſeruauntes and frendes about him in a maruelous feare, and therewithall the LACEDÆMONIANS ſeeing them in this feare and trouble ran
C immediatly vnto that place, and with force of ſhotte draue them all out of the trenche. After this retyre, *Pyrrus* cauſed all aſſault to ceaſe, hoping the LACEDÆMONIANS in the end would yeelde, conſideringe there were many of them ſlaine in the two dayes paſt, and all the reſt in maner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the citie (whether it were to proue the valliantnes of the inhabitantes them ſelues, or at the leaſt to ſhew what power they were of euen in their greateſt nede and diſtreſſe, when the LACEDÆMONIANS had ſmall hope left) brought one *Aminias Phocian* from CORINTHE, one of king *Antigonus* Captaines with a great band of men, and put them into the city to aide them: and ſtraight after him, as ſoone as he had entred, king *Areus* arriued alſo on thother ſide from CRETA, and two thowſand ſouldiers with him. So the
D women went home to their houſes, makinge their reckening that they ſhould not neede any more to trouble them ſelues with warres. They gaue the olde men liberty alſo to goe and reſt them ſelues, who being paſt all age to fight, for neceſſities ſake yet were driuen to arme them ſelues, and take weapon in hande: and in order of battell placed the newe come ſouldiers in their roomes. *Pyrrus* vnderſtanding that newe ſupplies were come, grewe to greater ſtomake then before, and inforced all that he could, to winne the towne by aſſault. But in the end, when to his coſt he founde that he wanne nothing but blowes, he gaue ouer the ſiege, and went to ſpoyle all the contry about, determining to lye there in garriſon all the winter. He coulde not for all this auoide his deſtenie. For there roſe a ſedition in the city of ARGOS betwene two of the chiefeſt citizens, *Ariſteas* and *Ariſtippus*: and bicauſe *Ariſteas* thought that kinge *Antigonus* did fauor his enemy *Ariſtippus*, he made haſt to ſende firſt vnto *Pyrrus*, whoſe nature and
E diſpoſition was ſuch, that he did continually heape hope vppon hope, euer taking the preſent proſperity, for an occaſion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loſer, then he ſought to recouer him ſelfe, and to reſtore his loſſe, by ſome other newe attempts. So that neither for being conqueror, nor ouercomen, he would euer be quiet, but alwayes troubled ſome, and him ſelfe alſo: by reaſon wherof, he ſodainly departed towardes ARGOS. But king *Areus* hauing layed ambuſhes for him in diuerſe places, and occupied alſo the ſtraighteſt and hardeſt paſſages, by the which he was to paſſe: gaue a charge vppon the GAVLES and MOLOSSIANS, which were in the tayle of his army. Now, the ſelfe ſame day *Pyrrus* was warned by a Soothſayer, who ſacrificing had founde the liuer of the ſacrificed beaſt infected: that it betokened the loſſe of ſome moſt neere vnto him. But when he heard the noyſe of the charge
F geuen, he thought not of the forwarning of his Soothſayer, but commaunded his ſonne to take his houſehold ſeruauntes with him, and to go thither: as he him ſelfe in the meane time with as great haſt as he could, made the reſt of his army marche, to get them quickely out of

Pyrrus in daunger of his life, at the ſiege of Sparta.

King Areus arriued in Sparta with new aide.

Sedition in the city of Argos.

Pyrrus repulſed from Sparta goeth to Argos.

this daungerous way. The fraye was very hotte about *Ptolomie Pyrrus* ſonne, for they were all the chiefe men of the LACEDÆMONIANS with whome he had to doe, led by a valliant Captaine called *Eualcus*. But as he fought valliantly againſt thoſe that ſtoode before him, there was a ſouldier of CRETA called *Oræſius*, borne in the citie of APTERA, a man very ready of his hande, and light of foote, who running alongeſt by him, ſtrake him ſuch a blowe on his ſide, that he fell downe dead in the place. This prince *Ptolomie* being ſlaine, his company began ſtraight to flie: and the LACEDÆMONIANS followed the chaſe ſo hottely, that they tooke no heede of them ſelues, vntill they ſawe they were in the plaine field farre from their footemen. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* vnto whom the death of his ſonne was newly reported, being a fire with ſorow and paſſion, turned ſodainly vpon them with the men of armes of the MOLOSSIANS, and being the firſt that came vnto them, made a maruelous ſlaughter among them. For, notwithſtanding that euery where before that time he was terrible and inuincible, hauing his ſword in his hande: yet then he did ſhewe more proofe of his valliantnes, ſtrength, and corage, then he had euer done before. And when he had ſette ſpurres to his horſe againſt *Eualcus* to cloſe with him, *Eualcus* turned on the toe ſide, and gaue *Pyrrus* ſuch a blowe with his ſword, that he miſſed litle the cutting of his bridle hande: for he cut in deede all the raines of the bridle a ſunder. But *Pyrrus* ſtraight ranne him through the body with his ſpeare, and lighting of from his horſe, he put all the troupe of the LACEDÆMONIANS to the ſword that were about the body of *Eualcus*, being all choſen men. Thus the ambition of the Captaines was cauſe of that loſſe vnto their contry for nothing, conſidering that the warres againſt thē were ended. But *Pyrrus* hauing now as it were made ſacrifice of theſe poore bodies of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for the ſoule of his dead ſonne, and fought thus wonderfully alſo to honor his funeralls, conuerting a great parte of his ſorow for his death, into anger and wrath againſt the enemies: he afterwardes held on his way directly towardes ARGOS. And vnderſtanding that king *Antigonus* had already ſeaſed the hills that were ouer the valley, he lodged neere vnto the city of NAVPLIA: and the next morning following ſent a heraulde vnto *Antigonus*, and gaue him defyance, calling him wicked man, and chalenged him to come downe into the valley to fight with him, to trye which of them two ſhould be king. *Antigonus* made him aunſwer, that he made warres as much with time, as with weapon: & furthermore, that if *Pyrrus* were weary of his life, he had wayes open enough to put him ſelfe to death. The citizens of ARGOS alſo ſent Ambaſſadors vnto them both, to pray them to departe, ſith they knew that there was nothing for them to ſee in the city of ARGOS, and that they would let it be a newter, & frend vnto them both. King *Antigonus* agreed vnto it, and gaue them his ſonne for hoſtage. *Pyrrus* alſo made thē fayer promiſe to do ſo too, but bicauſe he gaue no caution nor ſufficient pledge to performe it, they miſtruſtred him the more. Then there fel out many great & wonderful tokens, aswel vnto *Pyrrus*, as vnto the ARGIVES. For *Pyrrus* hauing ſacrificed oxen, their heades being ſtriken of from their bodies, they thruſt out their tongues, and licked vp their owne blood. And within the city of ARGOS, a ſiſter of the temple of *Apollo Lyceus*, called *Apollonide*, ranne through the ſtreetes, crying out that ſhe ſaw the city full of murder, and blood running all about, and an Eagle that came vnto the fraye, howbeit ſhe vaniſhed away ſodainly, and no body knewe what became of her. *Pyrrus* then comminge hard to the walles of ARGOS in the night, & finding one of the gates called Diamperes, opened by *Ariſteas*, he put in his GAVLES: who poſſeſſed the market place, before the citizens knew any thing of it. But bicauſe the gate was too low to paſſe the elephantes through with their towers vpon their backes, they were driuen to take them of, & afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the darke, & in tumulte: by reaſon whereof they loſt much time, ſo that the citizens in the ende perceiued it, and ran incontinently vnto the caſtell of Aſpides, and into other ſtrong places of the city. And therewithall, they ſent with preſent ſpeede vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come and helpe them, and ſo he did: and after he was come hard to the walles, he remained without with the skowtes, & in the meane time ſent his ſonne with his chiefeſt Captaines into the towne, who brought a great number of good ſouldiers and men of warre with them. At the ſame time alſo arriued *Areus*, king of SPARTA, with a thowſand of the CRETANS, and moſt luſty SPARTANS: all which ioyning together, came to geue a charge vpō the GAVLES that were in the market place,

Ptolomie kinge Pyrrus ſonne, ſlaine by Oræſius Cretan.

Pyrrus ſlue Eualcus.

Antigonus aunſwere to Pyrrus chalenge.

Tokens of Pyrrus death.

Pyrrus fight in the city of Argos.

Aſpides, the Caſtell in Argos.

A place, who put them in a maruelous feare & hazard. *Pyrrus* entring on that ſide alſo of the city called Cylarabis, with terrible noyſe & cries: when he vnderſtoode that the GAVLES aunſwered him not luſtely and coragiouſly, he doubted ſtraight that it was the voyce of men diſtreſſed, and that had their handes full. Wherefore, he came on with ſpeede to relieue them, thruſting the horſemen forwards that marched before him, with great daunger and paine, by reaſon of holes, and ſinckes, and water conduites, whereof the city was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confuſion amongeſt them, as may be thought fightinge by night, where no man ſaw what he had to doe, nor could heare what was commaunded, by reaſon of the great noyſe they made, ſtraying here and there vp and downe the ſtreetes, thone ſcattered from the other: neither could the Captaines ſet their men in order, as wel for the darkenes of the night,
B as alſo for the confuſed tumult that was all the city ouer, & for that the ſtreetes alſo were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both ſides without doing any thing, looking for day light: at the dawning wherof, *Pyrrus* perceiued the caſtel of Aſpides, ful of his armed enemies. And furthermore, ſodainly as he was come into the market place, amõgeſt many other goodly common workes ſette out to beautifie the ſame, he ſpied the images of a bull and a woulfe in copper, the which fought one with an other. This ſight made him afrayed, bicauſe at that preſent he remembred a prophecy that had bene tolde him, that his end and death ſhould be, when he ſawe a woulfe and a bull fight together. The ARGIVES reporte, that theſe images were ſet vp in the market place, for the remembraunce of a certaine chaunce that had happened in their contrie. For when *Danaus* came thither firſt, by the way called *Pyramia* (as one
C would ſay, land ſowen with corne) in the contry of THYREATIDE, he ſaw as he went, a woulfe fight with a bull: whereupon he ſtayed to ſee what the end of their fight would come to, ſuppoſing the caſe in him ſelfe, that the woulfe was of his ſide, bicauſe that being a ſtraunger as he was, he came to ſet vppon the naturall inhabitantes of the contry. The woulfe in the ende obtained the victory: wherefore *Danaus* making his prayer vnto *Apollo Lycias*, followed on his enterpriſe, & had ſo good ſucceſſe, that he draue *Gelanor* out of ARGOS, who at that time was king of the ARGIVES. And thus you heare the cauſe why they ſay theſe images of the woulfe and bull were ſet vp in the market place of ARGOS. *Pyrrus* being halfe diſcoraged with the ſight of them, and alſo bicauſe nothinge fell out well according to his expectacion, thought beſt to retyre: but fearing the ſtraiteneſſe of the gates of the city, he ſent vnto his ſonne *Hele-*
D *nus*, whome he had left without the city with the greateſt parte of his force and army, commaunding him to ouerthrow a peece of the wall that his men might the more readily get out, and that he might receiue them, if their enemies by chaunce did hinder their comming out. But the meſſenger whom he ſent, was ſo haſty and fearefull, with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well vnderſtand what *Pyrrus* ſayd vnto him, but reported his meſſage quite contrary. Whereuppon the young prince *Helenus* taking the beſt ſouldiers he had with him, and the reſt of his elephantes, entred into the city to helpe his father, who was now geuing backe: and ſo long as he had roome to fight at eaſe, retyring ſtill, he valliantly repulſed thoſe that ſet vpon him, turning his face oft vnto them. But when he was driuen vnto the ſtreete that went from the market place to the gate of the city, he was kept in with his owne
E men that entered at the ſame gate to helpe him. But they coulde not heare when *Pyrrus* cried out, and bad them go backe, the noyſe was ſo great: and though the firſt had heard him, and would haue gone backe, yet they that were behinde, and did ſtil thruſt forward into the preaſe, did not permit them. Beſides this moreouer, the biggeſt of all the elephantes by misfortune fell downe ouerthwart the gate, where he grindinge his teeth did hinder thoſe alſo, that would haue comen out and geuen backe. Furthermore, an other of the elephantes that were entred before into the city, called Nicon (as much to ſay, as conquering) ſeeking his gouernor that was ſtriken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes: ran vpon thē that came backe vpon him, ouerthrowing frendes and foes one in an others necke, til at the length hauing founde the body of his maſter ſlaine, he lift him vp from the ground with his troncke,
F and carying him vpon his two tuſhes, returned backe with great fury, treading all vnder feete he found in his way. Thus euery man being thronged and crowded vp together in this ſorte, there was not one that could helpe him ſelfe: for it ſeemed to be a maſſe and heape of a multi-

A bull and woulfe in copper, ſet vp in the city of Argos fighting together.

Danaus wan the city of Argos from king Gelanor.

Apollo Lycias.

Gelanor king of the Argiues.

Helenus Pyrrus ſonne.

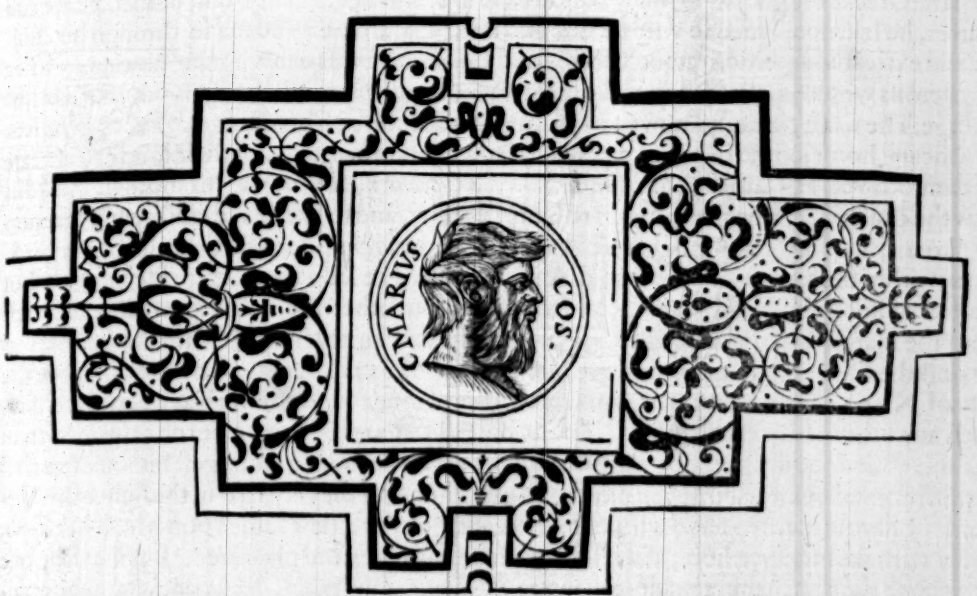
The ſtraunge loue of an Elephant to his keeper.

tude, and one whole body ſhut together, which ſometime thruſt forward, and ſomtime gaue A
backe, as the ſway went. They fought not ſo much againſt their enemies, who ſet apon them
behinde: but they did them ſelues more hurt, then their enemies did. For if any drew out his
ſword, or baſed his pyke, he could neither ſcabard thone againe, nor lift vp thother, but thruſt
it full vpon his owne fellowes that came in to helpe them, and ſo killed them ſelues one thru-
ſting vpon an other. Wherefore *Pyrrus* ſeeing his people thus troubled and harried to & fro,
tooke his crowne from his heade which he ware apon his helmet, that made him knowen of
his men a farre of, and gaue it vnto one of his familiars that was next vnto him: and truſting
then to the goodnes of his horſe, flewe vpon his enemies that followed him. It fortuned that
one hurt him with a pyke, but the wound was neither daungerous nor great: wherfore *Pyrrus*
ſet vpon him that had hurt him, who was an ARGIAN borne, a man of meane condition, and a B
poore olde womans ſonne, whoſe mother at that preſent time was gotten vp to the toppe of
the tyles of a houſe, as all other women of the city were, to ſee the fight. And ſhe perceiuing
that it was her ſonne whome *Pyrrus* came apon, was ſo afrighted to ſee him in that daunger,
Kinge Pyrrus ſlaine with a tyle throwen by a woman. that ſhe tooke a tyle, and with both her handes caſt it apon *Pyrrus*. The tyle falling of from his
head by reaſon of his head peece, lighted full in the nape of his necke, & brake his necke bone
a-ſunder: wherewith he was ſodainly ſo benummed, that he loſt his ſight with the blow, the
raines of his bridle fell out of his hande, and him ſelfe fell from his horſe to the ground, by *Li-
cymmias* tombe, before any man knew what he was, at the leaſt the common people. Vntill at
the laſt there came one *Zopyrus*, that was in pay with *Antigonus*, and two or three other ſoul-
diers alſo that ran ſtraight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a gate, euen C
as he was comming againe to him ſelfe out of this traunſe. This *Zopyrus* drewe out a SLAVON
ſword he wore by his ſide, to ſtrike of his head. But *Pyrrus* caſt ſuch a grimme countenance on
him betwene his eyes, that made him ſo afrayed, & his hand ſo to ſhake therewith: that being
thus amazed, he did not ſtrike him right in the place where he ſhould haue cut of his head, but
killed him vnder his mouth about his chinne, ſo that he was a great while ere he could ſtrike of
Alcyoneus king Antigonus ſonne. his head. The matter was ſtraight blowen abroade amongeſt diuerſe: whereupon *Alcyoneus*
running thither, asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he ranne
preſently vnto his father withall, and found him talking with his familiar frends, and caſt *Pyr-
rus* head before him. *Antigonus* looking vpon it, when he knew it, layed apon his ſonne with
his ſtaffe, and called him cruell murderer, and vnnaturall barbarous beaſt: and ſo hyding his D
eyes with his cloke, wept for pity, (remembring the fortune of his grandfather *Antigonus*, and
Antigonus curteſie towards Pyrrus body and frendes. of his father *Demetrius*) and then cauſed *Pyrrus* head & body to be honorably burnt & buried.
Afterwards *Alcyoneus* meeting *Helenus* (king *Pyrrus* ſonne) in very poore ſtate, mufled vp with
a poore ſhorte cloke: vſed him very curteouſly with gentle wordes, and brought him to his
father. *Antigonus* ſeeing his ſonne bringing of him, ſayd vnto him: this parte now (my ſonne)
is better then the firſt, and pleaſeth me a great deale more. But yet thou haſt not done all thou
ſhouldeſt: for thou ſhouldeſt haue taken from him his beggerly cloke he weareth, which
doth more ſhame vs that are the gainers, then him that is the loſer. After he had
ſpoken theſe wordes, *Antigonus* embraced *Helenus*, and hauing apparelled
him in good ſorte, ſent him home with honorable conuoy into E
his realme of EPIRVS. Furthermore, ſeaſing all *Pyrrus*
campe and army, he curteouſly receiued all
his frendes and ſeruauntes.

The end of Pyrrus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Caius Marius.*



IT is not knowen what was the third name of *Caius Marius*, no more then of *Quintius Sertorius*, who had all SPAYNE in his handes at one time: nor of *Lucius Mummius*, he that destroyed the citie of CORINTHE. For this name of *Achaicus*, that was geuen vnto *Mummius*, of *Africanus* vnto *Scipio*: and of *Numidicus* vnto *Metellus*: were all surnames geuen them, by reason of the conquestes they wan. By this reason *Posidonius* thinketh to ouercome them that say, that the third name the ROMAINES haue, is their proper name: as *Camillus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*. For if it fell out so, sayd he, then it must needes follow that they which haue two names, should haue no proper name. But on the other side also, he doth not consider that by the like reason he should say, that women haue no names: for there is not a woman in ROME that is called by her first name, which *Posidonius* iudgeth to be the proper name of the ROMAINES. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the house or family, as of the POMPEIANS, of the MANLIANS, and of the CORNELIANS, like as the HERACLIDES and the PELOPIDES are amongest the GREECIANS: and the other is a surname taken of the deedes, or of the nature, forme, or shape of the body, or of some other like accident, as are these surnames, *Macrinus*, *Torquatus*, & *Sylla*. Euen as amongest the GREECIANS likewise, *Mnemon*, which signifieth hauing good memory: *Grypos*, hauing a crooked nose: *Callinicos*, conquering. But as for that, the diuersitie of custome would deliuer obiection sufficient to the contrary, to him that listed. And furthermore, as touching the fauor of *Marius* face, we haue seene an image of his in marbell at RAVENNA, a city of the GAVLES, which doth liuely represent that rough seuerity of nature and maner which they say was in him. For being borne a rough man by nature, and geuen to the warres, and hauing followed the same altogether from his youth, more then the ciuill life: when he came to authority, he could not bridle his anger and chollericke nature. And they say furthermore, that he neuer learned the Greeke tongue, nor vsed it in any matters of weight: as though it had bene a mockery to study to learne the tongue, the masters whereof liued in bondage vnder others. After his second triumphe, in the dedication of a certaine temple, he made Greeke playes to shewe the ROMAINES pastime: and came into the Theater, howbeit he did but sit downe only, and went his way straight. Wherfore me thinkes, that as *Plato* was wont to say oft vnto *Xenocrates* the Phi-

Of the names of the Romaines.

Marius fauor.

Marius could no skill of the Greeke tonge.

Platoes saying to Xenocrates.

losopher, who was of a curriſh nature, had his head euer occcupied, and to ſeuere: *Xenocrates*, my frend: I pray thee doe ſacrifice to the *Graces*. So if any man could haue perſwaded *Marius* to haue ſacrificed to the *Muſes*, and to the GREECIAN *Graces*: (that is to ſay, that he had knowen the Greeke tongue) to ſo many famous and glorious deedes as he did, both in peace and warres, he had not ioyned ſo vnfortunate and miſerable an end as he made, through his choller and extreame ambition, at ſuch yeares, and through an vnſatiable couetouſnes, which like boyſterous windes made him to make ſhipwracke of all, in a moſt cruell, bloody, and vnnaturall age. The which is eaſily knowen in reading the diſcourſe of his doinges. Firſt of all he was of a meane houſe, borne of poore parents by father & mother, that got their liuings by ſweate of their browes. His father as him ſelfe, was called *Caius*: *Fulcinia* was his mother. And this was the cauſe why he beganne ſo late to haunt the city, and to learne the ciuility and manners of ROME, hauing bene brought vp alwayes before in a litle poore village called CIRROEATON, within the territory of the city of ARPOS: where he led a hard contry life, in reſpect of thoſe that liued pleaſauntly and finely in the cities, but otherwiſe well reformed, and neareſt vnto the manners of the auncient ROMAINES. The firſt iorney he made vnto the warres, was againſt the CELTIBERIANS in SPAYNE, vnder *Scipio* AFRICAN, when he went to beſiege the city of NVMANTIA: where his Captaines in ſhorte time found that he was a better ſouldier, then any other of his companions. For he did maruelous eaſily receiue the reformation of manners, and the diſcipline of warres, which *Scipio* aduaunced amongeſt his ſouldiers that were ill trained before, and geuen ouer to all pleaſure. And they ſay, that in the fight of his Generall he fought hand to hand with one of his enemies, and ſlew him: vpon which occaſion, *Scipio* to make him loue him, did offer him many curteſies and pleaſures. But ſpecially one day aboue the reſt, hauing made him ſuppe with him at his table, ſome one after ſupper falling in talke of Captaines that were in ROME at that time: one that ſtoode by *Scipio*, asked him (either bicauſe in deede he ſtoode in doubt, or elſe for that he would curry fauor with *Scipio*) what other Captaine the ROMAINES ſhould haue after his death, like vnto him. *Scipio* hauing *Marius* by him, gently clapped him apon his ſhoulder, and ſayd: peraduenture this ſhalbe he. Thus happely were they both borne, the one to ſhew from his youth that one day he ſhould come to be a great man, and the other alſo for wiſely coniecturing the end, by ſeeing of the beginning. Well, it fortuned ſo, that theſe words of *Scipio* (by reporte) aboue all things elſe put *Marius* in a good hope, as if they had bene ſpoken by the oracle of ſome god, and made him bold to deale in matters of ſtate and common wealth: where, by meanes of the fauor & countenaunce *Cæcilius Metellus* gaue him (whoſe houſe his father and he had alwayes followed and honored) he obtained the office of Tribuneſhippe. In this office he preferred a law touching the manner howe to geue the voyces in election of the Magiſtrates, which did ſeeme to take from the nobility the authority they had in iudgement. And therefore the Conſull *Cotta* ſtepped vp againſt it, and perſwaded the Senate to reſiſt that lawe, and not ſuffer it to be authoriſed, and therewithall preſently to call *Marius* before them to yeld a reaſon of his doing. So was it agreed vppon in the Senate. Now *Marius* comming into the Senate, was not abaſhed at any thing, as ſome other young man would haue bene, that had but newly begonne to enter into the world as he did, and hauing no other notable calling or quality in him, ſauing his vertue only to commend him: but taking boldenes of him ſelfe (as the noble actes he afterwards did, gaue ſhow of his valor) he openly threatned the Conſull *Cotta* to ſende him to priſon, if he did not preſently withdrawe the concluſion he had cauſed to be reſolued apon. The Conſull then turning him ſelfe vnto *Cæcilius Metellus*, asked him how he liked it? *Metellus* ſtanding vp, ſpake in the behalfe of the Conſull: and then *Marius* calling a ſergeaunt out, commaunded him to take *Metellus* ſelfe, and to cary him to priſon. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes, but neuer a one would take his matter in hand: ſo that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call backe the concluſion that before was taken. Then *Marius* returning with great honor into the market place among the aſſembly of the people, cauſed this law to paſſe and be authoriſed: and euery man held opinion of him that he would proue a ſtowt man, and ſuch a one, as would not ſtoupe for any feare, nor ſhrinke for baſhfullnes, but would beard the Senate in fauor of the people. Notwithſtanding, he ſhortly after chaunged opinion, and altered

Marius parents, maners, and contry.

Marius firſt iorney vnto the warres.

Scipio Africans iudgement of Marius.

Marius Tribune of the people. Cotta Conſull.

A altered the firſt, by an other act he made. For when an other went about to haue a law made, to diſtribute corne vnto euery citizen without payment of any penny, he was vehemently againſt it, and ouerthrew it: ſo that thereby he came to be a like honored and eſtemed of either party, as he that would neither pleaſure the one, nor the other, to the preiudice of the common wealth. After he had bene Tribune, he ſued for the chiefeſt office of Ædilis. Of the Ædiles there are two ſortes: the firſt is called Ædilitas Curulis, ſo named bicauſe of certaine chayers that haue crooked feete, vpon which they ſit when they geue audience. The other is of leſſe dignity, and that is called Ædilitas popularis: and when they haue choſen the firſt and greater Ædilis at ROME, they preſently proceede the ſame day alſo in the market place vnto election of the leſſer. *Marius* ſeeing plainely that he was put by the chiefeſt of the Ædiles, turB ned againe ſtraight yet to demaund the ſecond: but this was miſliked in him, and they tooke him for too bold, too ſhameles, and too preſumptuous a man. So that in one ſelfe day he had two denyalles and repulſes, which neuer man but him ſelfe before had. And neuertheleſſe, all this could not cut his combe, but ſhortely after he ſued alſo for the Prætorſhippe, and he lacked but litle of the deniall of that: yet in the ende, being laſt of all choſen, he was accuſed to haue bribed the people, and bought their voyces for money. And ſurely amogenſt many other, this preſumption was very great: that they ſaw a man of CASSIVS SABACON within the barres where the election is made, running to and fro amonge them that gaue their voyces, bicauſe this *Sabacon* was *Marius* very great frend. The matter came before the iudges, and *Sabacon* was examined vpon it. Whereunto he aunſwered, that for the great extreame heate he C felt, he was very dry, and asked for colde water to drinke, and that this man had brought him ſome in a potte where he was, howbeit that he went his way as ſoone as euer he had dronke. This *Sabacon* was afterwardes put out of the Senate by the next Cenſors, and many iudge that he was worthy of this infamy, for that he was periured in iudgement, or bicauſe he was ſo ſubiect and geuen to his pleaſure. *Caius Herennius* was alſo called for a witneſſe againſt *Marius*: but he did alleage for his excuſe, that the law and cuſtome did diſpenſe with the Patrone, to be a witneſſe againſt his follower & client, and he was quit by the iudges. For the ROMAINES alwayes call thoſe Patrons, who take the protection of meaner then them ſelues into their handes: ſaying, that *Marius* predeceſſors, and *Marius* him ſelfe, had euer bene followers of the houſe of the HERENNIANS. The iudges receiued his aunſwere, and allowed thereof. But D *Marius* ſpake againſt it, alleaging, that ſince he had receiued this honor to beare office in the common wealth, he was now growen from this baſe condicion, to be any more a follower of any man: the which was not true in all. For euery office of a Magiſtrate doth not exempt him that hath the office, nor yet his poſterity, to be vnder the patronage of an other, nor doth diſcharge him from the duety of honoring them: but of neceſſity he muſt be a Magiſtrate, which the law doth permit to ſit in the crooked chayer called Curulis, that is to ſay, caried vppon a charet through the city. But notwithſtanding that at the firſt hearing of this cauſe, *Marius* had but ill ſucceſſe, and that the iudges were againſt him all they could: yet in the ende for all that, at the laſt hearing of his matter, *Marius*, contrary to all mens opinions, was diſcharged, bicauſe the iudges opinions with and againſt him fell to be of like number. He vſed him ſelfe E very orderly in his office of Prætorſhippe, and after his yeare was out, when it came to deuide the prouinces by lot, SPAINE fell vnto him, which is beyond the riuer of Bætis: where it is reported that he skowred all the contrie thereabouts of theeues and robbers, which notwithſtanding was yet very cruell and ſauage, for the rude, barbarous, and vnciuill manner and facion of life of the inhabitantes there. For the SPANYARDS were of opinion euen at that time, that it was a goodly thinge to liue apon thefte and robbery. At his returne to ROME out of SPAYNE, deſiring to deale in matters of the common wealth, he ſaw that he had neither eloquence nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which thoſe that were at that time in credit and authority, did cary the people euen as they would. Notwithſtanding, they made great accompt of his conſtancy and noble minde they found in him, of his great paynes and F trauell he tooke continually, and of the ſimplicity of his life: which were cauſes to bring him to honor and preferment, inſomuch as he maried very highly. For he maried *Iulia*, that was of the noble houſe of the *Cæſars*, and aunte vnto *Iulius Cæſar*: who afterwardes came to be the

Two ſortes of AEdiles.
AEdilitas Curulis.
AEdilitas popularis.
Marius denyed to be AEdilis.
Marius choſen Prætor.
Sabacon put of the Senate.
Caius Herennius pleaded in Marius behalfe, touching the patron & client.
Marius aſſes in Spayne.
The opinio of Spanyards in olde time.
Eloquence, & riches raiſed men to authority.
How Marius credit and eſtimacion grew.
Iulia, Marius wife.

chiefeſt man of all the ROMAINES, and who by reaſon of that allyance betwene them, ſeemed in ſome thinges to followe *Marius*, as we haue wrytten in his life. *Marius* was a man of great temperaunce and pacience, as may be iudged by an acte he did, puttinge him ſelfe into the handes of ſurgeons. For his ſhanckes and legges were full of great ſwollen veynes, and being angrie bicauſe it was no pleaſaunt thinge to beholde: he determined to put him ſelfe into the handes of ſurgeons to be cured. And firſt, laying out one of his legges to the ſurgeon to worke vpon, he would not be bound as others are in the like caſe: but pacientlie abode all the extreame paines a man muſt of neceſſity feele being cut, without ſturring, groning, or ſighing, ſtill keeping his countenaunce, and ſayed neuer a word. But when the ſurgeon had done with his firſt legge, and would haue gone to the other, he would not geue it him: nay ſayd he, I ſee the cure is not worth the paine I muſt abide. Afterwardes, *Cæcilius Metellus* the Conſull, being appointed to go into AFRICKE to make warre with king *Iugurthe*, tooke *Marius* with him for one of his Lieutenauntes. *Marius* being there, ſeeing notable good ſeruice to be done, and good occaſion to ſhew his manhoode, was not of minde in this voyage to increaſe *Metellus* honor and reputacion, as other Lieutenauntes did: and thought that it was not *Metellus* that called him forth for his Lieutenaunt, but fortune her ſelfe that preſented him a fit occaſion to raiſe him to greatnes, and (as it were) did lead him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the proofe of that he coulde doe. And for this cauſe therefore, he endeuored him ſelfe to ſhew all the poſſible proofes of valliantneſſe and honor he could. For, the warres being great continually there, he neuer for feare refuſed any attempt or ſeruice, how daungerous or painfull ſoeuer it were, neither diſdained to take any ſeruice in hand, were it neuer ſo litle: but exceeding all other his fellowes and companions in wiſedome and foreſight, in that which was to be done, and ſtriuing with the meaneſt ſouldiers in liuing hardly and painefully, wanne the goodwill and fauor of euery man. For to ſay truely, it is a great comforte & refreſhing to ſouldiers that labor, to haue companiõs that labor willingly with them. For they thinke, that their company laboring with them, doth in manner take away the compulſion and neceſſity. Furthermore, it pleaſeth the ROMAINE ſouldier maruelouſly to ſee the Generall eate openly of the ſame bread he eateth, or that he lyeth on a hard bed as he doth, or that him ſelfe is the firſt man to ſet his hande to any worke when a trenche is to be caſt, or their campe to be fortified. For they doe not ſo much eſteeme the Captaines, that honor and reward them: as they doe thoſe that in daungerous attempts labor, and venture their liues with them. And further, they do farre better loue them that take paines with them, then thoſe that ſuffer them to liue idlely by them. *Marius* performing all this, and winning thereby the loue and goodwills of his ſouldiers: he ſtraight filled all LIBYA and the city of ROME with his glory, ſo that he was in euery manns mouth. For they that were in the campe in AFRICKE, wrote vnto them that were at ROME, that they ſhould neuer ſee the ende of theſe warres againſt this barbarous king, if they gaue not the charge vnto *Marius*, and choſe him Conſull. Theſe thinges miſliked *Metellus* very much, but ſpecially the misfortune that came apon *Turpilius*, did maruelouſly trouble him: which fell out in this ſorte. *Turpilius* was *Metellus* frende, yea he and all his parentes had followed *Metellus* in this warre, being maſter of the workes in his campe. *Metellus* made him gouernor ouer the city of VACCA, a goodly great city: and he vſing the inhabitantes of the ſame very gently and curteouſly, miſtruſted nothing, till he was fallen into the handes of his enemies through their treaſon. For they had brought king *Iugurthe* into their city vnknowing to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but onely begged him of the king, and let him goe his way ſafe. And this was the cauſe why they accuſed *Turpilius* of treaſon. *Marius* being one of his iudges in the counſell, was not contented to be bitter to him him ſelfe, but moued many of the counſell beſides to be againſt him. So that *Metellus* hy the voyces of the people, was driuen againſt his will to condemne him, to ſuffer as a traitor: and ſhortly after it was founde, and proued, that *Turpilius* was wrongfully condemned, and put to death. To ſay truely, there was not one of the coũſel but were very ſory with *Metellus*, who maruelous impaciently tooke the death of the poore innocent. But *Marius* contrarily reioyced, and tooke it vpon him that he purſued his death, and was not aſhamed to make open vauntes, that he had hanged a fury about *Metellus* necke, to reuenge his frendes blood, whom he giltleſſe had cauſed to be put to death.

Marius temperaunce and pacience.

Cæcilius Metellus Conſull.

Marius, Metellus Lieutenaunt in the warre againſt Iugurthe.

The labour & preſence of the Generall maketh the ſouldiers worke willingly.

Marius the author of Turpilius falſe accuſation & death.

Vacca, a great city.

The cauſe of the ſuppoſed treaſon againſt Turpilius.

Turpilius wrongfully put to death.

Diſpleaſure betwixt Metellus & Marius.

A death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they ſay, that one day *Metellus* to mocke him withall, ſayd vnto him: O good man, thou wilt leaue vs then, and returne to ROME to ſue for the Conſulſhippe, and canſt thou not be contented to tary to be Conſull with my ſonne? Now his ſonne at that time was but a boy. But whatſoeuer the matter ment, *Marius* left him not ſo, but labored for leaue all he could poſſible. And *Metellus* after he had vſed many delayes and excuſes, at the length gaue him leaue, twelue dayes only before the day of election of the Conſulls. Wherefore *Marius* made haſt, and in two dayes and a night came from the campe to Vtica apon the ſea ſide, which is a maruelous way from it: and there before he tooke ſhippe, did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, and the Soothſayer tolde him, that the goddes by the ſignes of his ſacrifices, did promiſe him vncredible proſperity, and ſo great, as he himſelfe
B durſt not hope after. Theſe wordes made *Marius* hart greater. Whereupon he hoyſed ſayle, and hauing a paſſing good gale of winde in the poope of the ſhippe, paſſed the ſeaes in foure dayes, and being landed, rode poſte to ROME. When he was arriued, he went to ſhewe him ſelfe vnto the people: who were maruelous deſirous to ſee him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people vnto the pulpit for orations, after many accuſations which he obiected againſt *Metellus*, in the end he beſought the people to chooſe him Conſull, promiſing that within few dayes he would either kill, or take king *Iugurthe* priſoner. Whereupon he was choſen Conſull without any contradiction. And ſo ſoone as he was proclaimed, he beganne immediatly to leauie men of warre, cauſing many poore men that had nothing, & many ſlaues alſo, to be enrolled againſt the order of auncient cuſtome: where other Captaines before him
C did receiue no ſuch maner of men, and did no more ſuffer vnworthy men to be ſouldiers, then they did allow of vnworthy officers in the common wealth: in doing the which euery one of them that were enrolled, left their goodes behinde them, as a pledge of their good ſeruice abroade in the warres. Yet this was not the matter that made *Marius* to be moſt hated, but they were his ſtowte prowde wordes, full of contempt of others, that did chiefely offende the noble men in the city. For he proclaimed it euery where abroade as it were, that his Conſullſhippe was a ſpoyle he had gotten of the effeminate riche noble men through his valliantnes, and that the wounds which he had vpon his body for ſeruice of the common wealth, and not the monuments of the dead, nor the images and ſtatues of others, were thoſe that recommended him to the people, nor weare his ſtrength. And ofttimes naming *Albinus*, and otherwhile
D *Beſtia*, both noble men, and of great houſes, who hauing bene Generalls of the ROMAINE army, had very ill fortune in the contry of LIBYA: he called them cowardes, and ſimple ſouldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not thinke that their auncеſters would rather haue wiſhed to haue left their children that came of them like vnto him ſelfe, then ſuch as they had bene: conſidering that they them ſelues had wonne honor and glory, not for that they were diſcended of noble blood, but through their deſerued vertue and valliant deedes. Now *Marius* ſpake not theſe wordes in a fooliſhe brauery, and for vaine glory onely, to purchaſe the ill will of the nobility for nothing: but the common people being very glad to ſee him ſhame and deſpite the Senate, and meaſuring alwayes the greatnes of his corage with his hawty fierce wordes, they egged him forward ſtill not to ſpare the nobility, and to reproue the
E great men, ſo that he euer held with the communalty. And furthermore, when he was paſſed ouer againe into AFRICKE, it ſpited *Metellus* to the hart, bicauſe that he hauing ended all the warre, that there remained almoſt no more to take or winne, *Marius* ſhould come in that ſorte to take away the glory and triumphe out of his handes, hauing ſought to riſe and increaſe by vnthankefullnes towards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went an other way, and left the army with *Rutilius* one of his Lieutenauntes, to deliuer the ſame vnto him. Howbeit the reuenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the ende vpon *Marius* owne necke. For *Sylla* tooke out of *Marius* hands, the honor of ending this warre: euen as *Marius* had taken it from *Metellus*. But how, & after what ſorte, I will repeate it in few words, bicauſe we haue written the particularities more at large in the life of *Sylla*. *Bocchus* king of high NVMIDIA, was father
F in law vnto king *Iugurthe*, vnto whom he gaue no great aide, whileſt he made warres with the ROMAINES, bicauſe he hated his vnfaithfullnes, & feared leaſt he would make him ſelfe greater then he was: but in the end, after *Iugurthe* had fled, and wandered vp and downe in euery

Marius firſt time of being Conſull.

Marius offended the nobility.

Marius deprined Metellus of the honor of conquering of king Iugurthe.

Bocchus kinge of Numidia, deliuereth Iugurthe vnto Sylla.

place, he was constrained of very necessity to cast his last hope and ancker apon him, as his fi- A
nall refuge, and so repayre vnto him. King *Bocchus* receiued him rather for shame, bicause he durst not punish him, then for any loue or goodwill he bare him: and hauing him in his hands, seemed openly to intreate *Marius* for him, and secretly to wryte the contrary vnto him. But in the meane time, he practised treason vnder hande, and sent priuely for *Lucius Sylla*, who then was Quæstor (to say, high treasorer) vnder *Marius*, and of whome he had receiued certaine pleasures in those warres. *Sylla* trusting to this barbarous king, went at his sending for to him. But when he was come, king *Bocchus* repented him of his promise, and altered his minde, standing many dayes in doubt with him selfe howe to resolue, whether he should deliuer king *Iugurthe*, or keepe *Sylla* him selfe: yet at the last he went on with his purpose and intended trea- B
son, and deliuered king *Iugurthe* aliue into *Syllaes* hands. And this was the first originall cause of the pestilent and mortall enmitie that grew afterwardes betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, and was like to haue vtterly ouerthrowen the citie of Rome, and to haue rased the foundation of the empyre vnto the grounde. For many enuyinge the glorie of *Marius*, gaue it out euery where, that this acte of the taking of king *Iugurthe*, appertained only vnto *Sylla*: and *Sylla* him selfe caused a ring to be made, which he ware cõmonly, and had grauen vpon the stone of the same, how *Bocchus* deliuered *Iugurthe* into his handes. And afterwardes he made it allwayes his seale to dispite *Marius* with all, who was an ambitious and proude man, and coulde abide no cõpanion to be partaker of the glorie of his doings: and *Sylla* did it specially at the procurement of enemies & ill willers, who gaue the glory of the beginning & chiefe exployts of this warre, vnto *Metellus*, and the last and finall conclusion vnto *Sylla*, to the ende that the people should C
not haue *Marius* in so great estimacion and good opinion, as they had before. But all this enuy, detraction, and hatred against *Marius*, was soone after extinguished and troden vnder foote, by reason of the great daunger that fell apon all Italie out of the West: and they neuer spake of it afterwardes, knowing that the common wealth stoode in neede of a good Captaine, and that they beganne to looke about, and consider who should be that great wise Pylot, that might saue and preserue it, from so exceding daungerous storme of warres. For there was not a noble man of all the auncient houses of Rome, that durst vndertake to offer him selfe to demaunde the Consullshippe: but *Marius* being absent, was chosen Consull the second time. For *Iugurthe* was no sooner taken, but newes came to Rome of the cõming downe of the Teutons, and of the Cimbres, the which would not be beleued at the first, by reason D
of the infinite number of the fighting men which was sayd to be in their company, and for the vncredible force and power of armies which was iustified to come also: but afterwardes they knew plainely, that the rumor that ranne abroade was lesse, then the troth fell out in deede. For they were three hundred thowsand fighting men all armed, who brought with them also an other multitude as great (or more) of women and children: which wandered vp and downe seeking contries and townes to dwell and liue in, as they heard say the Gaules had done in olde time, who leauing their owne contry, came, and had possessed the best parte of Italie, which they had taken away from the Thvscans. Now to say truely, no man knewe of what nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no frendshippe with any other people, as also bicause they came out of a farre contry, as a clowde of people that E
was spred all ouer Gavle & Italie. It was douted much that they came out of Germanye, dwelling about the north sea: and this they coniectured by viewe of the greatnes of their bodies, and also for that they had darke blew eyes and redde, besides that the Germanes in their tongue doe call theeues and robbers, Cimbri. Other say that Celtica, for the great length and largenes of the contry, stretching it selfe from the coast of the great Occean sea and from the north partes, drawing towards the mariss Mœotides, and the East runneth into Scythia, or Tartaria Pontica: and that for neighbourhood these two nations ioyned together, and went out of their contrie, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many sundry times, marching yearely in the spring further and further into the contry. And thus by continuance of time, they passed by force of armes through all the firme lande of Evrope F
and that for this cause, although they had many particular names according to the diuersitie of their nations, yet all this masse and multitude of people gathered together, were called notwith-

Lucius Sylla Quæstor vnder Marius.

The originall cause of the ciuill warres betwixt Marius and Sylla.

The comming into Italie of the Teutons and Cimbres.

The army of the Teutons and Cimbres 300000 men.

Cimbri.

notwithstanding, the army of the CELTOSCYTHES, as who would say, the CELTOTARTARES. Other hold opinion that the nation of the CIMMERIANS, who were knowen in old time for auncient GREECIANS, the one parte of them were not very great in respect of the whole, the which being fled (or driuen out of their contrie for some ciuill dissention) were compelled by the TARTARES to passe beyond the marisses Mœotides, into the contries of ASIA, vnder the conduction of a Captaine called *Ligdamis*. But the residue of them which were a farre greater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the furdest partes of the earth, adioyning vnto the great Occean sea, in a darke shadowed contrie, couered with wonderfull forrestes, of such length, and so great and thicke, and the trees so high, that the sunne can haue no power vpon the ground, and they ioyne hard vpon the great forrest of Hercynia. And furthermore, they are vnder such a climate, where the pole is of such a height by the inclination of the circles equidistant, which they call Parallelles, that it is not farre from the poynte that aunswereth directly to the plummet vppon the head of the inhabitantes: and where the dayes are equinoctiall, they doe deuide all their time in two partes, the which geueth *Homer* occasion to fayne, that when *Vlisses* would call vpon the dead, he went into the contry of the CIMMERIANS, as into the contry of hell. And this is the cause why they say these barbarous people left their owne contries to come into ITALIE, which from the beginning were called CIMMERIANS, and afterwardes they say (and not without great likelyhoode) that they were surnamed CIMBRES: howebeit that is spoken rather by a likely coniecture, then by any assured troth of history. And as for the multitude of men, the most parte of historiographers doe wryte, that they were rather moe, then lesse then we haue spoken of: and that they were so hardy and valliant, that nothing coulde stande before them, they did so great thinges by the strength of their handes where they fought with any, so violently, and so sodainely, that they seemed to be like a lightninge fire all about where they came. By meanes whereof, they met with no man that durst resist them, but scraped together and caried away, all that they found, hande ouer head: and there were many ROMAINE Captaines appointed gouernors to keepe that which the ROMAINES held in GAVLE beyonde the mountaines, who with great armies were shamefully ouerthrowē by them. The cowardlynes of those, whom they had ouercome, was the chiefest cause that moued them to direct their iorney to ROME. For when they had vanquished the first they fought withall, and gotten great richesse also: they were so fleshed by this, that they determined to stay no where before they had first destroyed ROME, & sacked all ITALIE. The ROMAINES hearing of this out of all partes, sent for *Marius* to geue him the conduction and leading of these warres, and chose him Consull the seconde time: notwithstanding that it was directly against the lawe, that did expressely forbid any man to be chosen being absent, and vntill also a certaine time appointed had past betwene the vacation and election, before they could choose him officer twise in one office. Some alleaged this law, of intent to hinder the election. But the people repulst them, obiecting to the contrary: that this was not the first time the law had geuen place to the benefit of the common wealth, and that the occasion offered to abrogate the law at that present was no lesse, then former occasions by the which they chose *Scipio* Consull, against the course and time appointed by the law, not for any feare they stoode in to lose their owne contrie, but for the desire they had to destroy the contry of the CARTHAGINIANS, by reason whereof the people proceeded to election. And *Marius* bringing home his armie againe out of LIBYA into ITALIE, tooke possession of his Consulship the first day of Ianuary (on which day the ROMAINES beginne their yeare) and therwithall made his triumphe into the city of ROME, showing that to the ROMAINES, which they thought neuer to haue seene: and that was, kinge *Iugurthe* prisoner, who was so subtill a man, and coulde so well frame him selfe vnto his fortune, and with his craft and subtiltie was of so great corage besides, that none of his enemies euer hoped to haue had him aliue. But it is sayd, that after he was led in this triumphe, he fell mad straight apon it. And the pompe of triumphe being ended, he was caried into prisone, where the sergeauntes for hast to haue the spoyle of him, tare his apparell by force from of his backe: and bicause they would take away his rich golde eare ringes that hong at his eares, they pulled away with them the typpe of his eare, and then cast him naked to the bottome of a deepe dungeon, his wittes being altogether

Cimmerij.

Marius chosen Consull the second time against the law.

Law must giue place for common benefit.

Marius triumphe into Rome, for king Iugurthe.

troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he ſayd: O *Hercules,* how colde are your ſtoues. He liued there yet ſix dayes, fighting with hunger, and deſiring alwayes to prolong his miſerable life vnto the laſt howre: the which was a iuſt deſerued puniſhment for his wicked life. In this triumphe were caried (as they ſay) three thowſand & ſeuen hundred pound weight in gold, and of ſiluer nygots, fiue thowſand ſeuen hundred and lxxv. pounde weight: and more in golde and ready coyne, eight and twenty thowſand and ſeuen hundred crownes. After this triumphe, *Marius* cauſed the Senate to aſſemble within the Capitoll, where he entred into the companie with his triumphinge robe, either bicauſe he forgot it, or elſe of too groſſe and vnciuill arrogancy: but perceiuing that all the aſſemblie miſliked of it, he roſe ſodainly, and tooke his long Conſulls gowne, and then returned quickely againe into his place.

How Marius trained his ſouldiers.

Furthermore *Marius* departing to goe to the warres, thought to traine his army by the way, and to harden his ſouldiers vnto labor, cauſing them to runne euery way, making great longe iorneys, compelling ech ſouldier to cary his owne furniture, and to prepare him neceſſary vittells to finde him ſelfe withall: ſo that euer after they made a prouerbe of it, and called ſuch as were paineful and willing to do that which they were commaunded without grudging, *Marius* moyles. Other notwithſtanding, do ſhew an other cauſe and beginning of this prouerbe.

Marius moyles.

For they ſay, that *Scipio* lying at the ſiege of the city of NVMANTIA, would not only take view of the armor and horſes of ſeruice that were in his armie, but alſo of the moyles and other beaſtes of burden, bicauſe he would ſee how they were kept & furniſhed. So *Marius* brought his horſe and moyle to the muſter which he kept him ſelfe, fatte, fayer, and very well dreſt, and his moyles heare ſo ſlike and ſmooth, and therewithall ſo luſty and trimme, as none of the reſt were like vnto them. *Scipio* tooke great pleaſure to ſee theſe beaſtes ſo well kept, and in ſo good plyte: inſomuch as he ſpake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And vpon his words, this manner of talke was taken vp euer after, and became a common prouerbe: when they meane to mocke any man that is painefull, and geuen to ſore labor, makinge as though they would praiſe him, they call him *Marius* moyle. Furthermore, it was a happy turne for *Marius* (in mine opinion) that theſe barbarous people (like in force to the beating backe of the raging ſeaes) turned their firſt fury towardes SPAYNE: and that he in the meane ſpace had time and leaſure to traine and exerciſe his ſouldiers, to make them bolde, and withall, him ſelfe to be throughly knowen amongeſt them. For when by litle and litle they had learned not to offend, nor diſobey: then they found his rough commaunding, and ſharpe ſeuerity in puniſhing ſuch as ſlacke their duety, both profitable and very neceſſarie, beſides that it was alſo iuſt and reaſonable. Againe, his great fury, his ſharpe words, and his fierce lookes, after they had a while bene vſed to them, by litle and litle they ſeemed nothinge ſo fearfull to them, as to their enemies. But the thing that pleaſed the ſouldiers more then all the reſt, was his iuſtice and vpright dealinge: whereof they reporte ſuch an example: *Marius* had a nephewe of his in his campe called *Caius Luſius*, who had charge of men in the army. This *Luſius* was taken for a maruelous honeſt man, ſauing that he had this fowle vice in him, that he would be ſodainly in loue with fayer young boyes: and as at that time he fell in loue with a trimme younge ſtriplinge, called *Trebonius*, that ſerued vnder him, and hauing many times lewdly entiſed him, and neuer could obtaine his purpoſe, at the laſt ſent for him one night by his ſeruaunt. The young man might not diſobay his Captaine being ſent for, but preſently went vnto him. When he was come into his tent, and that his Captaine did ſtriue with all his force to doe him villanny: he drewe out his ſworde, and killed him in the place. And this was done when *Marius* was out of his campe: who ſo ſoone as he returned, cauſed the marſhall to bring the young man before him. Many ſtepped forth ſtraight to accuſe him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himſelfe, & to name many witneſſes, who had both ſeene & knowen how his dead Captaine had oftentimes offered him diſhonor, and how that he had continually reſiſted his abhominable motion, and would neuer yeld him ſelfe vnto him, for any gift or preſent he could offer him. Wherefore *Marius* commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, cauſed preſently one of thoſe crownes to be brought vnto him, which are vſed to be geuen to them that in a day of battel haue done ſome valliant deede, and he him ſelfe did crowne *Trebonius* withall, as one that had done a noble acte, and at ſuch a time, as good and honeſt

Marius commended for his iuſtice.

examples

A examples were requisite. This iudgement of *Marius* beinge caried to ROME, stoode him to great good purpose towardes the obtaining of his third Consulshippe: besides also that they looked for the comming backe of these barbarous people about the springe with whome the ROMAINE souldiers would not fight vnder any other Captaine, then *Marius*. Howbeit they came not so soone againe as they looked for them, but *Marius* passed ouer also the yeare of his third Consullshippe. So time comming about againe for the election of newe Consulls, and his companion also being dead: he was driuen to goe him selfe vnto ROME, leauing the charge of his campe in his absence, vnto *Manius Acilius*. At that time there were many noble men that sued for the Consulshippe: but *Lucius Saturninus* one of the Tribunes, who had the communalty vnder his girdell as he would him selfe, more then any of thother Tribunes, B and being wonne vnder hand by *Marius*, made many orations, in the which he perswaded the people to choose *Marius* Consull the fourth time. *Marius* to the contrary, seemed to refuse it, saying that he would none of it, though the people chose him. Whereupon *Saturninus* called him traitor, crying out, that his refusall in such a daunger and time of necessity, was an apparant parte to betray the common wealth. It was found straight that this was a grosse packe betwixt *Saturninus* and *Marius*, by such as could see day at a litle hole. Neuertheless, the people considering that their present troubles required *Marius* skil & good fortune in the warres, they made him Consull the fourth time, and ioyned *Catulus Luctatius* Consul with him, a man that was greatly honored of the nobility, and not misliked also of the common people. *Marius* hauing newes of the approching of the barbarous people, passed ouer the Alpes with great C speede, & fortifying his campe by the riuer of Rhone, he brought great prouision of all kindes of vittels thither with him, least being straighted by lacke therof, he should be forced to come to battell at any other time, but euen as he would him selfe, and as it should seeme good vnto him. And where before that time the transporting of vittells vnto his campe by sea was very long, and daungerous, and a maruelous great charge besides: he made it very shorte and easie by this meanes. The mouth of the riuer of Rhone had gathered together so much mudde, and such store of sande, which the waues of the sea had cast on heapes together, that the same was becomen very high and depe: so as the banckes made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and daungerous for great shippes of burden that came from the sea. *Marius* considering this matter, set his men a worke while they had nothing to do, & made them digge a large trench D and deepe channell, into the which he turned a great parte of the riuer, and caried it to a conuenient place of the coast, where the water fell into the sea by an open gulfe, wherby he made it able to cary the greatest shippes that were: and besides that, it was in a very still quiet place, not being troubled with windes nor waues. The channell carieth yet his name, and is called *Marius* Channell or trenche. These barbarous people deuided them selues into two armies to passe into ITALIE, so that it fell out to the one parte which were the CIMBRES, to goe through high GERMANYE, and to force that passage which *Catulus* kept: and vnto the other parte, which were the TEVTONS and AMBRONS, to passe through the contry of the GENOVESIANS by the sea side against *Marius*. Now the CIMBRES hauing the greater compasse to fetch about, stayed lenger, and remained behinde: but the TEVTONS and the AMBRONS go- E ing their way first, had in fewe dayes dispatched their iorney they had to go, to bring them to the campe where the ROMAINES lay, vnto whom they presented them selues by infinite numbers, with terrible faces to beholde, and their cryes & voyces farre contrary vnto other mens. They tooke in a maruelous deale of grounde in length to campe vpon, and so came forth to defie *Marius*, and prouoke him to battell in open field. *Marius* made no reckoning of all their bragging defiãces, but kept his men together within his campe, taking on terribly with them that would rashely take vpon them to moue ought to the contrary, and which through impacience of choller would nedes go forth to fight, calling them traytors to their contry. For said he, we are not come to fight for our priuate glory, neither to winne two triumphes nor victories for our selues: but we must seeke by all meanes to diuert and put by this great shower of F warres from vs, and this lightning and tempest, that it ouercome not all ITALIE. These words he spake vnto the priuate Captaines which were vnder him, as vnto men of hauior and quality. But as for the common souldiers, he made them stande vpon the trenches of his campe,

Marius third Consullshippe.

Manius Acilius Lieutenant of the army, vnder Marius.

Lucius Saturninus Tribune.

Marius fourth Consullshippe with Catulus Luctatius.

Rhodanus fl.

Marius channell.

The Cimbres went through Germanie into Italie.

The Teutons and Ambrons fall vpon Marius to passe into Italie, through the territory of Genua.

one after an other to behold the enemies,& to acquaint them ſelues with ſight of their faces, A
their countenaunce,and marching,& not to be afrayed of their voyces to heare them ſpeake,
which were wonderfull,both ſtraunge & beaſtly : and alſo that they might know the facion of
their weapons,and how they handled them. And by this order & ordinary viewing of them,
in time he made the things that ſemed fearefull vnto his men at the firſt ſight,to be afterwards
very familiar : ſo that they made no more wondring at them. For he iudged, the thing which
in deede is true,that a rare and new matter neuer ſeene before,for lacke of iudgement and vn-
derſtanding,maketh things vnknowen to vs,more horrible & fearefull thē they are:and to the
contrary, that cuſtome taketh away a great deale of feare, & terror of thoſe things, which by
nature are in deede fearefull. The which was ſeene then by experience. For they being dayly
acquainted to looke vpon theſe barbarous people, it did not only diminiſh ſome parte of the B
former feare of the ROMAINE ſouldiers:but furthermore they whetting their choller with the
fierce vntollerable threates and bragges of theſe barbarous brutiſh people,did ſet their hartes
a fire to fight with them, bicauſe they did not only waſt and deſtroy all the contry about them,
but beſides that,came to geue aſſault euen vnto their campe with ſuch a boldnes,that the RO-
MAINE ſouldiers could no lenger ſuffer them,and they letted not to ſpeake wordes that came
to *Marius* eares him ſelfe. What cowardlines hath *Marius* euer knowen in vs, that he keepes
vs thus from fighting, & vnder locke & key as it were,in the gard of porters,as if we were wo-
men ? Let vs therefore ſhew our ſelues like men,& go aske him if he looke for any other ſoul-
diers beſides our ſelues to defend ITALIE : and if he haue determined to employ vs as pioners
onely,when he would caſt a trenche to ridde away the mudde,or to turne a riuer contrary.For C
therein hath he onely hitherunto employed vs in great labor,and they are the notable workes
he hath done in his two Conſullſhippes, whereof he maketh his boaſt vnto them at ROME. Is
he afrayed they ſhould take him,as they did *Carbo* & *Cæpio*,whom the enemies haue ouerthro-
wen ? He muſt not be afrayed of that: for he is a Captaine of an other manner of valor and re-
putacion then they were,and his army much better then theirs was.But howeſoeuer it be,yet
were it much better in prouing to looſe ſomething,then to be idle, & to ſuffer our frends and
cōfederats to be deſtroyed & ſacked before our eyes. *Marius* was maruelous glad to heare his
men cōplaine thus, & did comfort them,& told thē that he did nothing miſtruſt their corage
& valiantnes:howbeit that through the coūſell of certaine prophecies & oracles of the gods,
he did expect time & place fit for victory.For he euer caried a SYRIAN womā in a litter about D
with him called *Martha*,with great reuerence,whom they ſaid had the ſpirit of prophecie in
her:& that he did euer ſacrifice vnto the gods by her order,& at ſuch time as ſhe willed him to
do it. This SYRIAN woman went firſt to ſpeake with the Senate about theſe matters, and did
foretell & prognoſticate what ſhould follow. But the Senate would not heare her,& made her
to be driuē away.Wherupon ſhe went vnto the womē,& made thē ſee proofe of ſome things
ſhe vaūted of,& ſpecially *Marius* wife,at whoſe feete ſhe was ſet one day in an aſſembly of the
cōmon playes,to ſee ſwordplayers fight for life & death:for ſhe told her certenly which of thē
ſhould ouercome.Whereupon this Lady ſent her vnto her husband *Marius*,who made great
reckening of her,& caried her euē in a litter with him wherſoeuer he went.She was alwaies at
Marius ſacrifices,apparelled in a gown of purple in graine, claſped to her with claſpes,& held E
a ſpeare in her hand woūd all about with noſegayes,& garlands of flowers tyed on with laces.
This maner of ieaſt made many dout whether *Marius* ſhewed this woman opēly, beleuing in
dede that ſhe had the gift of prophecy:or els that knowing the cōtrary,he made as though he
did beleue it, to helpe her fayning. But that which *Alexander* the MYNDIAN wrote touching
Vultures,is a thing greatly to be wōdred at.For he ſaid there were two of thē followed *Marius*
in his warres, & that they euer ſhewed thē ſelues & miſſed not, when he ſhould win any great
battel,& that they did know them by latin collers they ware about their necks,which the ſoul-
diers had tyed about thē,& afterwards let them go where they would: by reaſon wherof, they
did know the ſouldiers againe,& it ſemed alſo that they did ſalute thē,& were very glad when
they ſaw thē, & perſwaded thē ſelues, that it was a ſigne & token of good lucke to follow. Ma- F
ny ſignes and tokens were ſeene before the battell : howbeit all the reſt were ordinary ſightes,
ſauing that which was reported to be ſeene at TVDERTVM,& AMERIA,two cities of ITALIE.

Martha, a wiſe woman or propheteſſe.

The attier of Martha in time of ſacrifice.

A wonder of the Vultures ſhewed to Marius.

Wonders ſeene.

For

A For they say there were seene speares and targets in the night, burning like fire in the element, which first were caried vp & downe here and there, and then met together euen as men moue & sturre that fight one with an other: vntill at the length, the one geuing backe, and the other followinge after, they all vanished away, and consumed towardes the West. About the selfe same time also, there came from the citie of PESSINVNTA, *Batabaces*, the chiefe priest of the great mother of the goddes, who brought newes, that the goddesse had spoken to him within her sanctuary, and told him that the victory of this warre should fall out on the ROMAINES side. The Senate beleued it, and ordained that they should build a temple vnto that goddesse, to geue her thankes for the victorie which she did promise them. *Batabaces* also would haue presented him selfe vnto the people in open assemblie, to tell them as much. But there was

Batabaces the priest of the mother of the goddes.

B one *Aulus Pompeius* a Tribune that would not suffer him to do it, calling him tombler, or iugler, & violently thrust him behinde the pulpit for orations: but the mischaunce that fell apon *Pompeius* afterwards, made thē the more to beleue *Batabaces* words. For *Pompeius* the Tribune no sooner came home vnto his house, but a great vehement agew tooke him, wherof he dyed the seuenth day after, as all the world could witnes. Now the TEVTONS perceiuing that *Marius* stirred not at all out of his campe, they proued to assault him: howbeit they were so well receiued with shotte and slinges, that after they had lost certaine of their men, they gaue it ouer, and determined to goe further, perswading them selues that they might easily passe the Alpes without daunger. Wherfore trussing vp al their baggage, they passed by *Marius* campe: at which time it appeared more certainly then before, that they were a maruelous great mul-

Aulus Pompeius Tribune.

C titude of people, by the length of time which they tooke to passe their way. For it is sayd they were passing by his campe, sixe dayes continually together. And as they came rakinge by the ROMAINES campe, they asked them in mockery, if they would wryte or send home any thing to their wiues, for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all passed and gone, and that they continued on their iorney still, *Marius* also raised his campe, and went and followed them fayer and softly foote by foote, and euer kept hard at their taile as neere as he could, alwayes fortifying his campe very well, and euer choosing strong places of scituacion & aduantage to lodge in, that they might be safe in the night time. Thus they marched on in this sorte, vntill they came vnto the city of AIX, from whence they had not farre to goe, but they entered straight into the mountaines of the Alpes. Wherefore *Marius* prepared nowe

The enemies campe were rechoaking sixe dayes together.

D to fight with them: & chose out a place that was very strong of scituacion to lodge his campe in, howbeit there lacked water. And they say he did it of purpose, to the ende to quicken his mens corage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and tolde him that they should stande in great daunger to abide maruelous thirst if they lodged there. Whereunto he made aunswere: shewing them the riuer that ranne hard by the enemies campe, saying withall, that they must go thither and buy drinke with their blood. The souldiers replyed againe: and why then doe ye not lead vs thither, whilest our blood is yet moyste? he gently aunswered them againe: bicause the first thing we doe, we must fortifie our campe. The souldiers, though they were angry with him, yet they obeyed him: but the slaues hauing neither drinke for them selues, nor for their cattell, gathered together a great troupe of them, and went towardes the riuer: some

Marius bolde wordes to his souldiers, and their aunswer.

E of them carying axes, other hatchets, other swords and speares, with their pottes to cary water, determining to fight with the barbarous people, if otherwise they could not come by it. A fewe of the barbarous people at the first fought with them, bicause the most parte of their company were at dinner, after they had bathed, and others were still in the bathe washinge them selues, finding in that place many springes of hotte naturall bathes. Thus the ROMAINES founde many of the barbarous people makinge mery, and taking their pleasure about these bathes, for the great delite they tooke to cōsider the pleasauntnes of the place: but when they heard the noyse of them that fought, they beganne to runne one after an other vnto the place from whence the noyse came. Wherefore it was a hard thing for *Marius* any lenger to keepe the ROMAINE souldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their slaues should

F haue bene slaine of the barbarous people: and moreouer, bicause the valliantest souldiers of their enemies called the AMBRONS (who before had ouercome *Manlius* and *Cæpio*, two ROMAINE Captaines with their armies, and that made of them selues thirty thowsande fighting

men) ranne to armes, being very heauy of their bodies, as hauing filled their bellies well, but otherwise valliant and coragious fellowes, and more liuely then they were wont to be, by reason of the wine they had dronke. They ran not furiously to fight out of order, neither did they crie out confusedly, but marching all together in good array, making a noyse with their harnes all after one sorte, they oft rehearsed their owne name AMBRONS, AMBRONS, AMBRONS: which was, either to call one an other of them, or else to feare the ROMAINES with their name only. The ITALIANS also on thother side, being the first that came downe to fight with them, were the LIGVRIANS, dwelling vpon the coast of Genuoa, who hearing this noyse and crye of theirs, plainely vnderstanding them: aunswered them againe with the like noyse and crye, LIGVRIANS, LIGVRIANS, LIGVRIANS, saying that it was the true surname of all their nation. And so before they ioyned together, this crye was redoubled many a time on either side, and the Captaines of both partes made their souldiers crye out all together, contendinge for enuy one against an other, who should crye it out lowdest. This contention of crying, inflamed the souldiers corages the more. Now the AMBRONS hauing the riuer to passe, were by this meanes put out of order, and before they could put them selues in battell ray againe, after they had passed the riuer, the LIGVRIANS ranne with great fury to set apon the formest: and after them, (to aide the LIGVRIANS that had begon the charge) the ROMAINES them selues fell also apon the AMBRONS, comming downe from the places of aduantage vpon these barbarous people, and compelled them by this meanes to turne their backes, and flie. So the greatest slaughter they made, fortuned vppon the bancke of the riuer, whereinto they thrust one an other in such sorte, that all the riuer ran blood, being filled with dead bodies. And they that could get ouer the riuer againe, and were on thother side, durst not gather together any more to stand to defence: so as the ROMAINES slew them, and draue them into their campe, euen vnto their cariage. Then their women came out against them with swordes and axes in their handes, grinding their teeth: and crying out for sorrow and anger, they charged as well vpon their owne people that fled, as vpon them that chased them: the one as traitors, and the other as enemies. Furthermore, they thrust them selues amongest them that fought, & stroue by force to plucke the ROMAINES targets out of their handes, and tooke holde of their naked swordes bare handed, abiding with an inuincible corage to be hacked and mangled with their swordes. And thus was the first battell geuen (as they say) by the riuers side, rather by chaunce vnlooked for, then by any set purpose, or through the generals counsel. Now the ROMAINES, after they had ouercome the most parte of the AMBRONS, retyring backe by reason the night had ouertaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had geuen such an ouerthrow) sing songes of victory and triumphe, nor make good chere in their tentes one with an other, and least of all sleepe: (which is the best & sweetest refreshing for men that haue fought happely) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, bicause their campe was not trenched and fortified, and bicause they knewe also that there remained almost innumerable thowsandes of barbarous people, that had not yet fought: besides also, that the AMBRONS that had fled and scaped from the ouerthrow, did howle out all night with lowd cries, which were nothing like mens lamentacions and sighes, but rather like wilde beastes bellowing and roaringe. So that the bellowing of such a great multitude of beastly people, mingled together with threates and waylinges, made the mountaines thereabouts and the running riuer to rebounde againe of the sounde and ecco of their cries maruelously: by reason whereof, all the valley that lay betwene both, thundered to heare the horrible and fearefull trembling. This made the ROMAINE souldiers afeard, and *Marius* him selfe in some doubt: bicause they looked to haue bene fought withall the same night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithstanding, the barbarous people did not assault them that night, nor the next day following, but only prepared them selues vnto battell. And in the meane time *Marius* knowing that there was aboue the place where they were camped, certaine caues and litle valleyes couered with wodde: he secretly sent *Claudius* & *Marcellus* thither with three thowsand footemen well armed, and commaunded him to keepe close in ambushe, vntill he saw that the barbarous people were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set apon their rereward. The residue of his armie, they supped when time came, and after supper reposed them selues.

Battell betwixt the Ambrons & Marius.

Marius ouercame the Ambrons.

The mannishnes of the women.

A ſelues. The next morning at the breake of day, *Marius* brought his men into the fielde out of his forte: where he put them in order of battell, ſending his horſemen before to draw the enemies out to skirmiſhe. The TEVTONS ſeeing them come, had not the pacience to tary till the ROMAINES were come downe into the plaine fielde to fight without aduantage, but arming them ſelues in haſt, and in a rage, ranne vp the hill to the ROMAINES, where they ſtoode in battell ray. *Marius* taking good regard to that they did, ſent here and there vnto the priuate Captaines, charging them they ſhould not ſtirre, and onely to temporiſe and forbeare, vntill the enemies came within a ſtones caſt of them: and that they ſhould then throw their dartes at them, and afterwardes drawe their ſwordes, and repulſe the barbarous people with their ſhieldes. For he did foreſee before, that when they ſhould clime vp againſt the hill (vppon the B hanging whereof the ROMAINES had ſet their battell) that their blowes would not be of great force, nor their order and rankes could ſtand cloſe together to any effect or purpoſe: bicauſe they could not haue ſure footing, nor march aſſuredly, but would eaſily be throwē backeward if they were neuer ſo litle repulſed, by reaſon of the hanging of the hill. *Marius* gaue this order vnto his folke and therewithall was him ſelfe the firſt man that put it in execution: for he was as trymme a warriour, and as valliant a ſouldier, as any man in all his army: beſides, not one amongeſt them all would venter furder, and be more bolde then him ſelfe. So when the ROMAINES had reſiſted them, and ſtayed them ſodainely, going with fury to haue wonne the hill, perceiuing them ſelues to be repulſed, they gaue backe by litle and litle, vntill they came into the field: and then beganne the formeſt of them to gather together, and to put them ſelues in C battell ray vppon the plaine, when ſodainly they heard the noyſe and charging of them that were in the tayle of their army. For *Claudius Marcellus* failed not to take the occaſion when it was offered him, bicauſe that the noyſe of the firſt charge comming vp againſt the hills thereabouts, vnder the which he lay in ambuſhe, gaue him aduertiſement thereof: whereupon he cauſed his men preſently to ſhew, and running with great cryes, came to geue a charge vpon thoſe which were in the tayle of the barbarous people, putting the hindemoſt to the ſworde. They made their fellowes whoſe backes were next vnto them, to turne their faces, & ſo from man to man, till at the length, in ſhorte time all their battell beganne to wauer in diſorder: and they made no great reſiſtaunce, when they ſaw they were ſo charged before and behinde, but beganne ſtraight to flie for life. The ROMAINES following them hard at the heeles, killed and D tooke priſoners aboue a hundred thowſande of them, and tooke moreouer their cartes, their tentes and all their cariage. Which the whole army by conſent agreed to preſent vnto *Marius*, excepting nothing, ſauing that which was imbeaceled and conueyed away vnder hande. Now, though this was a maruelous honorable & right noble preſent yet they thought it not a recompence ſufficient for that he had deſerued, for the valure he had ſhewed of a famous Captaine in leading of his army, & for the good order he kept in this warre: ſo happy thought they them ſelues to haue eſcaped ſo great a daunger. Notwithſtanding, ſome wryters doe not agree, that the ſpoyle of the barbarous people was geuen vnto *Marius*: nor that there were alſo ſo great a number of men ſlaine as we haue ſpoken of. But they ſay, that after this battell the MARSSILIANS did incloſe their vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that E the bodies being rotten and conſumed vpon the fieldes through the great raine that fell vpon them the winter following, the ground waxed ſo fatte, and did ſoke the greaſe ſo deepe in the ſame, that the ſommer following they did beare an vncredible quantity of all ſortes of frutes. And by this meanes were *Archilocus* wordes proued true, that the errable land doth waxe fat with ſuch rottenneſſe or putrification. And it is ſayd alſo, that of ordinary after great battells, there falleth great ſtore of raine. Either it is by meane of ſome god that powring downe pure raine water doth purifie, waſh, and cleanſe the grounde, defiled and polluted with mans blood: or elſe it happeneth by naturall cauſe. For that the ouerthrow of ſo many dead bodies, and of the blood ſpilt, engendreth a moyſt, groſſe, and heauy vapoure, which doth thicken the ayer (that by nature is chaungeable, and eaſie to alter) from a very ſmall or litle beginning, vnto an F exceeding great chaunge. After this battell, *Marius* cauſed the harneſſe and ſpoyles of the barbarous people to be layed aſide, that were left whole and fayer to fight, to beautifie & enrich the pompe of his triumphe. Then he cauſed the reſt to be gathered together on a great

Marius ſeconde battell with the Teutons.

Marius victory of the Teutons and Ambrons.

Much raine followeth after great battells.

heape, and layed apon a ſtake of wodde, to make a noble ſacrifice vnto the gods, all his army being armed about him, crowned with garlandes of triumphe, and him ſelfe apparelled in a long gowne of purple, according to the cuſtome of the ROMAINES in ſuch a caſe, and holding a torch burning in both his hands, which he firſt lifted vp vnto heauen. And as he was turning downe the torch to put fire to the ſtake of wood, they ſaw ſome of his frends a good way of a horſe backe, comming poſt vnto him: then ſodainly there was a great ſilence made of all the aſſembly, euery man deſirous to heare what good newes they had brought. When they were come and lighted of their horſes, they ranne ſtraight to embrace *Marius*, and brought him newes that he was choſen Conſull the fift time: and preſented him the letters ſent him from ROME confirming the ſame. And thus, this new ioy falling out beſides the victory, the priuate ſouldiers did ſhewe the great ioy and pleaſure they tooke in both, with great ſhowtes and beating vpon their harneſſe: and the Captaines alſo, they crowned *Marius* againe with new garlandes of laurell which they put about his head, and that done, he put fire vnder the ſtake of wodde, and ended his ſacrifice. But that which neuer ſuffereth men quietly to enioy the good happe of any victory clearely, but in this mortall life doth euer mingle the ill with the good, be it either fortune or ſpight of fatall deſtenie, or elſe the neceſſitie of the naturall cauſes of earthly thinges: did ſhortely after this great ioy bring newes vnto *Marius*, of his companion *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſull, who was like a cloude in a fayer bright day, and brought the city of ROME againe into a new feare and trouble. For *Catulus* that went againſt the CIMBRES, thought it was not for him to keepe the ſtraightes of the mountaines, in hope to let the barbarous people for paſſing: bicauſe that in ſo doing, he had bene compelled to deuide his army into many partes, and had weakened him ſelfe very much if he had taken that courſe. Wherefore comming a litle on this ſide the Alpes towardes ITALIE, he planted him ſelfe vpon the riuer of Atheſis, and built a bridge apon it, to paſſe and repaſſe ouer his men when he would, and ſette vp at either ende of the bridge two ſtrong fortes well fortified, that he might more cõmodiouſly helpe the places on the other ſide of the riuer, if the barbarous people by chaũce would offer to force thẽ, after they had gotten out of the ſtraights of the mountaines. Now, theſe barbarous people had ſuch a glory in them ſelues, and diſdained their enemies ſo much, that more to ſhew their force and boldnes, then of any neceſſity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they ſuffred it to ſnow apon them being ſtarke naked, and did clime vp to the toppe of the mountaines, throw great heapes of iſe and ſnow. And when they were at the very toppe of all, they layed their long broad targets vnder their bodies, and lay all along apon them, ſliding downe the ſteepe high rockes, that had certaine hanginges ouer of an infinite height. In the ende, they came to campe neere vnto the ROMAINES by the riuer ſide, and conſidered howe they might paſſe it ouer: and beganne to fill it vp, tearing downe (like gyants) great hilles of earth which they founde thereabouts, brought thither great trees which they pulled vp whole by the rootes, threw in great peeces of rockes which they brake, and whole towers of earth after them, to ſtoppe and breake the courſe of the riuer. But beſides all this, they threw great tymber into the riuer, which being caried downe the ſtreame, came with ſuch a force, & hit againſt the poſtes of the bridge ſo violently, that they ſhaked the ROMAINES bridge maruelouſly. Whereuppon many of the ſouldiers of the great campe were afrayed, and forſaking it, beganne to retyre. But then did *Catulus*, like a perfit good Captaine ſhowe, that he made leſſe accompt of his owne priuate honor and eſtimacion, then he did of the generall honor of all his ſouldiers. For, ſeeing that he could not perſwade his men by any reaſon to tary, and that in this feare they diſlodged in diſorder againſt his will: he him ſelfe cõmaunded the ſtanderd bearer of the Eagle to marche on, and ranne to the foremeſt that went their way, and marched him ſelfe before them all, to the intent that the ſhame of this retyre ſhould altogether light vpon him, & not apon his contry, and that it might appeare the ROMAINES did follow their Captaine, and not flie away. The barbarous people therefore aſſaulting the forte at the end of the bridge of the riuer of Atheſis, tooke it, & all the men that were in it. And bicauſe the ROMAINES defended it like valliant men, and had luſtely ventured their liues to the death for defence of their contry: the barbarous people let them go vpon cõpoſition, which they ſware to kepe faithfully, by their bull of copper. This bull afterwards was taken when

Marius the fift time Conſull.

Atheſis flu.

Catulus Luctatius the Conſull, flieth from the Cimbres.

A when they loſt the battell, and caried (as they ſay) into *Catulus Luctatius* houſe, as the chiefeſt thing of the victory. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the contry open without any defence, ſcattered here and there, and deſtroyed all where they came. Whereuppon the Romaines ſent for *Marius* to Rome to goe againſt them: and after he was arriued, euery man thought he ſhoulde haue entred in triumphe, bicauſe alſo the Senate did graunt it him very willingly. But he would not doe it, either bicauſe he would not depriue his ſouldiers and the Captaines that had fought vnder him, of any parte of the honor that was due vnto them, they being abſent: or bicauſe that he would warrant the people frō the preſent daunger they were in, by layinge aſide the glory of his former victories, into the handes of the good fortune of Rome, in certaine hope to take it againe afterwardes, by a more honorable and perfit confir-

Marius refuſed to enter in triumphe.

B mation of the ſecond. Wherefore, after he had made an oration to the people, and Senate according to the time, he went his way immediatly towardes *Catulus Luctatius*, whoſe comming did comforte him much: and ſent alſo for his army that was yet in Gavle beyond the mountaines. And after his army was come, he paſſed the riuer of Po, to kepe the barbarous people from hurting Italie on this ſide the Po. Now, the Cimbres ſtill deferred to geue battell bicauſe they looked for the Tevtons, and ſayd: that they marueled much what they ment to tary ſo long: either bicauſe they knewe not in deede of their ouerthrowe, or elſe for that they would not ſeeme to knowe it, bicauſe they handeled them cruelly that brought the newes of their deathes. At the length, they ſent vnto *Marius* to aske him landes and townes ſufficient, to kepe them and their brethren. *Marius* asked their Ambaſſadors what brethren they ment.

Marius goeth towardes Catulus Luctatius to helpe him. Po flu.

C They aunſwered, that they were the Tevtons. Whereat the ſtanders by beganne to laugh: and *Marius* finely mocked them, ſaying. Care not for thoſe brethren ſayd he, for we haue geuen them ground enough, which they will kepe for euer. Theſe Ambaſſadors found his mock ſtraight, and beganne to reuile and threaten him, that the Cimbres ſhoulde preſently make him repent it, and the Tevtons ſo ſoone as they arriued. Why, ſayd *Marius* vnto them againe, they are come already: and there were no honeſty in you, if you could goe your way & not ſalute them, ſince they are your brethren. And as he ſpake theſe wordes, he commaunded his men to bring him the kinges of the Tevtons bounde and chained, that had bene taken within the mountaines of the Alpes by the Sequani. The Cimbres vnderſtāding this by re-

Marius went to the Cimbres.

porte of their Ambaſſadors, preſently marched towardes *Marius*, who ſtirred not at all, but

The Cimbres march againſt Marius.

D only fortified and kept his campe. They ſay that it was for this battell that *Marius* firſt inuented the newe deuiſe he brought in for the darte which the Romaines were wont alwayes to throwe againſt the enemies at the firſt charge. For before, the ſtaffe of the darte was faſtned vnto the iron, and the iron vnto the ſtaffe, with two litle iron pinnes that paſſed through the wodde: and then *Marius* left one of the iron pinnes as it was before, & taking away the other, put a litle thinne pinne of wodde, eaſie to be broken, in place of the ſame, making it craftely, to the end that when the darte was throwen, & ſtucke in the enemies target, it ſhould not ſtand right forward, but bow downewards towardes the iron, that the wodden pinne being broken, the ſtaffe of the darte ſhould hang downewardes, holding yet by the iron pinne running quite through at the poynte. So *Bœorix* king of the Cimbres, comming neere to *Marius* campe

Marius deuiſe for alteringe the darte in fight.

Bœorix king of the Cimbres.

E with a ſmall number of horſemen, ſent him defyaunce, & willed him to appoint a day & place for battell, that they might trye it out, who ſhould be owners of the contry. Whereunto *Marius* made aunſwer, that it was not the manner of the Romaines to counſell with their enemies, of the time and place when they ſhould geue battell: but neuertheleſſe, he would not ſticke to pleaſure the Cimbres ſo much. And thus they agreed betwene them, that it ſhould be the thirde day following, in the plaine of Verſelles, which was very commodious for the horſemen of the Romaines: and alſo for the barbarous people to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meete according to appointment, but appeared ranged in battell, the one before the other. *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſull, had in his campe twenty thowſand, and three hundred ſouldiers: and *Marius* had in his campe two

Two and fifte thowſand and three hundred men betwene Marius and Catulus.

F and thirty thowſand fighting men, which he placed in the two winges of the battell, ſhutting in *Catulus* with his men in the middeſt. As *Sylla* writeth it, who was preſent at the ſame: ſaying, that *Marius* did it of malice, for the hope he had to ouerthrowe his enemies with the two

The Romaines battell. winges of the battell, to the end that the whole victory ſhould light apon his two winges, and A that *Catulus* & his men in the middeſt ſhould haue no parte therof. For he could not ſo much as fronte the enemy, bicauſe that commonly when the fronte of a battell is of ſuch a bredthe, the two winges are euer ſtretched out before, and is made like the creſſant of a moone, where the middeſt is thickeſt and fardeſt in. And it is wrytten alſo in other ſtories, that *Catulus* him ſelfe accuſing the malice of *Marius*, bicauſe he did ſo: ſpake it to excuſe his owne diſhonor.

The battell of the Cimbres. As for the CIMBRES, the troupes of their footemen comming out of their fortes leaſurely, did put them ſelues into a ſquadron, as broade as long, for in euery ſide they occupied almoſt thirty furlong: but their horſemen which were fifteene thowſande, marched before in ſumptuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heades facioned like wilde beaſtes neckes, and ſtraunge beuers or buffes to the ſame, & ware on their helmets great high plumes of feathers, B as they had bene winges: which to ſight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good curaſes on their backes, and caried great white targets before them: and for weapons offenſiue, euery man had two dartes in his hand to beſtow a farre of, & when they came to hand ſtrokes, they had great heauy ſwords which they fought withall neere hand. But at that time they did not marche directly in rancke againſt the army of the ROMAINES, but turned a litle on the right hand, meaning to incloſe the ROMAINES betwene them and their footemen that were on the left hand. The ROMAINE Captaines founde their policy ſtraight, but they coulde not keepe their ſouldiers backe: for there was one that cried, the enemies fled, and immediatly all the reſt beganne to runne after. In the meane time, the footemen of the barbarous people that were like to a ſea before them, came forwards ſtill: & C then *Marius* hauing waſhed his handes, and lifting them vp to heauen, promiſed, and vowed a ſolemne ſacrifice vnto the goddes of a hundred oxen. *Catulus* alſo made a vow, lifting vp his handes to heauen in like maner, that he would build a temple vnto fortune for that day: and it is reported, that *Marius* hauing ſacrificed, when they ſhewed him the intralls of the beaſtes ſacrificed: he cried out a lowde, the victory is mine. But when they came to geue the charge, *Marius* had a great misfortune happened him, powred apon him by goddes iuſtice, who turned his craft againſt him ſelfe, as *Sylla* wryteth: for there roſe very credibly ſo great a duſt, that

A duſt raiſed, that neither army could ſee one an other. both armies loſt the ſight one of an other. And hereupon *Marius* being the firſt that ranne to beginne the charge, and hauing placed his men about him, miſſed to meete with his enemies: and being paſſed beyonde their battell, wandred a great while vp and downe the field, whileſt D the barbarous people fought againſt *Catulus*. So that the greateſt fury of the battel was againſt *Catulus* and his army: in the which, *Sylla* wryteth he was him ſelfe, and ſayeth, that the heate

The ſunne ful in the Cimbres faces. and the ſunne which was full in the CIMBRES faces, did the ROMAINES maruelous pleaſure at that time. For the barbarous people being very hard brought vp to away with cold (bicauſe they were borne and bred in a cold contry, ſhadowed altogether with woddes and trees as we haue ſayd) were to the contrary very tender againſt the heate, and did melt with ſweating againſt the ſunne, and gaped ſtraight for breathe, putting their targets before their faces: for it

The fielde fought the 27. of Iuly. was alſo in the hart of ſommer, about the ſeuen and twentie day of the moneth of Iulie, that this battell was geuen, and this duſt alſo made the ROMAINES the bolder, and kept them that they could not ſee the innumerable multitude of their enemies farre from them. And euery E man runninge to ſet apon them that came againſt them, they were ioyned together in fight, before that the ſight of their enemies could make them afrayed. And furthermore, they were ſo good ſouldiers, and ſo able to take paines, that how extreame ſoeuer the heate was, no man was ſene ſweate nor blow, though they ranne at the firſt to ſet apon them: & this hath *Catulus Luctatius* him ſelfe left in wryting vnto the praiſe of his ſouldiers. So were the moſt parte of the barbarous people, and ſpecially of the beſt ſouldiers, ſlaine in the field. And bicauſe they ſhould not open nor breake their rancks, the foremeſt rancks were all tyed & bound together with girdells, leather thongs, & long chaynes of iron: and they that fled, were chaſed & followed into their campe by the ROMAINES, where they met with horrible and fearefull thinges to beholde. For, their wiues being apon the toppe of their cartes, apparelled all in blacke, ſlue F

Horrible cruelty of women. all thoſe that fled, without regarde of perſones: ſome their fathers, other their husbandes or their brethren, and ſtrangling the litle young babes with their owne handes, they caſt them vnder

A vnder the carte wheeles, and betwene the horſe legges, and afterwards ſlue them ſelues. And they ſay, that there was a woman hanged at the ende of a carte ladder, hauing hanged vp two of her children by the neckes at her heeles. And that the men alſo, for lacke of a tree to hang them ſelues on, tyed ſlipping halters about their neckes, vnto the hornes & feete of the oxen, and that they did pricke them afterwardes with goades to make them fling and leape ſo long, that dragging them all about, and treading them vnder feete, at the length they killed them. Now, though nũbers were ſlaine by this meanes, yet were there three ſcore thowſand of them taken priſoners, and the number of them that were ſlaine, came to twiſe as many moe. In this manner *Marius* ſouldiers ſpoyled the campe of the CIMBRES: but the ſpoyles of dead men that were ſlaine in the fielde, with their enſignes and trompets, were all brought (as it is ſayd) B vnto *Catulus* campe, which was a plaine teſtimonie to ſhewe that *Catulus* and his ſouldiers had wonne the field. Strife riſing thus betwene the ſouldiers of both campes about it, that the matter might be tryed frendly betwene them: they made the Ambaſſadors of PARMA their arbitrators, who were by chaunce at that time in the army. *Catulus Luctatius* ſouldiers led the Ambaſſadors to the place where the ouerthrowe was geuen, ſhewing them the enemies bodies pearſed through with their pykes, which were eaſie to be knowen, bicauſe *Catulus* had made them graue his name apon their pykes. For all this, *Marius* went away with the honor of this great victory, as well for the firſt battell he wanne alone, when he ouerthrewe the TEVTONS and the AMBRONS: as for his great calling, hauing bene Conſul fiue times. And furthermore, the common people at ROME, called him the third foũder of the city of ROME, thinking them C ſelues now deliuered from as great a daũger, as before time they had bene from the auncient GAVLES. And euery man feaſting at home with his wife and children, offered the beſt diſhes of meate they had to ſupper, vnto the goddes, and vnto *Marius*: and would needes haue him alone to triumphe for both victories. But he would not in any caſe, but triumphed into the city with *Catulus Luctatius*, meaning to ſhew himſelfe curteous and moderate in ſo great proſperity: and peraduenture alſo fearing *Catulus* ſouldiers, who were in readineſſe and prepared (if *Marius* would haue depriued their Captaine of that honor) to let him alſo of his triumphe. And thus you ſee howe he paſſed his fift Conſulſhippe. After that, he made more earneſt ſute for the ſixt Conſulſhippe, then euer any other did for his firſt: ſeeking the peoples goodwilles by all the fayer meanes he could to pleaſe them, humbling him ſelfe vnto them, not only more D then became his eſtate and calling, but directly alſo againſt his owne nature, counterfeating a curteous populer manner, being cleane contrarie to his diſpoſition. His ambition made him timerous to deale in matters of the ſtate concerning the city. For that corage and boldeneſſe which he had in battell againſt the enemy, he loſt it quite when he was in an aſſembly of people in the city: and was eaſily put out of his byaſe, with the firſt blame or praiſe he heard geuen him. And though they reporte, that on a time when he made a thowſande CAMERINES free of the city of ROME, bicauſe they had done valliant ſeruice in the warres, that there were ſome that did accuſe him, ſaying, that it was a thing done againſt all law: he aunſwered them, that for the noyſe of the armor, he could not heare the law. Notwithſtanding, it ſeemeth that in dede he was greatly afeard of the fury of the people in an aſſembly of the city. For in time E of warres, he euer ſtoode apon his reputacion and authority, knowing that they had neede of him: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, bicauſe he would rather be the chiefeſt man then the honeſteſt man, he would creepe into the peoples boſomes to get their fauor and goodwil. And thus through his euill behauior, he brought all the nobility generally to be his enemies. But he feared nor miſtruſted none ſo much, as he did *Metellus*, for the great vnthankefull parte he remembred he had played him: and the rather alſo, bicauſe he knew him to be a iuſt & true dealing man, and one that was euer againſt theſe people pleaſers and flatterers. *Marius* therefore practiſed all the wayes he could, to get *Metellus* to be baniſhed ROME. Wherfore, to compaſſe his intent, he fell in frendſhip with *Glaucia*, and one *Saturninus*, two of the moſt boldeſt, moſt deſperate, and moſt hardbraind young men, that were in all ROME: who had all the ra- F blement of rogues and beggers, and ſuch tumultuous people at their commaundement, by whoſe meanes he made new populer lawes, and cauſed the ſouldiers to be called home out of the warres, & mingled them with the people of the city in common aſſemblies, to trouble and

Priſoners 60. thowſand.

Men ſlaine ſix ſcore thowſand.

Might ouercõmeth right.

Metellus againſt people pleaſers.

vexe *Metellus*. Moreouer *Rutilius*, an honeſt and true writer, (howbeit an enemy vnto *Marius*) A
wryteth, that he obtained his ſixt Conſulſhippe by corruption of money, which he cauſed to
be diſtributed amongeſt the tribes of the people: & that he bought it for ready money to put
Valerius Flaccus Conſull with Marius the ſixt time. by *Metellus*, and to haue *Valerius Flaccus* not for his fellowe and companion in the Conſul-
ſhippe, but rather for a miniſter of his will. There was neuer ROMAINE to whome the people
Valerius Coruinus ſixe times Conſull. graunted the Conſulſhippe ſix times, except it were vnto *Valerius Coruinus* only. But for him,
they ſay that there was fiue and forty yeares betwene his firſt Conſulſhip and the laſt. Where
Marius ſince the firſt yeare of his Conſulſhippe, continued fiue yeares together by good for-
tune one after an other. But in his laſt Conſulſhip, he wanne him ſelfe great hate and malice,
bicauſe he did many fowle faultes to pleaſe *Saturninus* withall: as amongeſt others, when he
bare with *Saturninus*, who murdered *Nonius* his competitor in the Tribuneſhip. Afterwardes B
The law Agraria. when *Saturninus* was choſen Tribune of the people, he preferred a law for diſtribution of the
An article for the othes of the Senate to confirme what the people ſhould paſſe by voyce. landes among the common people, and vnto that law he had ſpecially added one article: that
all the Lords of the Senate ſhould come openly to ſweare, that they ſhould kepe and obſerue
from pointe to pointe that which the people by their voyces ſhould decree, and ſhould not
deny it in any iotte. But *Marius* in open Senate, made as though he would withſtand this arti-
cle, ſaying, that neither he nor any other wiſe man of iudgement would take this othe: for ſaid
Marius duble dealing. he, if the law be euill, then they ſhould doe the Senate open wrong to compell them by force
to graunt it, and not of their owne goodwills. But he ſpake not that, meaning to do as he ſaid:
for it was but a bayte he had layed for *Metellus* only, which he could hardly eſcape. For, ima-
To lye cunningly, Marius taketh it for a vertue. gining that to tell a fine lye, was a peece of vertue, and of a good wit: he was throughly reſol- C
ued with him ſelfe, not to paſſe for any thing he had ſpoken in the Senate. And to the contra-
ry alſo, knowinge well enough that *Metellus* was a graue wiſe man, who eſteemed that to be
iuſt and true (as *Pindarus* ſayd) is the beginning and foundacion of great vertue: he thought he
would outreach him, makinge him affirme before the Senate that he would not ſweare, kno-
winge alſo that the people would hate him deadly, if he would refuſe afterwardes to ſweare.
And ſo in dede it happened. For *Metellus* hauing aſſured them then that he would not ſweare,
the Senate brake vp vppon it. And ſhortly after, *Saturninus* the Tribune calling the Senators
vnto the pulpit for orations, to compell them to ſweare before the people: *Marius* went thi-
ther to offer him ſelfe to ſweare. Whereupon the people making ſilence, liſtned attentiuely
to heare what he would ſay. But *Marius* not regarding his large promiſe & bragges made be- D
fore the Senate, ſayed then, his necke was not ſo long, that he would preiudice the common
wealth in a matter of ſo great importance: but that he would ſweare, and obey the lawe, if it
were a law. This ſhifting ſubtilty he added to it, to cloke and couer his ſhame: and when he
had ſayd ſo, he tooke his othe. The people ſeeing him ſweare, were maruelous glad, and prai-
ſed him with clapping of their hands: but the nobility hanging downe their heads were aſha-
med of him, and were maruelous angry in their hartes with him, that he had ſo cowardly and
Timorous policy cauſeth periury. ſhamefully gone from his word. Therupon all the Senate tooke their othes, one after an other
againſt their wills, bicauſe they were afrayed of the people. Sauing *Metellus*, whome, neither
parentes nor frendes perſwaſion and intreaty could once moue to ſweare, for any puniſhment
Metellus conſtant in vertue. that *Saturninus* had impoſed vpon them, which refuſed to take the othe, but continued one E
man ſtill according to his nature, and would neuer yelde vnto it, offering to abide any payne,
Metellus wiſe ſaying, touching well doing. rather then to be brought to conſent to a diſhoneſt matter vnbeſeming his eſtate. And there-
uppon went out of the aſſembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them,
that to do euill, it was too eaſie a thing: and to doe good without daunger, it was alſo a com-
mon matter: but to do well with daunger, that was the parte of an honeſt and vertuous man.
Metellus baniſhments. *Saturninus* then commaunded the Conſulls by edict of the people, that they ſhould baniſhe
Metellus by ſounde of trompet, with ſpeciall commaundement, that no man ſhould let him
haue fire nor water, nor lodge him priuately nor openly. The common people, they were rea-
dy to haue fallen vpon him, and to haue killed him: but the noble men being offended for the
iniury they had offred him, gathered together about him to ſaue him, if any would offer him F
violence. *Metellus* him ſelfe was ſo good a man, that he would not any ciuill diſſention ſhould
riſe for his ſake: and therefore he abſented him ſelfe from ROME, wherein he did like a wiſe
man.

A man. For ſayd he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting them ſelues of the wrong they haue done me, will call me home againe: or elſe thinges ſtanding as they do now, it ſhalbe beſt for me to be furtheſt of. But for his trauaill in his exile, howe much he was beloued and honored, and how ſweetely he paſſed his time ſtudying philoſophie in the citie of RHODES, ſhalbe declared more at large in his life. Now on the other ſide, *Marius* to recompēce the pleaſure *Saturninus* had done him, being driuen to let him haue his will in all things: did not foreſee what an intollerable plague he brought vnto the common wealth, geuing the brydle to a deſperate man, who euery way, by force, by ſword and murder, plainly ſought to vſurpe tyrannicall power, with the vtter deſtruction and ſubuertion of the whole common weale. And ſo bearing reuerence of the one ſide vnto the nobility, and deſiring on the other
B ſide to gratifie the common people: he played a ſhamefull parte, and ſhewed him ſelfe a double dealing man. For one night the nobilitie and chiefeſt citizens comming to his houſe, to perſwade him to brydle *Saturninus* inſolencie and boldnes: at the ſelfe ſame time alſo *Saturninus* going thither to ſpeake with him, he cauſed him to be let in at a backe dore, the noble men not being priuy to his comming. And ſo *Marius* telling the nobility, and then *Saturninus*, that he was troubled with a loſenes of his body, vnder this pretence whipped vp and downe, now to the one, then to the other, and did nothing elſe but ſet them further out one againſt an other, thē they were before. Neuertheles, the Senate being maruelous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of knightes taking parte with the Senate, *Marius* in the ende was compelled to arme the people in the market place, to ſuppreſſe them that were vp, and
C draue them into the Capitoll: where for lacke of water, they were compelled to yelde themſelues at the length, bicauſe he had cut of the pypes and conduits by the which the water ran vnto the Capitoll. By reaſon whereof, they being vnable to continue any lenger, called *Marius* vnto them, and yeelded them ſelues to him, vnder the aſſurance of the faith of the common people. But although *Marius* did what he could poſſible to his vttermoſt power to ſaue them, he could not preuaile, nor doe them pleaſure: for they were no ſooner come downe into the market place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he hauing now purchaſed him ſelfe the ill will of the people and nobility both, when time came about that new Cenſors ſhoulde be choſen, euery man looked that he would haue bene one of the ſuters: howbeit he ſued not for it, for feare of repulſe, but ſuffered others to be choſen of farre leſſe dignity and calling then
D him ſelfe. Wherein notwithſtanding he gloried, ſaying that he would not ſue to be Cenſor, bicauſe he would not haue the ill will of many, for examining too ſtraightly their liues & manners. Againe, a decree being preferred to repeale *Metellus* baniſhment, *Marius* did what he could poſſible by word and deede to hinder it: howbeit, ſeeing in the end he could not haue his will, he let it alone. The people hauing thus willingly reuoked *Metellus* baniſhment, *Marius* hart would not ſerue him to ſee *Metellus* returne againe, for the malice he bare him: wherfore, he tooke the ſeas to goe into CAPPADOCIA and GALATIA, vnder colour to pay certaine ſacrifices to the mother of the goddes, which he had vowed vnto her. But this was not the very cauſe that made him to vndertake this iorney, for he had an other ſecret meaning in it.
E For his nature not being framed to liue in peace, and to gouerne ciuill matters, and hauing attained to his greatnes by armes, and ſuppoſing that his glorie & authority conſumed and decreaſed altogether liuing idlely in peace: he ſought to deuiſe new occaſion of warres, hoping if he could ſtirre vp the kinges of ASIA, and ſpecially *Mithridates* (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make warres againſt the ROMAINES) that he ſhould then vndoutedly without let of any man be choſen Generall to make warres with him, and withall alſo, that by that meanes he ſhould haue occaſion to fill the citie of ROME with newe triumphes, and his houſe with the ſpoyles of the great kingdome of PONTE, and with the riches of the king. Now *Mithridates* diſpoſing him ſelfe to entertaine *Marius*, with all the honor and curteſies he could poſſibly ſhew him: *Marius* in the ende notwithſtanding would not once geue him a good looke, nor a curteous word againe, but churliſhly ſayd vnto *Mithri-*
F *dates* at his departure from him. Thou muſt determine one of theſe two, king *Mithridates*: either to make thy ſelfe ſtronger then the ROMAINES, or elſe to looke to doe what they commaund thee, without reſiſtaunce. Theſe wordes amazed *Mithridates*, who had heard ſay be-

Marius doble dealing betwene the nobilitie and people.

Marius procureth ſedition at Rome.

No truſt to the faith of the cōmon people.

Metellus returne from baniſhement.

Marius iorney into Cappadocia and Galatia.

Marius proud wordes to Mithridates.

fore that the ROMAINES would speake their mindes freely: howbeit he neuer saw nor proued it before, vntill that time. After *Marius* was returned vnto ROME, he built a house neere vnto the market place, bicause he would not (as he said himself) that such as came vnto him should trouble them selues in going farre to bring him home to his house: or else for that he thought this would be an occasion that diuerse would come to salute him, as they did other Senators. Howbeit that was not the cause in deede, but the onely cause was, for that he had no naturall grace nor ciuility to entertaine men curteously that came vnto him, and that he lacked behauior besides to rule in a common wealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckoning of him, then they did of an old rusty harnesse or implement that was good for nothing, but for the warres only. And for all other that professed armes as him selfe did, no man grieued him so much to be called forward to office and state before him selfe, as *Sylla* did. For he was ready to burst for spite, to see that the noble men did all what they could to preferre *Sylla*, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that *Syllaes* first rising and preferrement grew, by the quarrells and contentions he had with him. And specially when *Bocchus* king of NVMIDIA was proclaimed by the Senate, a frende and confederate of the ROMAINE people: he offred vp statues of victories, carying tokens of triumphe, into the temple of the Capitoll: and placed neere vnto them also, an image of gold of king *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered by his owne handes vnto *Sylla*. And this made *Marius* starke madde for spite and ielousie, and could not abide that an other should take vpon him the glory of his doinges: insomuch as he determined to plucke those images downe, and to cary them away by force. *Sylla* on the other side stomaked *Marius*, and would not suffer him to take them out of the place where they were: so that this ciuill sedition had taken present effect, had not the warres of their confederates fallen out betwene, and restrained them for a time. For the best souldiers and most warlike people of all ITALIE, and of greatest power, they all together rose against the ROMAINES, and had well neere ouerthrowen their whole Empire. For they were not onely of great force, and power, and well armed: but their Captaines also, for valliantnes and skill, did in maner equall the worthines of the ROMAINES. For this warre fell out wonderfully, by reason of the calamity and misfortune that happened in it: but it wanne *Sylla* as much fame and reputacion, as it did *Marius* shame and dishonor. For he shewed him selfe very colde and slow in all his enterprises, still delayinge time, either bicause age had mortified his actiue heate, and killed that quicke ready disposition of body that was wont to be in him, being then aboue three score and fiue yeare olde: or else as he sayd him selfe, bicause he was waxen gowty, and had ache in his vaines & sinewes, that he could not well stirre his body, and that for shame, bicause he would not tary behinde in this warre, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Notwithstanding, as he was, yet he wanne a great battell, wherein were slaine six thowsande of their enemies: and so long as the warres endured, he neuer gaue them aduantage of him, but pacientely suffred them sometime to intrenche him, and to mocke him, and geue him vile words, chalenging him out to fight, & yet all this would not prouoke him. It is sayd also, that *Pompedius Silo*, who was the chiefest Captaine of reputacion & authority the enemies had, said vnto *Marius* on a time: if thou be *Marius*, so great a Captaine as they say thou art, leaue thy campe, & come out to battel. Nay, said *Marius* to him againe: if thou be a great Captaine, plucke me out by the eares, & cõpell me to come to battell. An other time when the enemies gaue them occasion to geue a great charge vpon them with aduantage: the ROMAINES were fainte harted, and durst not set vpon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were retyred, *Marius* caused his men to assemble, and spake vnto them in this sorte. I can not tell which of the two I should recken most cowardes: you your selues, or your enemies: for they durst not once see your backes, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithstanding, he was compelled to resigne his charge, being able to serue no lenger for the weakenesse and debilitie of his body. Now, all the rebels of ITALIE being put downe, many at ROME (by the orators meanes) did sue to haue the charge of the warres against *Mithridates*: and among them, a Tribune of the people called *Sulpitius*, (a very bold and rash man) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred *Marius*, and perswaded them to geue him the charge of these warres, with title and authority of vice Consull. The people thereupon were deuided in two partes: for the one side stoode

The cause of the dissention betwext Marius & Sylla.

The warre of the confederates.

Silloes slowte chalenge and Marius answer.

A ſtoode for *Marius*, and thother would haue *Sylla* take the charge, ſaying, that *Marius* was to thinke nowe vppon the hotte bathes at Baies, to looke to cure his olde bodie, brought lowe with rewme and age, as him ſelfe ſayd. For *Marius* had a goodly ſtately houſe in thoſe partes neere vnto the mount of Miſene, which was farre more fine and curiouſly furniſhed, then be- *Mons Miſenon.*
came a Captaine that had bene in ſo many foughten battells and daungers. They ſay that *Cornelia* afterwardes bought that fine houſe for the ſumme of ſeuen thowſande fiue hundred crownes, and ſhortly after alſo, *Lucullus* bought it againe for two hundred and fifty thowſand crownes: to ſo great exceſſe was vanitie and curioſitie growen in very ſhorte time at Rome. Notwithſtanding all this, *Marius* too ambitiouſly ſtriuing like a paſſioned young man againſt *Marius ambition.*
the weakenes and debility of his age, neuer miſſed day but he would be in the field of *Mars* to
B exerciſe him ſelfe among the young men, ſhewing his body diſpoſed and ready to handle all kinde of weapons, and to ryde horſes: albeit that in his latter time, he had no great health of body, bicauſe he was very heauy and ſad. There were that liked that paſſing well in him, and went of purpoſe into the fielde to ſee the paines he tooke, ſtriuing to excell the reſt. Howbeit thoſe of the better ſorte were very ſory to ſee his auarice and ambition, conſidering ſpecially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane perſone a great eſtate, that he coulde not now containe his proſperity within reaſonable boundes, nor content him ſelfe to be eſteemed and honored, quietlie enioyinge all he had wonne, and which at that preſent he did poſſeſſe: but as if he had bene very poore and needy, after he had receiued ſuch great honor and triumphes, would yet cary out his age ſo ſtowtly, euen into Cappadocia,
C and vnto the realme of Pont, to goe fight there againſt *Archelaus*, and *Neoptolemus*, Lieutenaunts of king *Mithridates*. In deede he alleaged ſome reaſons to excuſe him ſelfe, but they were altogether vaine: for he ſayd that he deſired in perſone to bring vp his ſonne in exerciſe of armes, and to teach him the diſcipline of warres. That diſcouered the ſecret hidden plague, which of long time hath lurked in Rome, *Marius* ſpecially hauing now met with a fit inſtrument, and miniſter to deſtroy the common wealth, which was, the inſolent and raſh *Sulpitius*: who altogether followed *Saturninus* doinges, ſauing that he was found too cowardly & fainte harted in all his enterpriſes, and for that did *Marius* iuſtly reproue him. But *Sulpitius*, bicauſe he would not dally nor delay time, had euer ſixe hundred younge gentlemen of the order of knightes, whome he vſed as his gard about him, and called them the gard againſt the Senate. *Sulpitius gard of ſixe hundred knightes.*
D And one day as the Conſulls kept their common aſſembly in the market place, *Sulpitius* comming in armed apon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing: and as they fled, one of the Conſulls ſonnes being taken tardy, was ſlaine. *Sylla* being thother Conſull, and perceiuing that he was followed hard at hand vnto *Marius* houſe, ranne into the ſame againſt the opinion of all the world: wherof they that ranne after him not being aware, paſſed by the houſe. And it is reported that *Marius* him ſelfe conueyed *Sylla* ſafelie out at a backe dore, and that he being ſcaped thus, went vnto his campe. Notwithſtanding, *Sylla* him ſelfe in his commentaries doth not ſay, that he was ſaued in *Marius* houſe when he fled: but that he was brought thither to geue his conſent vnto a matter which *Sulpitius* woulde haue forced him vnto againſt his will, preſenting him naked ſwordes on euery ſide. And he wryteth *Sulpitius boldnes.*
E alſo, that being thus forcibly brought vnto *Marius* houſe, he was kept there in this feare, vntill ſuch time as returninge into the market place, he was compelled to reuoke againe the adiornement of iuſtice, which he and his companion by edict had commaunded. This done, *Sulpitius* then being the ſtronger, cauſed the commiſſion & charge of this warres againſt *Mithridates* to be aſſigned vnto *Marius* by the voyce of the people. Therfore *Marius* geuing order for his departure, ſent two of his Colonells before to take the army of *Sylla*: who hauing wonne his ſouldiers harts before, and ſtirred them vp againſt *Marius*, brought them on with him directly towardes Rome, being no leſſe then fiue and thirty thowſand fighting men: who ſetting apon the Captaines *Marius* had ſent vnto them, ſlewe them in the fielde. In reuenge whereof, *Marius* againe in Rome put many of *Syllaes* frendes and followers to death, and pro-
F claimed open liberty by ſound of trompet, to all ſlaues and bondmen that would take armes *Marius ſedition.*
for him: but there were neuer but three only that offered them ſelues. Whereuppon, hauing made a litle reſiſtaunce vnto *Sylla* when he came into Rome, he was ſoone after compelled to

Marius fleeth from Rome.

runne his way. *Marius* was no ſooner out of the citie, but they that were in his company for- A
ſaking him, diſperſed them ſelues here and there being darke night: and *Marius* him ſelfe got
to a houſe of his in the contrie, called Salonium, and ſent his ſonne to one of his father in
law *Mutius* farmes not farre from thence, to make ſome prouiſion for vittells. But *Marius* in
the meane time, went before to OSTIA, where one of his frendes *Numerius* had prepared
him a ſhippe, in the which he imbarked immediatly, not tarying for his ſonne, and hoiſed ſaile,
hauing only *Granius* his wiues ſonne with him. In the meane time the younger *Marius* beinge
at his father in law *Mutius* farme, ſtayed ſo long in getting of prouiſion, in truſſing of it vp, and
caryinge it away, that broade day light had like to haue diſcouered him: for the enemies had
aduertiſement whether he was gone, whereupon certaine horſemen were ſent thither ſuppo-
ſing to haue found him. But the keeper of the houſe hauing an inckling of their comminge, B
and preuenting them alſo before they came, ſodainely yoked his oxen to the carte which he
loded with beanes, and hidde this younger *Marius* vnder the ſame. And prickinge the oxen
forward with his goade, ſet out, and met them as he went towards the city, and deliuered *Ma-*
rius in this ſorte into his wiues houſe: and there taking ſuch thinges as he needed, when the
night following came, went towards the ſea, & tooke ſhippe, finding one croſſe ſayled, bound

Marius the ſonne fleeth into Africke.

towards AFRICKE. *Marius* the father ſaylinge on ſtill, had a very good winde to poynte a-
longeſt the coaſt of ITALIE: notwithſtanding, being afrayed of one *Geminius*, a chiefe man of
TERRACINE, who hated him to the death, he gaue the maryners warning thereof betimes,
and willed them to take heede of landing at TERRACINE. The maryners were very willing to
obey him, but the winde ſtoode full againſt them comming from the mayne, which raiſed a C
great ſtorme, and they feared much that their veſſell which was but a bote, would not brooke
the ſeas, beſides that he him ſelfe was very ſicke in his ſtomake, and ſore ſea beaten: notwith-
ſtanding, at the length with the greateſt difficulty that might be, they recouered the coaſt o-
uer againſt the city of CIRCEES. In the meane time, the ſtorme increaſed ſtill, and their vit-
tells failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring vp & downe
not knowinge what to doe, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in ſuch like
caſes of extremitie, they thought it alwayes the beſt ſafetie for them, to flie from the place
where they were, and to hope of that which they ſaw not: for if the ſea were their enemy, the
lande was ſo likewiſe. To meete with men, they were afrayed: and not to meete with them on
thother ſide lacking vtittells, was in deede the greater daunger. Neuertheleſſe, in the end they D
met with heard men that could geue them nothing to eate, but knowing *Marius*, warned him
to get him out of the way as ſoone as he could poſſible, bicauſe it was not longe ſince that
there paſſed by a great troupe of horſemē that ſought him all about. And thus being brought
vnto ſuch perplexity, that he knew not where to beſtowe him ſelfe, and ſpecially for that the
poore men he had in his company were almoſt ſtarued for hunger: he got out of the high way
notwithſtanding, and ſought out a very thicke wodde where he paſſed all that night in great
ſorow, and the next morninge beinge compelled by neceſſity, determined yet to employ his
body before all his ſtrength failed. Thus he wandered on alongeſt the ſea coaſt, ſtill comfor-
ting them that followed him the beſt he could, & praying them not to diſpayre, but to referre
them ſelues to him, euen vntil the laſt hope, truſting in certaine prophecies which the Sooth- E

Marius found an ayrie of Eagles.

ſayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwelling in
the contry, he gathered vp in the lappe of his gowne, the ayrie of an Eagle, in the which were
ſeuen young Eagles: whereat his father and mother much wondering, asked the Soothſayers
what that ment. They anſwered, that their ſonne one day ſhould be one of the greateſt men in
the world, and that out of doubt he ſhould obtaine ſeuen times in his life the chiefeſt office of
dignity in his contry. And for that matter, it is ſayd that ſo in dede it came to paſſe. Other hold
opinion, that ſuch as were about *Marius* at that time, in that preſent place, and elſe where,
during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell this tale, beleued it, and afterwardes put
it downe in wrytinge, as a true thinge, although of trothe it is bothe falſe and fayned. For
they ſay, that the Eagle neuer getteth but two younge ones: by reaſon whereof it is mayn- F
tayned alſo, that the Poet *Muſæus* hathe lyed, in that which he hathe wrytten in theſe
verſes.

The

The Eagle layes three egges, and two she hatcheth forth:
But yet she bringeth vp but one, that any thing is worth.

How many egges the Eagle layeth.

Howsoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Marius* many times during the time of his flying sayd, that he was assured he should come vnto the seuenth Consulship. When they were comen neere now to the city of MINTVRNES, about a two myle & a halfe frō it, they might perceiue a troupe of horsemen comming by the sea side, and two shippes on the sea that fell vppon the coast by good happe. Wherefore they all beganne to runne (so long as they had breath and strength) towardes the sea, into the which they threw them selues, and got by swymming vnto one of the shippes where *Granius* was: and they crossed ouer vnto the Ile that is right against it called ENARIA. Now for *Marius*, who was heauy and sicke of body, two of his seruauntes holpe to holde him vp alwayes aboue water, with the greatest paine and difficultie in the worlde: and at the last they labored so throughly, that they put him into the other shippe at the selfe same present, when the horsemen came vnto the sea side, who cried out alowde to the maryners, to lande againe, or else throw *Marius* ouer borde, and then to goe where they would. *Marius* on thother side humbly besought them with teares, not so to do: whereby the masters of the shippe in a shorte space were in many mindes whether to doe it, or not to doe it. In the ende notwithstanding, they aunswered the horsemen they would not throwe him ouer the borde: so the horsemen went their way in a great rage. But as soone as they were gone, the masters of the shippe chaunging minde, drewe towardes lande, and cast ancker about the mouth of the riuer of Liris, where it leaueth her banckes, and maketh great marysses: & there they tolde *Marius* he should doe well to goe a land to eate somewhat, and refresh his sea sicke body, till the winde serued them to make saile, which doubtlesse sayed they, will be at a certaine hower when the sea winde falles and becomes calme, and that there riseth a litle winde from the lande, ingendred by the vapours of the marysses, which will serue the turne very well to take seas againe. *Marius* following their counsell, and thinking they had ment good faith, was set a lande vppon the riuers bancke: and there layed him downe apon the grasse, nothing suspecting that which happened after to him. For the mariners presently taking their shippe againe, and hoysing vp their anckers, sailed straight away, and fled: iudging it no honesty for them to haue deliuered *Marius* into the handes of his enemies, nor safetie for them selues to haue saued him. *Marius* finding him selfe all alone, & forsaken of euery man, lay on the ground a great while, and sayd neuer a word: yet at the length taking harte a litle to him, got vp once againe on his feete, and painefully wandred vp and downe, where was neither way nor pathe at all, ouerthwart deepe marisses and great ditches, full of water and mudde, till he came at the length to a poore olde mans cotage, dwelling there in these marisses, and fallinge at his feete, besought him to helpe to saue and succour a poore afflicted man, with promise that one day he would geue him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might escape this present daunger wherein he was. The olde man whether for that he had knowen *Marius* aforetime, or that seeing him (by coniecture only) iudged him to be some great personage: told him that if he ment but to lye downe and rest him selfe a litle, his poore cabyne would serue that turne reasonably well: but if he ment to wander thus, to flie his enemies that followed him, he would then bring him into a more secret place, and farder of from noyse. *Marius* prayed him that he would so much doe for him: and the good man brought him into the marishe, vnto a low place by the riuers side, where he made him lye downe, and then couered him with a great deale of reede and bent, and other such light thinges as could not hurte him. He had not long bene there, but he heard a great noyse comming towardes the cabin of the poore old man: for *Geminius* of TERRACINE had sent men all about to seeke for him, whereof some by chaunce came that way, and put the poore man in a feare, and threatned him that he had receiued and hidden an enemie of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing that, rose out of the place where the old man had layed him, and stripping him selfe starke naked, went into a parte of the marishe where the water was full of myre and mudde, and there was founde of those that searched for him: who takinge him out of the slime all naked as he was, caried him into the citie of MINTVRNES, and deliuered him there into the gouernours handes. Open proclamation was made by the Senate through all ITALIE, that they should apprehend *Marius*, and kill him where-

Liris fl.

Marius set a land, and forsaken of the mariners.

Marius hidden in the marisses.

Marius take.

ſoeuer they founde him. Notwithſtanding, the gouernors and magiſtrates of MINTVRNES A
thought good firſt to conſult therupon amongeſt them ſelues, & in the meane time they deliuered him into the ſafe cuſtody of a woman called *Fannia*, whom they thought to haue bene a bitter enemie of his, for an old grudge ſhe had to him, which was this: *Fannia* ſomtime had a husband called *Tinnius*, whom ſhe was willing to leaue for that they could not agre, and required her dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husbande againe ſayed, ſhe had played the whore. The matter was brought before *Marius* in his ſixt Conſulſhippe, who had geuen iudgement apon it. Both parties being heard, and the law proſecuted on either ſide, it was found that this *Fannia* was a naughty woman of her body, and that her husband knowing it well enough before he maried her, yet tooke her with her faultes, and long time liued with her. Wherefore *Marius* being angrie with them both, gaue ſentence that the husband ſhould B
repay backe her dower, and that for her naughty life, ſhe ſhould pay foure farthings. This notwithſtanding, when *Fannia* ſaw *Marius*, ſhe grudged him not for that, and leaſt of all had any reuenginge minde in her towardes him, but contrarily did comforte and helpe him what ſhe could with that ſhe had. *Marius* thanked her maruelouſly for it, and bad her hope well: bicauſe he met with good lucke as he was comming to her houſe, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came neere to *Fanniaes* houſe, her dore being open, there came an aſſe running out to go drinke at a conduit: not farre from thence: and meeting *Marius* by the way, looked apon him with a liuely ioyfull countenaunce, firſt of all ſtopping ſodainly before him, and then beginning to bray out alowde, and to leape and skippe by him. Whereuppon *Marius* ſtraight coniecturing with him ſelfe, ſaid, that the goddes did ſignifie vnto him, that he C
ſhould ſaue him ſelfe ſooner by water then by lande: bicauſe that the aſſe leauing him, ranne to drinke, and cared not to eate. So when he had tolde *Fannia* this tale, he deſired to reſt, and prayed them to let him alone, and to ſhut the chamber dore to him. But the magiſtrates of the citie hauing conſulted together about him, in the ende reſolued they muſt deferre no lenger time, but diſpatche him out of the way preſently. Now when they were agreed apon it, they could not finde a man in the citie that durſt take apon him to kill him: but a man of armes of the GAVLES, or one of the CIMBRES (for we finde both the one and the other in wryting) that went thither with his ſword drawen in his hande. Now, that place of the chamber wherein *Marius* lay was very darke, and as it is reported, the man of armes thought he ſawe two burninge flames come out of *Marius* eyen, and heard a voyce out of that darke corner, D
ſaying vnto him: O fellowe, thou, dareſt thou come to kill *Caius Marius*? The barbarous GAVLE hearing theſe wordes, ranne out of the chamber preſently, caſting his ſworde in the middeſt of the flower, and crying out theſe wordes onely: I can not kill *Caius Marius*. This made the MINTVRNIANS afraied in the city at the firſt, but afterwards it moued them to compaſſion. So they were angry with them ſelues, and did repent them that they conuerted their counſell to ſo cruell and vnkinde a deede, againſt one that had preſerued all ITALIE: and to deny him aide in ſo extreame neceſſity, it was too great a ſinne. Therefore let vs let him goe, ſayed they to them ſelues, where he will, and ſuffer him take his fortune appointed him elſe where: and let vs pray to the goddes to pardone this offence of ours, to haue thruſt *Marius* naked and beggerly out of our city. For theſe conſiderations, the MINTVRNIANS went all to- E
gether to *Marius* where he was, and ſtoode about him, determining to ſee him ſafely conducted vnto the ſea ſide. Now though euery man was ready, and willing to pleaſure him, ſome with one thing, ſome with an other, and that they did haſten him all they could poſſible, yet they were a good while a going thither: bicauſe there was a wodde called Marica, that laye right in their way betwene their city and the ſea coaſt which they greatly reuerence, & thinke it a ſcriledge to cary any thing out of that wodde, that was once brought into it. On thother ſide, to leaue to goe through this wodde, and to compaſſe it rounde about, it would aske a maruelous long time. So they ſtanding all in doubt what they ſhould doe, one of the auncienteſt men of the city, ſpake alowde vnto them, and ſaid: that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to ſaue *Marius* life. Then *Marius* him ſelfe being the formeſt man, taking F
vp ſome of the fardells which they caried with him, to pleaſure him in the ſhip, went through the wodde. All other things neceſſary being thus readily prepared for him with like goodwil,

Fanniaes curteſie vnto Marius.

One hiered to kill Marius.

The Minturnians ſuffered Marius to go his way with ſafety.

Marica Sylua.

and

A and ſpecially the ſhippe which one *Bellæus* had ordained for him: he cauſed all this ſtorie to be painted in a table at large, which he gaue vnto the temple, out of the which he departed when he tooke ſhippe. After he was departed thence, the winde by good fortune caried him into the Ile of ENARIA, where he founde *Granius* and ſome other of his frendes, with whom he tooke ſea againe, and pointed towardes AFRICKE. But lacking water, they were compelled to lande in SICILIA, in the territory of the city of ERIX: where by chaunce there laye a ROMAINE Quæſtor, who kept that coaſt. *Marius* being landed there, ſcaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he ſlue ſixteene of his men that came out with him to take water. So *Marius* getting him thence with all ſpeede, croſſed the ſeas, vntill he arriued in the Ile of MENYNGE, where he firſt vnderſtoode that his ſonne was ſaued with *Cethegus*, and that B they were both together gone to *Hiempſal* king of the NVMIDIANS to beſeeche him of ayde. This gaue him a litle corage, & made him bold to paſſe out of that Ile, into the coaſt of CARTHAGE. Nowe at that time, *Sextilius* a ROMAINE Prætor was gouernor of AFRICKE, vnto whom *Marius* had neuer done good nor hurt, & therfore he hoped, that for pity only he might perhappes haue helpe at his hande. Howbeit he was no ſooner landed with a few of his men, but a ſergeaunt came ſtraight and ſayd vnto him: *Sextilius*, Prætor and gouernor of LIBYA, doth forbid thee to lande in all this prouince: otherwiſe he telleth thee, that he will obay the Senates commaundement, and purſue thee as an enemy of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing this commaundement, was ſo angry and ſory both, that he coulde not readily tell what aunſwere to make him, and pawſed a good while, and ſayd neuer a word, ſtill eying the ſergeaunt C with a grimme looke: vntill he asked him, what aunſwer he would make, to the Prætors commaundement. *Marius* then fetching a deepe ſigh from his harte, gaue him this aunſwer. Thou ſhalt tell *Sextilius*, that thou haſt ſeene *Caius Marius* baniſhed out of his contrie, ſittinge amongeſt the ruines of the city of CARTHAGE. By this aunſwere, he wiſely layed the example of the ruine and deſtruction of that great city of CARTHAGE, before *Sextilius* eyes, and the chaunge of his fortune: to warne *Sextilius* that the like might fall vppon him. In the meane time, *Hiempſal* king of the NVMIDIANS, not knowing how to reſolue, did honorably intreate young *Marius* and his companie. But when they were willing to goe their way, he alwayes founde newe occaſion to ſtay them, and was very glad to ſee that he ſtarted not for any oportunity or good occaſion that was offered: notwithſtandinge, there fortuned a happy meane D vnto them, whereby they ſaued them ſelues. And this it was. This *Marius* the younger being a fayer complexioned young man, it pitied one of the kinges concubines to ſee him ſo hardly delt withall. This pity of hers was a ſhadow to cloke the loue ſhe bare him: but *Marius* would not hearken at the firſt to her intiſementes, and refuſed her. Yet in the ende, perceiuing that there was no other way for him to eſcape thence, and conſidering that ſhe did all thinges for their auaile, more diligently and louingly then ſhe would haue done, if ſhe had not ment further matter vnto him, then only to enioy the pleaſure of him: he then accepted her loue and kyndneſſe, ſo as at the length ſhe taught him a way howe to flye, and ſaue him ſelfe and his frendes. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had imbraced and ſaluted eche other, going alongeſt the ſea ſide, they founde two ſcorpions fightinge together. *Marius* tooke this E for an ill ſigne: wherupon they quickly tooke a fiſher boate, and wēt into the ile of CERCINA, which is no great diſtaunce of from firme lande. They had no ſoner hoiſed vp ancker, but they ſawe the horſe men which kinge *Hiempſal* had ſent vnto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greateſt daungers that *Marius* euer eſcaped. In the meane time there was newes at ROME, that *Silla* made warre againſt kinge *Mithridates* Lieutenauntes: and furthermore, that the Conſulls being vp in armes thone againſt thother, *Octauius* wanne the battell, and being the ſtronger had driuen out *Cinna*, who ſought to haue vſurped tyrannicall power, and had made *Cornelius Merula* Conſull in his place: and that *Cinna* on thother ſide leauied men out of other partes of ITALIE, and made warres vpon them that were in ROME. *Marius* hearing of this diſſention, thought good to returne as ſoone as he F could poſſible into ITALIE. And aſſembling certaine horſemen of the nation of the MAVRVSIANS in AFRICKE, & certaine ITALIANS that had ſaued them ſelues there, vnto the number of a thowſand men in all: he tooke ſea, & landed in a hauen of THVSCANE called TELAMON,

Marius the elder flieth into Affrike.

Marius wiſe anſwere of fortunes inconſtancy.

Marius the younger eſcapeth Hyempſals hands.

Cinna driuen out of Rome by Octauius.

and being landed, proclaimed by ſounde of trompet, liberty to all ſlaues and bonde men that would come to him. So the laborers, heard men, and neateheardes of all that marche, for the onely name and reputacion of *Marius*, ranne to the ſea ſide from all partes: of the which he hauing choſen out the ſtowteſt and luſtieſt of them, wanne them ſo by fayer wordes, that hauing gathered a great companie together in few dayes, he made fortie ſayle of them. Furthermore, knowing that *Octauius* was a maruelous honeſt man, that would haue no authoritie otherwiſe then law & reaſon would: and that *Cinna* to the contrarie was ſuſpected of *Sylla*, and that he ſought to bring in chaunge and innouation to the common wealth, he determined to ioyne his force with *Cinna*. So *Marius* ſent firſt vnto *Cinna*, to lette him vnderſtande that he would obay him as Conſull, and be ready to do all that he ſhould commaunde him. *Cinna* receiued him, and gaue him the title and authoritie of Viceconſull, and ſent him ſergeaunts to carie axes and roddes before him, with all other ſignes of publicke authoritie. But *Marius* refuſed them, and ſayed, that pompe became not his miſerable fortune: for he euer went in a poore threede bare gowne, and had let his heare grow ſtill after he was baniſhed, being aboue three ſcore and tenne yeare olde, and had a ſober gate with him, to make men pitie him the more that ſawe him. But vnder all this counterfeate pitie of his, he neuer chaunged his naturall looke, which was euer more fearefull and terrible, then otherwiſe. And where he ſpake but litle, & went very demurely & ſoberly: that ſhewed rather a cankered corage within him, then a minde humbled by his baniſhment. Thus when he had ſaluted *Cinna*, and ſpoken to the ſouldiers: he then beganne to ſet thinges abroache, and made a wonderfull chaunge in fewe dayes. For firſt of all, with his ſhippes he cut of all the vittells by ſea, & robbed the marchaunts that caried corne and other vittells to Rome: ſo that in a ſhorte ſpace he was maſter purueyer for all neceſſarie prouiſion and vittells. After this he went alongeſt the coaſt, and tooke all the cities apon the ſea ſide, and at the length wanne Ostia alſo by treaſon, put the moſt parte of them in the towne to the ſword, and ſpoyled all their goodes: and afterwards making a bridge apon the riuer of Tiber, tooke from his enemies all hope to haue any manner of prouiſion by ſea. That done, he went directly towardes Rome with his armie, where firſt he wanne the hill called Ianiculum through *Octauius* faulte: who ouerthrewe him ſelfe in his doinges, not ſo much for lacke of reaſonable skill of warres, as through his vnprofitable curioſitie and ſtrictnes in obſeruing the law. For when diuerſe did perſwade him to ſet the bond men at liberty to take armes for defence of the common wealth: he aunſwered, that he would neuer geue bond men the law and priuiledge of a Romaine citizen, hauing driuen *Caius Marius* out of Rome, to maintaine the authoritie of the lawe. But when *Cæcilius Metellus* was come to Rome, the ſonne of that *Metellus Numidicus*, that hauing begonne the warres in Libya againſt king *Iugurthe*, was put out by *Marius*: the ſouldiers forſooke *Octauius* immediatly, and came vnto him, bicauſe they tooke him to be a better Captaine, and deſired alſo to haue a leader that could tell how to commaund them, to ſaue the citie, and the common wealth. For they promiſed to fight valliantly, & perſwaded them ſelues that they ſhould ouercome their enemies, ſo that they had a skilfull & valliant Captaine that could order them. *Metellus* miſliking their offer, commaunded them in anger to returne againe vnto the Conſull: but they for ſpite went vnto their enemies. *Metellus* on thother ſide, ſeeing no good order taken in the citie to reſiſt the enemies, got him out of Rome. But *Octauius* being perſwaded by certaine Soothſayers and Chaldean ſacrificers, who promiſed him all ſhould goe well with him, taried ſtill in Rome. For that man being otherwiſe, as wiſe as any Romaine of his time, and one that dealt as vprightly in his Conſulſhippe, not caried away with flattering tales, and one alſo that followed the auncient orders and cuſtomes as infallible rules and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any parte therof: me thinkes yet had this imperfection, that he frequẽted the Soothſayers, wiſe men, and aſtronomers, more then men skilfull in armes and gouernment. Wherefore, before that *Marius* him ſelfe came into the citie, *Octauius* was by force pluct out of the pulpit for orations, and ſlaine preſently by *Marius* ſouldiers, whome he had ſent before into the citie. And it is ſayed alſo, that when he was ſlaine, they founde a figure of a Chaldean prophecie in his boſome: and here is to be noted a great contrarietie in theſe two notable men, *Octauius* and *Marius*. The firſt loſt his life, by truſting to ſoothſaying: and the ſeconde proſpered,

Marius ioyneth force with Cinna.

Octauius negligence in defence of the citie of Rome, againſt Cinna & Marius.

Octauius too much geuen to Soothſaiers. Octauius vertue and imperfection.

Octauius ſlaine by Marius ſouldiers. A great contrariet in aſtronomy.

A prospered,& rose againe, bicause he did not despise the arte of diuination. The state of ROME standing then in this maner, the Senate consulting together, sent Ambassadors vnto *Cinna* and *Marius*, to pray them to come peacibly into ROME, and not to embrue their hands with the blood of their citizens. *Cinna* sitting in his chayer as Consul, gaue them audience,& made them a very reasonable and curteous aunswer. *Marius* standing by him, spake neuer a worde: but shewed by his sower looke that he would straight fill ROME with murder and blood. So when the Ambassadors were gone, *Cinna* came into ROME enuironned with a great number of souldiers: but *Marius* stayed sodainly at the gate, speaking partely in anger, and partely in mockerie, that he was a banished man, and driuen out of his contrie by law. And therefore if they would haue him come into ROME againe, they should first by a contrarie decree abolish B and reuoke that of his banishment, as if he had bene a religious obseruer of the lawes, and as though ROME had at that present enioyed their freedom and libertie. Thus he made the people assemble in the market place to proceede to the confirmation of his calling home againe. But before three or foure tribes had time to geue their voices, disguising the matter no lenger, and showing plainly that he ment not to be lawfully called home againe from exile: he came into ROME with a garde about him, of the veriest rascalls, & most shameleſse slaues, called the BARDIOEIANS, who came to him from all partes: and they for the least word he spake, or at the twinckling of his eye, or at a nodde of his head made to them, slew many men through his commaundement, and at the length slew *Ancharius* a Senator (that had bene Prætor) at *Marius* feete with their swordes, bicause only that *Marius* did not salute him when he came one C day to speake with him. After this murther, they continued killinge all them that *Marius* did not salute, and speake vnto: for that was the very signe he had geuen them, to kill them openly in the streetes before euery man, so that his very frendes were afearde of being murthered, when they came to salute him. Thus being a great number of men slaine, *Cinna* in the end beganne to be satisfied, and to appease his anger. But *Marius* anger and vnsatiable desire of reuenge increased more and more, so that he spared not one if he suspected him neuer so litle: and there was neither towne nor high way, that was not full of skowtes & spies, to hunte them out that hidde them selues and fled. Then experience taught them, that no frende is faithfull, and to be trusted, if fortune especially frowne neuer so litle: for there were very fewe that did not betray their frendes that fled to them for succor. And therefore doe *Cornutus* seruaunts so D much the more deserue praise, who hauing secretly hidden their master in his house, did hang vp the dead body of some common persone by the necke, and hauing put a golde ring on his finger, they shewed him to the BARDIOEIANS, *Marius* garde, and buried him in steade of their owne master, without suspicion of any man that it was a fained thing: and so *Cornutus* being hidden by his seruauntes, was safely conueyed into the contrie of GAVLE. *Marke Anthony* the Orator had also founde out a faithfull frende, yet was he vnfortunate. This faithfull frend of his, was a poore simple man, who hauing receiued one of the chiefest men of ROME into his house to kepe him close there: he being desirous to make him the best chere he could with that litle he had, sent one of his men to the next tauerne to fetche wine, and tastinge the wine more curiously then he was wont to do, he called for better. The drawer asked him, why E the new ordinary wine would not serue him, but he must needes haue of the best and deerest: the foolish fellow simply aunswered him (telling him as his familiar frend) that his master did feast *Marke Anthony*, who was hidden very secretly in his house. He was no sooner gone with his wine,& his backe turned, but the vile traiterous drawer ranne vnto *Marius*, who was set at supper when he came. The drawer beinge brought to him, promised him to deliuer *Marke Anthony* into his handes. *Marius* hearing that, was so ioconde, that he cried out, and clapt his handes together for ioye: and would haue risen from the borde, and gone thither him selfe in persone, had not his frendes kept him backe. But he sent *Annius* one of his Captaines thither with a certaine number of souldiers, and commaunded them to bringe him his heade quickely. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the drawer had F brought them to, *Annius* taried beneath at the dore, and the souldiers went vp the stayers into the chamber, & finding *Anthony* there, they beganne to encorage one an other to kill him, not one of them hauing the harte to lay handes vppon him. For *Anthonyes* tongue was as

Cinna and Marius entry into Rome.

Bardiæi.

Marius caused great murder in Rome.

Marius cruelnie.

Small trust of frendes in aduersitie.

The faithfulnes of Cornutus seruaunts to their master.

M. Antonius the Orator, betrayed by a tauerner.

The force of eloquence.

ſweete as a Sirene, and had ſuch an excellent grace in ſpeaking, that when he began to ſpeake A vnto the ſouldiers, and to pray them to ſaue his life: there was not one of them ſo hard harted, as once to touch him, no not onely to looke him in the face, but looking downewardes, fell a weeping. *Annius* perceiuing they taried long, and came not downe, went him ſelfe vp into the chamber, and found *Anthony* talking to his ſouldiers, and them weeping, his ſweete eloquent tongue had ſo melted their hartes: but he rating them, ranne furiouſly apon him, and

Catulus Lutatius killed himſelfe.

ſtrake of his head with his owne handes. And *Catulus Luctatius* alſo, that had bene Conſull with *Marius*, and had triumphed ouer the CIMBRES with him, ſeeing him ſelfe in this perill, ſet men to intreate *Marius* for him: but his aunſwere was euer, he muſt needes dye. So *Catulus* locked him ſelfe into a litle chamber, and made a great fire of charcole to be kindled, and with the ſmoke thereof choked him ſelfe. Now after their heades were cut of, they threw B out the naked bodies into the ſtreetes, and trodde them vnder their feete: the which was not only a pitiefull, but a fearefull ſight to all that ſawe them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that grieued the people ſo much, as the horrible lechery & abhominable cruelty of this gard of the BARDIÆIANS, who comming into mens houſes by force, after they had ſlaine the maſters, defiled their young children, and rauiſhed their wiues and maides, & no man would

The Bardiæians ſlaine of their captains for their cruelitie.

once reproue their crueltie, lecherie, and vnſatiable auarice: vntill *Cinna* and *Sertorius* in the end ſet apon them as they ſlept in their campe, and ſlewe them euery one. But in this extremitie, as if all thinges had bene reſtored vnto their firſt eſtate, newes came againe from all partes to ROME, that *Sylla* hauing ended his warre againſt king *Mithridates*, and recouered the prouinces which he had vſurped: returned into ITALIE with a great power. This cauſed C theſe euills and vnſpeakeable miſeries to ceaſe a litle, bicauſe the wicked doers of the ſame looked they ſhould haue warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereuppon *Marius* was

Marius ſeuenth Conſulſhip.

choſen Conſull the ſeuenth time. He going out of his houſe openly the firſt day of Ianuarie, being the beginning of the yeare, to take poſſeſſion of his Conſulſhippe: cauſed one *Sextus Lucinus* to be throwen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian, which ſeemed to be a great ſigne and certaine token of the euills and miſeries, that fell out afterwards the ſelfe ſame yere apon them of their faction, and vnto all the citie beſide. But *Marius* being ſore broken with his former troubles, and his minde oppreſſed with extreame ſorow and griefe, could not now at this laſt time of neede plucke vp his harte to him againe, when he came to thinke of this newe toward warre that threatned him, and of the daungers, griefes, and troubles he ſhould D enter into, more great and perillous then any he had paſſed before. For through the great experience he had in warres, he trembled for feare when he beganne to thinke of it, conſidering that he had to fight, not with *Octanius*, nor with *Merula*, Captaines of a companie of rebells gathered together: but with a noble *Sylla*, that had driuen him out of ROME before, and that came now from driuing the puiſant king *Mithridates*, vnto the furdeſt parte of the realme of PONT, and of the ſea Euxinum. Thus, deepely waying and conſidering the ſame, and ſpecially when he looked backe vppon his long time of baniſhment, how vacabondlike he wandered vp and downe in other contries, and remembred the great misfortunes he had paſſed, and the ſundrie daungers he fell ſo often into, being purſued ſtill by ſea and by land: it grieued him

Marius thoughtes and feare.

to the harte, and made him ſo vnquiet, that he coulde not ſleepe in the night, or if he ſlept, E had fearefull dreames that troubled him, and ſtill he thought he heard a voyce buſſing in his eares.

A Lyons very denne, is dreadfull to behold:
Though he him ſelfe be gone abroade, and be not therein hold.

Deuiſe to winne ſleepe.

But fearing moſt of all that he ſhould no more ſleepe and take his reſt, he gaue him ſelfe to make vnreaſonable banckets, and to drinke more then his yeres could beare, ſeeking to winne ſleepe by this meanes, to auoyde care the better. But at the length there came one from the ſea, that gaue him certaine intelligence of all: & that was an increaſe of a new feare vnto him. And thus he being now extreamely troubled, partely for feare of the thing to come, & partely alſo for the ouer heauie burden of his preſent ill, there neded but litle more aggrauation, to F fall into the diſeaſe whereof he dyed, which was a plewriſie: as *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher wryteth, who ſayeth plainly that he went into his chamber when he was ſicke, and ſpake vnto

him

A him about matters of his Ambaſſade, for the which he came to Rome. Yet an other hiſtorio-
grapher *Caius Piſo* wryteth, that *Marius* walking one day after ſupper with his frendes, fell in
talke of his fortune from the beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had
turned with and againſt him: concluding, that it is no wiſe mans parte to truſt her any more.
So when he had done, he tooke his leaue of them, and layed him downe vpon his bed, where
he lay ſicke ſeuen dayes together, and on the ſeuenth day dyed. Some wryte that his ambition
appeared plainly, by a ſtraunge rauing that tooke him in his head during his ſickenes. For he
thought that he made warres with *Mithridates*, and ſhewed in his bed all his geſtures and mo-
uings of his bodie, as if he had bene in a battell, crying the ſelfe ſame cryes out alowde, which
he was wont to crie when he was in the extreameſt fight. The deſire he had to haue taken this
B charge in hande againſt *Mithridates*, was ſo deepely ſetled in his minde through extreame
ambition and iealouzy that poſſeſt him: that being then three ſcore and ten yeare old, after he
had bene the firſt man that euer was choſen ſeuen times Conſull in Rome, and alſo after that
he had gotten a world of goodes and richeſſe together that might haue ſuffiſed many kinges:
yet for all this he dyed for ſorrowe, lamenting his harde fortune, as if he had dyed before his
time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had deſired. But this was cleane
contrarie vnto that the wiſe *Plato* did, when he drewe neere to his death. For he gaue God
thankes for his fatall end and good fortune. Firſt, for that he had made him a reaſonable man,
and no brute beaſt: ſecondly, a Greke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he
was borne in *Socrates* time. It is reported alſo, that one *Antipater* of Tharsis, calling to mind
C a litle before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forgette amonge other
thinges, to tell of the happie nauigation he made, comming from his contrie vnto Athens:
which did witneſſe that he put vpon the fyle of his good accompts for a ſingular great grace,
all fauor fortune had ſhewed him, and that he kept it in perpetuall memorie, being the onely
and moſt aſſured treaſure a man can haue, to kepe thoſe giftes that nature or fortune doe be-
ſtowe vpon him. But contrariwiſe, vnthankefull fooles vnto God and nature both, doe forget
with time the memory of their former benefittes, and laying vp nothing, nor keping it in per-
petuall memory, are alwayes voyde of goods and full of hope, gaping ſtill for things to come
& leauing in the meane time the things preſent, though reaſon perſwades them the contrary.
For fortune may eaſily let thē of the thing to come, but ſhe can not take that from thē which
D is already paſt: and yet they vtterly forget the certaine benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing
belonging vnto thē, & dreame alwayes of that which is vncertaine. And ſure it chaunceth to
them by great reaſon. For, hauing gathered outward goodes together, and locking them vp
before they haue built and layd a ſure grounded foundacion of reaſon through good learning:
they can not afterwardes fill nor quenche their vnſatiable greedie couetous minde. Thus en-
ded *Marius* his life, the ſeuenteenth day of his ſeuenth Conſulſhippe, whereof all the citie of
Rome was not a litle glad, and tooke harte againe vnto them, ſuppoſing they had then bene
deliuered from a bloodie cruell tyranny. But within few dayes after they knew it to their coſt,
that they had chaunged an olde maſter taken out of the worlde, for a younger that came but
newly to them: ſuch extreame vnnaturall cruelties, & murders did *Marius* the younger com-
E mit, after the death of his father *Marius*, murdering in manner all the chiefeſt noble men of
Rome. At the firſt, they tooke him for a valliant and hardy young man, whereuppon they na-
med him the ſonne of *Mars*: but ſhortly after his deedes did ſhew the contrary, and
then they called him the ſonne of *Venus*. In the end he was ſhut in, and be-
ſieged by *Sylla* in the city of Perusia, where he did what he could
poſſible to ſaue his life, but all was in vaine: & laſtly, ſeeing
no way to eſcape, the city being taken, he ſlewe
him ſelfe with his owne handes.

The end of Caius Marius life.

Marius the fathers death.

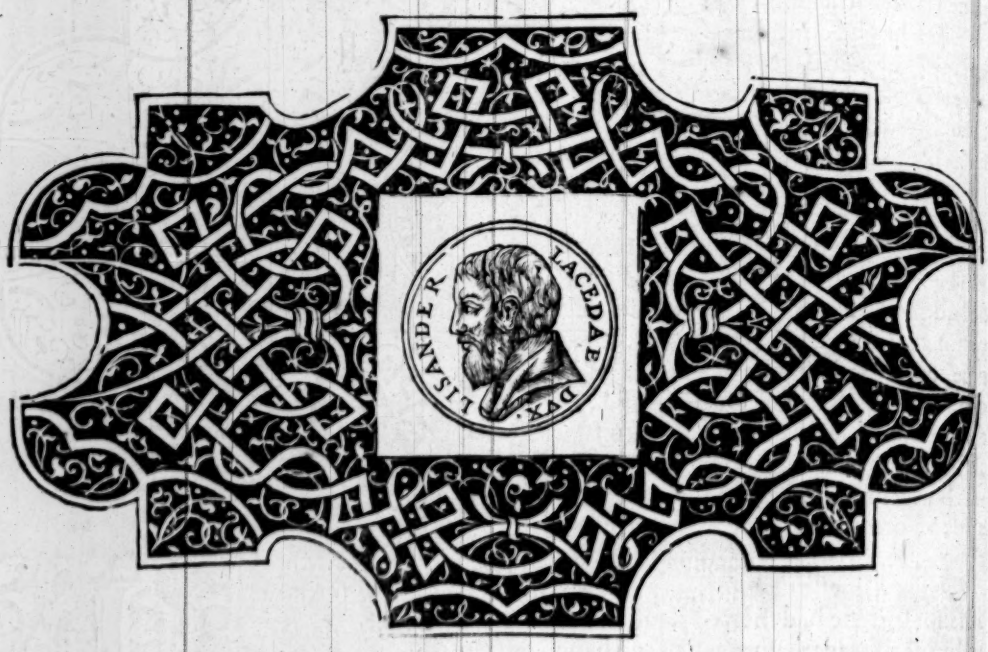
Marius mad ambition.

A note againſt the ambitious.

Platoes words at his death.

Note that in Syllaes life following it appeareth, that Marius the younger was beſieged in the city of Praneſte, and not in Perusia as ye reade here. So as the city ſeemeth to be miſtakē in one of theſe two.

THE LIFE OF *Lyſander.*



IN the treaſorie of the ACANTHIANS, which is in the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES, there is this inſcription: *Braſidas*, and the ACANTHIANS, with the ſpoile of the ATHENIANS. That inſcription maketh many men thinke, that the image of ſtone that ſtandeth within the chamber by the dore therof, is the image of *Braſidas*: howbeit in truth it is the liuelie image of *Lyſanaer* him ſelfe, made with a great buſh of heare, & a thicke long beard after the old auncient facion. And where ſome ſay that the ARGIVES, after they were ouercome and had loſt a great battell, did all of them ſhaue them ſelues in token and ſigne of common ſorrow: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS on thother ſide to ſhewe the ioy of their victory, did all let their heares growe, that is not true. No more then this is true which other do reporte of the BACCHIADES: who being fled from CORINTHE vnto LACEDÆMON, the LACEDÆMONIANS founde them ſo ill fauoredly diſguiſed and deformed, bicauſe their heads were all ſhauen, that thereupon they had a deſire to let their heare and beards grow. For that was one of the ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*, who ſayd that the long buſhe of heare, maketh them that are naturally fayer, the pleaſaunter to looke vppon: and thoſe that are ill fauored, more ougly and feareful to ſee to. And furthermore, it is ſayd that *Ariſtoclitus*, the father of *Lyſander*, was not of the royall blood of the kinges of SPARTA, though he came of the race of the *Heraclides*: and that his ſonne *Lyſander* was very meanely and poorely brought vp, being as obedient to the lawes and ſtatutes of his contrie, as any other man was, ſhowing him ſelfe alwayes very ſtrong and conſtant againſt all vanitie and pleaſure, ſauing only in matters of honor and curteſie, which they offer vnto thoſe that deſerue well. For they thinke it no ſhame nor diſhoneſty in SPARTA, that the young men doe ſuffer them ſelues to be ouercome with that delite and pleaſure: but doe ſo bring vp their children, that from their youth they would haue them to haue ſome taſt and feeling of honor, deliting to be praiſed, and ſorie to be diſcõmended. For they make no accompt of him that is not moued with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a baſe cowardly nature, that hath no manner of minde to doe good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and ſtowtneſſe that was bred in *Lyſander*, proceded

Lyſanders image.

Lycurgus the author of wearing longe heare.

The commoditie of wearing longe heare.

Lyſanders kinred.

The education of the Laconian children.

A ceeded of the LACONICALL diſcipline and education he had, and not ſo much of his owne nature. But in dede of his owne nature he was a right courtier,& could tell how to entertaine and flatter great ſtates and nobility,farre better then the common maner of the natural SPARTANS: and moreouer for his priuate benefit,he could eaſily beare with the ſtowtnes of greater men of authority then him ſelfe, which ſome iudge to be a great poynt of wiſedome, to know how to deale in matters of ſtate. *Ariſtotle* in a place where he ſayeth, that the greateſt wittes commonly are ſubiect vnto melancholye, (as *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Hercules* were) wryteth,that *Lyſander* in his later age fell into the melancholy diſeaſe,but not in his youth. He had alſo this ſingular gift aboue all other,that in his pouerty he alwayes kept that honeſt modeſty with him, as he would neuer be ouercome nor corrupted with gold nor ſiluer: and yet he filled his con-
B trie with riches and couetouſnes, which loſt him the reputacion he had wonne, bicauſe him ſelfe made none accompt of riches nor getting. For bringing ſtore of golde and ſiluer into his contrie after he had ouercomen the ATHENIANS, he reſerued not vnto him ſelfe one Drachma only. And furthermore, when *Dionyſius* the tyran of SYRACVSA,had on a time ſent goodly riche gownes out of SICILIA to his daughters: he refuſed them,ſaying, that he was afrayed ſuch gownes would make them fowler. Neuertheleſſe, ſhortly after being ſent Ambaſſador out of his contrie vnto the ſame tyranne, *Dionyſius* ſending him two gownes, praying him to chooſe which of the two he would cary to his daughter: he anſwered,that ſhe her ſelfe could beſt chooſe which was the fitter, and ſo caried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike cauſes: the warres of PELOPONNESVS fell out maruelous long. For after the ouer-
C throw of the armie which the ATHENIANS had ſent into SICILIA,when euery man thought they had vtterly loſt all their force by ſea, and that by all coniecture they ſhoulde ſoone after looſe all by lande alſo: *Alcibiades* returning from his exile to deale againe in matters of the ſtate, made an exceding great chaunge and alteration. For he ſet the ATHENIANS a flote againe, and made them as ſtrong by ſea as the LACEDÆMONIANS: who thereupon beganne to quake for feare, and to looke eftſoones for a freſhe warre, perceiuinge that they ſtoode in neede of a greater power, and of a better Captaine then euer they had before. Whereuppon they made *Lyſander* their Admirall, who arriuing in the citie of EPHESVS, founde them very well affected towardes him, and maruelous willing and ready to take the LACEDÆMONIANS parte:howbeit otherwiſe in very poore ſtate,and ready almoſt to take vp all the barbarous ma-
D ners and facions of the PERSIANS, bicauſe they did continually frequent them, being enuironned round about with the contry of LYDIA,where the king of PERSIAES Captaines were euer reſident. Wherefore, hauing planted his campe there, he brought thither marchauntes ſhippes out of all partes, and ſette vp an arſenall or ſtore houſe to builde gallies in: ſo that in ſhorte ſpace,by oft recourſe of marchauntes that beganne to trade thither,he quickened their hauens,and ſet vp their ſtaple againe for trafficke of marchaundiſe,and filled euery priuate artificers houſe with an honeſt trade to make them riche by, ſo that euer after it greiue in continuall hope to come vnto that floriſhinge ſtate and greatnes, in the which we ſee it at this preſent. Furthermore, *Lyſander* being aduertiſed that *Cyrus*, one of the great king of PERSIAES ſonnes, was come vnto the city of SARDIS, he went thither to ſpeake with him, and to com-
E plaine of *Tiſaphernes*: who hauing commaundement geuen him from the king to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, and to helpe to expulſe the ATHENIANS, and to driue them from the ſea, ſeemed to deale but coldly and faintly againſt them, for the fauor he bare to *Alcibiades*. For, furniſhing the LACEDÆMONIANS very ſcantly with money, was an occaſion that all their armie by ſea went to wracke. *Cyrus* for his owne parte was very glad that he heard complaintes of *Tiſaphernes*, and that they ſpake againſt him: bicauſe he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had him ſelfe a litle odde grudge to him. Wherfore he loued *Lyſander* maruelous well, as well for the complaintes he made of *Tiſaphernes*, as alſo for the pleaſure he tooke in his companie,bicauſe he was a man that could wonderfully pleaſe & delite noble men: by which meanes hauing wonne the fauor of this young Prince, he did perſwade,and alſo incorage him
F to follow this warre. And when *Lyſander* was vpon his departure to take his leaue of him, *Cyrus* feaſted him, and afterwardes prayed him not to refuſe the offer of his liberalitie,and that was: that he would freely aske him what he would, aſſuring him he ſhould not be denied any

Lyſanders manners.

VViſe men be euer melancholye.

Lyſander a deſpiſer of riches.

Lyſanders words of Dionyſius liberalitie.

Lyſander admirall for the Lacedæmonians by ſea.

Lyſander enlargeth the citie of Epheſus.

Sardis a citie in Lydia.

thing. Wherunto *Lyſander* anſwered him. Sithence I ſee(*Cyrus*)you are ſo willing to pleaſure vs, I beſeeche you, and doe alſo counſell you then to increaſe the ordinarie pay of our maryners, one halfe penny a day: to the end that where now they haue but three halfe pence,they may thenceforth receaue two pence a day. *Cyrus* was glad to heare *Lyſanders* bounty, and the increaſe that he would make, and cauſed tenne thowſande Darickes to be deliuered him: by meane whereof he added to the ordinary pay of the maryners, the increaſe of a halfe penny a day. This liberality,within few dayes after,emptied all their enemies gallies of their men.For, the moſt parte of their maryners & galley men went where they might haue the beſt pay: and ſuch as remained behinde, became very dull, laſie, and ſeditious, dayly troubling their Captaines and gouernors. Now though *Lyſander* had drawen his enemies men from them by this policie, and had done this great hurte, yet he durſt not fight it out by ſea, fearing the worthines of *Alcibiades*: who was a valliant man,and had greater ſtore of ſhippes then he had, and beſides that, was neuer ouercome by lande nor by ſea, in any battell where he was Generall. So it chaũced,that *Alcibiades* went out of the Ile of SAMOS, vnto the city of PHOCEA, which ſtandeth vpon firme lande directly ouer againſt SAMOS, and leauing the whole charge of his fleete in his abſence,with *Antiochus* his pylot: he being more hardie then wiſe,in ſcorne and deriſion of *Lyſander*, went with two gallies only into the hauen of EPHESVS, and went by the arſenall(where all their ſhippes lay in docke)with great noyſe and laughing.This put *Lyſander* in ſuch a heate and chaſe, that firſt of all he put a fewe gallies to the ſea, and had him in chaſe with them. But afterwardes, perceiuing that the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS came out one after an other to the reſcue, he armed other gallies alſo: ſo that ſupplying ſtill with a few on either ſide,at the length they came to a maine battell,which *Lyſander* wanne,& hauing taken fifteene of their gallies, he ſet vp a token of triumphe and victory. When the people at ATHENS heard the newes of this ouerthrow, they were ſo angrie with *Alcibiades*, that they diſcharged him preſently of his charge: and the ſouldiers alſo that lay in campe in the Ile of SAMOS, beganne to miſſlike him, and to ſpeake ill of him. Whereuppon he preſently left his campe, and went into the contrie of CHERRONESVS in THRACIA. This battell was more ſpoken of then there was cauſe, by reaſon of *Alcibiades* reputacion. Furthermore, *Lyſander* cauſinge the ſtowteſt and boldeſt men of euery city, aboue the common ſorte, to come to EPHESVS vnto him: layed there ſecret foundacions of great chaunge and alteracion, which he ſtabliſhed afterwardes in the gouernmentes of cities. For he perſwaded his priuate frendes to make tribes amongeſt them ſelues to winne them frendes, and to practiſe to gette the rule of their cities into their handes: promiſing them, that ſo ſoone as the ATHENIANS were ouerthrowen, they them ſelues alſo ſhould be deliuered from ſubiection of their people,and euery one of them ſhould beare chiefe rule in their contry. And this he performed to them all, and made euery one of them proue his wordes true. For he preferred all them that had bene his olde frendes,vnto the beſt offices and charges: not ſparing to doe againſt all right and reaſon, ſo that they were aduaunced by it. And thus by this meanes,euery man came to take his part, and they all ſought and deſired to gratifie and pleaſe him: hoping, that what great matter ſoeuer fell out,they aſſured thẽſelues in maner that they ſhould obtaine it of him,when he came to haue the gouernment in his owne hands. And therefore they nothing reioyced at *Callicratidas* comming, who came to ſucceede him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwards alſo, when they ſaw by experience that he was as honeſt and iuſt a man as coulde be. Neither did they like his manner of gouerninge which was plaine, and without any arte or cunning. But they commended the perfectiõ of his vertue, as they would haue done the image of ſome demy god made after the olde facion, which had bene of ſingular beawty. But in the meane time, they wiſhed for *Lyſander*, as well for the tender loue and good will he bare to his frends and them, as alſo for the profit and commodity they got by him. So when *Lyſander* tooke the ſeas to returne home againe,all they that were in the campe,were as ſory as could be poſſible, inſomuch as the teares ſtoode in their eyes:and he on thother ſide,ſtudied to make them worſe affected vnto *Callicratidas*. For amongeſt many other thinges, he ſent the reſt of the money backe againe to SARDIS, which *Cyrus* had geuen him to pay the maryners: ſaying, that *Callicratidas* ſhould go him ſelfe to aske it, if he would haue it, and finde the meanes to entertaine his

Lyſander tooke money for paye of his ſouldiers.

Lyſanders victorie of the Athenians by ſea.

Cherroneſus a contrye in Thracia.

Callicratidas Lyſanders ſucceſſor in his office of admyralties.

Playnenes cõmended for a vertue, but liked as an olde image of a god that had bene excellent faier.

The ſpighte of Liſander to Callicratidas.

A his men. And laſtly, when he was ready to imbarke, he proteſted before all them that were preſent, that he did deliuer, leaue, and aſſigne ouer the armie into his handes, commaunding all the ſea. But *Callicratidas*, to ouercome his falſe ambicion, and fowle boaſting lye aunſwered him againe, and ſaied. If that be true thow ſaieſt, come then and deliuer me the gallies in the city of MILETVM, as thou goeſt by, before the Ile of SAMOS: for ſith thou commaundeſt all the ſea, we ſhall not neede to feare our enemies that are in SAMOS. *Lyſander* thereto replied, that the armie was no more at his commaundement, and that he had the charge ouer them: and ſo departed thence, taking his courſe directly vnto PELOPONNESVS, and left *Callicratidas* in great perplexity. For he had brought no money out of his contrie with him, neither would he compell the cities to furniſhe him with any, ſeeinge that they were at that time too much
B troubled already. Then had he no other way but to goe to the Lieutenauntes of the king of PERSIA, to aske them money as *Lyſander* had done. But he was the vnmeeteſt man for it that could be poſſible: for he was of a noble and liberall nature, and thought it leſſe diſhonor & reproache vnto the GREECIANS, to be ouercome by other GREECIANS, then to goe flatter the barbarons people, and ſeeke to them that had gold & ſiluer enough, but otherwiſe, no goodnes nor honeſty. In the end notwithſtanding, making vertue of neceſſity, he tooke his iorney towards LYDIA, and went directly to *Cyrus* courte: where at his firſt comming he willed them to let him vnderſtand, that *Callicratidas* the Admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS would ſpeake with him. One of the ſouldiers that warded at the gate, told him: my frende, ſyr ſtraunger, *Cyrus* is not at leaſure nowe, for he is ſet at dinner. *Callicratidas* aunſwered him plainely againe:
C no force, I will tary here till he haue dined. The barbarous PERSIANS hearing this, tooke him for ſome plaine lowte, and ſo he went his waye the firſt time with a mocke at their handes. But the ſecond time when they would not let him come in at the gate, he fell in a rage, and retorned backe (as he came) to the citie of EPHESVS, curſing and banning them that at the firſt had ſo much imbaſed them ſelues, as to goe ſue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be prowde and ſtately for their goodes and riches: ſwearing before them all that were preſent, that ſo ſoone as he came to SPARTA againe, he would doe all that he could poſſible to paciſie the GREECIANS, & ſet them at peace one with an other, to the end they might be fearefull to the barbarous people, & alſo that they ſhould medle with them no more, nor neede their aide to deſtroy one an other. But *Callicratidas* hauing the noble harte of a SPARTAN, and being to
D be compared in iuſtice, vallianey, and greatnes of corage, with the moſt excellenteſt GREECIANS in his time, dyed ſhortly after in a battell by ſea, which he loſt vppon the Iles ARGINVSES. Wherefore, the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS ſeeing that their ſtate was in declining, they all together ſent an Ambaſſade vnto SPARTA, by whom they made requeſt to the counſell, that they would ſend *Lyſander* againe for their Admirall, promiſing that they would do all things with better corage & goodwill vnder his conduction, then they would vnder any other Captaine they could ſende them. So much did *Cyrus* alſo wryte vnto them. But bicauſe there was an expreſſe law forbidding that one man ſhould be twiſe Admirall, and beſides, they being willing to graunt the requeſt of their confederats, made one *Aracus* their Admirall, but in effect gaue *Lyſander* the whole authoritie of all thinges. Who was maruelous welcome vn-
E to them, and ſpecially vnto the heades and rulers of cities, which long before had wiſhed for his comming: bicauſe that by his meanes they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authority from the people. But they that loued plaine dealing, and open magnanimitie in the manners of a gouernor and generall, when they came to compare *Lyſander*, with *Callicratidas*: they founde that *Lyſander* had a fine ſubtill head, and did more in warres with his policy and ſubtiltie, then by any other meanes. And moreouer, that he eſtemed iuſtice, when it fell out proffitable: and tooke profit, for iuſtice and honeſtie, not thinking that plaine dealing was of better force then crafte, but meaſuring the value of the tone and thother, by the profit that came out of them, and mocking of them that ſayed that the race of *Hercules* ſhould not make warres with craft and ſubtilty. For ſayd he, when the lyons skin
F will not ſerue, we muſt help it with the caſe of a foxe. And hereunto agreeth that, which they wryte he did in the citie of MILETVM. For his frendes and familiars to whome he had promiſed aide for deſtruction of the peoples authority, and to driue their enemies out of the city:

Nothing eſtemed with the Barbarians but money.

Callicratidas pacience.

The death of Callicratidas.

Lyſander crafty and deceitfull.

A wiſe ſaying of Lyſander.

they hauing chaunged their mindes, and being reconciled vnto their aduerſaries, he openly A
made great ſhowe of gladnes, and ſeemed as though he would helpe to agree them together:
but ſecretly being alone, he tooke them vp ſharply, and told them that they were cowards to
doe it, and did procure them to the contrarie, to ſet apon the people. And then when he vn-
derſtoode that there was commocion among them in the citie, he ranne thither ſodainly as it
were to appeaſe it. But when he was alſo comen into the citie, the firſt he met with of them
The wicked diſſembling and double dealing of Lyſander. that would alter the ſtate of gouernment, and take the authority from the people: he fell out
withall, and gaue them rough wordes, commaunding with extreamitie that they ſhould fol-
low him, as though he would haue done ſome great puniſhment. And againe, meeting with
them on the contrary parte, he willed them alſo that they ſhould not be afrayed, nor dout that
any man ſhould doe them hurte where he was. This was a wicked and malicious practiſe of B
him, to ſtay the chiefeſt of them that were moſt affected to the popular faction, to the ende
that afterwardes he might, put them all to death, as he did. For they that truſting to his words
remained quiet in the city were all put to death. Moreouer, *Androclidas* touching this matter,
hath left in wryting that which *Lyſander* was wont to ſay: by the which it appeareth, that he
Lyſander regarded no periurie, following the example of Polycrates the tyran of Samos. made very litle reckening to be periured. For he ſayd, that children ſhould be deceiued with
the play of kayles, and men with othes of men, following therein *Polycrates*, the tyran of SA-
MOS, but without reaſon: for he was a lawfull Captaine, and the other a violent vſurper of ty-
rannicall power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true LACONIAN, to behaue him ſelfe to-
wardes the goddes none otherwiſe, then towardes men, but rather worſe, & more iniuriouſly,
For he that deceiueth his enemy, & breaketh his othe to him: ſheweth plainly that he feareth C
him, but that he careth not for God. *Cyrus* therefore hauing ſent for *Lyſander* to come to SAR-
Cyrus liberalitie to Lyſander. DIS to him, gaue him money largely, and promiſed him more: and bicauſe he would more
honorably ſhewe the good will he had to gratifie him, tolde him, that if the kinge his father
would geue him nothing, yet he would geue him of his owne. And furthermore, whē all other
meanes fayled to helpe him with money, that rather then he ſhould lacke he would melt his
owne chayer to make money of (which he ſate in when he gaue audience in matter of iuſtice)
being altogether of gold and ſiluer. And to be ſhorte, when he was going into MEDIA to the
king his father, he gaue *Lyſander* power to receiue the taxes and ordinary tributes of the ci-
ties vnder his gouernment, and made him Lieutenaunt of all his contry. And laſtly, bidding
him farewell, praied him that he woulde not geue battell by ſea vnto the ATHENIANS, vntill D
he returned from the courte: and that before his comming againe he woulde haue authoritie
to leauie a greate nomber of ſhippes, aſwell out of PHOENICIA, as out of CILICIA. Where-
fore whileſt *Cyrus* was in his iorney, *Lyſander* not being able to fight with his enemies with
Lyſanders actes by ſea. like nomber of ſhippes, nor alſo to lye ſtill and doe nothing with ſo good a number of gallyes,
went and ſcowred the ſeas, where he tooke certaine Ilandes, and robbed alſo ÆGINA and SA-
LAMINA. From thence he went & landed on the firme lande in the contrye of ATTICA, and
did his dutie there vnto *Agis* king of LACEDÆMONIA, who came purpoſely from the forte of
Decelea to the ſea ſide to ſee him, bicauſe their armye by lande alſo ſhoulde ſee what power
they had by ſea, and howe it ruled more by ſea then they woulde. Neuertheles, being aduer-
tiſed that the fleete of the ATHENIANS followed harde after him, he tooke an other courſe E
to flye backe againe into ASIA by the Iles: and returninge againe, founde all the contry of
HELLESPONT without men of warre. So he laied ſiege before the citie of LAMPSACVS, and
did aſſault it with his gallies by ſea: and *Thorax* being come thither alſo at the ſelfe ſame time
in great haſt with his armie by land, gaue thaſſault on his ſide. Thus was the citie taken by
force, which *Lyſander* left to the ſpoile of the ſouldiers. Now in the meane time the fleete of
the ATHENIANS (which was a hundred and foure ſcore ſaile) came to an ancker before the
citie of ELEVNTE, in the contrie of CHERRONESVS: and newes being broughte them that
the city of LAMPSACVS was taken, they came with all ſpede poſſible vnto the citie of SESTOS,
where getting freſhe acates and vittelles, they coaſted all alongeſt the coaſt vnto a certaine
place called the goates riuer, directly ouer againſt the fleete of their enemies, which lay yet F
Philocles cruel aduiſe vnto the Athenians. at ancker before the citie of LAMPSACVS. Now there was a captaine of the ATHENIANS a-
mongeſt other called *Philocles*, he that perſwaded the ATHENIANS to cut of the priſoners

thumbes

A thumbes of their right handes that were taken in the warres, to thend they ſhould no more handle the pyke, but only ſerue to pull the ower. Both the tone and the tother reſted that day, hoping to haue battel without faile the next morning. But *Lyſander* hauing an other meaning with him, commaunded the maiſters and maryners notwithſtanding, that they ſhould haue their gallies ready to geue battell the next morninge by breake of day, bicauſe euery man ſhould get a bord betimes, and ſhould keepe them ſelues in order of battell, making no noiſe at all, attending what he would commaunde them: and further, made the armie by lande alſo to be ranged in battell ray, by the ſea ſide. The next morning at ſunne riſing, the ATHENIANS beganne to row with all their gallies ſet in order of battell in a fronte. But *Lyſander*, though he had his ſhippes in order to fight, the proes lying towardes the enemies before day, rowed not B for all that againſt them, but ſending out pynnaſies vnto the firſt gallies, commaunded them ſtraightly that they ſhould not ſtirre at all, but keepe them ſelues in order, making no noyſe, nor rowing againſt the enemy. Though the ATHENIANS alſo were retyred in the night, he would not geue the ſouldiers leaue to come to lande out of the gallies, before he had ſent firſt two or three gallies to diſcrie the fleete of his enemies: who brought him word that they had ſeene the ATHENIANS take lande. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth alſo all in one ſorte: ſo that the ATHENIANS beganne to be bold of them ſelues, and to deſpiſe their enemies, imagining they lay thus cloſe for feare of them, and durſt not come forward. In the meane time, *Alcibiades* (who lay at that time in the contrie of CHERRONESVS, in certaine places which he had conquered) came ryding to the campe of the ATHENIANS, C to tell the Captaines and generalls of the armie, the great faultes they committed. Firſt, for that they had caſt ancker, and kept their ſhippes in an open place, where there was no maner of ſuccor, nor harber to retyre vnto vpon any ſtorme: and worſt of all, bicauſe that they were to fetche their vittells farre of, at the citie of SESTOS, vnto which hauen they ſhould rather draw them ſelues vnto, conſidering that they had but a litle way to go, & alſo that they ſhould haue the citie to backe them, which would furniſh them with all thinges neceſſarie: and beſide that, they ſhould be further of from their enemies, which were gouerned by one generall onely that did commaund them all, and were ſo well trained, that at a whiſtle they were ready ſtraight to execute his commaundement. *Alcibiades* perſwaſions to theſe Captaines of the ATHENIANS were not only miſliked, but furthermore there was one called *Tydeus*, that an- D ſwered him very lewdly: that he had nothing to doe to commaunde the armie, but other that had the charge of them. *Alcibiades* miſtruſting thereby ſome treaſon, quietly went his way. The fift day, the ATHENIANS hauing made the ſame countenaunce to preſent battell vnto their enemies, and retyring the ſame night as of cuſtome very negligently, and in ill order, as men that made no reckening of their enemies: *Lyſander* ſent againe certaine galliots to diſcrie them, commaunding the Captaines of the ſame, that when they perceiued the ATHENIANS had left their gallies and taken lande, they ſhould then returne backe with all poſſible ſpeede they could, and being mid way ouer the ſtraightes, that they ſhould lift vp a copper target into the ayre, apon the top of a pyke in the foredecke, for a ſigne to make all the whole fleete to row in battell. Now *Lyſander* him ſelfe in the meane time went in perſone from galley to gal- E ley, perſwading & exhorting euery Captaine that they ſhould put their galliots, maryners, and ſouldiers in good readines, to thend that when the ſigne ſhould be lifted vp, they ſhould rowe with all their might in battell againſt the enemies. Wherefore, ſo ſoone as the copper target was ſet vp in the ayer, and that *Lyſander* had made his trompet ſound out of the Admiral, for a token to hale out into the ſea: the gallies immediatly beganne to row for life in enuy one of an other, and the footemen that were apon the lande, ranne with ſpeede alſo to the toppe of a high cliffe neere vnto the ſea, to ſee what would be the ende of his fight, bicauſe the diſtaunce from one ſide to the other in that place was not fully two myles, which they had ſone cut ouer, and in a litle ſpace, through the great diligence & force of rowing with their owers. So *Conon* the chiefe Captaine of the ATHENIANS perceiuing from the ſhore this great fleete F comming with a full force to aſſault them: he then cried out to the ſouldiers that they ſhould runne to their ſhippes, and being in a rage to ſee thinges in this daunger, called ſome by their names, others he intreated, and the reſt he compelled to take their gallies. But all his diligence

Lyſanders craft in marine fight.

Alcibiades gaue good aduiſe to the Captaines of the Athenians.

A copper target lift vp, the ſigne of battell by ſea.

Conon, Admirall of the Athenians.

was to no purpose, bicause the souldiers were wholly scattered here and there. For so soone as they were set a lande out of their gallies at their returne, some went to buy prouision, other went a walking in the fieldes, some were set at supper in their cabines, and other were layed downe to sleepe, nothing mistrusting that which happened to them, through their Captaines ignoraunce and lacke of experience. But when the enemies were ready to ioyne and fall vpon them with great cries and noyse of owers, *Conon* hauing eight gallies, stale secretly out of the fleete, and flying vnto *Euagoras*, saued him selfe in the Ile of CIPRVS. In the meane time, the PELOPONNESIANS falling apon the other gallies, tooke some of them emptie, and brake the others as the souldiers beganne to come aborde apon them. And as for the men, some were slaine by their shippes as they ranne vnto them like naked men without weapon, and out of order, thinking to haue saued them selues: other were killed in flying, bicause the enemies landed and had them in chase. And there were taken aliue of them, three thowsand prisoners with the Captaines. *Lysander* moreouer tooke all the whole fleete of their shippes, the holie galley excepted called Paralos, and the eight that fled with *Conon*: and after he had destroyed all the campe of the ATHENIANS, he fastened the gallies that were taken, vnto the keele of his gallies, and returned with songes of triumphe, with the sound of flutes and hoboyes, towards the citie of LAMPSACVS, hauing wonne a great victory with litle labor, and had cut of in a small time, the long continuing and most diuerse warre that euer was, and had brought forth so many sundrie straunge euentes of fortune, as are vncredible. For there had bene infinite battells fought both by sea and lande, and had altered many sundry times, and there was slaine at that time moe Captaines, than in all the other warres of GREECE together: all which were at the length brought to ende and determined, by the good wisedome and conduction of one onely man. And therefore some thought, that this great ouerthrowe was geuen by the gods, and sayd: that at the departure of *Lysanders* fleete out of the hauen of LAMPSACVS, to goe set apon the fleete of the enemies, they perceaued ouer *Lysanders* galley the two fires, which they call the starres of Castor and Pollux: the one on the tone side of the galley, and the other on thother side. They say also, that the fall of the stone was a token, that did signifie this great ouerthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the ayer a maruelous great stone, in the place they call the goates riuer, which stone is seene yet vnto this day, holden in great reuerence by the inhabitauntes of the citie of CHERRONESVS. It is sayd also that *Anaxagoras* did prognosticate, that one of the bodies tyed vnto the vaulte of the heauen, should be pluckt away, and should fall to the ground by a slyding & shaking that should happen. For he sayd, that the starres were not in their proper place where they were first created, considering that they were heauy bodies, and of the nature of stone: howebeit that they did shine by reflection of the fire elementory, & had bene drawen vp thither by force, where they were kept by the great violēce of the circuler motion of the element, euen as at the beginning of the world they had bene stayed & let from falling downe beneath, at that time when the separation was made of the colde and heauy bodies, from the other substaunce of the vniuersal world. There is an other opinion of certaine Philosophers, where there is more likelyhoode then in that. For they say, that those which we call falling starres, be no fluxions nor deriuacions of the fire elementorie, which are put out in the ayer, in a manner so soone as they be lighted: nor also an inflammation or cōbustion of any parte of the ayer, which by her to ouermuch quantity doth spread vpwardes: but they are celestiall bodies, which by some slackenes of strength, or falling from the ordinary course of heauen, are throwen and cast downe here beneath, not alwayes in any parte of the earth inhabited, but more ofter abroade in the great Occean sea, which is the cause that we do not see them. Notwithstanding, *Anaxagoras* words are confirmed by *Damachus*, who writeth in his booke of religion, that the space of three score and fifteene yeares together, before that this stone did fall, they saw a great lumpe of fier continually in the ayer like a clowde inflamed, the which taried not in any one place, but went and came with diuerse broken remouings, by the driuing whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gaue light in falling, as the starres do that fall. In the end, when this great body of fire fell in that parte of the earth, the inhabitants of the contrie, after that they were a litle boldened from their feare and wonder, came to the place to see what it was:

Lysanders victory of the Athenians.

Paralos, the holy galley of Athens.

The starres of Castor, and Pollux.

A stone fell out of the element.

AEgos fl.

Anaxagoras opinion of the starres.

What falling starres be.

Damachus testimonie of the fiery stone seene in the element.

A was: and they found no manner of ſhew or apparaunce of fire, but only a very great ſtone lying vpon the ground, but nothing in compariſon of the leaſt parte of that which the compaſſe of this bodie of fire did ſhew, if we may ſo name it. Sure herein, *Damachus* wordes had neede of fauorable hearers. But againe if they be true, then he vtterly confuteth their argumentes, that maintaine that it was a peece of a rocke, which the force of a boyſterous winde did teare from the toppe of a mountaine, and caried in the ayer, ſo long as this hurle winde continued: but ſo ſoone as that was downe, and calme againe, the ſtone fell immediatly. Neither doe we ſay that this lightning bodie, which appeared ſo many dayes in the element, was very fire in deede, which comming to diſſolue and to be put out, did beget this violent ſtorme and boyſterous wind in the element, that had the force to teare the ſtone in ſunder, & to caſt it downe.

An other opinion of the ſtone that fell.

B Neuertheles, this matter requireth better diſcourſe in ſome other booke then this. But now to our ſtory. Whē the three thowſand ATHENIANS that were taken priſoners at that ouerthrow, were condemned by the counſell to be put to death: *Lyſander* calling *Philocles*, one of the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, asked him what paine he would iudge him worthy of, that gaue the citizens ſo cruell & wicked counſell. *Philocles* being nothing abaſhed to ſee him ſelfe in that miſerie, aunſwered him. Accuſe not them that haue no iudge to heare their cauſe: but ſince the goddes haue geuen thee grace to be conqueror, doe with vs, as we would haue done with thee, if we had ouercome thee. When he had ſayd ſo, he went to waſhe him ſelfe, and then put on a fayer cloke vpon him, as if he ſhould haue gone to ſome feaſt: and went luſtely the formeſt man to execution, leading his contrie men the way, as *Theophraſtus* wryteth. After

Philocles cōſtancy, Captaine of the Athenians.

C this done, *Lyſander* with all his fleete went by all the cities of the ſea coaſt, where he commaūded ſo many ATHENIANS as he founde, that they ſhould get them to ATHENS, letting them vnderſtand that he would not pardone a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their city. And this he did of policie to bring them all within the precinct of the walles of ATHENS, bicauſe he might ſo much the ſooner famiſh them for lacke of vittells: for otherwiſe they would haue troubled him ſore, if they had had wherewithall to haue maintayned a long ſiege. But in all the cities as he paſſed by, if they were gouerned by the authority of the people, or if that there were any other kinde of gouernment, he left in euery one of them a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine or gouernor, with a counſell of tenne officers, of them that had bene before in league and amity with him: the which he did as well in the cities that had euer

D bene confederates and frendes vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, as in them that not long before had bene their enemies. So he went ſayling all alongeſt the coaſtes, fayer and ſoftely making no haſte, ſtabliſhing in manner a generall principality ouer all GREECE. For he did not make them officers that were the richeſt, the nobleſt, or honeſteſt men, but ſuch as were his frendes, out of thoſe tribes which he had placed in euery citie: & to them he gaue authority to puniſh, and reward ſuch as they liked of, and would be preſent him ſelfe in perſone to helpe them to put thoſe to death, whome they would execute, or otherwiſe expulſe or baniſh their contrie. But this gaue the GREECIANS ſmall hope of good or gratious gouernment vnder the rule of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Wherefore, me thinkes that *Theopompus* the comicall Poet doted, when he compared the LACEDÆMONIANS, vnto tauerners wines, ſaying: that they had ge-

Lyſanders cruelty.

Theopompus the Comicall Poets ſayinge of the Lacedæmonians.

E uen the GREECIANS a taſt of the ſweete drinke of libertie, and that afterwardes they had mingled it with vineger. For, the taſt they gaue the GREECIANS of their gouernment from the beginning, was very ſharpe vnto them: bicauſe *Lyſander* tooke the rule and authority of gouernment out of the peoples handes, and gaue it vnto a fewe of the boldeſt, and moſt ſeditious men in euery citie. Thus hauing ſpent a great time in this voyage, to make theſe alterations: he ſent newes before to LACEDÆMON, that he was comming with two hundred ſaile. He ſpake alſo with the kinges *Agis* and *Pauſanias*, in the contry of ATTICA, perſwading him ſelfe that he ſhould winne the city of ATHENS at the firſt aſſault. But when he ſaw his expectation failed, & that the ATHENIANS did valliantly reſiſt him: he returned once againe with his fleete into ASIA, where he made an end of chaunging and altering the maner of gouern-

F ment through euery city in equall maner, ſtabliſhing a counſell of tenne officers only in euery one of them, & putting euery where many citizens to death, and baniſhing many alſo. Among others, he draue all the SAMIANS out of their contry, and reſtored againe all them that had

bene baniſhed before: and the city of SESTOS alſo, being yet in the ATHENIANS handes, he tooke it from them. And furthermore, he would not ſuffer the naturall SESTIANS to dwell there, but draue them away, and gaue their citie, their houſes, and landes, vnto ſhippe maiſters, officers of gallies, and galley ſlaues, that had bene in the warres with him. But therein the LACEDÆMONIANS were againſt him, and this was the firſt thing that they did forbid him: for they reſtored the SESTIANS, againſt his will, vnto their landes and goodes againe. But as the GREECIANS were very much offended, to ſee the partes *Lyſander* played: ſo were they all very glad againe, to ſee theſe others which he afterwardes did. For he reſtored the ÆGINETES againe to their landes and houſes, who had bene put from them a long time. He reſtored alſo the MELIANS, and the SCIONÆIANS to their landes againe, which the ATHENIANS had gotten from them, and draue out the ATHENIANS. Furthermore, *Lyſander* being aduertiſed, that the citizens and inhabitantes of ATHENS were pinched ſore for lacke of vittells, he returned againe, and came into the hauen of PIRÆA: by meanes whereof he kept the citie ſo ſtraight, that he made them yeelde vppon ſuch condicions as he him ſelfe would. Howbeit there are certaine LACEDÆMONIANS that ſay, *Lyſander* wrote vnto the EPHORES: the city of ATHENS is taken. And that the *Ephori* wrote againe vnto him: it is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale deuiſed to make the matter ſeeme better: for in deede the capitulacions which the *Ephori* ſent vnto him, were theſe. The Lordes of the counſell of LACEDÆMON haue thus decreed: that ye doe raſe the fortification of the hauen of PIRÆA. That ye do ouerthrow alſo the long wall that ioyneth the hauen to the citie. That ye yeelde vp and redeliuer all the cities which ye doe holde, and content your ſelues with your liues and contry only. This doing, ye ſhall haue peace, ſo that ye performe our demaundes. That ye ſhall receiue thoſe which are baniſhed: & for the number of ſhippes, ye ſhall diſpoſe of them as we ſhall will you. The ATHENIANS agreed vnto the articles contained in that bill, following the counſell of *Theramenes*, the ſonne of *Agnon*. Who when a young orator called *Cleomenes*, did openly aske him in anger, if he were ſo bold to dare to doe, or ſay, any thing contrary vnto that, which *Themiſtocles* had done before time, to aſſent vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the walle which he built in deſpite of them, ſhould by their cõmaundement now be raſed: he aunſwered him openly againe, young man, my frend, I doe nothing contrary to *Themiſtocles* doinges. For like as he heretofore did build the walle, for the ſafety and benefit of all the citizens and people that were in ATHENS at that time: euen ſo doe we that are here nowe, for the ſelfe ſame cauſe plucke it downe and raſe it. And if it be true that walles doe make cities happy, then it muſt needes follow that the city of SPARTA which neuer had any walles, ſhould be the vnfortunateſt of all other. So *Lyſander* hauing receiued all the ATHENIANS ſhippes but twelue, & the walles of the city alſo to vſe them at his pleaſure: on the ſixteenth day of march, on which day in olde time the ATHENIANS had wonne the battell by ſea, within the ſtraight of SALAMINA, againſt the king of PERSIA, he counſelled them ſtraight to chaunge the forme of their gouernment. The people could not brooke that motion, and were maruelouſly offended withall. Whereuppon *Lyſander* ſent to declare vnto them, that they had broken the articles of the peace made betwene them, for that their walles were yet ſtanding, the tenne dayes being expired in which they had promiſed to ouerthrowe them: and therefore that he would once againe referre it to the determination of the counſell, howe they ſhould be vſed, that had broken the articles and couenaunts of the firſt peace. Other ſay, that immediatly he referred it vnto the deliberacion of the counſell of their confederates, that is to ſay: whether they ſhould altogether deſtroy the city, and make the inhabitantes thereof, ſlaues, and bondmen or no. In this counſell, it is reported that there was a THEBAN called *Erianthus*, whoſe opinion was, that they ſhould vtterly raſe the city, & make the contry a deſert: ſo that it ſhould neuer after ſerue for other thing, but for paſturage of beaſtes. But during this dyet & counſell, there was a banket made, whereunto all the Captaines and chiefe officers of the army being bidden, there was a PHOCIAN, a ſinger of ſonges, that ſang the entry of the *Chorus* to the tragedy of *Electra*, made by the Poet *Euripides*, which beganne in this ſorte.

The Athenians yeelde vp Athens to Lyſander.

The maner of peace offered by the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians.

A notable ſaying for the walls of cities.

Erianthus cruell aduiſe againſt the Athenians.

Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king:
Euen Agamemnon, king of Greece, vvhoſe fame ſo vvide did ring.

A B C D E F

I come nowe to your courtes, which lye both wide and waſt:
By ſpoyle of warres depopulate, deſtroyed, and diſgraſt.

Theſe words moued all the hearers with cõpaſſion, ſo that the moſt parte of them thought it were too great a ſinne to deſtroy ſo noble a city, which brought forth ſo many famous wiſe men, & great perſones. Wherefore *Lyſander*, when the ATHENIANS had ſubmitted thẽ ſelues altogether to his will, cauſed all the women players of pipes or ſhalmes to come out of the city, and gathered all thoſe together which he had in his owne campe alſo, and with the ſound of their inſtruments he made the walles and fortifications of the city of ATHENS to be pulled downe to the very ground, and ſet all their gallies on fire, & burnt them in the preſence of the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who daunced and played in the meane ſeaſon with garlandes of flowers on their heades, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediatly after he chaunged alſo the ſtate of the gouernment, eſtabliſhing a counſell of thirty Magiſtrates in the city, and other tenne alſo in the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing all equall and like authority: and therewithall made *Callibius* a gentleman of SPARTA Captaine of the caſtell there, and left a good garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS with him. This *Callibius* one day lift vp his ſtaffe he had in his hande to ſtrike *Autolycus* withall, a ſtrong made man to wreſtle: whereuppon *Xenophon* the Philoſopher made his booke in olde time, called Conuiuium. But *Autolycus* that was a cunning wreſtler, hauing all the ſleights of wreſtling, ſodainly tripped *Callibius* with his legge, and lifting him vp at the armes ende, caſt him to the ground. Howbeit *Lyſander* was not angry with *Autolycus* for it, but reproued *Callibius*, telling him that he ſhould haue remembred (if he had bene wiſe) that he had the gouernment ouer free men, and not of bonde men. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after the thirty gouernors of the city, to ſatisfie *Callibius*, put this *Autolycus* to death. When *Lyſander* had done all theſe things, he tooke ſea againe, and went into the contry of THRACIA, and ſent by *Gylippus* before vnto SPARTA (who had bene Captaine and generall of the SYRACVSANS in SICILIA) all the golde and ſiluer that was left in his handes, with all the preſentes beſides which had bene priuately geuen him, and with the crownes alſo that had bene preſented him: which were maruelous in number as it is to be thought, for that many came to preſent him, conſidering the great power he had, and that in maner he was chiefe and ſole prince of all GREECE. This *Gylippus* did rippe the ſeames of euery bagge in the bottome where the money was, and tooke a good ſumme out of euery of them: and afterwardes ſowed them vp againe, not thinking that there had bene a border vppon euery bagge, apon the which was declared, the number and kindes of gold and ſiluer that were therein. Now when he was come to SPARTA, he hid the money he had ſtolen, vnder the houſe eauinges, and went and deliuered the bagges he had brought, into the handes of the *Ephori*, ſhewing them *Lyſanders* ſeale, which he had ſet to euery one of them. The *Ephori* hauing opened the bagges, & told the money, found that the ſumme agreed not with the borders of the contentes: and yet coulde not tell where the fault was. But a ſeruaunt of *Gylippus* told them in darke wordes, ſaying: that vnder the tyles of his maſters houſe there lay a great number of owles. Nowe the greateſt parte of the coyne of golde and ſiluer which was currãt through GREECE, was ſtamped with the marke of an owle, by reaſon of the ATHENIANS. Thus *Gylippus* after ſo many noble exploytes done in warres, committing ſo ſhameful & vile a dede, was baniſhed out of his cõtry of LACEDÆMONIA. But the wiſeſt men of SPARTA, and of deepeſt iudgement, fearing the power of golde and ſiluer, and ſeeing by proofe of *Gylippus* doinges, that it had ſuch power to make one of their chiefeſt men to fall through couetouſnes: they greatly blamed *Lyſander* for bringing of it into LACEDÆMON, beſeeching the *Ephori* that they would ſend all this golde and ſiluer out of SPARTA, as a plague, prouocation, and wicked baite, to make them do euill: declaring vnto them, that they ſhould vſe no other money, but their owne only. Whereupon they referred all, to the wiſedome and determination of the counſell. *Theopompus* wryteth, that *Sciraphidas* was he that did moue the counſel of the *Ephori* in it. Howbeit *Ephorus* calleth him *Phlogidas*, who was the firſt that ſpake againſt it in the counſell, that they ſhould not admit, nor receiue into the city of SPARTA, any money of golde or ſiluer: but ſhould onely content them ſelues with their owne contry iron coyne, the which firſt of all, comming from the fire redde hotte, was quenched with vineger,

The ſweete muſicke ſofiened their cruell hearts, and moued them to pity.

Lyſander ouerthrew the walles of the city of Athẽs.

Callibius Captaine of the Caſtell of Athens.

Autolycus a cunninge wreſtler.

Autolycus put to death.

Lyſander ſent money to Sparta by Gylippus.

Gylippus robbed parte of the money he caried to Sparta.

The Grekiſhe coyne was marked with an owle.

Gylippus baniſhment.

Couetouſnes of money corrupted Gylippus, one of the chiefeſt men of Lacedæmõ.

The iron money of Lacedemonia.

to thend they ſhould be forged no more, nor employed vnto any other vſe. For it was ſo eager and brittle by meanes of this temper, that they coulde no more conuert it to any other purpoſe: and beſide, it was very heauie and vnhandſome to remoue, conſidering that a great heape and quantitie of it, was but of ſmall value. And it ſeemeth they did vſe of olde time, certaine litle iron money, and in ſome places copper money, called Obeliſci, from whence the ſmall peeces of money now extant are called Oboli, whereof ſix make a Drachma, ſo termed, for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Neuertheleſſe, at the earneſt ſute of *Lyſanders* frendes that ſtoode againſt it, and held hard with him: it was decreed in the counſell, that the money ſhould remaine in the city, and ordained that it ſhould be currant onely but for thaffayres of the common wealth. And if it were found, that any priuate man did either locke vp, or kepe any money, that he ſhould ſuffer death for it: as if *Lycurgus* when he made his lawes feared gold and ſiluer, and not the couetouſnes and auarice which the golde and ſiluer bringeth with it. The which was not taken away ſo much, prohibiting priuate men to haue it: as it was ingendred only by a common tolleracion of getting it. For, the profit which they ſawe it brought withall, made it to be eſteemed and deſired. For it was vnpoſſible they ſhould deſpiſe a thing priuately for vnprofitable, which they ſaw reckened of commonly, as a thing very neceſſary: and that they ſhould thinke it would not ſerue their turne priuately, ſeeing it ſo commonly eſteemed and deſired. But we are rather to thinke, that priuate mens manners are conformed according to the common vſes and cuſtomes of cities: then that the faultes and vices of priuate men doe fill cities and common weales with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the partes are marred & corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill: then that the partes corrupted ſhould drawe the whole vnto corruption. For to the contrary, the faultes of a parte deſtroyed, which might be preiudiciall vnto the whole, are oftentimes redreſſed and corrected by thother partes, whole and entier. But they that tooke this reſolucion in their counſell at that time, to haue money in the common wealth: made feare of puniſhment, and of the law, to be the outward watchmen of citizens houſes, to keepe that no money ſhould come in to them. But all this while they made no inwarde prouiſion, to kepe the entry of their ſoules from all paſſion & greedy deſires of money: but to the contrary, they made them all to haue a couetous deſire to be rich, as if it were a great and honorable thing. But for that we haue hertofore in other places reproued the LACEDÆMONIANS. And moreouer *Lyſander* cauſed a ſtatue of braſſe to be made like him ſelfe of the ſpoile he had gotten of the enemies, to ſet it vp in the citie of DELPHES, and for euery priuate Captaine of the gallies in like caſe: and the two ſtarres of Caſtor & Pollux in golde beſides, which vaniſhed away a litle before the battell of Leuctres, and no man knewe what became of them. Againe, in the chamber of the treaſory of *Braſidas*, and of the ACANTHIANS, there was alſo a galley made of gold and iuory, of two cubittes long, which *Cyrus* ſent vnto him after the victory he had wonne by ſea, of the ATHENIANS. And furthermore, *Alexandrides* the hiſtoriographer borne at DELPHES, wryteth, that the ſelfe ſame *Lyſander* had left there to be kept ſafe, a tallent of ſiluer, two & fifty Minas, and eleuen peeces of gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other hiſtoriographers write, agreeing of his pouerty. But *Lyſander* being aloft then, and of greater power then euer any GREECIAN was before him: caried a greater porte and countenaunce then became his ability. For, as *Duris* writeth, he was the firſt of the GREECIANS vnto whome they did euer erect any aulters, and offer ſacrifice vnto as a god, and in honor of whom they did firſt ſing any hymnes: and at this day there is yet good memory of one which beganne in this maner.

At what time the Lacedæmonians receiued gold and ſiluer againe.

The ill life of the Magiſtrate, the cauſe of diſorder in a commō weale.

A galley of gold and Iuory.

Lyſanders honors and pride.

The noble Captaines praiſe, vve meane to celebrate,
Of Greece: that land vvhich is deuine, in euery kinde of ſtate.
Euen he, vvhich vvas both borne, and brought to high renovvne.
VVithin the noble vvealthie vvalles, of Sparta ſtately tovvne.

The SAMIANS by publicke decree ordained, that the feaſtes of *Iuno*, which were called in their city Heroea, ſhould be called *Lyſandria*. *Lyſander* had euer one *Cherilus* a SPARTAN Poet about him, to wryte and ſet forth all his doinges in verſe. An other Poet called *Antilocus*, one day made certaine verſes in his praiſe: which pleaſed him ſo well, that he gaue him his hatte

full

A full of siluer. There were two other Poets, *Antimachus* COLOPHONIAN, and *Niceratus* borne at HERACLEA, which did both wryte verses to honor him, striuing whether of them should do best. *Lysander* iudged the crowne and victory, vnto *Niceratus*: wherewith *Antimachus* was so angry, that he rased out all that he had writtē of him. But *Plato* who at that time was young, & loued *Antimachus* bicause he was an excellent Poet, did comforte him, and tolde him that ignoraunce did blinde the vnderstanding of the ignoraunt, as blindenes doth the sight of the blinde. *Aristonous* an excellent player of the citerne, & one that had six times wonne the prises of the Pythian games: to winne *Lysanders* fauor, promised him, that if euer he wanne the prise of his arte againe, he would cause him selfe to be proclaimed *Lysanders* slaue. This ambition of *Lysander* was very odious and grieuous, only vnto great persones, and men of his estate: but

Platoes saying of the ignorant.

Ignoraunce cōpared with blindenes.

Lysanders ambition, pride, and cruelty.

B besides his ambition, in thende he became very prowde and cruel, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: so that he exceeded in recompencing his frendes, as also in punishinge of his enemies. For, to gratifie his frendes and familiars, he gaue them absolute power and authority of life and death in their townes and cities: and to pacifie and appease his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibilitie of pardon. And that he plainly shewed afterwards in the city of MILETVM, where, fearing least they would flie that tooke parte with the people, & bicause he would haue them appeare that hid them selues: he gaue his word, and sware that he would doe them no hurt at all. The poore men gaue credit to his worde. But so soone as they came out, and did appeare, he deli-

Lysander brake his word & othe, and procured the death of eight hundred people.

C uered them all into the handes of their aduersaries, (which were the chiefest of the nobility) to put them all to death: & they were no lesse then eight hundred men one with an other. He caused great murders of people to also be done in other cities: for he did not only put them to death that had priuatly offended him, but numbers besides, onely to satisfie and reuenge the priuate quarrells, enmities and couetousnes of his frendes, whom he had in euery place. And therefore was *Eteocles* LACEDÆMONIAN greatly commended for his saying: that GREECE

Eteocles wordes of Lysander.

could not abide two *Lysanders*. *Theophrastus* wryteth also, that the very like was spoken of *Alcibiades* by *Archestratus*. Howbeit in *Alcibiades* there was nothing, but his insolency, and vaine glory that men misliked: but in *Lysander*, a seuere nature, and sharpe condicions, that made his power fearfull & intollerable. Neuertheless, the LACEDÆMONIANS passed ouer all other complaintes exhibited against him: sauing when they heard the complaints of *Pharnabazus*,

D who purposely sent Ambassadors vnto them, to complaine of the wrongs and iniuries *Lysander* had done him, spoyling and destroying the contry vnder his gouernment. Then the *Ephori* being offended with him, clapped vp *Thorax* in prison, one of his frendes and Captaines that had serued vnder him: and finding that he had both gold and siluer in his house contrary to the law, put him to death. And to him selfe they sent immediatly that which they call Scytala, (as who would say, the scrolle wrytten apon a rounde staffe) commaunding him that he should retorne immediatly apon receite thereof. The Scytala is in this sorte. When the *Ephori* doe sende a Generall, or an Admirall to the warres, they cause two litle rounde staues to be made of the like bignes and length, of which the *Ephori* doe keepe the tone, and thother they

Thorax put to death for offending the law.

The Laconiā Scytala what maner thing it is, and how vsed.

E geue to him whome they sende to the warres. These two litle staues they call Scytales. Nowe when they will aduertise their Generall secretly of matters of importaunce, they take a scrolle of parchement, long and narrowe like a leather thonge, and wreath it about the round staffe, leauinge no voyde space betwene the knottes of the scrowle. Afterwardes when they haue bound them fast together, then they wryte vppon the parchment thus rolled what they will, and when they haue done wryting, vnfolde it, and sende it to their Generall, who can not else possibly read it to know what is writtē, (bicause the letters are not ioined together, nor follow in order, but are scattered here and there) vntill he take his litle rowle of wodde which was geuen him at his departure. And then wreathing the scrowle of parchment about it which he receaueth, the folding and wreathes of the parchement falling iust into the selfe same place as they were first folded: the letters also come to ioyne one with an other, as they ought to doe.

F This litle scrowle of parchment also is called as the rowle of wodde, Scytala: euen as we commonly see in many places that the thing measured, is also called by the name of the measure. When this parchement scrowle was brought vnto *Lysander*, who was then in the contrie of

HELLESPONT, he was maruelously troubled withall, fearing aboue all other thinges the accusations of *Pharnabazus*: so he sought meanes to speake with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, *Lysander* prayed him he would write an other letter vnto the Lordes of SPARTA, contrary to his first, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cause to complaine of him: but he did not remember that he was a CRETAN, (as the common prouerbe sayeth) that could deceaue an other CRETAN. For *Pharnabazus* hauing promised him that he would performe his desire, wrote a letter openly, purporting the effect of *Lysanders* request: but behinde he had an other of contrary effect, so like on the out side vnto the other, that by sight no man could discerne thone frō the other. And when he came to put his seale, he chaunged the first with the last that was hidden, & gaue it him. When *Lysander* came vnto SPARTA, he went as the maner is, straight to the pallace where the Senate kept, and gaue his letters vnto the Ephores, thinking that by thē he should haue bene cleared from all daunger of the greatest accusations they could haue burdened him withall: bicause that *Pharnabazus* was very well thought of of the Lords of LACEDÆMONIA, for that he did euer shew him selfe willing and ready to helpe them in all their warres, more then any other of the kinges Lieutenauntes of PERSIA. The *Ephors* hauing red this letter, they shewed it vnto him. Then did *Lysander* plainly see, that the common prouerb was true:

Lysander carieth letters against him selfe.

That Vlysses vvas not subtill alone.

Thereuppon he went home to his house maruelously troubled. But within few dayes after returning to the pallace againe to speake with the Lords of the counsell, he told them that he must needes make a voyage vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*, to discharge certaine sacrifices which he had vowed and promised to him before he had wonne the battells. Some say, that in deede *Iupiter Ammon* appeared to him in a dreame as he did besiege the city of the APHYDÆIANS, in the contry of THRACIA, and that by his commaundement he raised the siege, and charged them of the city, that they should thanke *Iupiter Ammon*, and doe sacrifice vnto him: by reason whereof, they thinke that he ment good faith, when he sued for licence to make this voyage into LIBYA, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the most parte did certainely beleue that he made sute to goe this iorney, for a cloke and colour only to absent him selfe, bicause he feared the Ephores, and that he coulde not endure the yoke and subiection which he must abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commaunded. And this was the true cause of his sute to goe this voyage, much like vnto a horse taken out of a freshe pasture and goodly meadowes, to bring him into a stable, & make him to be iorneyed as he was before. Neuertheless, *Ephorus* writeth an other cause, the which I will recite hereafter. In the end, *Lysander* hauing hardly obtained licence, tooke shippe, and crossed saile. But during his absence, the kinges of LACEDÆMON remembring that he kept all the cities at his commaundement, by meanes of the frendes he had in euery city, whom he had made chiefe gouernors of the same, & that by their meanes he came in maner to be absolute prince ouer all GREECE: they tooke vppon them to redeliuer the gouernment of the townes and cities againe into the handes of the people, and also to put downe his frendes whome he had stablished there. And hereupon fell out great insurrection againe. For first of all, they that were banished from ATHENS, hauing surprised and taken the castell of Phyla apon the sodaine, did set apon the thirty gouernors tyrans (whom *Lysander* had placed there) and ouercame them in battell. Whereuppon *Lysander* straight returned to SPARTA, & perswaded the LACEDÆMONIANS to referre the gouernment to the number of a few, and to punish the insolency of the people. So by his procurement, they sent first a hundred tallents vnto the thirty tyrans for an aide to maintaine this warre, and appointed *Lysander* him selfe generall. But the two kinges of SPARTA enuying him, and fearing least he should take the city of ATHENS againe: they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon *Pausanias* went thither immediatly, who in apparaunce seemed to maintaine the tyrannes against the people: but in effect, he did his indeuor to appease this warre, for feare least *Lysander* by meanes of his frends and followers should once againe come to haue the city of ATHENS in his power, the which he might easily doe. And thus hauing agreed the ATHENIANS againe one with an other, and pacified all faction and commocion among

Lysander goeth to Iupiter Ammon.

King Pausanias reconciled the Athenians with the Spartans.

A mong them, he pluckt vp the roote of *Lyſanders* ambition. But ſhortly after, the ATHENIANS rebelling againe againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, *Pauſanias* him ſelfe was reproued, bicauſe he yelded ſo much to the boldnes and inſolency of the people, which were brideled and reſtrained before, by the authority of the ſmall number of gouernors: and to the contrary, they gaue *Lyſander* the honor to be generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to pleaſe mens mindes and to content them, neither with fond oſtentation of glory, but ſeuerely, for the profit and commodity of SPARTA. It is true he would geue great wordes, and was terrible to them that reſiſted him. As he aunſwered the ARGIVES one day, who contended for their confines with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and ſeemed to alleage the beſt reaſons. Euen they (ſayd he) that ſhall proue the ſtronger hereby, ſhewing thē his ſword: ſhalbe they that ſhal pleade their cauſe beſt B for their confines. An other time, when a MEGARIAN had tolde his minde boldly enough in open counſell, he aunſwered him: thy wordes (good frend) had neede of a city, meaning therby that he was of too meane a towne to vſe ſo great words. And to the BOEOTIANS alſo, who were in dout to profeſſe them ſelues frends or enemies: he ſent vnto thē, to know if he ſhould paſſe through the contry with his pykes vpwardes or downewardes. And when the CORINTHIANS alſo were reuolted from their allyance, he brought his army harde vnto their walles: but when he ſawe his men were afrayed, and made curſey whether they ſhould goe to the aſſault or not: by chaunce ſpying a hare comming out of the towne ditches, he ſayd vnto them: Are ye not aſhamed to be afrayed to goe and aſſault your enemies that are ſo cowardly and ſlothfull, as hares doe keepe their formes at eaſe within the circuite of their walles? Now king C *Agis* being deceaſed, he left behinde him his brother *Ageſilaus*, and his ſuppoſed ſonne *Leotychides*. Wherefore, *Lyſander* that had loued *Ageſilaus* aforetime, gaue him counſell to ſtande for the right of the crowne, as lawefull heire and next of the blood, diſcending of the race of *Hercules*: bicauſe it was ſuſpected that *Leotychides* was *Alcibiades* ſonne, who ſecretly had kept *Timaa Agis* wife, at what time he was baniſhed out of his contry, and came then to remaine in SPARTA. And *Agis* ſelfe alſo, concluding by reckening of the time of his abſence, that his wife coulde not be with childe by him: made reckening of *Leotychides*, (and had openly ſhewed it all the reſt of his life time) that he did not acknowledge him for his ſonne, vntill ſuch time as falling ſicke of that diſeaſe whereof he died, he was caried to the city of HERÆA. And there lying in his death bed, at the humble ſute of *Leotychides* him ſelfe, and partely at the in- D ſtant requeſt of his frendes who were importunate with him: he did acknowledge *Leotychides* for his ſonne in the preſence of diuers, whome he prayed to be witneſſes vnto the Lordes of LACEDÆMON, of his acceptation and acknowledging of him to be his ſonne. Which they all did in fauor of *Leotychides*. For all that, *Ageſilaus* tooke it apon him, by the ſupport and maintenaunce of *Lyſanders* fauor. Howebeit, *Diopithes* a wiſe man, and knowen to be skilfull in auncient prophecies, did great hurt to *Ageſilaus* ſide, by an auncient oracle which he alleaged againſt a defect *Ageſilaus* had, which was his lamenes.

Lyſanders terrible words

The death of king Agis. Lyſander deprimeth Leotychides of his kingedome.

O Spartan people you, vvhich beare high havvty hartes,
And looke a loft: take heede I ſay, looke vvell vnto your martes:
Leaſt vvhiles you ſtande vpright, and guide your ſtate by grace,
E *Some halting kingdom priuily, come creeping in a pace.*
By that meanes might you moue, great troubles, carke and care,
And miſchiefes heape vpon your head, before you be avvare.
And plonged ſhould you be, euen ouer head and eares,
VVith vvaſt of vvarres, vvhich here on earth doth perish many peares.

Many by occaſion of this oracle, fell to take *Leotychides* parte: but *Lyſander* declared vnto them, that *Diopithes* did not conſter the meaning of the oracle well. For God, ſayed he, cared not whether he halted of one legge or no, that ſhould come to be king of LACEDÆMON: but in deede, the crowne and kingdome ſhould halte and be lame, if baſtardes not lawfully begotten, ſhould come to raigne ouer the true naturall iſſue and right line of *Hercules*. By theſe per- F ſwaſions, *Lyſander* with his great countenaunce and authority beſides, wanne all men to his opinion: ſo that *Ageſilaus* by this meanes was proclaimed king of LACEDÆMON. This done, *Lyſander* beganne ſtraight to counſell him to make warres in ASIA, putting him in hope that

Through Lyſanders working, Ageſilaus was made king.

he ſhould deſtroy the kingdome of PERSIA, and ſhould come to be the greateſt man of the world. Moreouer, he wrote vnto his frendes in the cities of ASIA, that they ſhould ſend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to require king *Ageſilaus* for their generall, to make warres againſt the barbarous people. Which they did, and ſent Ambaſſadors purpoſely vnto SPARTA to ſue that they might haue him: the which was no leſſe honor procured vnto *Ageſilaus* by *Lyſanders* meanes, then that he did, in making him to be choſen king. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwiſe not vnapt nor vnfit to commaunde, haue this imperfection: that through the iealouſie of glory, they doe commonlie enuie their equalles, the which doth greatly hinder them for doing any notable thinges. For they take them for their enemies, enuying their vertue: whoſe ſeruice and meanes might helpe them to doe great matters. Thus *Ageſilaus* being choſen generall of this enterpriſe, tooke *Lyſander* with him in this iorney, amongeſt the thirty counſellers which were geuen vnto him to aſſiſt him: and made ſpeciall choyce of him, as by whoſe counſell he hoped moſt to be gouerned, and to haue him neereſt about him, as his chiefeſt frende. But when they were arriued in ASIA, they of the contry hauing no acquaintaunce with *Ageſilaus*, ſeldome ſpake with him, or but litle: and to the contrary, hauing knowen *Lyſander* of long time, they followed him, and waited vppon him to his tent or lodging, ſome to honor him, becauſe they were his frendes, others for feare, becauſe they did miſtruſt him. Euen much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play tragedies there: that he that ſhall play the perſon of ſome meſſenger or ſeruaunt, ſhalbe the beſt player, and ſhall haue the beſt voyce to be heard aboue all others: and to the contrary, that he which hath the royall bande about his heade, and the ſcepter in his hande, a man doth ſcant heare him ſpeake. Euen ſo fell it out then: for all the dignitie due vnto him that commaundeth all, was ſhewed only vnto the counſeller: and there remained to the king no more, but the royall name only of a king, without any power. Therefore me thinkes that this vndiſcreete and importunate ambition of *Lyſander*, did well deſerue reproofe perhappes, to make him only to be cõtented with the ſecond place of honor next vnto the king. But for *Ageſilaus* againe, through extreame couetouſnes and iealouſie of glory, to caſt *Lyſander* altogether of, and to ſet ſo light by his frende and benefactor, that ſurely became not him neither. For firſt of all, *Ageſilaus* neuer gaue *Lyſander* occaſion to doe any thinge, neither did commit any matter of weight vnto him, that might be honorable for him: but which is worſt of all, if he perceiued that he had taken any mens cauſes in hand, and that he did fauor them, he did alwayes ſende them backe againe into their contry, denying their ſute, without that they coulde obtaine any thing they ſued for, leſſe then the meaneſt perſones that could haue come, extinguiſhing *Lyſanders* credit by litle, and litle, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, *Lyſander* perceiuing howe he was thus refuſed and reiected in all thinges, ſeing that the countenaunce and fauor which he thought to ſhew vnto his frendes, fell out hurtfull vnto them: left of to ſolicite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbeare to come vnto him, or to followe him, but to go to the king, and vnto thoſe that could doe them better pleaſure then him ſelfe, and ſpecially thoſe that honored them. When they heard that, many deſiſted to trouble him any more in matters of importaunce, but not to doe him all the honor they could, and continued ſtill to accompanie him, when he went out to walke, or otherwiſe to exerciſe him ſelfe: the which did aggrauate and increaſe *Ageſilaus* anger more againſt him, for the enuy he bare vnto his glory. And where he gaue very honorable charge & commiſſion in the warres, oftentimes vnto very meane ſouldiers to execute, or cities to gouerne: he appointed *Lyſander* ſurueyor generall of all the ordinary prouiſion of vittells, and diſtributer of fleſh. And then mocking the IONIANS that did honor him ſo much: let them go now, ſayd he, and honor my fleſh diſtributer. Wherefore, *Lyſander* ſeeing it high time to ſpeake: went vnto *Ageſilaus*, and tolde him in few wordes after the LACONIAN manner: Truely *Ageſilaus*, thou haſt learned well to abaſe thy frendes. In deede ſayed he againe, ſo haue I, when they wilbe greater then my ſelfe: and to the contrary, they that maintaine and increaſe my honor and authority, it is reaſon that I eſteeme of them. Yea mary, ſayd *Lyſander*, but perhappes I haue not done as thou ſayſt. Yet I pray thee geue me ſuch an office, as I may be leaſt hated, & moſt profitable for thee: though it be but in reſpect of ſtraungers eyes that looke apon vs both. After this talke betwene them,

Ambition abideth no equalles.

Ageſilaus priue grudge to Lyſander.

Lyſanders wiſedome.

Lyſander ſurueiour of the vittells.

Lyſanders talke with king Ageſilaus, after the Laconian maner of ſpeaking.

Ageſilaus

A *Ageſilaus* ſent him his Lieutenaunt into the contry of HELLESPONT, where *Lyſander* ſtill kept this anger ſecret in his hart againſt him, but for all that, did not leaue to doe all that he could for the benefit of his maſters affaires. As amongeſt many other thinges, he cauſed a PERSIAN Captaine called *Spithridates*, to rebell againſt his maſter, who was a valliant man of his hands, and a great enemy of *Pharnabazus*, and had an army alſo which he brought with him vnto *Ageſilaus*. Now concerning this warre, this was all that he did in that iorney. Wherefore, he returned againe to SPARTA not long after, with litle honor, being maruelouſly grieued and offended with *Ageſilaus*, and hating more then before, all the ſtate and gouernment of the citie of SPARTA: by reaſon whereof, he determined to put that in practiſe, which he had long time thought vppon, concerninge the alteracion of gouernment, and his enterpriſe was this. A-

Lyſander ſeeketh innouation in the ſtate of Sparta.

B mongeſt the offspring and iſſue of *Hercules*, who were mingled with the DORIANS, and returned againe into the contrie of PELOPONNESVS, the greateſt number and chiefeſt of them, dwelled in the city of SPARTA: howbeit, all they that came of that race had no right of ſucceſſion to the crowne, ſauing two families only, the *Eurytiontides*, and the *Agiades*. The other families, albeit they were all for nobility of blood deſcended out of one ſelfe houſe, yet had they no more right nor intereſt vnto the realme, then the reſidue of the people: for, the dignities that were attained vnto by vertue, were geuen vnto the inhabitauntes that could deſerue them. *Lyſander* then being one of thoſe which was diſcended of the true race of *Hercules*, who notwithſtanding had no intereſt in the crowne: when he ſaw him ſelfe aloft, and called to great honor through his famous actes and merites, and that he had wonne many frendes, and great

The Families of the kinges of Lacedæmon.

C credit and authority by dealing in matters of the ſtate: it grieued him much, to ſee that they which were no nobler then him ſelfe, ſhould be kinges in that city, which he had increaſed by his vertue, and that he could not haue ſo much power as to take from theſe two houſes, the *Eurytiontides*, and the *Agiades*, the prerogatiue that the kinges ſhould be choſen onely out of one of thoſe two houſes, and to caſt it apon the offspring of *Hercules*. Some ſay againe, that he would not only haue enlarged that prerogatiue vnto the iſſue of *Hercules*, but vnto all the naturall SPARTANS alſo: bicauſe that *Hercules* race ſhould not only deſire this reward of honor, but euen they alſo that followed his ſteps in vertue, which had made him equal with the gods in honor. For he douted not, but if they would diſpoſe the crowne in this ſorte, that there was no man in the city of SPARTA that ſhould ſooner be choſen king then him ſelfe: wherupon he

D attempted firſt to perſwade his citizens by very good reaſons, & to bring this about the better, he conned an oration without booke, penned by *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus*, made him for this purpoſe. But afterwardes weying with him ſelfe, that ſo great and ſtraunge a chaunge as he would bring in, had neede of ſome better and ſtronger helpe: he beganne to frame a deuiſe as they ſay, to moue the people by, much after the manner they vſe in tragedies, framing engines to bring ſome god to come downe from heauen vnto them, and this was his fained inuention. He deuiſed certaine oracles & prophecies, thinking that all *Cleons* rethoricke would ſtand him in no ſteade, if firſt of all he did not fill the citizens hartes with ſome ſuperſticion & feare of the goddes, that he might bring them afterwardes more eaſily vnto reaſon. And *Ephorus* ſayeth, that he proued firſt to corrupt the Nunne with money, that geueth all the oracles

Lyſander deuiſeth falſe oracles, & corrupteth ſoothſayers with money.

E and aunſwers in the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES: and that afterwardes, he woulde haue wonne the Nunne alſo of the temple of DODONE with money, by *Pherecles* practiſe. And that he being reiected by them both, went laſtly vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*: and that there he ſpake vnto the prieſtes, and offered them great ſtore of money for the ſame purpoſe. But they were ſo offended with *Lyſander*, that they ſent men of purpoſe to SPARTA, to accuſe him, that he would haue corrupted them with money. The counſell clearing *Lyſander* of this accuſation, the LIBYANS his accuſers at their departing ſayd: we will one day iudge more iuſtly, then you my Lordes of LACEDÆMON haue done now, when you ſhall come to dwell in our contry of LIBYA: ſuppoſing there was an auncient prophecy that ſayd, the LACEDÆMONIANS one day ſhould come to dwell in the contry of LIBYA. But we ſhall doe better to wryte

F the whole ſtory at large of this practiſe, ſuttelty, and malicious deuiſe, which was no matter of ſmall importaunce, nor lightly grounded: but as in a mathematicall propoſition there were many great coniectures and preſuppoſitions, & many long circumſtances to bring it to con-

clusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, deliuering that which an historiographer and philosopher both hath wrytten. There was in the marches of the realme of PONT, a woman that sayed she was gotten with childe by *Apollo*, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not beleue at all, and many also did beleue it: so that she beinge deliuered of a goodly sonne, diuerse noble men and of great estate were carefull to bring him vp, and to haue him taught. This childe, I know not whereuppon, nor how, was named *Silenus*: and *Lysander* fetchinge the plat of his deuise from thence, added to all the rest of him selfe, to goe on with his practise. Now he had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this ieast, geuing out a rumor of the birth of this childe, without any suspicion gathered out of the intent of this rumor. And furthermore, they brought other newes from DELPHES, which they dispersed abroade through the city of SPARTA, to wit: that the priestes of the temple kept secret bookes of very auncient oracles, which they them selues durst not touch nor handle, neither might any man read them, onlesse he were begotten of the seede of *Apollo*, who shoulde come after a long time, and make his birth appeare vnto the priestes that kept these papers, & that by some secret marke & token, which they had amongest them: & thereby being knowen for *Apolloes* sonne, he might then take the bookes, & read the auncient reuelacions & prophecies of the same. These things prepared in this sorte, there was order taken that *Silenus* should come and aske for these bookes as though he were the sonne of *Apollo*: and that the priestes which were priuy to this practise, should make as though they did diligently examine him of euery thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had seemed to know all, they should deliuer these prophecies vnto him, as if he had bene in deede *Apolloes* sonne: and that he should openly read them in the presence of many witnesses. And among the rest of the prophecies, that he should read that specially, for the which this long paltry fained drift was framed, touching the kingdome of LACEDÆMONIA: that it was better, and meetelier for the SPARTANS they should choose them for their kinges, whome they found the meetest men of all their magistrates. But when *Silenus* was come of full age, and brought into GREECE of purpose to performe this practise, all the mistery was marde by the fainte heart of one of the players and companions of *Lysander*, who holpe him to countenaunce this deuise: who when the matter should haue taken effect, shroncke for feare, and let the misterie alone. This notwithstanding, nothing was bewrayed in *Lysanders* life time, till after his death. For he dyed, before king *Agesilaus* returned out of ASIA, being fallen into warres with BOEOTIA before his death, or rather hauing him selfe made GREECE to fall into warres. They doe reporte either way, and some lay the fault apon him, other apon the THEBANS, and other apon them both: and they burden the THEBANS withall, bicause they did vtterly ouerthrowe the common sacrifices which *Agesilaus* made in the city of AVLIDE. And they say also, that *Androclides* and *Amphitheus* did raise this warre among the GREECIANS, being before corrupted with money by the king of PERSIA to bring warres apon the LACEDÆMONIANS in GREECE: and beganne to inuade and destroy the contry of the PHOCIANS. Other say that *Lysander* was very angry with the THEBANS, bicause they onely of all other their confederates did aske the tenth parte of all the spoyle which was wonne in the warre against the ATHENIANS: and that they were not pleased that *Lysander* had sent the money away vnto SPARTA. But aboue all *Lysander* did malice them most, bicause they were the first that made way for the ATHENIANS to be deliuered from thoppression of thirty tyrannes, whom he had stablished gouernors in ATHENS, and in whose fauor (to make them to be dreaded the more) the LACEDÆMONIANS had ordained by a common edict: that they that were banished and did flee from ATHENS, might lawefully be taken and apprehended in what place soeuer they fled vnto, and that whosoeuer should resist or let them to do it, they should be proclaimed rebells, & open enemies vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. Againe to contrary this edict, the THEBANS made an other very like, & meete for the glorious dedes of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* their aunce stors, for whom it was made: that euery house and city through the contry of BOEOTIA, should be open for the ATHENIANS that would come thither, & that he that would not helpe a banished man from ATHENS, against him that would take him away by force, should be fined and amerced at a talent. And also if there were any souldiers that went vnto ATHENS, through the contrie of BOEOTIA, that

Lysanders fained deuise to possesse the kingdome.

The warres of Bœotia.

Diuers causes surmised of the beginning of these wars.

An edict against the banished men from Athens.

An edict made by the Thebans in fauor of the banished mẽ.

A that the THEBANS ſhould not ſee nor heare it. This was no diſſimulation to ſpeake of, that they ſhould ordaine thinges with ſo gentle wordes, and ſo meete for the people of GREECE, and then that the dedes ſhould not aunſwer vnto their edicts & proclamations. For *Thraſybulus*, and his fellowes of the conſpiracie, who kept the caſtell of Phyla, they departed from THEBES, with armor and money, and the THEBANS did helpe them to beginne and practiſe their enterpriſe ſo ſecretly, that it was not diſcouered. Theſe were the cauſes why *Lyſander* was ſo earneſtly bent againſt the THEBANS, & his choller being ſo extreame, by reaſon of his melancholines that grewe dayly apon him more and more through his age, he ſolicited the EPHORES ſo, that he perſwaded them to ſende a garriſon thither: and him ſelfe taking the charge of them, vndertooke the iorney ſtraight with his men. But afterwardes they ſent kinge *Lyſanders iorney vnto Boeotia.*

B *Pauſanias* alſo with an army thither, who was to fetche a great compaſſe about to enter into the contrie of BOEOTIA, by mount Cithæron: and *Lyſander* ſhoulde goe to meete him through the contry of PHOCIDES, with a great company of ſouldiers beſides. Now as *Lyſander* went, he tooke the city of the ORCHOMENIANS, who willingly yeelded them ſelues to him as ſoone as he came thither. From thence he went to the city of LEBADIA, which he ſpoyled: & from thence he wrote vnto king *Pauſanias*, that departing from PLATEES, he ſhould march directly to the city of ALIARTE, where he would not faile to meete him the next morning by breake of day at the towne walles. Theſe letters were intercepted by certaine skowtes of the THEBANS, who met with the meſſenger that caried them. Thus the THEBANS hauing intelligence of their purpoſe, left their citie in cuſtodie vnto the ATHENIANS who were come to

C aide them: and departed out of THEBES about midnight, and marched all night with great ſpeede, that they came to ALIARTE in the morning a litle before *Lyſander*, and put halfe their men into the citie. Now for *Lyſander*, he was determined at the firſt to keepe his men apon a hill which is nere to the city, and there to tary the comming of king *Pauſanias*. But afterwards, when he ſawe that the day was farre ſpent, and that he came not, he could tary no lenger, but arming him ſelfe, after he had made an oration vnto the confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in battell ray, longer then large, by the high way that went vnto the city. In the meane ſeaſon, the THEBANS that were left without the city, leauing ALIARTE on the left hande, did ſet vppon *Lyſanders* rerewarde of his army againſt the fountaine called Ciſſuſa: where the Poets faine that the nurſes of *Bacchus* did waſhe him, when he *Ciſſuſa fons.*

D came out of his mothers wombe, bicauſe the water that commeth out of it (though it be very clere and ſweete to drinke) hath notwithſtanding (I can not tell by what meanes) a collour like wine: and not farre from thence there grow great plenty of Styrap trees. The which the ALIARTIANS do alleage, to proue that *Radamanthus* heretofore dwelt in that parte, & doe ſhew his ſepulchre there yet to this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that alſo, there is the monumẽt of *Alcmena*, which was buried (as they ſay) in that place, & was maried to *Radamanthus*, after the death of *Amphitryon*. But the THEBANS who were within the city with the ALIARTIANS, ſtirred not vntill they ſawe that *Lyſander* with the firſt of his troupe was neere vnto the towne walles: & then opening the gates on the ſodaine, they made a ſalie out vpon *Lyſander*, *Lyſander ſlaine by the Thebans.*

E & ſlue him with his foothſaier & a few other, bicauſe the moſt part of the voward fled, into the ſtrẽgth of the battel. Howbeit the THEBANS gaue thẽ not ouer ſo, but followed thẽ ſo valiantly, that they brake their order, & made thẽ all flie through the moũtaines, after they had ſlaine three thouſand of thẽ in the field: ſo were there three hundred THEBANS alſo ſlaine there, who followed their enemies ſo fiercely, till they recouered ſtraight narrow waies, of great ſtrength for them. Theſe three hũdred were in maner all thoſe that were ſuſpected in THEBES to fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS ſecretly: wherfore, for the deſire they had to take away this opiniõ frõ their citizens, they hazarded thẽſelues to no purpoſe, & were caſt away in this chaſe. King *Pauſanias* heard newes of this ouerthrow, going frõ PLATEES vnto THESPIES, & went on further, marching ſtill in battel ray towards ALIARTE, where *Thraſybulus* alſo arriued at the ſelfe ſame time, bringing the aide of the ATHENIANS frõ THEBES. And when *Pauſanias* was purpoſed to

F ſend to aske licẽce of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had ſlaine, to thintent to bury them: the olde SPARTANS that were in his army, miſliking it much, at the firſt were angry in them ſelues. But afterwardes they went vnto the king him ſelfe, to tell him

that he dishonored SPARTA, to offer to take vp *Lysanders* bodie by his enemies leaue & fauor, A
To aske leaue of the enemie to burye the deade is dishonorable. and that he should valliantly recouer him by force of armes, and honorably burie him, after that he had ouercome their enemies: or else if it were their fortune to be ouerthrowē, that yet it should be more honorable for them, to lye dead in the field by their Captaine, then to aske leaue to take vp his body. But notwithstanding all these wordes of the old men, king *Pausanias* seeing that it was a hard matter to ouercome the THEBANS in battell, now that they had gotten the victory, and furthermore, that the body of *Lysander* lay hard by the walls of ALIARTE, and that he could not come to take it away without great daunger, although they should win the battell: he sent a herauld to the enemies. And hauing made truce for certaine dayes, he led his army away, and tooke vp *Lysanders* body with him, and buried him after they were out of
Lysanders tombe. the confynes of BOEOTIA, within the territory of the PANOPEIANS: where vntill this day his B tombe remaineth apon the high way, goinge from DELPHES vnto the city of CHÆRONEA. Thus *Pausanias* campe being lodged there, it is sayd there was a PHOCIAN, who reporting the battell vnto one that was not there, sayd that the enemies came to geue a charge vpon them, as *Lysander* had passed the Oplites. Thother wondring at that, there was a SPARTAN a very frend of *Lysanders* by, hauing heard all their talke, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What? aunswered the PHOCIAN to him againe. Euen there it was where the enemies did ouerthrow the first of our men which were slaine in the fieldes: for the riuer that runneth by the walles of the city, is called
Oplites fl. Destinie inevitable. Oplites. The SPARTAN hearing that, burst out of weping for sorrow, saying: then I see it is vnpossible for a man to auoyde his destinie. For *Lysander* aforetime had an oracle that tolde him C thus.

Lysander, take good heede, come not I thee aduise:
Neere Oplites that riuers banckes, in any kinde of vvise.
Nor neere the Dragon he, vvhich is the earth her sonne,
VVho at the length vvill thee assault, and on thy backe vvill ronne.

Howebeit some take it, that this riuer of Oplites is not that which passeth by the walles of ALIARTE, but it is the riuer that runneth neere vnto the city of CORONEA, and falleth into
Phliarus fl. Hoplia, Isomantus. Neochorus slue Lysander. the riuer of Phliarus, hard by the city: and they say that in olde time it was called Hoplia, but now they call it Isomantus. He that slue *Lysander*, was an ALIARTIAN called *Neochorus*, who caried a Dragon painted apon his target: and this was that which the oracle of likelyhoode D did signifie. They say also, that in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the THEBANS had an oracle from the tēple of *Apollo Ismenias*: which oracle did prophecy the battell which they wanne by the castell of DELIVM, and the battell of ALIARTE also, which was thirty yeares after that. The effect of that oracle was this.

VVhen thou thy nets shalt spread, the vvolues for to intrappe:
Beevvare thou come not neere vnto, a litle hill by happe,
Of Orchalide. Nor neere, to any his confynes:
For there, the crafty foxes keepe, their dennes and priuy mines.

He calleth the territory that is about DELIVM, the vttermost confynes, bicause BOEOTIA
Orchalide mons. doth confine there with the contry of ATTICA: and the hill Orchalide which is now called A- E
Helicon mons. lopecon (to say the foxe denne) which lieth on that side of the citie of ALIARTE, that looketh towardes mounte Helicon. *Lysander* being slaine, the SPARTANS tooke his death so ill, that
Pausanias exile. they would haue condemned king *Pausanias* of treason by law: who durst not abide the tryall, but fled vnto the citie of TEGEA, where he ended the rest of his life within the sanctuarie of the temple of *Minerua*. When *Lysander* was dead, his pouertie appeared to the world which
Lysanders cleane handes and pouertie commended after his deathe. made his vertue farre more famous, than when he liued. For then they sawe, that for all the gold & siluer which had passed through his hands, for all his great authority & countenaunce that he had caried, and for all that so many cities & townes did come to honor him, & briefly, for al that he had so great & puissant a kingdom in maner in his hands: yet he did neuer enrich nor increase his house with so much, as one farthing. So writeth *Theopompus*, whom we should F rather beleue when he praiseth, then when he discommendeth: for commonly he taketh more delite to dispraise, then to praise any. It fortuned not longe after, as *Ephorus* writeth, that the

LACE-

A LACEDÆMONIANS and their confederats fel at variance together, wherupon *Lyſanders* letters were to be ſeene that were in his houſe. Kinge *Ageſilaus* goinge thither to peruſe them, amongeſt other writinges, founde the oration penned by *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus* which *Lyſander* had prepared to perſwade the SPARTANS to chaunge their gouernment, and to declare vnto them that they ſhoulde reuoke the prerogatiue which the *Eurytiontides* and the *Agiades* had: that the kinges of SPARTA could not be choſen but out of thoſe two families, and to leue the prerogatiue at liberty, that the chiefeſt magiſtrats might be laufully choſen kings of SPARTA. *Ageſilaus* ſtood indifferēt to haue ſhewed this oratiō openly to the people, that the SPARTANS might ſee what manner a citizen *Lyſander* had bene in his harte. But *Lacratidas*, a graue wiſe man, & preſident at that time of the counſel of the *Ephori*, would not ſuffer him: ſaying, that he B ſhoulde not digge *Lyſander* out of his graue againe, but rather bury his oration with him, that was ſo paſſingly well, and eloquently penned to perſwade. Yet notwithſtandinge, they did him great honor after his death: and amongeſt others, condemned two citizens in a great ſumme of money, that were made ſure to two of his daughters while he liued, and refuſed to marye them when he was dead, ſeeing their father dyed ſo poore: bicauſe they ſought to matche in his houſe, ſuppoſing he had bene riche, and forſooke them afterwardes for their fathers pouerty, when they ſaw he dyed a good and iuſt man. Thus we ſee, that at SPARTA there was a puniſhment for them that did not mary, or that maryed too late, or that maried ill: and vnto this puniſhment were they moſt ſubiect, that ſought great matches for couetouſnes of goods. This is all we haue to wryte of *Lyſanders* life and actes.

Lyſanders counſell for altering of the kingdom.

Lacratidas wiſdom forbearing to ſhewe extremitie to the deade.

Lyſander honored by the Spartans after his death.

Singlenes of life, late mariage, and ill mariage puniſhed by the Lacedemonians.

THE LIFE OF *Sylla.*

Vcius Cornelius Sylla was of the race of the *Patricias*, who be the noble men & gentlemen of ROME: & there was one of his auncesters called *Rufinus*, that obtained the dignity of Conſul. He notwithſtanding his Conſulſhippe, wanne more diſhonor by defame, then he obtained honor by dignity of Conſull. For they finding in his houſe aboue ten pownds worth of plate, contrary to the lawe at that time expreſſely forbidding it: he was expulſed the Senate, and loſt his place there, after which diſhonor once receiued, his iſſue neuer roſe, nor yet recouered it. And *Sylla* him ſelfe had very litle left him by his father: ſo

Syllaes kinred.

that in his youth he was faine to hyer an other mans houſe, & ſat at a ſmall rent, as afterwards A
he was twitted in the teeth withall, when they ſaw him richer then they thought he had deſer-
ued. For when he gloried & boaſted of the victory at his returne from the warres of AFRICK,
Syllaes honeſty reproued, by weanes of his great wealth. there was a noble man that ſayd vnto him: why, how is it poſſible thou ſhouldeſt be an honeſt
man, that hauing nothing left thee by thy father, thou arte now come to haue ſo much? Now,
though ROME had left her auncient iuſtice and purenes of life, wherewith ſhe brought vp her
people in former times, and that their hartes were poyſoned with couetous deſire of vaine ſu-
perfluous delites: yet notwithſtanding, it was as fowle a reproche to them that did not main-
taine them ſelues in the pouerty of their fathers, as vnto them that did conſume their patri-
mony, and bring all to naught which their parentes had left them. But afterwardes alſo when
he caried the whole ſway in ROME, and that he had put ſo many men to death: a free man be- B
ing borne of the ſlaues infranchiſed, & being ready to be throwen downe the rocke Tarpeian,
bicauſe he had ſaued and hidden one of the outlawes and men proclaimed to be put to death,
whereſoeuer they were found: caſt it in *Syllaes* teeth, how that they had liued and dwelt toge-
ther a long time in one ſelfe houſe, he hauing payed thowſande Nummos for the rent of the
vppermoſt roomes of the ſame houſe, & *Sylla* three thowſand for all the neathermoſt roomes
beneath. So that betwene both their wealthes, there was but onely two thowſande and fiftie
Drachmas of ATHENS difference. And this is that we finde in wryting of his firſt wealth. As
Syllaes ſtature. for his ſtature and perſone, that appeareth ſufficiently by the ſtatues and images that were
made for him, which yet remaine. But for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderfull redde:
and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearefull to beholde. For he was cop- C
per noſed, and that was full of white ſtreakes here and there: whereuppon they ſay that the
That is, bi-cauſe that ſylin latten, ſignifieth oker, which becometh red when it is put to the fire, and therfore ſyllaceus color in vitruuius, ſignifieth purple colour. ſurname of a *Sylla* was geuen him, by reaſon of his colour. And there was a ieaſter at ATHENS
that finely mocked him in his verſe:

Sylla is like a blacke Bery ſprinckled vvith meale.

Syllaes ſcoffing. It is not amiſſe to ſearch out the naturalll diſpoſition of this man by ſuch outward markes
and tokens. It is ſayd alſo that he was ſo naturally geuen to mocke & ieaſt, that being a young
man vnknowen, he would neuer be out of the company of players, fooles, and tomblers, but
ſtill eating and tippling with them in diſſolute manner. And afterwardes alſo when he was in
his chiefeſt authoritie, he would commonly eate and drinke with the moſt impudent ieaſters
and ſcoffers, and all ſuch rakehelles, as made profeſſion of counterfeate mirth, & would ſtriue D
with the baddeſt of them to geue the fineſt mockes: wherin he did not only a thing vncomely
for his yeres, & diſhonored the maieſty of his office & dignity, but therby alſo grew careleſſe
& negligent in matters of great importance, wherunto he ſhould haue taken good regard. For
after he was once ſette at his table, he was not to be moued any more in matters of weight.
Now, though from the table he was commonly found both very actiue, painefull, and ſeuere:
yet falling into ſuch cõpany by drinking, bowſing, & making good chere, he ſodainly became
an other maner of man. So that without all compaſſe of modeſty and iudgement, he was too
familiar and conuerſaunt with players, ieaſters, tumblers, and daunſers: who when they had
Syllaes voluptuouſnes. him in that vaine, might doe what they would with him. Of this ryoting came (in mine opini-
on) his vice of lecherie, whereunto he was greatly geuen, and eaſily drawen after loue and E
pleaſure: in ſuch ſorte, as his gray heares could not reſtraine his voluptuous life. His vnlaw-
full luſting loue beganne in his young yeares, with one *Metrobius* a common player, which
ſtretched on increaſing his amorous deſire vntill his latter age. For at the firſt he loued *Nico-
polis* a rich curtiſan: and frequenting her company by oft acceſſe, and beſides that he ſpent the
prime of his beawty and youth in feaſting her with great delight and paſſing pleaſure, ſhe af-
terwardes became in loue with him, ſo that when ſhe dyed, ſhe made *Sylla* her heire of all ſhe
had. He was heire alſo vnto his mother in lawe, who loued him as her owne begotten ſonne:
and by theſe two good happes he was ſtept vp to pretie wealth. Afterwardes beinge choſen
Sylla Quæſtor. Quæſtor (to ſay treaſorer) the firſt time that *Marius* was Conſull, he embarked with him in
his iorney into AFRICKE, to warre with kinge *Iugurthe*. When he was arriued at the campe, F
he ſhewed him ſelfe a man of great ſeruice in all other thinges, but in this eſpecially, that he
could wiſely vſe the benefit of any occaſion offered him, and thereby wanne *Bocchus* kinge of
the

A the NVMIDIANS to be his faſt and faithfull frende: whoſe Ambaſſadors, that ſcaped from a company of NVMIDIAN theeues he curteouſly entertained, and hauing geuen them goodly preſentes, ſent them backe againe with a ſafe conuoy. Now concerninge kinge *Bocchus*, he had of long time both hated and feared king *Iugurthe* his ſonne in law: inſomuch, that after he was ouercome in battell, and came to him for ſuccor, *Bocchus* practiſed treaſon againſt him, and for this cauſe ſent ſecretly for *Sylla*, deſiring rather that *Iugurthe* ſhould be taken by *Sylla*, then by him ſelfe. *Sylla* brake this matter vnto *Marius*, of whom hauing receiued a ſmall number of ſouldiers to accompany him, (without reſpect of perill or daunger) went and committed him ſelfe to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous king, to take an other: conſidering alſo that the king whom he truſted was ſo vniuſt of his word, euen vnto his neereſt frends and con-

The cauſe of Bocchus frendſhippe vnto Sylla.

B federates. Now *Bocchus* hauing *Iugurthe* and *Sylla* both in his power, and brought him ſelfe to that pinch that of neceſſity he muſt betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath to reſolue which of the two he ſhould deale withall, in thend went on with his firſt plat & deuiſe of treaſon, and ſo deliuered *Iugurthe* into *Syllaes* handes. In deede *Marius* triumphed for taking of king *Iugurthe*: but his euill willers, for the ſpight and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory and honor of *Iugurthes* taking wholy vnto *Sylla*. That ſecretly went to *Marius* harte, and ſpecially for that *Sylla* being high minded by nature (comming then but newly from a baſe, obſcure, and vnknowen life to be knowen & well accepted of the people in ROME, and to taſt alſo what honor ment) became ſo ambitious and couetous of glory, that he cauſed the

Iugurthe deliuered vnto Sylla by kinge Bocchus.

Thonor of Iugurthes taking aſcribed vnto Sylla.

C ſtory to be grauen in a ring, which he did euer after vſe to weare & ſeale withall. Where king *Bocchus* was deliuering of *Iugurthe* vnto *Sylla*, and *Sylla* alſo receiuing *Iugurthe* priſoner. Theſe thinges miſliked *Marius* much: but notwithſtanding, iudging that *Sylla* was not ſo much enuied as him ſelfe, he tooke him with him vnto the warres. *Marius* in his ſeconde Conſulſhip, made *Sylla* one of his Lieutenauntes: and in his third Conſulſhippe, he had charge vnder him of a thowſand footemen, and did many notable and profitable exploytes for him. When *Sylla* was his Lieutenaunt, he tooke one *Copillus*, a generall of the GAVLES Tectoſages. And when he was Colonell of a thowſande footemen, he brought the MARSIANS (a maruelous great contry of people in ITALIE) and perſwaded them to remaine good frendes, and confederates of the ROMAINES. For this his good ſeruice, he founde that *Marius* grewe in great miſliking with him, bicauſe from thence forth he neuer gaue him any honorable charge, or occaſion to

Syllaes noble deedes vnder Marius.

D ſhewe good ſeruice: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his rising. Wherefore, *Sylla* afterwardes tooke *Catulus Luctatius* parte, who was companion with *Marius* in his Conſulſhippe. This *Catulus* was a very honeſt man, but ſomwhat ſlacke and colde in marſhall matters, which was the cauſe that in deede he did committe vnto *Sylla* all the ſpeciall ſeruice, and matters of weight in his charge: whereuppon he gaue him occaſion not onely to increaſe his eſtimacion, but alſo his credit and power. For, by force of armes, he conquered the moſt parte of the barbarous people which inhabited the mountaines of the Alpes: and *Catulus* campe lacking vittells, hauing commiſſion, he made a maruelous great quantity of prouiſion to be brought thither, inſomuch as *Catulus* campe being plentifully vittelled, they ſent their ſtore & ſurpluſage vnto *Marius* ſouldiers, the which *Sylla* him ſelfe wryteth, did much miſlike *Marius*.

Sillaes doings vnder Catulus.

E And this is the firſt cauſe of their enmity. The which being grounded vpon ſo light occaſion, was followed with ciuill warres, great effuſion of blood, and with incurable factions and diſſentions: that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confuſion of all the ROMAINE ſtate and Empire. This doth proue that *Euripides* the Poet was a wiſe man, and one that foreſaw the ruines of common weales, when he counſelled, and alſo commaunded gouernors to flie ambition, as a moſt peſtilent and mortall furie vnto them that are once infected withall. Now *Sylla* thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the warres, would haue made his way open to preferre him to ſome honorable office in the city of ROME: he was no ſooner returned from the warres, but he would needes proue the peoples good willes vnto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that ſued for the Prætorſhippe of the city (that is

The firſt cauſe of enmity betwext Sylla and Marius.

Ambition is to be fled, as a mortall furie.

F to ſay, the office of the ordinary iudge that miniſtreth iuſtice vnto the citizens) but he was reiected by the voyce of the people. For the which he layed the faulte vppon the meaner ſorte, ſaying, that the communalty knew well enough the frendſhippe he had with king *Bocchus*, and

that therefore they hopinge that if he were made Ædilis before he came to be Prætor, he would make them see noble huntinges and great fightinges of wilde beastes of LIBYA. And that therefore they did choose other Prætors, and put him by his sute, in hope to compel him by this meanes to be first of all Ædilis. Howbeit it seemeth that he doth not confesse the troth of his refusall, for his owne act doth condemne him selfe: bicause the next yere following he was chosen Prætor, partely for that he wan the people with curtesie, and partely with money. So he fallinge out with *Cæsar* apon that occasion, in his anger threatned him that he woulde vse the power and authority of his office apon him. But *Cæsar* smiling, aunswered him: thou hast reason to call it thine office, for in deede it is thine, bicause thou hast bought it. But after the time of his Prætorshippe was expired, he was sent with an army into CAPPADOCIA, colouring his voyage thither with commission to restore *Ariobarzanes* into his kingdom againe: howbeit thonly cause of his iorney was in deede to suppresse kinge *Mithridates* a litle, who tooke too many thinges in hande, and increased his power and dominion with a new signiory of no lesse greatnes, then that which he had before. In troth he brought no great army out of ITALIE with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the confederates of the ROMAINES in euery place, through whose aide he ouerthrewe a great number of the CAPPADOCIANS, and afterwardes also a greater number of the ARMENIANS, which came in like case to aide them: so that he expulsed *Gordius* king of PHRYGIA out of CAPPADOCIA, and restored *Ariobarzanes* to his realme againe. After which victory, *Sylla* remained by the riuer of Euphrates, and thither came vnto him one *Orobazus* a PARTHIAN, Ambassador of *Arsaces*, king of the PARTHIANS. Now these two nations, the ROMAINES, and the PARTHIANS, were neuer frendes before: and that with other thinges shewed the great good fortune *Sylla* had, that the PARTHIANS came first to him by his meanes to seeke frendshippe with the ROMAINES. They say, that receiuing this Ambassador *Orobazus*, he made three chayres to be brought out, the one for king *Ariobarzanes*, the other for *Orobazus* the Ambassador, and the third for him selfe, which he placed in the middest betwene them both, and sitting downe in the same, gaue audience vnto the Ambassador: for which cause the king of PARTHIA afterwardes put *Orobazus* to death. Some doe commend *Sylla* for this acte, for that he kept his state in such maiesty among the barbarous people. Other do reproue his ambition in it, shewing him selfe stately out of time, and to no purpose. We doe read that a soothsayer of CHALDEA being in *Orobazus* traine, hauing diligently viewed and considered the phisiognomy of *Sylla*, and all his other mouinges and gestures of minde and body, to iudge not by the clymate of the contry, but according to the rules of his arte what his nature should be: all well considered of, he sayed that *Sylla* one day must needes come to be a great man, and that he marueled how he could suffer it that he was not euen then the chiefest man of the worlde. When *Sylla* was returned againe to ROME, one *Censorinus* accused him of extorcion, that he had caried away a great summe of money with him, contrary to the lawe, out of one of their confederates contry: howebeit he prosecuted not his accusation, but gaue it ouer. In the meane time, the enmity begonne betwixt him and *Marius*, kindled againe vppon a new occasion of king *Bocchus* ambition: who partely to creepe further into the peoples fauor of ROME, and partely also for to gratifie *Sylla*, gaue and dedicated certaine images of victory carying tokens of triumphe, vnto the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and next vnto them also the image of *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered into the handes of *Sylla*, being all of pure golde. This did so offende *Marius*, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of *Sylla*. So that for the quarrell of these two, the city of ROME taking armes, had like to haue brought all to ruine: had not the warres of the confederats of ITALIE bene, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and sedition for that time. In this maruelous great warre which fell out very daungerous, by sundry misfortunes and great losses to the ROMAINES, *Marius* did no notable exployte: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike discipline hath neede of a strong, lusty, and able body. For *Sylla* to the contrary, hauing done notable seruice, and obtained many profitable victories, wanne the fame and estimacion among the ROMAINES, of a noble souldier, and worthy Captaine: and among thenemies them selues, of a most fortunate man. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* did not as *Timotheus* ATHENIAN, the sonne of *Conon* had done:

Sylla chosen Prætor.

Orobazus Ambassador from the king of the Parthians vnto Sylla.

Sylla accused of extorcion.

Ciuill warres.

Who,

A Who, when his aduerſaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deedes vnto the fauor of fortune, and did painte fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and ſnared in nets whileſt he ſlept: he tooke it in very ill parte, and was maruelous angrie with them that did it, ſaying, that they robbed him of the glory that iuſtly belonged vnto him. Wherefore one day when this *Timotheus* was returned from the warres with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the ATHENIANS with the whole diſcourſe of his doings in his voyage, he ſayd vnto them: my Lordes of ATHENS, fortune hath had no parte in all this which I haue told vnto you. Hereupon the goddes it ſhould ſeeme were ſo angry with this fooliſh ambition of *Timotheus*, that he neuer afterwardes did any worthy thing, but all went vtterly againſt the heare with him: vntill at the length he came to be ſo hated of the people, that in thend they baniB ſhed him from ATHENS. But *Sylla* to the contrary, did not only paciently abide their wordes that ſayed, he was a happy man, and ſingularly beloued of fortune: but alſo increaſinge this opinion, and glorying as at a ſpeciall grace of the goddes, did attribute the honor of his doings vnto fortune, either for a vaine glory, or for that he had in fanſy, that the goddes did proſper him in all his doinges. For he wrote him ſelfe in his commentaries, that the enterpriſes which he hazarded moſt hottely, according to the ſodaine occaſion offered, did better proſper with him, then thoſe which by good aduiſe he had determined of. Furthermore, when he ſayd that he was better borne vnto fortune, then to the warres: it ſeemeth that he confeſſed all his proſperity came rather by fortune, then by his worthineſſe. And to conclude, it appeareth that he did wholly ſubmit him ſelfe vnto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether C depend vpon her: conſidering that he did attribute it to the ſpeciall grace and fauor of the goddes, that he neuer diſagreed with *Metellus* his father in law, who was a man of like dignitie and authoritie as him ſelfe was. For where it was thought he woulde haue bene a greate hinderer of his doings, he found him verie curteous and gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together, by reaſon of the ſocietie of their office. And furthermore, in his cõmentaries which he dedicated vnto *Lucullus*, he counſelled him to thincke nothing more certaine and aſſured, then that which the goddes ſhould reueale vnto him, and commaunde him in his nightes dreame. He wryteth alſo that when he was ſent with an army vnto the warres of the confederates, the earth ſodainly opened about LAVERNA, out of the which immediatly came a maruelous bright flame of fire that aſcended vp to the element. The wiſe men beD ing asked their opinions about the ſame, made aunſwere: that a very honeſt, and alſo a maruelous fayer man of complexion taking ſoueraine authoritie in his handes, ſhould pacifie all tumultes and ſedition which were at that time in ROME. Whereupon *Sylla* ſayed it was him ſelfe whome the goddes ment, bicauſe that amongeſt other things he had that ſingular gift of beawty, that his heare was yellow as golde: and he was not aſhamed to name him ſelfe an honeſt man, after he had wonne ſo many notable great victories. Thus haue we ſufficiently ſpoken of the truſt he had in the fauor of the goddes. And furthermore, he ſeemed to be very contrary in his manners, and vnlike to him ſelfe. For if he tooke away much in one place, he E gaue as much more alſo in an other. Some he preferred without cauſe: and others he put downe without reaſon. He would be very gentle to them, of whome he would haue ought: and vnto thoſe that ſought of him, he would ſtand much apon his honor, and looke for great reuerence. Wherby men could hardly decerne his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he vſed in puniſhing of them that had offended him: ſometimes he hanged vp men for very ſmall and light cauſes: Some other times againe to the contrary, he paciently aboade the moſt grieuous offences in the worlde: and lightly pardoned and forgaue ſuch faultes as were in no wiſe to be forgiuen. And afterwards againe would puniſh right ſmall crimes, with murders, effuſion of blood, and confiſcation of goodes. This iudgement may be geuen of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a reuenging minde: yet notwithſtanding he qualified that naturall bitternes with reaſon, geuing place to neceſſity, and his benefit. For in this warre of the confederates, his ſouldiers ſlue *Albinus* one of his F Lieutenauntes, beating him to death with ſtaues and ſtones, being a man of good quality, and one that had bene Prætor. This great offence he paſſed ouer with ſilence, vſing no manner of puniſhment, and turned it to a boaſt in the end, ſaying, that his men were the more obedient

Timotheus Athenian, would not attribute the glory of his doinges to fortune.

Sylla gaue fortune the honor of all his doinges.

Syllaes beleſe in dreames.

A ſtraunge ſight appeared to Sylla.

Sylla ſtraunge of condicions.

and diligent in any peece of ſeruice that was to be done, and that he made them amende their faultes by worthy ſeruice. And furthermore, he did not regarde them that did reproue him: but hauinge determined with him ſelfe to deſtroy *Marius*, and to procure that he might be choſen generall in the warres againſt king *Mithridates*, bicauſe that this warre of the confederats was now ended: for this cauſe he flattered & curried fauor with his ſouldiers that ſerued vnder him. At his returne to ROME from theſe warres of the confederates, he was choſen Conſull with *Q. Pompeius*, being then fifty yeare olde, and maried with *Cæcilia* a noble Ladie, and *Metellus* daughter, who was then chiefe biſhoppe of ROME, for which mariage the common people ſang ſonges and ballades vp and downe ROME againſt him: and many of the noble men enuied him for it, thinkinge him vnworthy of ſo noble a Ladie, whom they thought worthy to be Conſul, as *Titus Liuius* ſayth. Now ſhe was not his only wife, for he had a young wife before called *Ilia*, by whom he had a daughter. After her he maried *AElia*, then a thirde called *Cælia*, whom he put away bicauſe ſhe brought him no children. But notwithſtanding ſhe went honorably away from him with very good wordes of her, beſides many other goodly riche giftes he gaue her: howbeit ſhortly after he maried *Metella*, which made the worlde ſuſpect that *Cælia* was put away for her naughtines. Howſoeuer it was, *Sylla* did euer honor and loue *Metella*: inſomuch as the people of ROME afterwardes making ſute, that they that were baniſhed for *Marius* faction might be called home againe: and being denied, and refuſed by *Sylla*, they cried out with open voyce for *Metella*, praying her to helpe them to obtaine their requeſt. And it ſeemeth alſo that when he had taken the city of ATHENS, he delt more cruelly with them, bicauſe that ſome of them had ſcoffed at *Metella* from the walles: howbeit that was afterwardes. So *Sylla* making his reckening at that time that the Conſulſhippe was a ſmall matter, in compariſon of that which he looked for in time to come: was maruelous deſirous to go againſt *Mithridates*. But therein *Marius* alſo, of a mad furious ambition and couetouſnes of glory ſtoode againſt him, and ſued to goe that iorney in like manner, being ſubiect to thoſe paſſions, which neuer waxe olde, as we may dayly ſee by experience. For being now a heauy man, ſickly of body, and broken in ſeruice abroade in the warres, from the which he came but newly home, and bruſed moreouer with age: did notwithſtanding yet aſpire to haue the charge of the warres ſo farre of beyond the ſeas. Wherfore, to obtaine his purpoſe, whileſt *Sylla* was gone a litle vnto the campe to geue order for certaine thinges that were to be done, he remaining in the city, did practiſe this peſtilent mortall ſedition, which alone did more hurte vnto the city of ROME, then all the enemies that ROME euer had: the which the goddes them ſelues had foreſhewed by many ſignes and tokens. For fire tooke of it ſelfe in the ſtaues of the enſignes, which they had much a doe to quenche. Three rauens brought their young ones into the high way, and did eate them vp in the ſight of many people, and afterwardes caried the garbage they left of them into their neaſtes. Rats alſo hauing gnawen ſome iuells of golde in a church, the ſextens ſetting a trappe for them, a rat was taken full of young, and kendled fiue young rats in the trappe, of the which ſhe ate vp three. But more yet, on a fayer bright day whē there was no clowde ſeene in the element at all, men heard ſuch a ſharp ſound of a trompet, that they were almoſt all out of their wittes, for feare of ſo great a noyſe. Whereuppon the wiſe men and ſoothſayers of THVSCAN being asked their opinions, tolde them: that this ſo ſtraunge and wonderfull ſigne did pronounce the chaunge of the worlde, and the departure out of this into an other life. For they holde opinion, that there ſhould be eight worldes, all contrary one vnto an other, in manners and facions of life: vnto euery one of the which ſayd they, God hath determined a certaine time of continuance. Howbeit they all came to ende their courſe within the ſpace of the reuolution of the great yeare: and that when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there are ſeene ſuch wonderfull ſtraunge ſignes on the earth, or in the element. And ſuch as haue ſtudied that ſcience, doe certainely know, as ſoone as men be borne, which are meere contrary vnto the firſt in their liues & maners, and which are either more or leſſe acceptable vnto the goddes, then thoſe which liued in former age. For they ſay, that amongeſt great chaunges and alteracions which are done in thoſe places from one age vnto an other, the ſcience of diuination, and foretelling of thinges to come doth grow in reputacion, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaſeth God to ſend

Sylla choſen Conſull.

Metellus chiefe biſhop of Rome, a maried man.

Syllaes wiues.

Marius fonde ambition.

Wonderfull ſignes ſeene before the ciuill warres.

The Thuſcās opinion of eight worldes.

A send most certaine and manifest signes, to knowe and foretell thinges to come. And in contrariwise also in an other age it groweth to contempt, and loseth her reputation, for that it is very rashe, and faileth to meete with the most parte of her predictions, bicause she hath but obscure meanes, and all her instruments defaced, to knowe what should come. And these be the fables which the wisest soothsayers of THVSCAN reported abroade, & they specially, who seemed to haue some singuler speculation aboue others. But as the Senate were talking with the soothsayers of these wonders, being assembled together within the temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, a sparrow came flying into the churche in sight of them all, and caried a grashopper in her bill, and parted it in the middest, and left one parte within the temple, and caried thother away with her. Whereupon the wise men and interpreters of such wonders, saied, that
B they doubted a commotion and rising of the contry men against the commons of the citie, bicause the common people of the citie doe crye out continually like grashoppers, and the husbandmen doe kepe them selues vpon their landes in the contry. Thus *Marius* grew great and very familliar, with *Sulpitius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, who in all kindes of wickednes and mischiefe that a man can reckon, would geue place to no liuing creature: so that a man nede not to seeke or demaund any where for a worse then he, but the question is rather wherein he him selfe was not the worste of all others. For he was full replet with all kindes of cruelty, auarice, and rashnesse, and that so extreamely, as he cared not what villany and wickednes he openly committed, so that the same might turne to his profit. For he had set vp a table in the open market place, where he solde freedome, making slaues and straungers deni-
C zens of ROME for their money: and for that purpose he entertained a gard of three thowsand about him, besides a band of young gentlemen of the order of knightes that attended alwayes apon his persone ready at commaundement, whome he called the garde against the Senate. And furthermore, him selfe hauing passed a lawe by the voyce of the people, that no Senator should borrow, nor ow, aboue two thowsande Drachmas: it was founde that at the hower of his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man nowe like a furious raging beast, being left by *Marius* amongest the people, turned all thinges topsie turuey, by force of armes and maine strength. He made also many wicked lawes to passe by voyce of the people, and amongest others, that one specially, wherby he gaue *Marius* commission to make warres against king *Mithridates*. For which extreame oppressions and dealinges of *Sulpitius*, the two
D Consuls (*Sylla* and *Quintus Pompeius*) left of to heare publike causes, and ceased the common course of law and iustice. And as they were one day occupied about the adiornement of the law, in an open assembly in the market place, before the temple of *Castor* and *Poliux*: *Sulpitius* the Tribune came vpon them with his souldiers, and slue many people, and among others, the Consull *Pompeius* owne sonne, and the father him selfe being Consull, had much a doe to saue his life by flying. And *Sylla* the other Consull, was also pursued euen into *Marius* house, where he was compelled to promise before his departure, presently to goe and reuoke thadiornement of the law which he had before commaunded. Thus *Sulpitius* hauing depriued *Pompeius* of his Consulshippe, did not depose *Sylla*, but only tooke from him the charge he had geuen him to make warres against *Mithridates*, and transferred that vnto *Marius*. And sending co-
E lonells to the city of NOLA to receiue the army that lay there, and to bring them vnto *Marius*, *Sylla* preuented them, and fled to the campe before them, and told the souldiers all what had past, as it was in deede: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and slue *Marius* collonells with stones. *Marius* on the other side put all *Syllaes* frends to death at ROME, and tooke the spoyle of their goodes and houses: so was there nothing else but flying from the campe to ROME, and from ROME to the campe againe. The Senate were in manner beside them selues, not being able to gouerne as they would, but driuen to obey *Marius* and *Sulpitius* commaundementes. Who being aduertised that *Sylla* was comming towardes ROME, sent straight two Prætors vnto him, *Brutus* and *Seruilius*, to commaund him as from the Senate, to approch no nearer. These two Prætors spake a litle to boldly vnto *Sylla*: whereuppon the souldiers fell
F to a mutiny in such sorte, that they stoode indifferēt whether to kill them presently in the field or no, howbeit they brake their axes and bondells of roddes which were caried before them, and tooke their purple robes wherewith they were apparelled as magistrates, from them, and

The wickednes of Sulpitius the Tribune.

Marius and Sulpitius sedition.

All lawe ceased for a time, by reason of Sulpitius oppressions and wicked lawes.

sent them home thus shamefully handled and intreated. Vppon their returne now to Rome, A
their sadde silence only, and them selues so stripped besides, of all their markes and tokens of
Prætoriall dignitie, made all men then to iudge that they brought no other newes, but such
as were the worst that possibly could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie this se-
dition, which was now altogether vncurable. Wherefore *Marius* and his followers began to
make them selues strong by force: and *Sylla*, with his companion *Q. Pompeius*, departed in the
meane time from the city of Nola, and brought six entier legions on with him, who desired
no other thing but to make hast to march to Rome ward. Howbeit *Sylla* stoode in doubt with
him selfe what to do, thinking of the great daunger that might follow. Vntill such time as his
soothsayer *Posthumius* hauing considered the signes & tokens of the sacrifices, which *Sylla* had
made vpon this determination, gaue him both his handes, and bad him binde them hard, and B
shut him vp fast, vntill the day of battell should be past: saying, that he was cõtented to suffer
death, if he had not good successe, and that out of hande, to his great honor. And it is sayed
also, that the same night there appeared vnto *Sylla* in a dreame, the goddesse *Bellona*, whome
the Romaines do greatly honor, following therein the Cappadocians: and I knowe not
whether it be the moone, *Minerua*, or *Enyo* the goddesse of battells. So he thought, that she
comming to him did put lightning into his hande, commaunding him that he should lighten
vpon his enemies, naming them one after an other by their proper names: and that they be-
ing striken with his lightning, fell downe dead before him, and no man knew what became of
them. This vision encoraged *Sylla* very much, and hauing reported the same to *Pompeius*, his
fellow Consull & companion, the next morning he marched with his army to Rome. When C
he was at Picines, there came other Ambassadors vnto him, to pray him in the name of the
Senate that he would not come to Rome in this heate and fury, declaring therwithall that the
Senate would graunt him all thinges that should be meete and reasonable. When *Sylla* had
heard the message, he aunswered them, that he would campe there: and so commaunded the
marshalls to deuide the squadrons according to their maner. The Ambassadors beleuing that
he would so haue done in deede, returned againe to Rome: howebeit their backes were no
sooner turned, but *Sylla* straight sent *Lucius Basillus*, and *Caius Mummius* before to sease one of
the gates of Rõme, and the walles which were on the side of mount Esquilin, and he him selfe
also in persone with all possible speede marched after them. *Basillus* entred Rome, and wanne
the gate by force. But the common people vnarmed, got them vp straight to the top of their D
houses, and with tyles and stones stayed, and kept him, not onely from entring any further:
but also draue him backe againe, euen to the very walles of the city. In this hurly burly came
Sylla him selfe to Rome, who seeing apparantly in what state thinges stoode, cried out to his
men, and bad them set fyre on the houses: and him selfe taking a torche light in his hand, she-
wed them the way what they should doe, appointing his archers and darters to whurle & be-
stow their dartes, and other fiery instruments, to the toppes of the houses. Herein he was too
much ouercome with vnreasonable choller, passion, and desire of reuenge. For, seeking only
to plague his enemies, he tooke no regard to frends, to parentes, or confederates, neither had
he yet any maner of remorse, or pity: such and so fiery was his anger then, that he put no kind
of difference betwene those that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all. By E
this meanes was *Marius* driuen into the city, vnto the temple of the Earth, where he made o-
pen proclamation by sounde of trompet, that he woulde make free all the slaues that woulde
come to his parte. But forthwith came his enemies, set vpon him, and prest him so neere, that
he was constrained vtterly to flie and forsake the city. Then *Sylla* assembling the Senate, cau-
sed *Marius*, and certaine others, together with *Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, to be condem-
ned to death. *Sulpitius* was betrayed by a slaue of his owne, whom *Sylla* made free according
to his promise past by publike edict: but when he had made him free, he caused him to be thro-
wen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian. And not contented with this, he proclaimed
by promise a great summe of money to him that would kill *Marius*: A very ingrate and vn-
thankefull parte, consideringe that *Marius* not many dayes before hauinge *Sylla* in his owne F
house, in his handes and custody, deliuered him from perill, and set him in safety. Which if
at that time he had not done, but had suffered *Sulpitius* to haue slaine him: him selfe had bene

soueraine

Sylla marcheth towards Rome with six legions.

Posthumius the deuine, did prognosticate victory vnto Sylla.

Syllaes vision in his dreame.

Sylla set the houses a fire in Rome.

Marius and Sulpitius condemned to death.

Treason iustly rewarded.

The ingratitude of Sylla reproued.

A soueraine Lord of the whole without all contradiction, and might haue ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. But *Sylla* shortly after vpon the like aduantage, vsed no such manner of requitall or gratuitie towardes him, which bred a secret misliking emongest the Senate: howebeit the common people made open shewe of the euill will they bare vnto *Sylla*, by reiecting one *Nonius* his nieuiew, and one *Seruius*, who vppon confidence of his fauor, presented them selues to sue for certaine offices. And besides the shame of this refusall, to spyte him the more, they chose others in their steedes, whose honor and preferrement they right well knew that *Sylla* would not onely mislike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wisely dissembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying, that by his meanes the people of ROME enioyed a full & perfit liberty, that in such cases of election, they might freely do what thē selues
B listed. And to mitigate somwhat the peoples euill will towards him he determined to choose *Lucius Cinna* Consull, who was of a contrary faction to him: hauing first bounde him by solemne othe and curse to fauor his doings & whole procedings. Wherupon *Cinna* went vp to the Capitoll, and there holding a stone in his hand, did solemnly sweare and promise, that he would be *Syllaes* faithfull frende: beseeching the goddes if he did the contrary, that he might be throwen out of ROME, euen as he threw that stone out of his hand: and with those words, threw it to the ground before many people. But notwithstanding all these curses, *Cinna* was no sooner entred into his Consulshippe, but presently he beganne to chaunge and alter all. For amongest other thinges, he would needes haue *Sylla* accused: and procured *Verginius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuser. But *Sylla* left him with his iudges, & went
C to make warres against *Mithridates*. And it is said, that about the time that *Sylla* tooke shippe, and departed out of ITALIE: there fortuned many tokens and warninges of the goddes vnto kinge *Mithridates*, who was at that present in the city of PERGAMVM. As amongest others, that the PARGAMENIANS to honor *Mithridates* withall, hauing made an image of victory, carying a garland of triūphe in her hand, which was let downe from aloft with engines: so soone as she was ready to put the garland vpon his head, the image brake, and the crowne fell to the grounde in the middest of the Theater, and burst all to peeces. Whereby all the people that were present, were striken with a maruelous feare, and *Mithridates* him selfe beganne to mislike this euill lucke: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately, then he looked for. For he had taken ASIA from the ROMAINES, and BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, from
D the kinges which he had driuen out: and at that time remained in the city of PERGAMVM, to deuide the riches and great territories among his frendes. As touching his sonnes: the eldest was in the realme of PONTVS, and of BOSPHORVS, which he inherited from his predicessors, euen vnto the desertes beyonde the marisses of Mæotides, without trouble or molestation of any man. The other also, *Ariarathes*, was with a great army, in conquering of THRACIA and MACEDON. His Captaines and Lieutenauntes moreouer, did many notable conquestes in diuers places, with a great power: amongest the which, *Archelaus* being Lord and master of all the sea, for the great number of shippes he had, conquered the Iles CYCLADES, and all those beyond the hed of Malea, and specially amongest others the Ile of EVBOEA. And beginning at the city of ATHENS, had made all the nations of GREECE to rebell, euen vnto THESALIE,
E saiing that he receiued some losse by the city of CHÆRONEA. Where *Brutius Sura*, one of the Lieutenauntes of *Sentius* gouernor of MACEDON (a man of great wisedome and valliantnes) came against him, and stayed him for goinge any further, ouerrunning the whole contry of BOETIA, like a furious raging riuer. And setting vpon *Archelaus* by the city of CHÆRONEA, ouerthrewe him in three seuerall battells: repulsed, and inforced him to take the seaes againe. But as *Brutius* was following him in chase, *Lucius Lucullus* sent him commaundement to geue place vnto *Sylla*, to follow those warres against *Mithridates*, according to the charge and commission in that behalfe geuen him. Whereupon *Brutius Sura* went out of the contry of BOEOTIA, and returned towardes his generall *Sentius*: notwithstandinge his affaires prospered better then he could haue wished, and that all GREECE were very willing to reuolt, for the repu-
F tacion of his wisedom and goodnes. Howbeit the thinges that we before haue spoken of, were the most notable matters that *Brutius* did in those partes. *Sylla* now vpon his arriuall, recouered immediatly all the other cities of GREECE: who being aduertised of his comming, sent

Lucius Cinna Consull.

Cinna sware to be Syllaes frende.

Sylla went against Mithridates.

Mithridates power.

presently to pray him to come to their aide, the city of ATHENS onely excepted, which was compelled by the tyran *Aristion*, to take parte with *Mithridates*. *Sylla* thereuppon with all his power went thither, besieged the hauen of Piræa rounde, causing it to be battered and assaulted on euery side, with all sortes of engines and instrumentes of battery: whereas if he could haue had pacience but a litle lenger, he might haue had the high towne by famine, without putting him selfe in any manner of daunger, the same being brought to such extreame dearth and scarsity of all kinde of vittells. But the hast that he made to returne againe to ROME, for feare of the new chaunge which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this warre in that sorte with great daunger, many battells, and infinite charge: consideringe also, that besides all other prouision and furniture, he had twenty thowsand mules and mulets laboring dayly to furnishe his engines of batterie. And when all other woode fayled him, bicause his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, some breaking of them selues by reason of their waight, others consumed with fire throwen from the enemies: at the length he fell to the holy wood, and cut downe the trees of the *Academia*, being better stored and furnished, thē any other parke of pleasure in all the suburbes of the city, & feld downe also the wod of the parke Lycæum. And standing in neede of a great summe of money to entertaine this warres withall, he delt also with the holyest temples of all GREECE, causing thē to bring him from the temples of EPIDAVRVM and OLYMPVS, all the richest and most pretious iuels they had. He wrote moreouer vnto the counsell of the AMPHICTYONS holden in the city of DELPHES, to bring him the ready money they had in the temple of *Apollo*, for that it should be kept in better safety with him, thē if it still remained there: promising besides, that if he should by occasion be compelled to vse it, he would restore as much againe vnto them: and for this purpose he sent *Caphis* PHOCIAN, one of his very frends & familiars, and commaunded him to wey all that he tooke. So *Caphis* went vnto DELPHES: but when he came thither, being afraied to touch the holy things, in presence of the counsell of the AMPHICTYONS, he wept, that the teares ran downe by his cheekes, as a man compelled to doe such an act against his will. And when some that were present told *Caphis* that they heard the sound of *Apolloes* citherne in the temple: whether he beleued it was so in dede, or bicause he would put this superstitious feare into *Syllaes* head, he wrote to him of it. But *Sylla* mocking him, sent him word, that he marueled he could not consider, that singing and playing of the citherne, were tokens rather of ioye then of anger: and therefore that he should not faile to procede further, and bring him those things which he commaunded, for that (said he) *Apollo* did geue them him. Now for the other iuells of the temple of *Apollo*, the common people knew not that they were sent vnto *Sylla*: but the siluer tonne, which only was that that remained of the offeringes of the kings, the AMPHICTYONS were faine to breake that in peces, bicause it was so great & massie, that the beastes of draught could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other auncient ROMAINE Captaines, as *Flaminius*, *Manius Acilius*, and *Paulus AEmilius*: of the which, the one hauing driuen king *Antiochus* out of GREECE, and the rest also hauing ouerthrowen the kings of MACEDON, they neuer once touched the gold and siluer of the temples of GREECE: but contrarily sent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honor and reuerence. But as to them, they were all Captaines lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their souldiers wel trained, & obedient at commaundement, voide of rebellion, or any maner of mutiny. And for them selues, were kings in greatnes of corage and magnanimity of minde: but in expence of their persones, very spare and scant, without any lauish, but nedefull and necessary, proportioned by reason, and thinking more shame to flatter their souldiers, then feare their enemies. Now the Captaines contrarily in *Syllaes* time, sought not their preferrement in the common wealth by vertue, but by force, and hauing greater warres one with an other, then with straungers their enemies: were compelled to flatter their souldiers whom they should commaund, and to buy their paines & seruice, feeding them still with large & great expences, to please & content them. Wherein they did not consider, that they brought their contry into bondage, & made themselues slaues of the vilest people of the world, whiles that in the meane time they sought to commaund by all meanes possible those, which in many respectes were farre better then them selues. And this was the cause that both draue *Marius* out of ROME, & made him also to returne againe against *Sylla*. This selfe same cause made *Cinna* to kill *Octauius*, and *Fimbria*

Sylla besiegeth the city of Athens.

Sylla tooke the iuells and ready money out of all the temples of Greece, and brought it to him to Athēs.

Caphis superstition for touching the holy thinges.

The commendation of the auncient Romaine Captaines, for ordering of their souldiers, and also for their modest expences.

A *bria* to ſlay *Flaccus*: of which euills, *Sylla* was the very firſt and only author, ſpending out of all reaſon, and geuing the ſouldiers largely that ſerued vnder him, to winne their good willes the more, and thereby alſo to allure them. By reaſon whereof, *Sylla* had nede of mountaines of money, and ſpecially at the ſiege where he was: both to make ſtraungers traytors, and beſides, to furnithe and ſatisfie his owne diſſolute ſouldiers. For he had ſuch an earneſt deſire to take the city of ATHENS, that he could not poſſibly be diſſwaded from it. And either it was of a certen vaine ambition he had to fight againſt the auncient reputacion of that city, being then but a ſhadow to that it had bene: or els of a very anger, for the mockes & gibes which the tyran *Ariſtion* gaue in his ſpeches from the wals, againſt him & *Metella*, to ſpite him the more withall. This tyran *Ariſtion* was full of all cruelty & wickednes, hauing taken vp all the worſt qualities
B and greateſt imperfections of king *Mithridates*, & heaped them wholly together in him ſelfe: by reaſon whereof the poore city of ATHENS which had eſcaped from ſo many warres, tyrannies, & ciuill diſſentiõs vntil that preſent time, was by him, as by an vncurable diſeaſe, brought vnto all extreamity. For a buſhell of wheate was worth a thouſand Drachmas, and men were driuen for famine to eate feuerfew that grew about the caſtell: & they cauſed old ſhoes & old oyle pots to be ſodden, to deliuer ſome ſauor vnto that they did eate, whileſt the tyran himſelfe did nothing all day long but cramme in meate, & drinke dronke, daunſe, maske, ſcoffe & flowte at the enemies, ſuffering the holy lampe of *Minerua* in the meane ſeaſon to go out for lacke of oyle. And when the Nunne of the ſame tẽple ſent vnto him for a quarter of a buſhel of wheate, he ſent her a quarter of a buſhell of pepper. And when the counſellers of the city, the prieſtes
C & religious came to the caſtell, holding vp their hands, & beſeeching him to take ſome pity of the city, & fall to cõpoſition with *Sylla*: he made thẽ to be driuen away, & ſcattered with ſlings. In the end, very late, & yet with great a do, he ſent two or three of his quaffing cõpanions vnto *Sylla*, who when they were come to him, made no demaund of compoſition for the towne, but began to praiſe & magnifie the dedes of *Theſeus*, of *Eumolpus*, & of the ATHENIANS againſt the MEDES. Whereupon *Sylla* made them this aunſwere. My goodly orators, returne you againe with all your rethoricke: for the ROMAINES ſent me not hither to learne nor to ſtudy, but to ouercome & conquer thoſe that are rebelled againſt them. In the meane time there were certaine ſpyes in the city that heard old men talking together in a place called *Ceramicus*, blaming the tyran bicauſe he kept no better watch on that ſide of the wal that was directly ouer againſt
D the Heptachalcon, which was the only place where the enemies might eaſilieſt get vp vppon the walls. Thoſe ſpies went ſtraight vnto *Sylla*, & told him what they had heard the old mẽ ſay. *Sylla* tracted no time, but came to the place in the night to ſee it: & perceiuing that it was to be taken, ſet the matter ſtraight abroach. And him ſelfe wrytes in his commentaries, that the firſt mã that ſcaled the walls, was *Marcus Teius*: who finding a ſouldier ready to reſiſt him, gaue him ſuch a ſore blow with his ſword vpon his head peece, that his ſword brake in two, and yet notwithſtanding that he ſaw him ſelfe naked & diformed of a ſword, did not for all that giue back, but ſtoode ſtill to it, & kept the place ſo long, till through him the city was takẽ, & all apon the talke of theſe old men. So *Sylla* cauſed the wall to be pulled downe betwene the hauẽ of Piræa, & the holy hauẽ: & hauing before made the breach very plaine, entred into the city about mid-
E night with a wonderfull fearefull order, making a maruelous noiſe with a nũber of hornes, & ſoũding of trompets, & all his army with him in order of battel, crying, to the ſack, to the ſack: kill, kill. For he had geuen them the towne in ſpoyle, and to put all to the ſword. The ſouldiers therefore ran through the ſtreetes with their ſwords drawen, making an vneredible ſlaughter: ſo that to this daye they be not acknowen, nor doe not declare what nomber of perſons were ſlaine, but to ſhew the greatnes of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extãt to be ſeene where the blood ranne. For beſides them that were ſlaine through all the city, the blood of them only that were ſlaine in the market ſtede, did wet all the ground of *Ceramicus*, euen vnto the very place called Dipylon: and ſome ſay alſo, that it ranne by the gates into the ſuburbes of the citie. But if the multitude of the people that were ſlaine in this ſorte were
F great, much more (or ſo many at the leaſt) it is ſayd were thoſe that flue thẽ ſelues, for the ſorrow & cõpaſſion they had to ſee their cõtry in ſuch pityful ſtate, ſuppoſing certainly that their city was now come to vtter ruine & deſtruction. This opiniõ made the nobleſt men of the city to diſpaire of their owne ſafety, & feared to liue any lenger: bicauſe they thought they ſhould

Sylla the firſt man that ſpoiled all good ſeruice of ſouldiers, by ouermuch liberte and ſufferaunce.

The wickednes of the tyran Ariſtion.

The greate valiauntnes of Marcus Teius.

Athens taken by Sylla.

The ſlaughter of the Athenians after the taking of the citie.

finde no mercy, no moderacion of cruelty in *Sylla*. Notwithſtanding, partely at the requeſtes of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, who were baniſhed men from ATHENS, and fell at *Syllaes* feete vpon their knees: and partely alſo at the requeſts of the ROMAINE Senators that were in his campe, who prayed him to pardon the body of the city, and the rather for that he had already quenched the thirſt of his rauening mind ſufficiently well, after that he had ſomwhat ſayd in praiſe of the auncient ATHENIANS, he concluded in the end, to geue the greater number vnto the ſmaller, and the liuing to the dead. *Sylla* wryteth him ſelfe in his commentaries, that he tooke the city of ATHENS on the very ſelfe day of the calendes of march, which commeth to agree with the firſt day of the moneth that we call Anthesterion, on the which day by chaunce many thinges are done at ATHENS in memory of *Noes* flood, and of the vniuerſall deſtruction of the whole world that was in olde time by rage of waters, falling out euen in that very moneth. When the city was thus taken, the tyran *Ariſtion* fled into the caſtell, where he was beſieged by *Curio*, whome *Sylla* left there of purpoſe about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the laſt, conſtrained thereunto for lacke of water, yelded. The caſtell was no ſooner geuen vp, but immediatly by goddes prouidence, the weather miraculouſly altered. For the ſelfe ſame day, and at the very ſelfe inſtant that *Curio* caried the tyran *Ariſtion* out of the caſtell: the element being very fayer and clere, the clowdes ſodainly gathered together, & there fell ſuch a maruelous glut of raine, that all the caſtell was full of water. Shortly after alſo, *Sylla* hauing gotten the hauen of Piræa, burnt the greateſt parte of the buildinges: amongeſt others was the arſenall and armory, which *Philo* in old time had cauſed to be built, being of a ſtraunge and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, *Taxilles*, one of the Lieutenaunts of king *Mithridates*, comming from THRACIA and MACEDON, with a hundred thowſand footemen, tenne thowſand horſemen, and foure ſcore and tenne thowſand carts of warre all armed with ſythes: ſent vnto *Archelaus* to ioyne with him, lying yet at ancker in the hauen of Munychia, and not willing to leaue the ſea, nor come to fight with the ROMAINES, but ſeeking rather to draw theſe warres out in length, and to cut of all vittells from his enemies. *Sylla* vnderſtanding this drift better then him ſelfe, departed out of the contry of ATTICA (a very barren ſoyle, and in deede not able to keepe him in time of peace) and went into BOEOTIA: wherein moſt men thought he committed great error, to leaue ATTICA, which is a very hard contry for horſemen, and to go into BOEOTIA, a plaine champion: and ſo much the rather, bicauſe he knew well enough that the chiefeſt ſtrength of the barbarous people conſiſted in their horſemen, and their armed cartes with ſythes. But to auoyd famine, and lacke of vittells as we haue ſayd, he was compelled to ſeeke battell. Furthermore, he had an other cauſe alſo that made him afrayed, and compelled him to go: and that was *Hortenſius*, a famous Captaine, and very valliant alſo, who brought him aide out of THESSALIE, and the barbarous people lay in waite for him in his way, in the ſtraight of Thermopyles. And theſe were the cauſes that made *Sylla* take his way into BOEOTIA. But in the meane time, *Caphis* that was our contry man, deceiuing the barbarous people, guided *Hortenſius* an other way by mount Parnaſſus, and brought him vnder the city of TITHORA, which was not then ſo great a city as nowe at this preſent it is, but was a caſtell only, ſcituated vpon the point of a rocke, hewen all about: whether the PHOCIANS in olde time flying king *Xerxes* comming vpon them, retyred them ſelues for their ſafety. *Hortenſius* lodged there, and there did alſo both defend and repulſe his enemies, ſo long as day light laſted: and when the night came on, got downe through very hard ſtony wayes, vnto the city of PATRONIDE, where he ioyned with *Sylla*, who came to meete him with all his power. Thus being ioyned together, they camped vpon a hill that ſtandeth about the middeſt of the plaine of Elatea: the ſoyle was very good, and well repleniſhed with great ſtore of trees, and water, at the foote of the ſame. The hill is called Philobæotus, the nature & ſcituacion whereof, *Sylla* doth maruelouſly commend. When they were camped, they ſeemed but a handfull in the eye of their enemies: and no more were they in deede, for they had not aboue fifteene hundred horſe, and leſſe then fifteene thowſand footemen. Whereupon the other Captaines their enemies, againſt *Archelaus* minde, brought out their bandes into the field, and filled all the valley and plaine thereabouts with horſemen, with cartes, with ſhieldes and targettes, ſo that the ayer was euen cut a ſunder as it were with the violence of the noyſe & cries of ſo many

Antheſterion Marche. The time of Noes flood.

Ariſtion the tyran yeelded.

The hauen of Piræa wonne. Philoes armory burnt by Sylla.

Taxilles army a hundred thowſande footemen: Tenne thowſand horſemen: Foure ſcore & ten thowſand cartes with Sythes.

The force of the Barbariãs conſiſted in horſemen and in their carts with Sythes.

The ſtraight of Thermopyles. Parnaſſus hill. The city of Tithora.

Sylla & Hortenſius meet at Patronide. The plaine of Elatea. Philobeotus mons. Their whole army together 1500. horſe, 15000 footemen.

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A ny ſundry nations, which altogether did put them ſelues in battell ray. The ſumptuouſnes of their furniture moreouer, was not altogether ſuperfluous and vnprofitable, but ſerued greatly to feare the beholders. For the gliſtering of their harneſſe, ſo richly trimmed and ſet foorth with gold and ſiluer, the cullers of their arming coates vpon their curaces, after the facion of the MEDES and SCYTHIANS, mingled with the bright gliſtering ſteele and ſhining copper, gaue ſuch a ſhow as they went and remoued to and fro, that made a light as clere as if all had bene on a very fire, a fearefull thing to looke apon. Inſomuch as the ROMAINES durſt not ſo much as once goe out of the trenches of their campe, nor *Sylla* with all his perſwaſion coulde take away this great conceiued feare from them: wherefore, (and bicauſe alſo he would not compell them to go forth in this feare) he was driuen not to ſtirre, but cloſe to abide, (though B it grieued him greatly) to ſee the barbarous people ſo prowdly and villanouſly laugh him and his men to ſcorne. Howbeit the diſdaine & ſcoffing of his enemies, ſtoode him to great good purpoſe afterwards. For they making now none accompt of him, kept ſmall watche & ward, ſtrayed vp and downe diſorderly beſides, though otherwiſe they were not very obedient vnto their Captaines, being many commaunders, and fewe good followers: by reaſon whereof, a ſmall number kept in the campe, and all the reſt of the great multitude intiſed with the gaine they made by ſpoyling and ſacking of townes thereabouts, diſperſed them ſelues many dayes iorney from their campe. For it is ſayd, that at that very time they deſtroyed the city of PANOPÆIA, ſacked the city of LEBADIA, and ſpoyled the temple without commaundement or licence of any of all their Captaines to doe it. In the meane while, *Sylla* ſeeing ſo many C cities and townes ſpoyled and deſtroyed, tooke it both grieuouſly, and alſo angrily: howebeit he ſuffered not his men to lie idlely, but kept them in labor, to turne the courſe of the riuer of Cephiſus, and to caſt great trenches, not ſuffering any man to take eaſe or reſt, but contrarily with great ſeuerity puniſhed ſuch as went faintly and laſely to worke, to thend that being wearied with the paine they tooke after ſo many workes, they would rather proue to hazard battell, as it fell out in deede. For the third day after they had begonne thus to labor, as *Sylla* paſſed by them, they cried out vnto him to leade them againſt their enemies. But his aunſwere was vnto them againe: that thoſe were but cries of men wearied rather with labor, then deſirous to fight. Notwithſtanding, if it be ſo in deede, and that you haue ſo good a will to fight as you make ſhowe of: then I will ſayd he, that you arme your ſelues preſently, and get D you to yonder place, ſhowing them therewithall where the caſtell of the PARAPOTAMIANS ſtoode in olde time, which then (the city being deſtroyed) was no more but the toppe of a ſtony mountaine cut all about, and ſeuered from the mount of Edylium by the breadth of the riuer of Aſſus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foote of the ſame mountaine falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus, and both theſe riuers running in one, carying a ſwift ſtreame, doe make the knappe of the ſayd hill very ſtrong of ſcituacion to lodge a campe vpon. And therefore *Sylla* ſeeing the ſouldiers of his enemies campe, marching with their copper targets to take vp that place to lodge in: to preuent them, and to get it before them (as in deede he did) he marched thither in all haſt poſſible, & got it euen with the earneſt good will of all his ſouldiers. *Archelaus* being ſo repulſed from thence, turned his way towards the city of CHÆRO- E NEA. Whereupon certaine of the CHÆRONEANS that were in *Syllaes* campe, beſought him that he would not forſake their city, aud leaue it to their enemy. *Sylla* deſiring to gratifie them therein, ſent one of his Colonells *Gabinius* with a legion, and therewithall gaue the CHÆRONEANS leaue to go thither, who did what they could poſſible to get into their city before *Gabinius*: but that they could not, ſuch was the diligence and honeſty of the man, as he ſeemed more deſirous of their ſafety, then they were them ſelues. Neuertheleſſe, *Iubas* doth not call the Colonell that was ſent thither *Gabinius*, but *Hircius*. And thus was our city of CHÆRO- NEA preſerued from the daunger it ſtoode in at that time. In the meane time came very good newes to the ROMAINES, both of oracles and prophecies, which promiſed them victory from the temple of LEBADIA, and the caue of *Trophonius*: of which prophecies, thoſe contry men F make great mencion. But *Sylla* in his tenth booke of his cõmentaries writeth, that *Quintus Titius*, a man of quality & name amongeſt them that traffiked into the contry of GREECE, came vnto him after he had wonne the battell of CHÆRONEA, to tell him that *Trophonius* gaue him

The braue armor and furniture of the Thracians & Macedonians, ſeruing vnder Taxilles king Mithridates lieutenaunt.

Many commanders make diſobedient ſouldiers.

Cephiſus fl.

Syllaes ſtraightnes to his ſouldiers.

A good policie to weary feare full ſouldiers with extreame labor, whereby to make them deſirous to fight.

Edylium mõs.

Aſſus fl.

Sylla ſendeth Gabinius with a legion to aide Chæronea.

Oracles and prophecies of victory vnto Sylla.

to vnderſtand, that ſhortly after he ſhould haue a ſecond battell, and that he ſhould yet againe haue an other victory in the ſame place. After him an other mã of warre called *Saluenius*, told him alſo what ſucceſſe he ſhould haue in the warres of ITALIE, ſaying, that he knew it by reuelation: and both theſe men agreed in the manner of the reuelation. For they ſayd, that they had ſeene a god, in maieſty, beawty, and greatnes, like vnto the image of *Iupiter Olympias*. *Sylla* hauinge paſſed the riuer of Aſſus, went to lodge at the foote of mount Edylium, hard by *Archelaus*, who had placed and fortified his campe betwene the two mountaines of Acontium, and of Edylium, ioyninge to the city of the ASSIANS. The place where *Archelaus* camped, beareth his owne name *Archelaus* vnto this day. One day after *Sylla* had chaunged his lodging, he left *Muræna* in his campe with a legion, and two cohortes, to keepe the enemies ſtill occupied that were in great trouble, and he him ſelfe in the meane time went and ſacrificed by the riuer of Cephiſus. His ſacrifice being ended, he marched towards the city of CHÆRONEA, to take the force he had there vnder *Gabinius*, & to know the mountaine alſo called Thurium, which the enemies had taken. It is a knappe of a mountaine very ſteepe and ſharpe of all ſides, with a narrowe point like a pine apple, by reaſon whereof we doe call it Orthopagum. At the foote of the ſame runneth the riuer called Morion, and there is alſo the temple of *Apollo* ſurnamed *Thurias*: and they ſay that this ſurname of *Thurias* was geuen vnto him of the name of *Thuros*, who was mother of *Chæron*, the founder and builder of the city of CHÆRONEA. Other thinke, that the cow which was geuen to *Cadmus* for a guide, came to him in that place: which hath euer ſince kept the name, for that the PHENICIANS call a cow, *Thor*. Now when *Sylla* came neere vnto CHÆRONEA, the Colonell *Gabinius* whome he had ſent thither with a garriſon to defend the ſame, went to meete him with his men very well armed, wearing a lawrell garland: and *Sylla* after he had ſaluted him, and his ſouldiers, made an oration vnto them, exhorting them to do their duty in fighting. And as he was in his oration, there came two citizens of CHÆRONEA to him, one, his name was *Omoloichus*, and the other *Anaxidamus*, who promiſed him to driue the enemies from mount Thurium which they had taken, if he would but geue thẽ ſome ſmall number of ſouldiers. For there was a litle path way, which the barbarous people miſtruſted not, beginning at a place called Petrochus, hard by the temple of the *Muſes*, by the which they might eaſily go to the toppe of this mountaine Thurium: ſo that following that pathe, it would bring them ouer the barbarous peoples heads, and they might eaſily kill them with ſtones, or at the leaſt they ſhould driue them mawgre their heads, downe into the valley. *Gabinius* aſſuring *Sylla* that they were both very valliant men, and ſuch as he might boldly truſt vnto, *Sylla* gaue them men, and commaunded them to execute their enterpriſe: and he him ſelfe in the meane ſeaſon went and ſet his men in order of battell in the plaine, deuiding his horſemen on the winges, placed him ſelfe in the right wing, appointinge the leſt vnto *Muræna*. *Galba* & *Hortenſius* his Lieutenauntes, were placed in the tayle with certaine bandes of the reregard which they kept vpon the hils, to watch and let that the enemies ſhould not incloſe them behinde: bicauſe they perceiued a farre of that the enemies put forth a great number of horſemen and footemen light armed in the wings, to thend that the poynts of their battell might the more eaſily bowe and enlarge them ſelues, to compaſſe in the ROMAINES on the backe ſide. Now in the meane time, theſe two CHÆRONEIANS whome *Sylla* had ſent vnder *Hircius* their Captaine, hauing compaſſed about the mountaine Thurium, before the enemies were aware of them: ſodainly came to ſhew them ſelues vppon the toppe of the mountaine, which did ſo feare the barbarous people, that they began immediatly to flie, one of them for the moſt parte killing an other. There was no reſiſtaunce, but flying downe the mountaine, fell apon the pointes of their owne partiſans and pykes, and one of them thruſting in an others necke, tombled hedlong downe the mountaine together, hauing their enemies beſides on their backes, which draue them from the hill, and ſtrake them behinde where they lay open vnto them: ſo as they were ſlaine a three thowſande of them about this mountaine Thurium. And as for them that ſought to ſaue them ſelues by flight, *Muræna* that was already ſet in battell ray, met with ſome, cut them of by the way, and ſlue them downe right. The other fled directly to their campe, and came in great companies, thruſting into the battell of their footemen, put the moſt parte of them quite out of order, & maruelouſly troubled

Saluenius a Souldier.

Iupiter olympias.

Acontium, Edylium mountaines.

Thurium mons: aliter Orthopagum. Morion fl. Apollo Thurias. Chæron the founder of the city of Chæronea.

Sylla ordereth his battell.

Sylla draue Archelaus aide from the hill.

their

A their Captaines before they could ſet them againe in order: which was one of the chiefeſt cauſes of their ouerthrowe. For *Sylla* went and gaue a charge vppon them in this trouble and diſorder, and had quickely wonne the ground that was betwene both armies, wherby he tooke away the force of all their armed cartes with ſythes, which are then of greateſt force, when they haue the longeſt courſe, to geue them a ſwift and violent ſtroke in their chaſe: whereas when their courſe is but ſhort, the blow is ſo much the weaker, and of leſſe ſtrength, euen as arrowes are, that a farre of enter not deepe into the thing they be ſhot at: as at that time it fell out with the barbarous people. For their firſt cartes ſet foorth ſo faintly, and came on with ſo feeble a force, that the Romaines ſent them backe, & eaſily repulſed them, with great ſlaughter and clapping of handes one to an other, as they commonly vſe in the ordinarie games of B horſe running at Rome. When they had thus repulſed the cartes, the battell of *Syllaes* footemen beganne to charge the barbarous people, who baſing their pykes, ſtoode cloſe one to an other bicauſe they would not be taken: & the Romaines on thother ſide beſtowed firſt their dartes among them, and then ſodainly drewe out their ſwordes in the heate they were in, and put a ſide the enemies pykes, whereby they might come neerer to their bodies. There were fifteene thowſand ſlaues in the fronte of the battell of the barbarous people, whom *Mithridates* Lieutenaunt had made free by open proclamation, and had deuided them by bandes amongeſt the other footemen. By occaſion whereof there was a Romaine Centurion, ſpake pleaſauntly at that time, ſaying, that he neuer ſaw ſlaues before haue liberty to ſpeake and do like free men, but only at *Saturnes* feaſtes. Neuertheleſſe, they againſt the nature of ſlaues, were C very valliant to abide the ſhocke, and the Romaine footemen could not ſo readily breake nor enter into them, nor make them geue backe, bicauſe they ſtoode very cloſe one to an other, and their ranckes were of ſuch a length beſides: vntill ſuch time as the Romaines that were behinde the firſt ranckes, did ſo pelt them with their ſlinges, hurling ſtones, beſtowing their dartes & arrowes apon them, that in thend they compelled them all to turne their backes, and flie a maine. And when *Archelaus* did firſt thruſt out the right wing of his army, ſuppoſing to encloſe the Romaines behinde: *Hortenſius* ſtraight wayes cauſed the bands he had with him to run & charge vpon the flanckes. Which *Archelaus* perceiuing, made the horſemen he had about him turne their faces forthwith, which were in nũber aboue two thowſand: inſomuch as *Hortenſius*, being ſet apon with all his trowpe, was cõpelled to retyre by litle and litle to- D wardes the mountaine, perceiuing him ſelfe farre from the battell of his footemen, and enuironned round about with his enemies. *Sylla* ſeeing that, being in the right wing of his battell, and hauing not yet fought, went ſtraight to the reſcue of *Hortenſius*. But *Archelaus* coniecturing by the duſt which the horſes raiſed, what the matter was: left *Hortenſius* there, and with ſpeede returned againe towardes the right wing of his enemies from whence *Sylla* was gone, hoping he had left it vnfurniſhed of a ſufficient Captaine to cõmaund them. *Taxilles* on thother ſide, cauſed his copper targets alſo to march againſt *Murena*: ſo as the noyſe they made on both ſides, cauſed the mountaines to ring againe, wherewithall *Sylla* ſtayed, ſtanding in dout which way to take. At the laſt he reſolued, to returne to the place frõ whence he came, & ſent *Hortenſius* with foure enſignes to aide *Murena*: and him ſelfe with the fift in great ſpeede, went E towardes the right wing of his army, the which was now already bickering, and ioyned with their enemies, fighting hand to hand with *Archelaus*. By reaſon whereof, when *Sylla* was comen with his aide, they did eaſily diſtreſſe them: and after they had broken their array, they chaſed them flying for life to the riuer, & vnto the mountaine Acontium. But *Sylla* notwithſtanding forgate not *Murena*, but went againe to his reliefe: and finding that he on his ſide had alſo put the enemies to flight, followed with him the chaſe of them that fled. There was a maruelous ſlaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, and many of them ſuppoſing to haue recouered their campe, were ſlaine by the way: ſo as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there eſcaped only tenne thowſande, who ſaued them ſelues by flying vnto the city of Chalcide. *Sylla* for his parte wryteth, that he could make reckening of no more but F fourteene of his ſouldiers onely that were ſlaine, whereof there came two againe to him the ſame night. Wherefore in the markes of triumphe which he ſet vp for tokens of that victory, he cauſed to be wrytten on the toppe thereof, *Mars, victory*, and *Venus*: ſignifying thereby,

The force of the armed cartes with Sythes conſiſt in long courſe.

Syllaes conflict with Archelaus at Thurium.

Slaues made free by authority of the Lieutenaunts in the fielde.

Syllaes victory of Mithridates Lieutenaunts.

that he had ouercome in theſe warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policie, or marſhall diſcipline. Theſe markes of triumphe were ſet vp for the battell which he wanne in the plaine field, in that place where *Archelaus* beganne to flie, euen vnto the riuer of Molus. And he ſet vp an other alſo in the toppe of mount Thurium, where the barbarous people were ſet vpon behinde: and there is wrytten in Greeke letters, that the valliant deedes of *Omoloichus* and *Anaxidamus*, gaue way to the winning of this victorie. *Sylla* for the ioy of this great wonne battell, cauſed muſitians to play in the city of THEBES, where he builded a ſtage for all the muſitians, neere vnto the fountaine OEdipus, and certaine noble GREECIANS were appointed iudges of that muſicke, whom he cauſed to be ſent for out of other cities, bicauſe he mortally hated the THEBANS: inſomuch as he tooke from them halfe their landes, which he conſecrated vnto *Apollo Pythias*, and *Iupiter Olympias*, appointing that of the reuenue thereof, they ſhould redeliuer and pay backe the money which he had taken and caried away from out of their temples. *Sylla* after this hauing intelligence that *Flaccus*, one of his enemies, was choſen Conſull at ROME, and had paſſed the ſea Ionium with an army, vnder pretext to make warre againſt king *Mithridates*, but in deede to make warre with him ſelfe: tooke his iorney towards THESSALIE to meete him. But when he was in the citie of MELITEA, there came newes to him out of all partes, that there was a new and ſecond army of the kings arriued, no leſſe then the firſt, the which ſpoyled and deſtroyed all the contry which he had left behinde him. For *Dorylaus*, one of king *Mithridates* Lieutenauntes, was arriued in the city of CHALCIDE with a great fleete of ſhippes, hauing brought thither with him fourre ſcore thowſand fighting men, the beſt trained, the beſt armed and appointed ſouldiers, that were in all his kingdom of PONTVS in ASIA: and from thence went into BOEOTIA, had all that contry at commaundement, and ſought to fight with *Sylla*, notwithſtanding that *Archelaus* alleaged many reaſons to diſſwade him from it: and furthermore, gaue it out in euery place, that ſo many thowſandes of ſouldiers coulde not haue bene caſt away in the firſt battell, without ſome notable treaſon. Wherupon *Sylla* returned with all poſſible ſpeede, & made *Dorylaus* know before many dayes paſſed ouer his head, that *Archelaus* was a wiſe man, and knew well enough the worthines and valliant corage of the ROMAINES. And *Dorylaus* hauing had but a litle proofe only in certaine light skirmiſhes which he made againſt *Sylla*, about TILPHOSSION in THESSALIE: him ſelfe was the firſt that could ſay then, it was not for them to hazarde battell, but rather to draw out the warres in length, and ſupplant the ROMAINES with charge & expence. And yet notwithſtāding, the commodity of the great large plaine that lyeth all about ORCHOMENE, where they were encamped, gaue great encoragement to *Archelaus*, who iudged it a very fit place to geue battell in, ſpecially bicauſe he was the ſtronger of horſemen in the field. For of all the plaines that are within the contry of BOEOTIA, the greateſt & largeſt of them is the plaine nere to the city of ORCHOMENE: which is altogether without trees, and runneth out in length vnto the mariſſes, where the riuer of Melas diſperſeth it ſelfe abroade. The head of the ſame riuer is not farre from the city of ORCHOMENE, & that riuer only of all other riuers in GREECE from the very head whence it commeth, is nauigable: and hath beſides an other ſingular property, that it riſeth & ſwelleth euen in the longeſt ſommer dayes, as the riuer of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the ſelfe ſame plantes and trees, ſauing that they beare no frute, neither are they ſo great as thoſe of Ægypt. This riuer hath no longe courſe, bicauſe that the moſt parte of the water runneth into lakes and mariſſes, couered with brambles and briars, and there is but a very litle parte of it that falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus, in the place where the redes grow that they make good flutes withal. When they were camped one nere to an other, *Archelaus* lay quietly and ſturred not. But *Sylla* preſently caſt great trenches from one ſide to an other, to ſtoppe the way againſt their enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine where they might haue taken what ground they would for their men of armes, and haue driuen the ROMAINES into the mariſſes. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, ſo ſoone as their Captaines had geuen them liberty, diſcharged with ſuch a fury, that they did not only ſcatter them that wrought in *Syllaes* trenches, but put the moſt parte of their gard alſo that ſtoode in battell ray to defend them, in a maruelous feare, who alſo beganne to flie. Which *Sylla* perceiuing, lighted ſtraight from his horſe, and taking an enſigne in his hande, ran through the middeſt of his

The field was wonne in the plaine of Elatea.
Molus fl.
Apollo Pythias.
Iupiter Olympias.
Flaccus Conſull went againſt Sylla.
Dorylaus Mithridates generall againſt Sylla.
The goodly plaine before the city of Orchomene.
The riuer of Melas, and nature therof.

A his men that fled, vntill he came to his enemies, and crying out, ſayd vnto them: O my ROMAINE ſouldiers, mine honor commaundeth me to dye here, and therefore when any man asketh you where you forſooke your Captaine, remember that you aunſwer it was at ORCHOMENE. They were ſo aſhamed at theſe wordes, that he made them turne: beſides that there came two cohortes vnto him from the right wing of his battell, who vnder his leading gaue ſuch a hotte charge vpon their enemies, that they fled forthwith apon it. That done, *Sylla* retyred with his men, and made them dine: and therupon by and by ſet them againe to the trenches to encloſe his enemies campe, who then came out in better order then they did before. There was *Diogenes*, *Archelaus* wiues ſonne ſlaine, fighting valliantly before them all in the right wing of their battell. And the bowe men being preſſed ſo neere by the ROMAINES, that B their bowes would doe no good: tooke their arrowes in their handes in ſtead of ſwordes, and ſtrake their enemies with them to force them to geue backe, vntil ſuch time as at the laſt they were all driuen into their campe, where they paſſed that night in great ſorow, as well for the loſſe of them that were ſlaine, as alſo for the number of thoſe that were hurt. The next morning, *Sylla* leading his men againe towardes the campe of his enemies, went on ſtill continuing his trenches: & certaine of them being come out to skirmiſh with them, he ſet apon them ſo luſtely, that at the firſt charge he put them to flight. That brought ſuch a feare to all the whole campe of the enemies, that not a man durſt abide any lenger: ſo as *Sylla* valliantly following on his victory, ſhuffled in among them as they fled, and in thende tooke all together. Straight way all the mariſſes were filled with blood, and the lake full of dead bodies: ſo that C vntill this preſent day they find there in that place many bowes of the barbarous people, moryans, peeces of taſſes, and ſwordes drowned in the mudde of the mariſſes, notwithſtanding that it is well neere two hundred yeres a goe ſince this battell was ſtriken. And thus much for the warres about the cities of CHÆRONEA, and ORCHOMENE. Now the warres being paſt in this ſorte in GREECE, *Cinna*, and *Carbo* delt very cruelly and vnnaturally at ROME with the noble men and greateſt perſons: by reaſon whereof, many flying their tyranny, went to *Syllaes* campe, as vnto the hauen of their health and fulnes of felicity, ſo that in ſhort time *Sylla* had an aſſembly of a ROMAINE Senate about him. *Metella* her ſelfe, his wife, hauing ſtollen away very hardly with her children, came to bring him newes that his houſes in the citie and contry both, were all burnt and deſtroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go and help D them that yet remained at ROME. *Sylla* vppon hearing of theſe newes, fell in great perplexity. For on the tone ſide, it grieued him to ſee his contry ſo miſerably afflicted: and on the other ſide he knew not well how he might go, leauing ſo great an enterpriſe as that warre was, and ſpecially againſt a king of ſuch might and power as *Mithridates* ſhewed him ſelfe to be. And being in theſe dumpes, there came one *Archelaus* a marchant to him, borne in the city of DELIVM, who brought him a ſecret meſſage from thother *Archelaus*, king *Mithridates* Lieutenaunt: the which pleaſed *Sylla* ſo well, that he deſired that *Archelaus* & him ſelfe might meete and talke together. So at the length they met by the ſea ſide, neere vnto the city of DELIVM, where there is a temple of *Apollo*. *Archelaus* beganne to enter the talke with him, declaring vn- *Talke betwixt Sylla and Archelaus at their meeting.*
E to *Sylla* that he would wiſh him to leaue the conqueſt of ASIA, & of the realme of PONT, and to returne into his contry to the ciuill warres at ROME: and in ſo doing, the king would furniſh him, not onely with as much money, but with as many ſhippes and men, as he him ſelfe would deſire. *Sylla* apon this motion told him againe: that he would wiſh him to forſake *Mithridates* ſeruice, and to make him ſelfe king, offering to proclaime him a frend and confederate of the ROMAINES, ſo that he would deliuer him all his nauie which then he had in his handes. *Archelaus* ſeemed much to abhorre to heare him ſpeake of treaſon. But *Sylla* going on with his tale, replyed againe vnto him: why *Archelaus*, ſayd he, thou that art a CAPPADOCIAN, and ſeruaunt to a barbarous king, or his frend at the leaſt: haſt thou ſo good a hart with thee, that for all the benefits I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit an ill act? And art thou in deede ſo bolde to ſpeake to me of treaſon, which am the ROMAINES Lieutenant generall, F and *Sylla*? As if thou wert not he, that at the battell of CHÆRONEA dideſt ſaue thy ſelfe by flying, with a ſmal number left thee of ſix ſcore thowſand fighting men, which thou before haddeſt in thy campe: and that hid thy ſelfe two dayes together in the mariſſes of ORCHOMENE,

Syllaes wordes to animate his ſouldiers.

Diogenes ſlaine.

Syllaes victory of Mithridates Lieutenauntes at Orchomene.

Sylla ouercame Archelaus in two famous battells at Chæronea and at Orchomene.

leauing the fieldes of BOEOTIA with ſuch heapes of dead bodies, that no man could paſſe for them. After this reply e, *Archelaus* altered his ſpeech, and falling downe at *Syllaes* feete, humbly beſought him to ende this warre, and to make peace with *Mithridates*. Whereunto *Sylla* aunſwered, that he was very well contented withall. And thereupon peace was concluded betwene them vnder condicions: that *Mithridates* ſhould departe from ASIA the leſſe, and from PAPHLAGONIA, that he ſhould reſtore BITHYNIA vnto *Nicomedes*, and CAPPADOCIA vnto *Ariobarzanes*, that he ſhould pay two thowſand talents to the ROMAINES, & geue them three ſcore and tenne gallies, with all their furniture. And apon this, *Sylla* would alſo aſſure him the reſt of his realme: and would cauſe him to be proclaimed a frende of the ROMAINES. Theſe articles being paſt by agreement betwixt them, *Sylla* taking his iorney through THESSALIE, and MACEDON into the contry of HELLESPONT, caried *Archelaus* with him, whom he honorably intreated. For *Archelaus* falling daungerouſly ſicke of a diſeaſe in the city of LARISSA, he ſtayed there for him, and was very carefull to recouer him, as if he had bene one of his chiefeſt Captaines and companions. And this was the cauſe that made *Archelaus* to be blamed for the battell of CHÆRONEA, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor *Sylla* truly won it, but by treaſon. And againe, *Archelaus* was the more ſuſpected, bicauſe *Sylla* redeliuered *Mithridates* all his ſeruaunts and frends which he had priſoners, ſauing the tyran *Ariſtion* that kept ATHENS, whome he poyſoned, bicauſe he was *Archelaus* enemie: but ſpecially, for the lands *Sylla* gaue vnto this CAPPADOCIAN. For he gaue him tenne thowſand Iugera, (or akers of lande) within the Ile of EVBOEA, and gaue him moreouer the title of a frende of the ROMAINES for euer. But *Sylla* denyeth all theſe thinges in his commentaries. In the meane time, Ambaſſadors came from king *Mithridates* vnto *Sylla*, who told him that the king their maiſter did ratifie and accept all the articles of peace, ſauing that he onely prayed him he would not take the contry of PAPHLAGONIA from him: and as for the gallies, he would not ſo much as once ſay he would promiſe them. *Sylla* being offended herewith, angerly aunſwered them againe. Then *Mithridates*, as ye ſay, meaneth to kepe PAPHLAGONIA ſtill, and refuſeth to geue the ſhippes I demaunded: where I looked that he would haue humbly thancked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand only, with the which he put ſo many ROMAINE citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me an other tale, if I come once into ASIA: but nowe at PERGAMVM, he ſpeaketh his pleaſure of this warre which he hath not ſeene. The Ambaſſadors being afrayed of his wordes, replied not againe. Whereupon *Archelaus* ſpake, and beſought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hande. By intreatie, in thend he obtained of *Sylla* to ſende him vnto *Mithridates*: promiſing that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles & condicions of peace that he demaunded, or if he could not, he would kill him ſelfe with his owne handes. Vpon this promiſe *Sylla* ſent him away, and in the meane while entred with his armie into the contrie of MEDICA: and after he had deſtroyed the moſt parte thereof, returned backe againe into MACEDON, where *Archelaus* being returned from *Mithridates*, founde him neere vnto the city of PHILIPPES, bringing him newes that all ſhould be well, howebeit that his maſter *Mithridates* prayed him he might ſpeake with him in any caſe. Now, the matter that made *Mithridates* ſo earneſt to ſpeake with *Sylla*, was chiefely for *Fimbria*: who hauing ſlaine *Flaccus* the Conſull, being of the contrarie faction vnto *Sylla*, and certaine of *Mithridates* Lieutenauntes alſo, went him ſelfe againſt him to fight with him. *Mithridates* fearing his comming, choſe rather to make him ſelfe *Syllaes* frend. So *Mithridates* and *Sylla* met together in the contry of TROADE, in the city of DARDANE: *Mithridates* being accompanied with a fleete of two hundred ſaile of ſhippes with ores at ſea, with twenty thowſand footemen, ſixe thowſande horſe, and a number of armed cartes with ſythes beſides by land, *Sylla* hauing onely but foure enſignes of footemen, and two hundred horſemen. *Mithridates* went to *Sylla*, and offering to take him by the hand: *Sylla* asked him firſt, if he did accept the peace with the condicions which *Archelaus* had agreed vnto. *Mithridates* made him no aunſwere. *Sylla* following on his tale, ſayd vnto him. It is for ſuters to ſpeake firſt, that haue requeſt to make: & for conquerors, it is enough to hold their peace, and heare what they will ſay. Then began *Mithridates* to excuſe him ſelfe, and to lay thoccaſion of the warre, partly vpon the ordinaunce of the goddes that ſo had appointed it, & partly alſo

Peace concluded betweene Sylla & Archelaus in Mithridates behalfe apon condicions.

Archelaus ſuſpected of treaſon.

Ariſtion tyran of Athens, poyſoned by Sylla.

Mithridates exception to the condicios.

Archelaus ſent from Sylla to Mithridates.

Sylla & Mithridates meete at Dardane.

The ſtowtnes of Sylla.

Mithridates excuſeth him ſelfe to Sylla.

A alſo vppon the ROMANES them ſelues. Whereunto *Sylla* replyed, that he had heard of long time that *Mithridates* was an eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, ſeeing that he lacked no comely words, to cloke his fowle and ſhamefull dedes: but withall he ſharplyreproued him, and draue him to confeſſe the cruelties he had committed. And afterwardes asked him againe, if he did confirme that which *Archelaus* had done. *Mithridates* made aunſwer that he did. Then *Sylla* ſaluted, embraced, and kiſſed him: and calling for the kinges *Nicomedes*, and *Ariobarzanes*, reconciled them together, and made *Mithridates* their frende againe. In concluſion, after *Mithridates* had deliuered *Sylla* three ſcore and tenne gallies, and fiue hundred bow men, he returned by ſea into his realme of PONTVS. But *Sylla* hearing that his ſouldiers were angrie with this peace made with *Mithridates*, bicauſe they could not abide B to behold that king, whom they accompted for their moſt cruell and mortall enemy, (hauing in one ſelfe day cauſed a hundred and fifty thowſand ROMANE citizens to be ſlaine, that were diſperſed abroade in diuers places of ASIA) ſo to departe, and go his way ſafe, with the riches and ſpoyles of the contry, which he had bereft them of, and vſed at his pleaſure, the ſpace of forty yeares together: aunſwered them in excuſe of him ſelfe, that he was not able to make warres with *Mithridates*, & *Fimbria* both, if once they were ioyned together againſt him. And ſo *Sylla* departing thence, went againſt *Fimbria*, who then was encamped neere to the city of THYATIRA, and lodged him ſelfe as neere vnto him as he conueniently might. Nowe whileſt he was compaſſing in his lodging with a trench, *Fimbriaes* ſouldiers came out of their campe in their coates without any armor or weapon, to ſalute *Syllaes* ſouldiers, and holpe them very C frendly to make vp their trenche. Which *Fimbria* ſeeing, and perceiuing his ſouldiers mindes ſo chaunged, of an extreame feare which he had of *Sylla*, at whoſe handes he looked for no mercy: killed him ſelfe in his owne campe. *Sylla* hereuppon condemned the whole contry of ASIA the leſſe, to pay the ſumme of twenty thowſand talentes amongeſt them, and preſently alſo he vndid many poore houſeholders through his inſolent ſouldiers, lying long vpon their charge, which he left in garriſon there. For he ordained that euery houſeholder ſhould geue the ſouldier that lodged in his houſe, foure Tetradrachmas a day, & ſhould be bound to geue him and his frendes (as many as he would bring with him) their ſupper alſo: and that euery Captaine ſhould haue fifty Drachmas a day, a night gowne for the houſe, and a garment to goe abroade into the city when he thought good. When he had geuen this order, he depar- D ted from the city of EPHESVS with all his fleete, and in three dayes ſayling arriued in the hauen of Piræa at ATHENS, where he was receiued into the fraternity of the myſteries, and reſerued for him ſelfe the librarie of *Apellicon Teian*: in the which were the moſt parte of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus* workes, not then thought meete to come in euery mans handes. And they ſay, that this librarie being brought to ROME, *Tyrannion* the grammarian founde the meanes to extract a great parte of them: and that *Andronicus* the RHODIAN hauing recouered the originalls into his hands, put them in printe, and wrote the ſummaries which we haue at this preſent. For the auncient Peripateticke Philoſophers were of them ſelues very wiſe and learned men, but they had not all *Ariſtotles* workes, nor *Theophraſtus* amongeſt them, and yet thoſe fewe they had, were not by them ſeene all whole and perfect together: bicauſe that the E goodes of *Neleus* SCEPSIAN (to whom *Theophraſtus* left all his bookes by will) came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and eſtimacion of them. And furthermore, *Sylla* being at ATHENS had ſuch a paine and numneſſe in his legges, and was ſo heauy withall, that *Strabo* calleth it a ſpice of the gowte, that is to ſay, a feeling or entring therinto, which then beganne to roote and take hold of him. Vpon which occaſion he tooke the ſeaes, & went vnto a place called ADIPSVM, where there are naturall hotte bathes: and there remained a while ſolacing him ſelfe all the day long with muſicke, ſeeing of playes, and entertaining ſuch kinde of people. Vpon a day as he was walking by the ſea ſide, certaine fiſher men made him a preſent of fiſh, which pleaſed him maruelous well, & demaunding of thē whence they were: they aunſwered him againe, that they were of the city of ALES. What? of ALES F ſayd he: is there any of them yet left aliue? ſpeaking it, bicauſe that after the battell of ORCHOMENE when he followed the chaſe of his enemies, he had taken and deſtroyed three cities of BOEOTIA all at one ſelfe time, to wit ANTHEDON, LARYMNA, and ALES. The poore

Syllaes aunſwer to Mithridates.

Nicomedes king of Bithynia.

Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia.

A hundred & fifty thowſand Romanes ſlaine in one day in Aſia by Mithridates commaundement.

Fimbria campeth at Thyatira.

Fimbria ſlain.

Sylla very hardly intreated them of Aſia.

Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus bookes.

Sylla went to the bathes at Adipſum for the gowte in his legges.

fisher men were so amazed with his wordes, that they stoode still, and could not tell what to say. *Sylla* fell a laughing thereat, & bad them go their wayes a gods name, and be not affrayed, for they brought no small intercessors with them, which were worth the reckening of. When *Sylla* had geuen them these wordes, the ALLEIANS went home with a mery harte, to gather them selues together againe in their city. *Sylla* so passing through THESSALIA & MACEDON, came to the sea side, intending to go from the city of DYRRACHIVM vnto BRVNDVSIVM, with twelue hundred sayle. The city of APOLLONIA is hard by DYRRACHIVM, and thereabouts is a parke consecrated vnto the nymphes, where in a fayer goodly greene meadowe in many places there commeth out great bubles of fire that flame continually: and it is sayd that there was a Satyre taken sleeping, euen in the very selfe same forme the painters and image grauers haue set him out. He was brought vnto *Sylla*, and being asked by all sortes of interpreters what he was, he made no aunswere that a man could vnderstand: but only put forth a sharpe voyce like the neying of a horse, or whynnying of a goate. *Sylla* wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be caried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when *Sylla* had imbarked his men to passe the sea, he was afrayed that so soone as they were landed in ITALIE, they would shrinke from him, and euery man go home to his owne. But they sware and promised first of them selues, that they would tary and keepe together, and by their willes would doe no hurt in ITALIE. Moreouer, perceiuing that he stoode in neede of money, they offred him of theirs, & euery man to lend him as his ability serued. But *Sylla* would none, yet thanked them for their goodwill: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valliant souldiers, he went against fifteene generalls of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fifty ensignes of footemen well armed, as he him selfe wryteth in his commentaries. But the goddes promised him good fortune in his warres, by many sundry apparant signes. For in a sacrifice he made by TARENTVM, after he was come a lande, the liuer of a certaine beast sacrificed, was altogether facioned after the maner of a crowne or garland of laurell, out of the which did hang two bandes or rolles. And a litle before he went into CAMPANIA, neere vnto the mountaine Epheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, euen as two men do when they fight: which neuertheless was no matter of trueth, but a vision onely that appeared, and rising from the earth dispersed it selfe by litle and litle here and there in the ayer, and in thende vanished quite away, as clowdes which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the selfe same place, *Marius* the younger, and *Norbanus* the Consull, who brought two great armies against him, were ouerthrowen by him, before he had set his men in battell, or had appointed any man his place where he should fight: and this proceeded onely vpon the corage and life of his souldiers, whose goodwill to serue against them was such, as following this victory, he compelled the Consull *Norbanus* after he had slaine sixe thowsande of his men, to take the city of CAPVA for his refuge. This noble exployte, (as him selfe reported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckening of their enemies, although they were many against one. And he sayth furthermore, that in the city of SYLVIVM, there was a slaue of one *Pontius* a citizen, who beinge inspired with a propheticall spirite, came to tell him from the goddesse *Bellona*, that he should grow in strength, & cary away the victory of these wars: howbeit that if he did not hye him the sooner, the Capitoll at ROME should be burnt. And so it fell out the same day according to his wordes, being the sixteene day of the moneth called Quintilis, and now Iuly. And furthermore also, *Lucullus* (one of *Syllaes* Captaines) being neere vnto the city of FIDENTIA with sixteene ensignes only, against fifty ensignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to serue, bicause the most parte of them were naked & vnarmed, was afrayed to hazard the battel: and as he was euen bethinking him selfe what was best to determine therof, there rose a litle winde out of a goodly meadow that blewe a wonderfull sorte of flowers apon the souldiers on euery parte of them. These flowers stayed of them selues as they fell, some apon their targets, and others apon their moryans, without falling to the grounde: so that it seemed to their enemies a farre of, as if they had bene garlandes of flowers vpon their heades. This made *Lucullus* souldiers more lusty a great deale, then they were before, and with this good will they determined to geue a charge vpon their enemies: whom they ouerthrew,

Bubbles of fire rising out of a meadow by Dyrrachium.

A Satyre take sleeping, and brought to Sylla.

Sylla went against fifteene Generalls, & foure hundred and fifue ensignes.

Syllaes returne into Italie.

Epheum mons.

Sylla ouerthrew the Cōsull Norbanus and Marius the younger neere to the mountaine Epheum.

A slaue foreshewed Syllaes victory, and the burning of the Capitoll which fell out truely.

A winde that blewe flowers out of a meadow vpon Lucullus souldiers by the city of Fidentia.

slue

A slue eighteene thowsand of them in the field, & tooke their campe. This *Lucullus* was brother vnto the other *Lucullus*, that afterwards ouerthrew the kings *Mithridates*, & *Tigranes*. Neuertheles, *Sylla* perceiuing that his enemies lay round about him with many great puisant armies, thought good to vse policy with force: & therefore practised with *Scipio*, one of the Consulls, to make peace with him. *Scipio* was willing to it: & thereupon were oft meetings & assemblies of both sides. Now *Sylla* draue of the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still seeking occasion of delay, to thend that his souldiers which were throughly acquainted with craft and subtilty as well as him selfe, might in the meane time corrupt *Scipioes* souldiers by repayre into his campe: for they comming into *Scipioes* campe, being very conuersaunt with thē, straight corrupted some of them with ready money, other with promises, & other with fayer flattering
B words, & many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practise had continued a while, *Sylla* comming nere vnto *Scipioes* campe with twenty ensignes only: all his men saluted *Scipioes* souldiers, & they resaluting them again, yelded them selues vnto *Sylla*, so as *Scipio* was left poste alone in his tente where he was taken, but they afterwards let him goe. So *Sylla* with his twenty ensignes, like vnto the fowlers, that by their stales draw other birds into their netts, hauing gotten forty ensignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his campe. There it was that *Carbo* sayd of *Sylla*, that he had to fight with a foxe & a lyon both: but that the foxe did him more hurte & mischiefe, then the lyon. After this, *Marius* the younger hauing fourescore and fiue ensignes in his campe neere vnto the citie of SIGNIVM, presented battell vnto *Sylla*: who hauing very good desire to fight, and specially on that day, bi-
C cause the night before he had seene this vision in his dreame, that he thought he sawe *Marius* the father (who was deceased long before) warning his sonne that he should come to him. *Sylla* for this respect desired maruelously to fight that day: and thereuppon caused *Dolobella* to come vnto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies stept betwene him and home, and stopped his passage to keepe him from ioyning with *Sylla*. *Syllaes* souldiers to the contrarie, fought to keepe the way open for him, with so great labor and paine, that they were all wearie and ouerharried. And furthermore, there fell a maruelous great shower of raine vpon them as they were busie, opening the way, that troubled them more, then the labor they had in hande. Whereuppon the priuate Captaines of the bandes went to make *Sylla* vnderstande it, and to pray him to deferre the battell vntill an other day: showing him howe
D the souldiers wearied with labor, lay downe vpon their targettes on the grounde to take their ease. *Sylla* perceiuing this, was contented withall, though greatly in deede against his will. But when he had geuen the signall to lodge, and that they beganne to trenche and fortifie their campe: *Marius* the younger commeth a horse backe marching brauely before all his companie, hoping to haue surprised his enemies in disorder, and by that meanes to haue ouerthrowen them easily. But farre otherwise did fortune then performe the reuelation which *Sylla* had in his foresayed dreame: for his men fallinge in a rage withall, left their worke in the trenche where they wrought, stucke their dartes vppon the bancke, ranne vppon their enemies with their swordes drawen, and with a maruelous crie set apon them so valliantly, that they were not able to resist their furie, but sodainly turned their backes and fled, where there was a great
E and notable slaughter made of them. *Marius* their Captaine fled to the citie of PRÆNESTE, where he found the gates shut: but they threw him downe a rope from the wall, which he tied about his midle, and so was triced vp by it. Yet some wryters say, and *Feneſtella* among other, that *Marius* neuer sawe the battell: for beinge wearied with labor, and verie sleepie, he laye vnder some tree in the shadowe to rest a litle, after he had geuen the signall and word of the battell, and slept so sowndly, that he coulde scant awake with the noyse and fleeinge of his men. *Sylla* him selfe wryteth, that he lost at this battell but three and twentie men, slewe twentie thowsande of his enemies, and tooke eight thowsande prisoners. His Lieutenauntes also had the like good successe in other places, *Pompeius*, *Crassus*, *Metellus*, and *Seruilius*: which without any losse of their men, or but with a verie small, ouerthrewe ma-
F ny great mightie armies of their enemies. Insomuch as *Carbo*, the heade and chiefe of all the contrarie faction, and he that most maintained it, fled one night out of his campe, and went beyonde the seaes into AFRICKE. The last battell that *Sylla* had, was against *Thelesinus*

Lucullus victory at Fidentia.

Syllaes policie with Scipio.

Sylla wanne 40 ensignes from Scipio by policie.

Carboes saying of Sylla touching the foxe and lyon.

Marius the younger with 85 ensignes presenteth Sylla battell by the city of Signium.

Syllaes vision in his dreame.

Marius fled to Præneste.

Carbo fled into Africke.

Thelesinus the Samnyte put Sylla in great danger.

SAMNYTE, who comming like a fresh champion to set apon him, when he was already wearied, and had fought many battells, had almost slaine him euen at ROME gates. For *Thelesinus* hauinge gathered together a great number of souldiers with one *Lamponius* LVCANIAN, marched with all speede towards the city of PRÆNESTE, to deliuer *Marius* the younger that was besieged there. But vnderstandinge that *Sylla* on the one side, came in great haste also to meete him, and that *Pomponius* came behinde him on the other side, & perceiuing, moreouer that the way was so shut vp, that he could neither go forward nor backeward: being a valliant souldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fieldes, most daungerously ventured to go straight to ROME. And so stale away by night with all his whole power, and marching to ROME ward, had almost taken it at his first comming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept: but he stayed happely tenne furlonges from the gate Collina, bragging with him selfe, and beleuing that he should doe wonders, for that he had mocked so many great Captaines. The next morning betimes came diuerse young noble men and gentlemen out of the citie to skirmishe with *Thelesinus*: who slue a great number of them, and among others one *Appius Claudius* a young gentleman of a noble house, and very honest. Whereuppon (as you may easily imagine) the city trembled for feare, and specially the women, who fell a shreeking, and running vp and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great feare and trouble, *Balbus* (whom *Sylla* had sent) came first with seuen hundred horse vpon the spurre, and staying but a litle to coole and geue them breath, brideled straight againe, and went to set apon the enemies thereby to stay them. Soone after him came *Sylla* also, who commaunded his men that came first, quickely to eate somwhat, and that done, put them straight in battell ray: notwithstanding that *Dolobella* and *Torquatus* perswaded him to the contrary, and besought him not to put his souldiers wearied with their iorney, to so great and manifest a daunger, and the rather, bicause they had not to fight with *Carbo* and *Marius*, but with the SAMNYTES and LVCANES, who were (both) warlike nations & good souldiers, and those besides that most deadly hated the ROMANES. But for all that, *Sylla* draue them backe, and commaunded his trompets to sounde the alarome, being almost within foure houres of night: and this battell was sharper and more cruell, then any other that euer he fought before. The right wing where *Crassus* was, had the better much: but the left wing was very sore distressed, & stoode in great perill. *Sylla* hearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got vp vppon a white courser that was both swift, and very strong. The enemies knewe him, and there were two that lifted vp their armes to throw their dartes at him, whom he saw not: but his page gaue his horse such a lash with his whippe, that he made him so to gird forward, as the very pointes of the dartes came hard by the horse tayle, and stucke fast in the grounde. Some say that *Sylla* had a litle golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from the city of DELPHES, and in time of warres ware it alwayes in his bosome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kissing it, sayd: O *Apollo Pythius*, hast thou so highly exalted *Cornelius Sylla*, so fortunate hitherto through so many famous victories, and wilt thou now with shame ouerwhelme him wholly, euen at the very gates of his owne naturall city among his contry men? And so crying out to *Apollo* for helpe, thrust into the prease among his men, intreating some, threatning others, and layinge apon the rest to stay them. But for all he coulde doe, all the left winge of his army was broken and ouerthrowen by his enemies: and him selfe amongest them that fled, was compelled to recouer his campe with speede, hauing lost many of his frendes and familiars. There were moreouer many citizens slaine and troden vnder feete (both with horse and men) that came only to see the battell fought: so that they within the city thought them selues vtterly vndone. *Lucretius Ofella* furthermore (he that besieged *Marius* in the citie of PRÆNESTE) had almost raised his siege, vpon the wordes of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wished him to remoue with all speede possible, for *Sylla* was slaine, and *Thelesinus* had taken ROME. Now about midnight came certaine souldiers from *Crassus* to *Syllaes* campe, & asked for meate for *Crassus* supper, and his mens, who hauing chased his flying enemies whom he had ouerthrowen, vnto the city of ANTEMNA (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campe there. *Sylla* vnderstãding that, & being aduertised that the most parte of his enemies were ouerthrowen at this battell: went him selfe the next morning betimes vnto ANTEMNA, where three thowsand

Syllaes daunger.

Sylla fled. Lucretius Ofella besieged Marius in Præneste.

In the ende of Marius life it is reported contrarie, that Sylla besieged Marius the younger in Perusia, and not in Prænestæ.

A thowſand of his enemies ſent to know if he would receiue them to mercy, if they yelded them ſelues vnto him. His aunſwer was, that he would pardon their liues, ſo as they would do ſome miſchiefe to their fellowes before they came to him. Theſe three thowſand hereupon truſting to his promiſe, fell apon their companions: and for the moſt parte one of them killed an other. Notwithſtāding, *Sylla* hauing gathered all thoſe together that remained of his enemies, as wel the three thowſand, as the reſt, amoūting in all to the number of ſix thowſand men, within the ſhow place where they vſed to run their horſes: whileſt he him ſelf held a counſell in the tēple of the goddeſſe *Bellona*, & was making his oratiō there, he had appointed certē to ſet vpō thoſe ſix thowſand, & put them to the ſword euery man. Great and terrible were the cries of ſuch a number of men ſlaine in ſo ſmall a roome, as many may eaſily coniecture: inſomuch as the Se-
B nators ſitting in counſell heard them very eaſily, and marueled what the matter was. But *Sylla* continuing on his oration which he had begon with a ſet ſteady countenance, without chaūging of colour, willed thē only to hearken what he ſayd, & not to trouble them ſelues with any thing done abroade: for they were but certen offenders & lewd perſons that were puniſhed by his cōmaundemēt. This was enough to ſhew the ſimpleſt Romane in Rome, that they had but only chaunged the tyran, but not the tyranny. Now for *Marius*, that had bene euer of a churliſh & ſeuere nature euen from his childhood, he neuer chaūged for any authority, but did rather hardē his natural ſtubbornes. Where *Sylla* cōtrarily in the beginning, was very modeſt & ciuill in all his proſperity, & gaue great good hope that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would fauor nobility wel, & yet loue notwithſtanding the benefit of the people. And being
C moreouer a man in his youth geuē all to pleaſure, deliting to laugh, ready to pity, & weepe for tender hart: in that he became after ſo cruell & bloody, the great alteraciō gaue manifeſt cauſe to condemne the increaſe of honor & authority, as thonly meanes wherby mens maners continue not ſuch as they were at the firſt, but ſtill do chaunge & vary, making ſome fooles, others vaine & fantaſticall, & others extreame cruel & vnnaturall. But whether that alteracion of nature came by chaunging his ſtate & condicion, or that it was otherwiſe a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to ſhewe it ſelfe, when the way of liberty was layed open: this matter is to be decided in ſome other treatiſe. So it came to paſſe, that *Sylla* fell to ſheading of blood, & filled all Rome with infinite & vnſpeakeable murthers: for diuerſe were killed for priuate quarrels, that had nothing to do with *Sylla* at any time, who ſuffered his frends & thoſe
D about him to worke their wicked wills. Vntil at the length there was a young man called *Caius Metellus*, that was ſo bold to aske *Sylla* in open Senate, when all theſe miſeries ſhould end, and when they ſhould know that all the miſchieues were finiſhed, the which they dayly ſawe. For ſaid he, we will not intreate you to pardō life, where you haue threatned death: but only to put thē out of dout, whom you haue determined to ſaue. Wherunto *Sylla* made aunſwer, that he was not reſolued whom he would ſaue. *Metellus* replied, thē tell vs quod he, who they are that ſhall dye. *Sylla* anſwered he would. Howbeit ſome ſay it was not *Metellus*, but *Auſidius* one of his flatterers, that ſpake this laſt word vnto him. Wherefore *Sylla* immediatly without making any of the magiſtrats priuy, cauſed foure ſcore mens names to be ſet vp vpon poſtes, whom he would put to death. Euery mā being offēded withal, the next day following he ſet vp two hun-
E dred & twenty mens names more: & likewiſe the third day as many more. Herupon, making an oration to the people, he told thē openly that he had appointed all them to dye, that he could call to remēbraunce: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that ſhould dye by daies, as he did call them to minde. Whoſoeuer ſaued an outlaw in his houſe, for reward of his kindnes, he himſelfe was condēned to dye: not excepting thē that had receiued their brothers, their ſonnes, their fathers, nor mothers. And the reward of euery homycide & murtherer that killed one of the outlawes, was two talentes: though it were a ſlaue that had killed his maſter, or the ſonne that had ſlaine the father. But the moſt wicked & vniuſt act of all was, that he depriued the ſonnes, & ſonnes ſonnes of them whom he had killed, of all credit & good name, & beſides that, had takē all their goods as cōfiſcate. And this was not only done in Rome, but alſo in al the
F cities of Italie through out: & there was no tēple of any god whatſoeuer, no aulter in any bodies houſe, no liberty of hoſpital, nor fathers houſe, that was not embrued with blood & horrible murder. For the husbāds were ſlaine in their wiues armes, & the childrē in their mothers laps:

2000 ſaued their felues in Antiocha: and yelded to Sylla vpon promiſe of life.

Sylla againſt the law of armes and his promiſe, cauſed fiue thowſand men to be ſlaine.

Honor chaungeth condicions. Sylla the example.

Infinite murthers committed in Rome by Sylla and his fauorers.

The boldnes of Caius Metellus, to tell Sylla his cruelty in open Senate.

Syllaes proſcription.

The murder of outlawes generall through Italy.

Quintus Aurelius, a quiet man that medled not, slaine for his house.

and yet they which were slaine for priuate hatred & malice, were nothing in respect of those A
that were murdered only for their goods. And they that killed them might well say, his good-
ly great house made that man dye, his goodly fayer garden the other: and his hotte bathes an
other. As amongest others, *Quintus Aurelius*, a man that neuer medled with any thinge, and
least looked that these euills should light vpon him, and that only pitied those which he sawe
so miserably murdered: went one day into the market place, and reading the bill set vp of the
outlawes names, found his owne name amongest the rest, and cried out alowde: alas the day
that euer I was borne, my house of ALBA maketh me to be put to death. He went not farre
from the market place, but met with one that killed him presently. In the meane time, *Marius*

Marius the younger slue him selfe at Præneste.

the younger seeing he could by no meanes escape if he were taken, slue him selfe. And *Sylla*
comming to PRÆNESTE, did first execute them by one and by one, keeping a certaine forme B
of iustice in putting them to death: but afterwardes as if he had no lenger leasure to remaine

Sylla slue 12. thousand men in Præneste, being put all into one place together.

there, he caused them all to be put in a place together, to the number of twelue thowsande
men, whom he caused to be put to the sword euery man, sauing his host only, vnto whom he
sayd, that he shewed him specially fauor to saue his life. But his host aunswered him stowtly a-
gaine, that he would not be beholding vnto him for his life, seeing he had slaine all the rest of
his contry men: and so thrusting in amongest the citizens, was willingly slaine with them.

Lucius Catilina slue his owne brother.

They thought the act of *Lucius Catiline* also very straunge, who had slaine his owne brother
before the ciuill warre was ended: and then prayed *Sylla* to put him in the number of the
outlawes, as if his brother had bene aliue. *Sylla* performed his desire. *Catiline* thereuppon to
shewe his thankefulnesse for the pleasure *Sylla* had done him, went presently, and slue *Marcus* C
Marius, who was of the contrary faction: and brought him his head for a present before all the
people, in the middest of the market place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he
went and washed his handes all bloodied in the hallowed font of the temple of *Apollo*, that was
hard by. But besides so many murders cõmitted, yet were there other things also that grieued

Sylla Dictator.

the people maruelously. For he proclaimed him selfe Dictator, which office had not bene of
six score yeares before in vse, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, geuing
him free liberty afterwardes to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goodes: to destroy
cities, and to build vp new as he listed: to take away kingdomes, and to geue them where he
thought good. And furthermore, he openly sold the goodes confiscate, by the crier, sitting so
prowdly and stately in his chayer of state, that it grieued the people more to see those goodes D
packt vp by them, to whome he gaue and disposed them: then to see them taken from those
that had forfeited them. For somtimes he would geue a whole contry, or the whole reuenues
of certaine cities, vnto women for their beawty, or vnto pleasaunt iesters, minstrells, or wic-
ked slaues made free: and vnto some, he would geue other mens wiues by force, and make
them to be maried against their willes. For he desiring (howesoeuer it happened) to make al-
liance with *Pompey* the great, cõmaunded him to put away his wife he had maried: and taking
AEmylia (the daughter of *AEmylius Scaurus*, & of *Metella* his wife) from the great *Glabrio*, cau-
sed him to mary her great with childe as she was by *Glabrio*: but she dyed in childbed, in *Pom-*
peyis house. *Lucretius Offella* also that had brought *Marius* the younger to that distresse at the
city of PRÆNESTE: suing to be Consull, *Sylla* commaunded him to cease his sute. But he not- E

Lucretius Offella slaine.

withstandinge that expresse commaundement, went one day into the market place, with a
great traine of men following him that fauored his cause. Whither *Sylla* sent one of his Cen-
turions that slue *Offella* before all the people: him selfe sitting in a chayer of estate in the tem-
ple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and seeing from aboue the murder done. The people that were about
Offella, layed hold of the murderer straight & brought him before *Sylla*. But *Sylla* bad them be
quiet, that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they should let him goe, bicause he
commaunded him to do it. Furthermore as touching his triumphe, it was a sumptuous sight
to behold, for the rarenes of the riches, and princely spoyles which were shewed at the same.

The order of Syllaes triumphe.

But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the sight, to see the banished ROMANES,
who were the chiefest noble men of all the city of ROME, following his charet triumphant F
wearing garlandes of flowers on their heades, calling *Sylla* their father, and sauior: bicause
that by his meanes they returned to their contry, and recouered their goods, wiues, and chil-
dren.

A dren. In the end of his triumphe, he made an oration in open assembly of the people of ROME, in the which he did not only declare vnto thē (according to the custome) what thinges he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and successe, as of his valliant deedes besides: and to conclude his oration, told them that by reason of the great fauor fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by thē, Felix, to say, happy, or fortunate. And he him selfe when he wrote vnto the GREECIANS, or that he had any thing to do with them: surnamed him selfe Epaphroditus, as who would say, a pleasaunt man, beloued and fauored of *Venus*. His tokens of triumphe which are yet in our contry, haue this superscription. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. And when his wife *Metella* had brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter: he named his sonne *Faustus*, signifying fortunate,
B and his daughter *Fausta*: bicause the ROMANES call Faustum that, which falleth out prosperously, and happely. To be short, he trusted so much vnto his good fortune and doinges, that notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so great a chaūge and innouation in the common wealth, yet of him selfe he left of his office of Dictator, and restored the people to the authority of election of Consulls againe, without his presence at the election: and frequented the market place as a priuate man among the citizens, offering him selfe to euery man that would aske him accompt of his doings past. It happened that a stowt and rash enemy of his was Chosen Consull against his will, called *Marcus Lepidus*, not for any deuotion the people had to *Lepidus*, but onely to gratifie *Pompey*, who gaue countenaunce and fauor vnto him. *Sylla* seeing *Pompey* come mery homewardes from the election, and ioy-
C full that he had obtained his frendes sute from all other suters: tooke him a side, & told him. In deede thou hast great cause to reioyce, young man my frende, for thou hast done a goodly acte: to choose *Marcus Lepidus* Consull, the veriest asse in all ROME, before *Catulus* the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou haddest not nede to sleepe: for thou hast strengthened an enemy, that will be thine owne destruction. And *Sylla* proued a true prophet: for *Lepidus* being bent to all cruelty immediatly after, flatly fell at defiaunce with *Pompey*. Now *Sylla* consecratinge the dismes of all his goodes vnto *Hercules*, made exceeding sumptuous feastes vnto the ROMANES, the prouision whereof was so vnreasonable great, that euery day they threwe a great deale of meate into the riuer, and they dranke wine of forty yeares olde and aboue. During these feastes which continued many dayes, his wife *Metella* sickened, and dyed,
D and in her sickenes the Priestes and Soothsayers willed *Sylla* he should not come neere her, nor suffer his house to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon *Sylla* was diuorsed from her in her sickenes, and caused her to be caried into an other house, whilest she liued. And thus did *Sylla* curiously obserue the superstition and ordinaunce of the Soothsayers: but yet he brake the law which he made him selfe, touching the order of funeralls, sparinge no cost at *Metellaes* buriall. So did he also breake an other order him selfe had made, touching the reformation of banckets: comforting his sorrow with ordinary feastes, full of all vanity and lasciuiousnes. Within a fewe monethes after, he had fensers games at the sharpe: and the roomes of the Theater being open and vnseuered, men and women sitting together, it fortuned that there was a fayer Lady, and of a noble house, that sat hard by *Sylla*, called *Va-*
E *leria*: she was the daughter of *Messala*, and sister of *Hortensius* the orator, and had bene diuorsed not long before from her husbande. This Lady passing by *Sylla* behinde him did softly put her hand on his shoulder, and tooke a heare from of his gowne, and so went on tō her place, and sat her downe. *Sylla* marueling at this familiarity, looked earnestly vpon her: it is nothing my Lord, (quod she) but that I desire with others to be partaker a litle of your happines. Her words misliked not *Sylla*, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them: for he sent straight to aske her name, and enquired of what house she was, and how she had liued. But after many slye lookes betwene them, they turned their faces one to an other vpon euery occasion, with prety smyling countenaunces: so that in the end, they came to promise & contract mariage together, for the which *Valeria* was not to be blamed. For though she was as
F wife, as honest, and as vertuous a Lady as could be possible, yet the occasion that made *Sylla* mary her, was neither good nor commendable, bicause he was taken straight with a looke and a fine tongue, as if he had bene but a young boy: which commonly shew forth the filthiest pas-

Sylla get twinnes named *Faustus* and *Fausta*.

Sylla leaueth his Dictatorshippe.

Marcus Lepidus chosen Consull.

Sylla feasted the people.

Wine of forty yeres olde & vpward.

Sylla brake his owne lawes he made.

Valeria desirous to be partaker of *Syllaes* happines.

Sylla maried *Valeria*, the sister of *Hortensius* the Orator.

sions of the minde, to be so caried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he had this A
fayer young Lady in his house, he left not the company of women minstrells & tumblers, and
to haue pleasaunt ieasters and musitians about him, with whome he would lye wallowing and
drinking all the day long, vppon litle cowches made for the noneſt. For, his companions that
were in greateſt estimacion with him at that time, were these three: *Roscius* a maker of com-
mon playes, *Sorex* a prince of scoffers, and one *Metrobius* a singing man, whom he was in loue
withall while he liued, & yet did not dissemble his loue, though he was past age to be beloued.
This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the originall cause whereof had a
light foundacion at the first. For he liued a great time before he perceiued that he had an im-
Syllaes impo- postume in his body, the which by processe of time came to corrupt his flesh in such sorte,
stume turned that it turned all to lice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him B
to lyce. continually night and day, yet the lyce they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that
multiplied still vpon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, washing, nor meate
it selfe, but was presently filled with swarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many times in
the day into the bathe to washe and clense him selfe of them, but all would not serue: for the
chaunging of his flesh into this putriture wanne it straight againe, that there was no clensing,
nor shifting of him, that could kepe such a nũber of lyce from him. Some say, that in old time
(amongest the most auncientest men, whereof there is any memory) *Acastus* the sonne of *Pe-*
Diuers fa- *lias*, dyed of the lowsie euill: and long time after also, the Poet *Alcman*, and *Pherecides* the de-
mous men uine: and so did *Callisthenes* OLYNTHIAN in prison, and *Mutius* a wise lawyer. And if we shall
that dyed of make mencion of those that are famous men, although it be not in any good matter: we finde C
lyce. that a bonde man called *Eunus*, he that was the first procurer of the warres of the bondmen in
SICILIA, being taken and caried to ROME, dyed also of the same disease. Furthermore, *Sylla*
did not only foresee his death, but he wrote some thing of it also: for he made an end of wry-
Syllaes com- ting the two and twenty booke of his commentaries, two dayes before he dyed. In that booke
mentaries he sayth, that the wise men of CHALDEA had told him long before, that after he had liued ho-
contains 22. norably, he should ende his dayes in the flower of all his prosperity. And there he sayth also,
bookes.
Syllaes sonne that his sonne (who departed a litle before his mother *Metella*) appeared to him in his sleepe,
that was dead apparrelled in an ill fauored gowne, and that comminge vnto him, he prayed him he would
appeared to go with him vnto *Metella* his mother, thenceforth to liue in peace and rest with her. But for
him in his all his disease, he would not geue ouer to deale in matters of state. For tenne dayes before his D
dreame in ill death he pacified a sedition, and tumult, risen among the inhabitantes of the city of PVTEO-
fauored appa- LANVM (in Italian called POZZOLO) and there he gaue them lawes and ordinaunces, wherby
rell. they should gouerne them selues. And the day before he dyed, hearing that *Granius* who was
Granius in debt to the common wealth deferred payment of his money looking for his death: he sent
strangeled in for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there caused his men to compasse him a-
Syllaes sight bout, and commaunded them to strangle him in his sight. The passion of his anger was so ve-
by his owne hement against him, that by the extreame straining of him selfe, he brake the impostume in
commaunde- his body, so as there gushed out a wonderfull deale of blood: by reason whereof his strength
ment.
Syllaes death. failing him, he was full of paine and panges that night, and so dyed, leauing the two litle chil-
dren he had by *Metella*. For *Valeria*, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which E
was called *Posthumia*, bicause the ROMANES call those children that are borne after the death
Posthumi. of their fathers, *Posthumi*. Now when *Sylla* was dead, many gathered about the Consull *Lepi-*
dus to let that his body should not be honorably buried, as they were accustomed to bury no-
ble men & men of quality. But *Pompey*, though he was angry with *Sylla*, bicause he had geuen
him nothing in his will, and had remembred all his other frendes: yet he made some for loue,
Syllaes fune- some by intreaty, and others with threatning to let it alone, and accompanying the corps in-
ralls. to ROME, gaue both safety and honor vnto the performance of his funeralls. And it is sayd al-
so, that the ROMANE Ladies, amongest other things, bestowed such a quantity of perfumes &
odoriferous matter towardes the same: that besides those which were brought in two hun-
dred and tenne great baskets, they made a great image to the likenes of *Sylla* him selfe, and an F
other of a sergeaunt carying the axes before him, all of excellent incence & synamon. When
the day of the funeralls came, fearing least it would raine in the forenone, all the element be-
ing

ing ſo clowdy: they deferred to cary forth the body to be burnt, vntill paſt three of the clocke in the afternone. And then roſe there ſuch a ſodaine boyſterous winde, that it ſet all the ſtake of wodde ſtraight a fire, that the body was burnt at a tryce, and the fire going out, fell a great ſhower of raine that held on till night: ſo that it ſeemed good fortune following him euen to his ende, did alſo helpe his obſequies after his death. His tombe is to be ſeene in the fielde of *Mars*, and they ſay that he him ſelfe made his owne epitaphe that is wrytten vpon it, which was: that no man did euer paſſe him, neither in doing good to his frendes, nor in doing miſchiefe to his enemies. *Syllaes epitaphe.*

THE COMPARISON OF *Sylla with Lyſander.*

NOw that we haue at large alſo ſet forth the life of the Romane, let vs come to compare them both together. In this they are both a like, that both of them grew to be great men, riſing of thē ſelues through their owne vertue: but this only is proper to *Lyſander*, that all the offices & dignities which he attained vnto in the common wealth, were layed apon him through the peoples good wills and conſents. For he compelled them to nothinge, neither vſurped he any extraordinarie authoritie vppon them, contrarie to lawe: for, as the common ſaying is:

VVhere partialitie, and diſcorde once doe raigne:
There vvicked men are moſt eſteemde, and rule vvith greateſt gaine.

As at that time in Rome, the people being corrupted, and the ſtate of gouernment vtterly ſubuerted and brought to nought: to day there roſe vp one tyranne, to morow an other. And therefore we may not wonder if *Sylla* vſurped and ruled all, when ſuch fellowes as *Glaucia* and *Saturninus*, did both baniſh and driue out of Rome ſuch men as *Metellus* was: and where alſo in open aſſembly they ſlue Conſuls ſonnes in the market place, and where force of armes was bought & ſold for gold and ſiluer, with the which the ſouldiers were corrupted: & where they made new lawes with fire and ſword, and forced men to obey the ſame. Yet I ſpeake not this in reproache of him that in ſuch troubleſome times founde meanes to make him ſelfe the greateſt man: but to ſhew that I meaſure not his honeſty by the dignity he grew vnto in ſo vnfortunate a city, although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came from Sparta (at what time it floriſhed moſt, and was the beſt gouerned common weale) he in all great cauſes, and in moſt honorable offices, was reputed for the beſt of all beſts, and the chiefe of all chiefes. Wherefore it happened, that the one reſigned vp the authority to his contry men, the citizens, which they had geuen him, who alſo reſtored it to him againe many and ſundry *The chiefe perſon is not alwayes the honeſteſt.*

times: for the honor of his vertue did alwayes remaine, and made him iuſtly accompted for A
the worthieſt man. Where the other being once only choſen generall of an army, remained
tenne yeares continually in warres and hoſtilitie, making him ſelfe by force, ſometime Con-
ſull, ſomtime vice Conſull, and ſomtime Dictator, but alwayes continued a tyranne. In dede
Lyſander attempted to chaunge, and alter the ſtate of gouernment in his contrie, howbeit it
was with greater lenity, and more lawfully then *Sylla* did. For he ſought it by reaſon, and good
perſwaſion, not by the ſword: neither would he make a chaunge of the whole at one ſelfe time
as *Sylla* did, but ſought only to reforme the election of kinges. The which thing according to
nature, doubtleſſe ſeemed very iuſt: that he which was the beſt amongeſt good men, ſhould
be choſen king of that citie, which was the chiefe ouer all GREECE, not for her nobility, but
for her vertue only. For like as a good hunter doth not ſeeke for the whelpe of a good dogge, B
but for the good dogge him ſelfe: nor a wiſe man of armes alſo, the colte that commeth of a
good horſe, but the good horſe him ſelfe. Euen ſo, he that taketh vpon him to ſtabliſh a ciuill
gouernment, committeth a fowle fault: if he looke of whom his Prince ſhould be borne, and
not what the Prince him ſelfe ſhould be, conſidering that the LACEDÆMONIANS them ſelues
haue depriued diuerſe of their kinges from their crowne and realme, bicauſe they were not
Princely, but vnprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is it
alwayes ill of it ſelfe: but vertue is honored for her ſelfe alone, and not bicauſe ſhe is placed
with nobility. Now for the wronges and iniuries they both committed, the one did worke on-
Lyſanders & Syllaes faults. ly to pleaſure his frendes, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is cer-
taine, that *Lyſander* did great wronges to gratifie his familliars: and the moſt parte of them C
whom he put to death, was to eſtabliſh the tyrannicall power of certaine his frendes. Where
Sylla ſought for ſpite to take away his army from *Pompey*, and the Admirallty from *Dolobella*,
which he him ſelfe had geuen, & cauſed *Lucretius Offella* to be ſlaine openly in his owne ſight,
bicauſe he ſought to be Conſull, for recompence of the good ſeruice he had done: for which
cruelty of his, cauſinge his owne frendes to be ſlaine in ſuch ſorte, he made euery man afeard
of him. Furthermore, their behauiors touching couetouſnes and pleaſure doth ſhew, that the
intent of the one was the deſire of a good Prince, and the other, that of a tyranne. For we doe
not finde that *Lyſander*, for all his great Princely authority, did euer vſe any inſolency or laſci-
uiouſnes in his deedes, but alwayes auoyded as much as a man might, the reproache of this
common prouerbe: Lyons at home, and Foxes abroade: He led ſuch a true LACONIAN life, D
Lyſanders temperance and moderate life. ſtraightly reformed in all poyntes. Where *Sylla* could neuer moderate his vnlawfull luſtes, nei-
ther for pouerty when he was young, nor yet for age, when it came vpon him. But whileſt he
Syllaes licentious and prodigall life. gaue lawes to the ROMANES touching matrimoniall honeſtie and chaſtitie: him ſelfe in the
meane time did nothing but follow loue, and commit adultries, as *Saluſt* wryteth. By meanes
whereof he ſo much impoueriſhed ROME, and left it ſo voyde of gold and ſiluer: that for rea-
dy money he ſold abſolute freedome vnto the cities their confederates, yet was it his dayly ſtu-
dy to confiſcate and take for forfeit, the richeſt and moſt wealthieſt houſes in all the whole ci-
tie of ROME. But all this ſpoyle and hauoke was nothing in compariſon of that which he day-
ly caſt away vpon his ieaſters & flatterers. What ſparing, or meaſure may we thinke he kept,
in his giftes at priuate banckets: when openly in the day time (all the people of ROME being E
preſent to ſee him ſell the goodes which he had cauſed to be confiſcate) he made one of his
frendes and familiars, to truſſe vp a great deale of houſehold ſtuffe, for a very litle price. And
when any other had out bidden his price, & that the crier had cried it out alowde: then was he
angry, and ſayd: My frendes, I haue great wrong done me here, not to ſuffer me ſell the ſpoile
Syllaes tyrannicall ſaying. I haue gotten at mine owne pleaſure, and diſpoſe it as I liſt my ſelfe. Where *Lyſander* contra-
rily ſent to the common wealth of SPARTA, with other money, the very preſentes that were
geuen to him ſelfe. And yet I do not commende him in that deede. For, peraduenture he did
more hurt to SPARTA, bringing thither that gold & ſiluer: then *Sylla* did to ROME, in waſting
and conſuming that he conſumed. Howbeit I alleage this onely, for proofe and declaration
that *Lyſander* was nothing couetous. They both haue done that vnto their citie, which neuer F
any other but them ſelues did. For *Sylla* being a riotous and licentious man, brought his citi-
zens notwithſtanding to good order and gouernment: and *Lyſander* contrarily filled his citie

with

with vice, yet not infected withall him ſelfe. Thus were they both offendors, the one for breaking the law he commaunded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worſe then he was him ſelfe: for he taught the SPARTANS to deſire thoſe thinges, which he aboue all things had learned to deſpiſe. And thus much concerning peace and ciuill gouernment. Now for matters of warre and battells fought, there is no compariſon to be made of *Lyſander* to *Sylla*, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For *Lyſander* wanne only but two battells by ſea, beſides the taking of the citie of ATHENS: which (though I graunt him) being rightly conſidered, was no great exployte of warre, howbeit it was a noble act, conſidering the fame he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in BOEOTIA, hard by the citie of ALIARTE: a man might ſay peraduenture that he had ill lucke. But yet me thinkes alſo there was a fault in him, for that he ſtayed not for king *Pauſanias* aide (the which came from PLATEES immediatly after his ouerthrow) and bicauſe he went in a geere in fury, and in a vaine ambition to runne his head againſt a wall: ſo that men of all ſortes making a deſperate ſalye out of ALIARTE vpon him, ſlue him there to no purpoſe. Farre vnlike to *Cleombrotus* that died at the battell of LEVCTRES, reſiſting his enemies that diſtreſſed his men: nor yet like *Cyrus*, nor *Epaminondas*, who to keepe his men from flying, and to geue them aſſured victory, receiued his deadly wounde: for all theſe men dyed like noble kings, & valliant Captaines. Where *Lyſander* raſhly caſt him ſelfe away, to his great diſhonor, by too much venturing: prouing thereby, that the auncient SPARTANS did like wiſe men, to auoyde the fight with walles. For the nobleſt and valianteſt man that is, or poſſible can be, may eaſily be ſo ſlaine, not onely by the firſt ſouldier that commeth, but by euery ſeely woman or childe. As they ſay that the worthy *Achilles* was killed by *Paris* within the very gates of TROIA. Now to the contrarie againe, the victories that *Sylla* wanne in ſet battells, and the thowſandes of enemies which he ſlue, are not eaſily to be numbred, beſides alſo that he tooke the city of ROME twiſe, and the hauen of ATHENS: not by famine as *Lyſander* did, but by force, after he had by many great battells driuen *Archelaus* out of firme land, into the maine ſea. It is to be conſidered alſo, againſt what Captaines they made warres. For me thinkes it was but a paſtime, as a mā might ſay, for *Lyſander* to fight with *Antiochus*, a pylot of *Alcibiades*, or to ſurpriſe and deceiue *Philocles*, a common orator at ATHENS,

Much vvorſe then tvvo edged ſvvord, his buſie tongue did ſeeme:
VVhich pratled ſtill, and honeſtie did neuer once eſteeme.

And whom *Mithridates* (in my opinion) would not vouchſafe to compare with his horſekeeper, nor *Marius* with one of his ſergeauntes or maſebearers. But to leaue aſide the particular names of all other Princes, Lordes, Conſulls, Prætors, Captaines, and Gouernors that made warres with *Sylla*: what ROMANE Captaine was there more to be feared, then *Marius*? what king liuing was there of ſuch power as king *Mithridates*? And of Generalls and Lieutenauntes of armies in all ITALIE, were there any euer more valliant, then *Lamponius* and *Theſinus*: of the which *Sylla* draue the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and ſlue the two laſt? But the greateſt matter of all that we haue ſpoken of yet, in my opinion was, that *Lyſander* did all his noble actes, with the aide of his whole contrie: where *Sylla* to the contrarie did his, (being baniſhed from his contry) by his enemies. And at the ſelfe ſame time that they draue *Syllaes* wife out of ROME, that they ouerthrewe his houſes, and ſlue his frendes alſo in ROME: he notwithſtanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thowſandes of fighting men in BOEOTIA, and ventred his perſon in manifold daungers, ſo that in the end he conquered them all to the honor & benefit of his contry. Furthermore, *Sylla* would neuer ſtoupe to king *Mithridates*, for any particular allyance he offred him, neither yeelde vnto him for any aide of men, or money, to warre againſt his enemies: but a thing moſt chiefely to be noted aboue the reſt, he would not vouchſafe to ſpeake to *Mithridates*, nor to take him by the hande onely, before he had ſpoken it with his owne mouth, and faithfully promiſed, that he would forgoe ASIA, deliuer him his gallies, and geue vp the realmes of BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA vnto their naturall kinges. This me thinkes was the goodlieſt act that euer *Sylla* did, and proceeded of the greateſt magnanimity, to haue preferred the benefit of the common wealth in that ſorte, before his priuate cōmodity. For therin he was like vnto a good greyhoūd that firſt

Sylla for wars to be preferred before Lyſander.

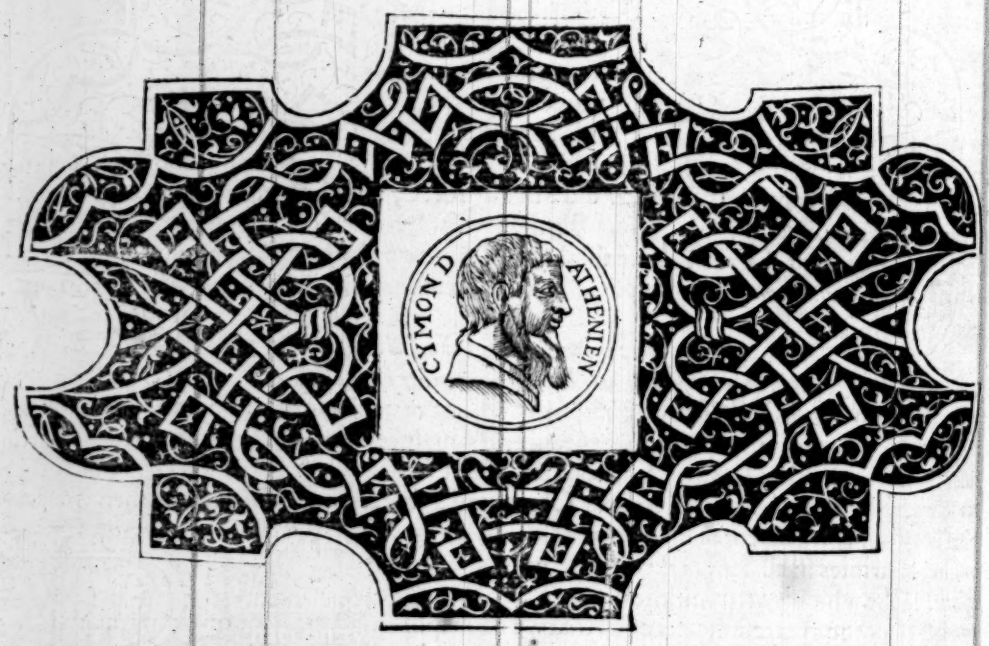
Sylla fought with men of greateſt power and ouercame them.

Syllaes magnanimity.

pincheth the deare, and holdeth him faſt, till he haue ouerthrowen him: and then afterwardes followeth the recouery of his owne priuate quarrell. And laſtly, me thinkes it is eaſily iudged, what difference there was betwene their two natures, in that they did both towardes the citie of ATHENS. For *Sylla* hauing taken it, after the citizens had made fierce warres with him for the increaſe of king *Mithridates* greatnes: yet he left it free vnto them, enioying their owne lawes. Where *Lyſander* to the contrary, ſeing ſuch a mighty ſtate and Empire as that, ouerthrowen from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but tooke away the libertie of popular gouernment, whereby it had bene gouerned of long time before: and eſtabliſhed there very cruell and wicked tyrans. And therfore in myne opinion, we ſhall not much ſwarue from troth, if we geue this iudgement: that *Sylla* did the greater acts: and *Lyſander* committed the fewer faultes. And that we geue to the one the honor of a continent and modeſt man: and to the other, the commendacion of a valliant and skilfull ſouldier.

Plutarkes iudgement of Sylla and Lyſander.

THE LIFE OF *Cimon.*



Peripoltas & his poſterity.

PEripoltas the Soothſayer, he that brought king *Opheltas* out of THESSALIE into the contry of BOEOTIA, with the people which were vndre his obedience: left a poſterity after him that long time floriſhed in that contry, the more parte of the which were euer reſident in the citty of CHÆRONEA, becauſe it was the firſt city that was cõquered from the barbarous people whom they expulſed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great corage, and naturally geuen to the warres: who were ſo forward and aduenturous in all daungers therof (in the inuaſions of the MEDES into GREECE, & in the bartells of the GAVLES) that they were ſlaine all of them, but onely *Damon* (a litle childe left fatherleſſe and motherleſſe) ſurnamed *Peripoltas* that eſcaped, who for goodly perſonage and noble corage excelled all the luſty youthes of his time, though otherwiſe he was very rude and of a ſeuere nature. Now it fortuned, that when *Damon* was growen of full age, a ROMANE Captaine of an enſigne of footemen (lying in garriſon for the winter ſeaſon in the citie of

The maners & lewd partes of Damon Peripoltas.

CHÆ

A CHÆRONEA) fell in great loue with *Damon*: and bicause he could not reape the frutes of his
dishoneſt loue by no intreaty nor giftes, there appeared vehement preſumptions that by force
he went about to abuſe him, for that CHÆRONEA at that time (being my naturall city where I
was borne) was a ſmall thing, and (being of no ſtrength nor power) little regarded. *Damon* miſ-
truſting the Captaines villanie, and deteſting his abhominable deſire watched him a ſhrewd
turne, and got certaine of his companions (not many in number, bicauſe he might the more
ſecretly compaſſe his enterpriſe) to be a counſel with him, and take his parte againſt the Cap-
taine. Now there were a ſixteene of them in conſort together, that one night blacked their
faces all with ſoote, & the next morning after they had dronke together, by the breake of day
ſet vpon this ROMANE Captaine, that was making ſacrifice in the market place, and ſlue him
B with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the citie, which was
ſtraight in a great vprore for the murther committed. Thereuppon they called a counſell, and
in the market place condemned *Damon* and his confederates to ſuffer paines of death: hoping
thereby to haue cleared their innocencie for the fact done to the ROMAINES. But the ſelfe
ſame night, as all the magiſtrates and officers of the city were at ſupper together in the towne
houſe according to their cuſtome: *Damon* & his followers ſtale vpon them ſodainly, ſlue them
all, & fled againe vpon it. It chaunſed about that time, that *Lucius Lucullus* being ſent on ſome
iorney, paſſed by the city of CHÆRONEA with his army: & bicauſe this murther was but new-
ly done, he ſtayed there a few dayes to examine the troth & originall thereof. And found that
the commons of the citie were in no fault, but that they them ſelues alſo had receiued hurte:
C wherupon he tooke the ſouldiers of the ROMANES that remained of the garriſon, & caried thē
away with him. In the meane time, *Damon* deſtroyed all the contry thereabout, and ſtill houe-
red neere to the citie, inſomuch as the inhabitantes of the ſame were driuen in the end to ſend
vnto him, and by gentle wordes and fauorable decrees handled him ſo, that they intyſed him
to come againe into the city: and when they had him amongeſt them, they choſe him Gym-
naſiarchus, to ſay, a maſter of exerciſes of youth. But ſhortly after, as they were rubbing of him
with oyle in his ſtooue or hotte houſe, ſtarke naked as he was, they ſlue him by treaſon. And
bicauſe that there appeared ſprights of long time after in that place, & that there were heard
gronings & ſighings as our fathers tolde vs, they cauſed the dore of the hotte houſe to be wal-
led vp: yet for all that, there are viſions ſeene, and terrible voyces and cries heard in that ſelfe
D place vnto this preſent time, as the neighbours dwellinge by doe teſtifie. Now they that were
diſcended of this *Damon* (for there are yet of his race in the contrie of PHOCIDES, neere vnto
the citie of STIRIS, who do only of all other both keepe the language and maners of the Æ-
TOLIANS) are called ASBOLOMENI, ſignifyinge blacke, and beſmered with ſoote: bicauſe
that *Damon* and his fellowes did blacke their faces with ſoote, when they ſlue the ROMANE
Captaine. But the ORCHOMENIANS being neere neighbors vnto the CHÆRONEIANS, and
therfore their enemies, hyered an informer of ROME, a malitious accuſer, to accuſe the whole
citie, (as if it had bene one priuate perſon alone) for the murther of the ROMANES, whome
Damon and his companions had ſlaine. The inditement was drawen, and the caſe pleaded be-
fore the gouernor of MACEDON, for that the ROMANES did ſend no gouernors at that time
E into GREECE: and the counſellers that pleaded for the citie of CHÆRONEA, relied vpon the
teſtimonie of *Lucius Lucullus*, referring them ſelues to his reporte, who knew the troth, & how
it was. Thereupon the gouernor wrote vnto him, and *Lucullus* in his letter of aunſwere aduer-
tiſed the very troth: ſo was our city cleared of the accuſation, which otherwiſe ſtoode in daun-
ger of vtter deſtruction. The inhabitantes of the city of CHÆRONEA, for that they had eſca-
ped the daunger by teſtimonie of *Lucius Lucullus*, to honor him withall, they ſet vp his image
in ſtone in the market place next vnto the image of *Bacchus*. And we alſo that be liuing at this
preſent, though many yeares be gone and paſſed ſence, do notwithſtanding recken our ſelues
partakers of his forepaſſed benefit. And bicauſe we are perſwaded, that the image and por-
traiture that maketh vs acquainted with mens manners and condicions, is farre more excel-
F lent, then the picture that repreſenteth any mans perſon or ſhape only: we will comprehend
his life and doinges according to the troth, in this volume of noble mens liues, where we doe
compare and forte them one with an other. It ſhalbe ſufficient for vs therefore, that we ſhew

Lucius Lucullus examineth the troth of the murther.

Damon ſlaine by treaſon.

Asbolomeni, who they were, and why ſo called.

Chæronea indited for the murther.

Lucullus called for a witneſſe of the troth.

Hiſtorie, is a certaine image of mens manners and wiſedom.

our ſelues thankefull for his benefit, and we thinke, that he himſelfe would miſlike for reward of his true teſtimonie, to be requited with a fauorable lye told in his behalfe. But like as when we will haue a paſſinge fayer face drawen, and liuely counterfeated, and that hath an excellent good grace withall, yet ſome manner of bleamiſhe or imperfection in it: we will not allowe the drawer to leaue it out altogether, nor yet too curiouſly to ſhewe it, bicauſe the one would deforme the counterfeate, and the other make it very vnlikely. Euen ſo, bicauſe it is a hard thing (or to ſay better, peraduenture impoſſible) to deſcribe a man, whoſe life ſhould altogether be innocent, and perfect: we muſt firſt ſtudy to wryte his vertues at large, and thereby ſeeke perfectly to repreſent the troth, euen as the life it ſelfe. But where by chaūce we finde certaine faultes and errors in their doinges, proceeding either of paſſion of the minde, by neceſſity of the time or ſtate of the common wealth: they are rather to be thought imperfectiōs of vertue not altogether accompliſhed, then any purpoſed wickednes proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we ſhall not neede too curiouſly to expreſſe in our hiſtory, but rather to paſſe them lightly ouer, of reuerent ſhame to the meere frayelty of mans nature, which can not bringe foorth a man of ſuch vertue and perfection, but there is euer ſome imperfection in him. And therefore, conſidering with my ſelfe vnto whome I might compare *Lucullus*, I thought it beſt to compare him with *Cimon*, bicauſe they haue bene both valliant ſouldiers againſt their enemies, hauing both done notable exploytes in warres againſt the barbarous people: and moreouer, they haue both bene curteous & mercifull vnto their citizens, & were both the only men that pacified the ciuill warres and diſſention in their contrie, and both the one & the other of them wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was neuer GREECIAN Captaine before *Cimon*, nor ROMANE Captaine before *Lucullus*, that had made warres ſo farre of from their contrie leauing a parte the deedes of *Bacchus* and of *Hercules*, and the deedes alſo of *Perſeus*, againſt the ÆTHIOPIANS, the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS, and the deedes of *Iaſon* alſo: if there remaine any monument extant ſince their time, worthie of credit in theſe our dayes. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together: that they neuer ended their warres, they only ouerthrewe their enemies, but neuer ouercame them altogether. Againe, they may note in them a great reſemblaunce of nature, for their honeſtie, curteſie and humanitie, which they ſhewed vnto ſtraungers in their contrie: and for the magnificence and ſumptuouſnes of their life and ordinarie expence. It may be we doe leaue out ſome other ſimilitudes betwene them: howbeit in the diſcourſe of their liues they will eaſily appeare. *Cimon* was the ſonne of *Miltiades* and of *Hegeſipyle*, a THRACIAN woman borne, and the daughter of king *Olorus*, as we finde wrytten in certaine poeticall verſes which *Melanthius* and *Archelaus* haue wrytten of *Cimon*. The father of *Thucydides* the hiſtoriographer him ſelfe, who was of kinne alſo vnto *Cimon*, was called in like manner *Olorus*, ſhowing by the agreeing of the name, that this king *Olorus* was one of his auncеſters, and did alſo poſſeſſe mines of gold in the contry of THRACIA. It is ſayd moreouer that he dyed in a certaine place called the ditchie forreſt, where he was ſlaine: howbeit that his aſhes and bones were caried into the contrie of ATTICA, where his tombe appeareth yet to this day, amongeſt the tombes of them of the houſe and family of *Cimon*, neere vnto the tombe of *Cimons* owne ſiſter called *Elpinicè*. Notwithſtanding, *Thucydides* was of the village of ALIMVS, and *Miltiades* of the village of LACIA. This *Miltiades Cimons* father, being condemned by the ſtate to pay the ſumme of fifty talentes, was for non payment caſt into priſon, and there dyed: and left *Cimon* and his ſiſter *Elpinicè* aliue, both Orphanes, and very young. Now, *Cimon* in his firſt young yeares had a very ill name and reporte in the city, being counted a riotous young man, & a great drinker, following his grandfather *Cimons* facions vp and downe, as he had alſo his name: ſauing that his grandfather for his beaſtlines was ſurnamed *Coalemos*, as much to ſay as foole. *Steſimbrotus* THASIAN, who was about *Cimons* time, wryteth, that *Cimon* neuer learned muſike, nor any other of the liberall ſciences accuſtomably taught to young noble mens ſonnes of GREECE, & that he had no ſharpe wit, nor good grace of ſpeaking, a vertue proper vnto children borne in the contry of ATTICA: howbeit that he was of a noble minde, and plaine, without diſſimulacion, ſo that he rather liued PELOPONNESIAN like, then like an ATHENIAN. For he was euen ſuch as the Poet *Euripides* deſcribed *Hercules* to be:

A very ſimilitude.

Howe to deſcribe the life of a man.

Cimon, & Lucullus in what thinges they were like.

Cimons linadge.

Thucidydes linadge.

Miltiades died in priſon.

Cimon defamed in his youth Coalemos, foole.

Cimons condicions.

A ſimple man he vvas, and could not vvell diſguiſe:
As honeſt eke in thinges of vveight, as vvit could vvell deuiſe.

This ſerued fitly to be applied vnto *Steſimbrotus* wordes wrytten of him: but notwithſtanding, in his firſt younge yeares he was ſuſpected of incontinency with his ſiſter, who in deede otherwiſe had no very good name. For ſhe was very familiar with the painter *Polygnotus*, who painting the TROIAN Ladies priſoners, vpon the walls of the gallery, called the Pleſianaction, and now *Pœcile*: (to ſay, ſet out and beawtified with diuers pictures) he drue (as they ſay) LAODICES face vpon *Elpinices* picture. This painter *Polygnotus* was no common artificer nor hierling, that painted this gallery for moneys ſake, but gaue his labor franckely to the common wealth, as all the hiſtoriographers that wrote in that time do witneſſe: and as the Poet *Melanthius* alſo reciteth in theſe verſes:

Elpinicè Cimons ſiſter vnchaſt.

Polygnotus the painter.

At his ovvne proper charge, great coſt he hath beſtovved
In decking vp our temples here vvith gilted roofes embovved,
For honor of the goddes. And in our tovvne likevviſe,
He hath adornd the common place, vvith many a fine deuiſe.
Painting and ſetting forth, in ſtately ſhovv to ſee,
The images of demy goddes that here amongeſt vs be.

Yet ſome ſay that *Elpinicè* did not ſecretly companie with her brother *Cimon*, but lay with him openly as his lawfull maried wife, bicauſe ſhe could not for her pouerty haue a husband of like nobilitie and parentage to her ſelfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called *Callias*, being one of the richeſt men of the citie, did afterwardes fall in fantſie with her, and deſired to mary her, offering to pay her father *Miltiades* fine of fiftie talents, wherein he ſtoode condemned a debter to the ſtate, ſo that he might haue her to his wife. *Cimon* was contented, and vppon that condicion maried his ſiſter *Elpinice* vnto *Callias*. This notwithſtandinge, it is certaine that *Cimon* was ſomewhat amorous, and geuen to loue women. For *Melanthius* the Poet in certaine of his elegies, maketh mencion for his pleaſure of one *Aſteria* borne at SALAMINA, and of an other called *Mneſtra*, as if *Cimon* had bene in loue with them. But vndoutedly, he loued his lawefull wife *Iſodice* maruelous well, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, *Megacles* ſonne, and tooke her death very grieuouſlie, as we may coniecture by the elegies that were wrytten vnto him, to comforte him in his ſorowe. *Panætius* the Philoſopher is of opinion, that *Archelaus* the Phiſitian wrote thoſe elegies: and ſure it is not vnlikely, conſidering the time in which they were wrytten. But furthermore, *Cimons* nature and condicions deſerued great commendacion. For his valliantneſſe he gaue no place vnto *Miltiades*, and for his wiſedome and iudgement, he was not inferior vnto *Themiſtocles*: and it is out of all doubt that he was a iuſter and honeſter man, then either of them both. For he was equall with the beſt of either of both in the diſcipline of warres, and for the valliantneſſe of a noble Captaine: and he did much excell them both in the properties of a good gouernor, and in thadminiſtracion of the affayres of a citie, when he was but a younge man, and had no experience of warres. For when *Themiſtocles* at the comminge in of the MEDES counſelled the people of ATHENS to goe out of the citie, to leaue their landes and contrie, and to ſhippe into gallies, and fight with the barbarous people by ſea in the ſtraight of SALAMINA: as euerie man was wonderinge at his bolde and venturous counſell, *Cimon* was the firſt man that went with a life and iolitie through the ſtreete *Ceramicus*, vnto the caſtell, accompanied with his younge familiars and companions, caryinge a birte of a bridle in his hande to conſecrate vnto the goddeſſe *Minerua*, ſignifyinge thereby, that the citie had no neede of horſemen at that time, but of mariners and ſea men. And after he had geuen vp his offering, he tooke one of the targettes that honge vppon the wall of the temple, and hauinge made his prayer vnto *Minerua*, came downe to the hauen, and was the firſt that made the moſt parte of the citizens to take a good harte to them, and coragiouſly to leaue the land, and take the ſea. Beſides all this, he was a man of a goodly ſtature, as *Ion* the Poet teſtifieth, and had a fayer curled heare and thicke, and fought ſo valliantlie at the day of the battell, that he wanne immediatly great reputacion, with the loue and good will of euerie man. So that many were ſtill about him to encorage him, to be liuely and valliant, and to thinke thence

Elpinicè being poore, had regarde to matche accordinge to her ſtate & calling.

Cimon ſubiect to laſciuious life.

The praiſe of Cimons condicions.

Cimons perſonage commended.

foorth to doe ſome actes worthie of the glorie that his father had gotten at the battell of MARATHON. And afterwardes, ſo ſoone as he beganne to deale in matters of ſtate, the people were maruelous glad of him, and were wearied with *Themiſtocles*: by meanes whereof *Cimon* was preſently aduaunced and preferred, to the chiefeſt offices of honor in the citie, being very well thought on of the common people, bicauſe of his ſoft and plaine nature. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* alſo did greatlie furder his aduauncement, bicauſe he ſawe him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would vſe him as a countrepeaſe to controll *Themiſtocles* craft and ſtowtneiſe. Wherefore after the MEDES were fled out of GREECE, *Cimon* being ſent for by the ATHENIANS for their generall by ſea, when the citie of ATHENS had then no manner of rule nor commaundement, but followed kinge *Pauſanias* and the LACEDÆMONIANS: he euer kept his contrie men and citizens in maruelous good order in all the viages he made, and they were readier to doe good ſeruice, then any other nation in the whole armie whatſoeuer. And when kinge *Pauſanias* had practiſed with the barbarous people to betraye GREECE, had wrytten alſo to the kinge of PERSIA about it, and in the meane time delt very cruelly and ſtraightly with the confederates of his contry, and committed many inſolent partes by reaſon of the great authority he had, & through his fooliſh pride whereof he was full: *Cimon* farre otherwiſe, gently entertained them whom *Pauſanias* iniured, and was willing to heare them. So that by this his curteous manner, the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing no eye to his doinges, he ſtale away the rule and commaundement of all GREECE from them, & brought the ATHENIANS to be ſole Lordes of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his ſweete tongue, and gracious manner of vſing all men. For the moſt parte of the confederates being no lenger able to away with *Pauſanias* pride and cruelty, came willingly and ſubmitted them ſelues vnder the protection of *Cimon* and *Ariſtides*: who did not only receiue them, but wrote alſo to the counſell of the Ephores at LACEDÆMON, that they ſhould call *Pauſanias* home, for that he diſhonored SPARTA, and put all GREECE to much trouble and warres. And for proofe hereof, they ſay that king *Pauſanias* being on a time in the citie of BYZANCE, ſent for *Cleonice*, a young maiden of a noble houſe, to take his pleaſure of her. Her parentes durſt not keepe her from him, by reaſon of his crueltie, but ſuffered him to cary her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the groomes of *Pauſanias* chamber to take away the lightes, and thinking in the darke to come to *Pauſanias* bed that was a ſleepe, groping for the bed as ſoftly as ſhe could to make no noyſe, ſhe vnfortunately hit againſt the lampe, and ouerthrew it. The falling of the lampe made ſuch a noyſe, that it waked him on the ſodaine, and thought ſtraight therewithall that ſome of his enemies had bene comen traiterouſly to kill him, wherupon he tooke his dagger lying vnder his beddes head, and ſo ſtabbed it in the young virgine, that ſhe dyed immediatly vpon it. Howbeit ſhe neuer let *Pauſanias* take reſt after that, bicauſe her ſpirite came euery night and appeared vnto him, as he would faine haue ſlept, and ſpake this angrily to him in verſe, as followeth:

Cimon Generall for the Athenians by ſea.

King Pauſanias through his inſolency and pride, loſt the Lacedæmonians all their rule of Greece.

Pauſanias killed the young Byzantine virgine.

Keepe thou thy ſelfe vpright, and iuſtice ſee thou feare,
For woe and ſhame be vnto him, that iuſtice downe doth beare.

This vile fact of his did ſo ſtirre vp all the confederates hartes againſt him, that they came to beſiege him in BIZANTIVM vnder the conduction of *Cimon*: from whom notwithſtanding he eſcaped, and ſecretly ſaued him ſelfe. And bicauſe that this maidens ſpirite would neuer let him reſt, but vexed him continually: he fled vnto the city of HERACLEA, where there was a temple that coniured dead ſpirites, & there was the ſpirite of *Cleonice* coniured, to pray her to be contented. So ſhe appeared vnto him, & told him that he ſhould be deliuered of all his troubles ſo ſoone as he came to SPARTA: ſignifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he ſhould ſuffer there. Diuers wryters do thus reporte it. *Cimon* being accompanied with the confederates of the GREECIANS, which were come to him to take his parte: was aduertiſed that certaine great men of PERSIA, & allyed to the king himſelfe, who kept the city of EIONE, vpon the riuer of Strymon in the contrie of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage vnto the GREECIANS inhabiting thereabouts. Vpon which intelligence he tooke the ſea with his armie, and went thither, where at his firſt comming he vanquiſhed and ouerthrewe the barbarous people in battell: & hauinge ouerthrowen them, draue all the reſt into the city of EIONE.

Cimons iorney and victorie in Thracia.

That

A That done, he went to inuade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other ſide of the riuer of Strymon, who did commonly vittell them of EIONE: and hauing driuen them to forſake the contrie, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole him ſelfe. Whereupon he held them that were beſieged at EIONE ſo ſtraightly from vittells, that *Butes* the king of PERSIABS Lieutenaunt, diſpayringe of the ſtate of the citie, ſet fire on the ſame, and burnt him ſelfe, his frendes, and all the goodes in it. By reaſon whereof, the ſpoyle taken in that citie was but ſmall, biecauſe the barbarous people burnt all the beſt thinges in it with them ſelues: howebeit he conquered the contrie thereaboutes, and gaue it the ATHENIANS to inhabite, being a verie pleaſaunte and fertyle ſoyle. In memorie whereof, the people of ATHENS ſuffered him to conſecrate and ſet vp openly three Hermes of ſtone, (which are foure ſquare pillers) vpon
B the toppes of the which they ſet vp heades of *Mercurye*: vpon the firſt of the three pillers, this inſcription is grauen.

Butes burneth him ſelfe, citie, and frendes, for feare of Cimon.

Statues of Mercury.

The people truely vvere, of corage ſtovvte and fierce,
VVho hauing shut the Medes faſt vp (as ſtories do rehearce)
VVithin the vvalled tovvne, of Eione that tyde,
VVhich on the ſtreame of Strymon ſtands: they made them there abide
The force of famines pinche, and therevvith made them feele,
The dynte of vvarre ſo many a time, vvith truſty tooles of ſteele,
Till in the end diſpaire, ſo pearced in their thought,
As there they did deſtroy them ſelues, and ſo vvere brought to nought.

C Vpon the ſecond there is ſuch an other.

The citizens vvhich dvvell, in Athens ſtately tovvne,
Haue here ſet vp theſe monuments, and pictures of renovvne.
To honor ſo the facts, and celebrate the fame,
Their valliant chieftaines did achieue, in many a marſhall game.
That ſuch as after come, vvhen they thereby perceiue,
Hovv men of ſeruice for their deedes, did rich revvards receiue,
Encoraged may be, ſuch men for to reſemble,
In valliant acts, and dreadfull deedes, vvhich make their foes to tremble.

And vpon the third an other.

D *VVhen Mneſtheus did lead forth of this citie here,*
An armie to the Troyane vvarres, (by Homer doth appeare)
He vvas aboue the reſt, that out of Græcia vvent:
A valliant knight, a vvorthy vvight, a Captaine excellent.
To take in hand the charge, an army for to guide:
And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide.
That praiſe of provveſſe then, (o graue Atheniens)
Is novv no nevves to fill the eares of theſe your citizens.
Since through the vvorld ſo vvide, the fame and vvorthy praiſe,
For marſhall feates, to you of yore hath iudged beene alvvayes.

E Now, though *Cimons* name be not compriſed in theſe inſcriptions, yet they thought that this was a ſingular honor to him at that time: for neither *Miltiades* nor *Themiſtocles* had euer the like. For when *Miltiades* requeſted the people one day that they woulde licence him to weare a garland of olyue boughes vpon his head: there was one *Sochares*, borne in the towne of DECELEA, that ſtanding vp in open aſſembly ſpake againſt him, and ſayd a thing that marueloufly pleaſed the people, though in deede it was an vnthankeful recompence for the good ſeruice, he had done to the common wealth. When you haue *Miltiades*, (ſayd he) ouercome the barbarous people alone in battell, then aske to be honored alone alſo. But howe was it then, that *Cimons* ſeruice was ſo acceptable to the ATHENIANS? Yt was in myne opinion, bicauſe they had with other Captaines fought to defende them ſelues and their contrie
F onely: and that vnder the conduction of *Cimon*, they had aſſulted and driuen their enemies home to their owne dores, where they conquered the cities of EIONE and of *Amphipolis*,

Sochares Decelean, ſpake againſt Miltiades requeſt for the garland of Olyue boughes.

foorth to doe ſome actes worthie of the glorie that his father had gotten at the battell of MARATHON. And afterwardes, ſo ſoone as he beganne to deale in matters of ſtate, the people were maruelous glad of him, and were wearied with *Themiſtocles*: by meanes whereof *Cimon* was preſently aduaunced and preferred, to the chiefeſt offices of honor in the citie, being very well thought on of the common people, bicauſe of his ſoft and plaine nature. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* alſo did greatlie furder his aduauncement, bicauſe he ſawe him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would vſe him as a countrepeaſe to controll *Themiſtocles* craft and ſtowtneſſe. Wherefore after the MEDES were fled out of GREECE, *Cimon* being ſent for by the ATHENIANS for their generall by ſea, when the citie of ATHENS had then no manner of rule nor commaundement, but followed kinge *Pauſanias* and the LACEDÆMONIANS: he euer kept his contrie men and citizens in maruelous good order in all the viages he made, and they were readier to doe good ſeruice, then any other nation in the whole armie whatſoeuer. And when kinge *Pauſanias* had practiſed with the barbarous people to betraye GREECE, had wrytten alſo to the kinge of PERSIA about it, and in the meane time delt very cruelly and ſtraightly with the confederates of his contry, and committed many inſolent partes by reaſon of the great authority he had, & through his fooliſh pride whereof he was full: *Cimon* farre otherwiſe, gently entertained them whom *Pauſanias* iniured, and was willing to heare them. So that by this his curteous manner, the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing no eye to his doinges, he ſtale away the rule and commaundement of all GREECE from them, & brought the ATHENIANS to be ſole Lordes of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his ſweete tongue, and gracious manner of vſing all men. For the moſt parte of the confederates being no lenger able to away with *Pauſanias* pride and cruelty, came willingly and ſubmitted them ſelues vnder the protection of *Cimon* and *Ariſtides*: who did not only receiue them, but wrote alſo to the counſell of the Ephores at LACEDÆMON, that they ſhould call *Pauſanias* home, for that he diſhonored SPARTA, and put all GREECE to much trouble and warres. And for proofe hereof, they ſay that king *Pauſanias* being on a time in the citie of BYZANCE, ſent for *Cleonice*, a young maiden of a noble houſe, to take his pleaſure of her. Her parentes durſt not keepe her from him, by reaſon of his crueltie, but ſuffered him to cary her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the groomes of *Pauſanias* chamber to take away the lightes, and thinking in the darke to come to *Pauſanias* bed that was a ſleepe, groping for the bed as ſoftly as ſhe could to make no noyſe, ſhe vnfortunately hit againſt the lampe, and ouerthrew it. The falling of the lampe made ſuch a noyſe, that it waked him on the ſodaine, and thought ſtraight therewithall that ſome of his enemies had bene comen traiterouſly to kill him, wherupon he tooke his dagger lying vnder his beddes head, and ſo ſtabbed it in the young virgine, that ſhe dyed immediatly vpon it. How beit ſhe neuer let *Pauſanias* take reſt after that, bicauſe her ſpirite came euery night and appeared vnto him, as he would faine haue ſlept, and ſpake this angrily to him in verſe, as followeth:

Cimon Generall for the Athenians by ſea.

King Pauſanias through his inſolency and pride, loſt the Lacedæmonians all their rule of Greece.

Pauſanias killed the young Bizantine virgine.

Keepe thou thy ſelfe vpright, and iuſtice ſee thou feare,
For vvoe and ſhame be vnto him, that iuſtice dovvne doth beare.

This vile fact of his did ſo ſtirre vp all the confederates hartes againſt him, that they came to beſiege him in BIZANTIVM vnder the conduction of *Cimon*: from whom notwithſtanding he eſcaped, and ſecretly ſaued him ſelfe. And bicauſe that this maidens ſpirite would neuer let him reſt, but vexed him continually: he fled vnto the city of HERACLEA, where there was a temple that coniured dead ſpirites, & there was the ſpirite of *Cleonice* coniured, to pray her to be contented. So ſhe appeared vnto him, & told him that he ſhould be deliuered of all his troubles ſo ſoone as he came to SPARTA: ſignifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he ſhould ſuffer there. Diuers wryters do thus reporte it. *Cimon* being accompanied with the confederates of the GREECIANS, which were come to him to take his parte: was aduertiſed that certaine great men of PERSIA, & allyed to the king himſelfe, who kept the city of EION, vpon the riuer of Strymon in the contrie of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage vnto the GREECIANS inhabiting thereabouts. Vpon which intelligence he tooke the ſea with his armie, and went thither, where at his firſt comming he vanquiſhed and ouerthrewe the barbarous people in battell: & hauinge ouerthrowen them, draue all the reſt into the city of EION.

Cimons iornay and victorie in Thracia.

That

A That done, he went to inuade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other ſide of the riuer of Strymon, who did commonly vittell them of EIONE: and hauing driuen them to forſake the contrie, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole him ſelfe. Whereupon he held them that were beſieged at EIONE ſo ſtraightly from vittells, that *Butes* the king of PERSIABS Lieutenaunt, diſpayringe of the ſtate of the citie, ſet fire on the ſame, and burnt him ſelfe, his frendes, and all the goodes in it. By reaſon whereof, the ſpoyle taken in that citie was but ſmall, biB cauſe the barbarous people burnt all the beſt thinges in it with them ſelues: howebeit he conquered the contrie thereaboutes, and gaue it the ATHENIANS to inhabite, being a verie pleaſaunte and fertyle ſoyle. In memorie whereof, the people of ATHENS ſuffered him to conſecrate and ſet vp openly threé Hermes of ſtone, (which are foure ſquare pillers) vpon the toppes of the which they ſet vp heades of *Mercurye*: vpon the firſt of the three pillers, this inſcription is grauen.

Butes banneth him ſelfe, city, and frendes, for feare of Cimon.

Statues of Mercury.

The people truely vvere, of corage ſtovvte and fierce,
VVho hauing shut the Medes faſt vp (as ſtories do rehearce)
VVithin the vvalled tovvne, of Eione that tyde,
VVhich on the ſtreame of Strymon ſtands: they made them there abide
The force of famines pinche, and therevvith made them feele,
The dynte of vvarre ſo many a time, vvith truſty tooles of ſteele,
Till in the end diſpaire, ſo pearced in their thought,
As there they did deſtroy them ſelues, and ſo vvere brought to nought.

C Vpon the ſecond there is ſuch an other.

The citizens vvhich dvvell, in Athens ſtately tovvne,
Haue here ſet vp theſe monuments, and pictures of renovvne.
To honor ſo the facts, and celebrate the fame,
Their valliant chieftaines did achieue, in many a marshall game.
That ſuch as after come, vvhen they thereby perceiue,
Hovv men of ſeruice for their deedes, did rich revvards receiue,
Encoraged may be, ſuch men for to reſemble,
In valliant acts, and dreadfull deedes, vvhich make their foes to tremble.

And vpon the third an other.

D *VVhen Mneſtheus did lead forth of this citie here,*
An armie to the Troyane vvarres, (by Homer doth appeare)
He vvas aboue the reſt, that out of Gracia vvent:
A valliant knight, a vvorthy vvight, a Captaine excellent.
To take in hand the charge, an army for to guide:
And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide.
That praiſe of provveſſe then, (o graue Atheniens)
Is novv no nevves to fill the eares of theſe your citizens.
Since through the vvorld ſo vvide, the fame and vvorthy praiſe,
For marshall feates, to you of yore hath iudged beene alvvayes.

E Now, though *Cimons* name be not compriſed in theſe inſcriptions, yet they thought that this was a ſingular honor to him at that time: for neither *Miltiades* nor *Themiſtocles* had euer the like. For when *Miltiades* requeſted the people one day that they woulde licence him to weare a garland of olyue boughes vpon his head: there was one *Sochares*, borne in the towne of DECELEA, that ſtanding vp in open aſſembly ſpake againſt him, and ſayd a thing that marueloully pleaſed the people, though in deede it was an vnthankeful recompence for the good ſeruice, he had done to the common wealth. When you haue *Miltiades*, (ſayd he) ouercome the barbarous people alone in battell, then aske to be honored alone alſo. But howe was it then, that *Cimons* ſeruice was ſo acceptable to the ATHENIANS? Yt was in myne opinion, bicauſe they had with other Captaines fought to defende them ſelues and their contrie F onely: and that vnder the conduction of *Cimon*, they had aſſulted and driuen their enemies home to their owne dores, where they conquered the cities of EIONE and of *Amphipolis*,

Sochares Decelean, ſpake againſt Miltiades requeſt for the garland of Olyue boughes.

which afterwardes they did inhabite with their owne citizens, and wanne there alſo the Ile of A
Cimon wanne the Ile of Scyros.
Scyros, which *Cimon* tooke vpon this occaſion. The Dolopians did inhabite it, who were idle people, and liued without labor or tillage, and had bene rouers of the ſea of a wonderfull long time, vſing pyracie altogether to maintaine them ſelues withall: ſo that in the end they ſpared not ſo much as the marchaũts & paſſengers that harbored in their hauens, but robbed certaine Thessalians that went thither to trafficke. And when they had taken their goodes from thẽ, yet would they caſt them in priſon beſides. Howbeit the priſoners found meanes to eſcape, & after they had ſaued them ſelues, repayred to the parlament of the Amphictyons,
The counſell of the Amphictyons.
which is a generall counſell of all the ſtates and people of Greece. The Amphictyons vnderſtandinge the matter, condemned the citie of the Scyrians to pay a great ſumme of money. The citizens refuſed to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, & bad them that B robbed the marchauntes and had the goodes in their handes, pay it if they would. And therfore, bicauſe there was no other likelyhood, but that the theeues them ſelues ſhould be driuen to aunſwer the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters vnto *Cimon*, and willed him to come with his army, and they would deliuer their city into his handes: the which was performed. And thus *Cimon* hauing cõquered this Iland, draue out the Dolopians thence, & ryd the ſea Ægeum of all pirates therby. That done, remembring that the auncient *Theſeus*, the ſonne of *Aegeus*, flying from Athens came into that Iland of Scyros, where king *Lycomedes* ſuſpecting his comming had traiterouſly ſlaine him. *Cimon* was maruelous carefull to ſeeke out his tombe, bicauſe the Athenians had an oracle and prophecie, that commaunded them to bring his aſhes and bones backe againe to Athens, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knewe C not where he was buried, for that the inhabitantes of the Ilande would neuer before confeſſe where it was, nor ſuffer any man to ſeeke it out, till he at the laſt with much a doe founde the
Theſeus bones brought to Athens 400. yeres after his death by Cimon.
tombe, put his bones abord the Admirall galley ſumptuouſly decked and ſet foorth, and ſo brought them againe into his contry, foure hundred yeares after *Theſeus* death. For this, the people thanked him maruelouſly, and thereby he wanne exceedingly the Athenians good willes: and in memorie of him they celebrated the iudgement of the tragicall playes of the Poets. For when *Sophocles* the Poet, being a young man had played his firſt tragedy, *Aphepſion*
Sophocles and AEſchylus contenſion for victory.
the preſident perceiuinge there was great ſtrife and contention amongeſt the lookers on, would not draw them by lottes that ſhould be iudges of this play, to geue the victorie vnto that Poet that had beſt deſerued: but when *Cimon* & the other Captaines were come into the D Theater to ſee the ſame, (after they had made their accuſtomed oblatiõs vnto the god, in honor of whom theſe playes were celebrated) he ſtayed, and made them to miniſter an othe vnto tenne, (which were of euery tribe of the people, one) and the othe being geuen, he cauſed thẽ to ſit as iudges to geue ſentẽce, which of the Poets ſhould cary away the priſe. This made all the Poetes ſtriue and contend who beſt ſhoulde doe, for the honor of the iudges: but *Sophocles*, by their ſentence bare away the victory. But *AEſchilus* (as they ſay) was ſo angry and grieued withall, that he taried not long after in Athens, and went for ſpight into Sicilia,
AEſchylus ouercome by Sophocles, dwelleth in Sicilia, and dyeth there.
where he dyed and was buried neere vnto the citie of Gela. *Ion* wryteth that he being but a young boy, newly come from Chio vnto Athens, ſupped one night with *Cimon* at *Laomedons* houſe, and that after ſupper when they had geuen the goddes thankes, *Cimon* was intreated by the company to ſing. And he did ſing with ſo good a grace, that euery man praiſed him E
Cimon ſang paſſing ſweetly.
that heard him, & ſayd he was more curteous then *Themiſtocles* farre: who being in like company, and requeſted alſo to play vpon the citherne, aunſwered them, he was neuer taught to ſing nor play vpon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich and mighty city. After that done, the company diſcourſing from one matter to an other, as it falleth out commonly in ſpeeche, they entred in talke of *Cimons* doinges: and hauing rehearſed the chiefeſt of them, he him ſelfe told one, which was the notableſt and wiſeſt parte of all the reſt that euer he played. For the Athenians and their confederates together, hauing taken a great number of barbarous people priſoners, in the cities of Sestos and of Bizantivm: the confederates to honor him withall, gaue him the preheminence to deuide the ſpoyle a- F
Cimons cunning diuiſion of the ſpoyle.
mongeſt them. Whereuppon he made the diuiſion, and ſet out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by them ſelues, and layed the ſpoyles and their apparell by them ſelues. The

confe-

A confederates founde this diſtribution very vnequall: but neuertheleſſe *Cimon* gaue them the choyce to chooſe which of the two they would, and that the ATHENIANS ſhould be contented with that which they left. So there was a SAMIAN Captaine called *Herophytus*, that gaue the confederats counſel rather to take the ſpoiles of the PERSIANS, then the PERSIANS themſelues, and ſo they did: for they tooke the ſpoile of the priſoners goodes and apparell, and left the men vnto the ATHENIANS. Wherupon *Cimon* was thought at that time of the common ſouldiers to be but an ill deuider of ſpoyle, bicauſe that the confederats caried away great ſtore of chaines, karkanets, and braſelets of gold, & goodly rich purple apparell after the PERSIAN facion: and the ATHENIANS brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and vnacquainted with paine and labor. But ſhortly after, the parentes and frendes of theſe priſoners, came

B out of PHRYGIA and LYDIA, and redeemed euery man of them at a great raunſome: ſo that *Cimon* gathered ſuch a maſſe of readie money together by their raunſome, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his gallies with the ſame, for the ſpace of foure monethes after, and left a great ſumme of money beſides in the ſparing treaſure of ATHENS. *Cimon* by this meanes being nowe become riche, beſtowed the goodes which he had thus honorably gotten from the barbarous people, more honorably againe, in relieuing his poore decayed citizens. For he brake vp all his hedges and incloſures, and layed them plaine and open, that trauellers paſſing by, and his owne poore citizens, might take as much frute thereof as they would, without any maner daunger. And furthermore, kept a continuall table in his houſe, not furniſhed with many diſhes, but with meate ſufficient for many perſons, and where his poore contrie men were

C dayly refreſhed, that would come vnto that ordinary: ſo as they needed not otherwiſe care to labor for their liuing, but might be the readier, & haue the more leaſure to ſerue the common wealth. Yet *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher wryteth, that it was not for all the ATHENIANS indifferently, that he kept this ordinarie table: but for his poore townes men onely in the village of LACIA, where he was borne. Furthermore, he had alwayes certaine young men waiting on him of his houſehold ſeruauntes well apparrelled, & if he met by chaunce as he went vp and downe the citie, any olde citizen poorely arrayed, he made one of theſe younge men ſtrip himſelfe, and chaunge apparell with the olde man: and that was very well thought of, and they allhonored him for it. Moreouer, theſe young men caried euer good ſtore of money about them: and when they met with any honeſt poore citizen in the market place, or elſe where,

D knowinge his pouertie, they ſecretly gaue him money in his hande, and ſayd neuer a worde. Which the Poet ſelfe *Cratinus* ſeemeth to ſpeake of, in a comedie of his intituled the Archiloches.

Herophytus Samian. gaue Counſell to chooſe the ſpoyle.

Cimons liberality and hoſpitality.

Cimons charity.

I am Metrobius the ſecretarie, he,
VVhich did my ſelfe aſſure (in age) vvell cherished to be:
At vvealthie Cimons borde, vvhere vvant vvas neuer found,
VVhoſe diſtributions and his almes did to the poore abound.
There thought I for to paſſe myne aged yeares avvay,
VVith that right noble godly man, vvhich vvas the Greecians ſtay.

Furthermore, *Gorgias Leontine* ſayd, that *Cimon* got goodes to vſe them, and that he vſed

E them to be honored by them. And *Critias* that was one of the thirty tyrannes of ATHENS, he wiſheth and deſireth of the goddes in his elegies,

How Cimon vſed his goods.

The goddes of Scopas heyres, the great magnificence,
And noble hart of Cimon he, vvho ſpared none expence:
The glorious victories, and high triumphant shovves,
Of good Ageſilaus king, good goddes, oh graunt me thoſe.

The name of *Lichas* SPARTAN, hath bene famous amongeſt the GREECIANS: and yet we know no other cauſe why, ſauing that he vſed to feaſt ſtraungers that came to LACEDÆMON on their feſtiuall day, to ſee the ſportes and exerciſes of the young men daunſing naked in the

F city. But the magnificence of *Cimon*, did farre exceede the auncient liberality, curteſie, and hoſpitalitie of the ATHENIANS: for they of all other were the firſt men that taught the GREECIANS through out all GREECE, how they ſhould ſow corne, and gather it to maintaine themſelues withall, and alſo ſhewed them the vſe of welles, and howe they ſhould light and keepe

The hoſpitality of Lichas Spartan.

Cimons godly actes.

Cimō brought the golden world againe.

Cimons integrity and cleane hands.

Resaces attempted to bribe Cimon.

Darickes, whereof so called.

A noble saying of Cimon.

The benefit of paines & seruice: and the discommodity of ease and idlenes.

Cimō plagued the Persians.

fire. But *Cimon* makinge an hospitall of his owne house, where all his poore citizens were fed and relieued, and permittinge straungers that trauelled by his grounds to gather such frutes there, as the time and season of the yeare yelded: he brought againe (as it were) into the world, the goodes to be in common amongest them, as the Poets say they were in the old time of *Saturnes* raigne. And now, where some accused this honest liberality of *Cimon*, obiecting that it was but to flatter the common people withall, and to winne their good willes by that meanes: the maner of life he led, accompanying his liberality, did vtterly confute and ouerthrow their opinions that way of him. For *Cimon* euer tooke parte with the nobilitie, and liued after the LACEDÆMONIANS manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwayes against *Themistocles*, who without all compasse of reason encreased the authority and power of the people: and for this cause he ioyned with *Aristides*, and was against *Ephialtes*, who would for the peoples sake haue put downe and abolished *Ariopagus* courte. And where all other gouernors in his time were extorcioners, and bribetakers: (*Aristides* and *Ephialtes* only excepted) he to the contrarie led an vncorrupt life in administracion of iustice, & euer had cleane hands, whatsoeuer he spake or did, for the state and common wealth, and would therefore neuer take money of any man liuing. And for proofe hereof, we finde it wrytten, that a noble man of PERSIA called *Resaces*, being a traitor to his master the king of PERSIA, fled on a time vnto ATHENS: where being continually bayted and wearied, with the common accusations of these tale bearers & picke thanks, that accused him to the people, he repayred at the length vnto *Cimon*, & brought him home to his owne dore two bowles, thone full of darickes of gold, and the other of darickes of siluer, which be peeces of money so called, bicause that the name of *Darius* was writ- C ten vpon them. *Cimon* seeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather choose: to haue him his frende, or his hierling. The barbarous noble man aunswered him, that he had rather haue him his frend. Then sayd *Cimon* to him againe, away with thy golde and siluer, and get thee hence: for if I be thy frend, that gold and siluer shall euer be at my commaundement, to take and dispose it as I haue neede. About that time beganne the confederates of the ATHENIANS to be weary of the warres against the barbarous people, desiring thenceforth to liue quietly, and to haue leasure to manure and husband their grounds, and to trafficke also, considering that they had driuen their enemies out of their contrie, and that now they did them no more hurte: by reason whereof they payed the money they were sessed at, but they would furnish no moe men nor shippes as they had done before. But the D other Captaines of the ATHENIANS compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and prosecuted law against them that failed payment, condemning them in great fines, and that so cruelly, that they made the seigniorie and dominion of the ATHENIANS hatefull vnto their confederates. Howbeit *Cimon* tooke a contrary course to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take money and voyde ships of thē that would not, or could not serue in their persons, being very glad to suffer them to become slothfull mongrells in their houses, by too much rest, and to transpose them selues from good souldiers which they had bene, to labourers, marchauntes, and farmers, altogether altered from armes and warres, through the beastly slothfull desire they had, to liue pleasauntly at home. And contrarily, causing a great number of the ATHENIANS one after an other to serue in gallies, he so acquainted them with con- E tinuall paines in his viages: that he made them in shorte space become Lordes and masters ouer them, that gaue them pay, and entertainment. For they beganne by litle and litle to flatter and feare the ATHENIANS, whom they saw trained continually in the warres, euer bearing armor, & carying their weapons in their hands, becomming expert souldiers at their charge, by reason of the pay they gaue them: so that in the end, they became subiects & contributaries as it were vnto thē, where before they were their frendes & cōpanions. So as there neuer was GREECIAN Captaine that brideled more the crueltie and power of that mightie PERSIAN king, then *Cimon* did. For, after he had driuen him out of all GREECE, he left him not so, but following him foote hotte, as we cōmonly say, before the barbarous people could take breath, or geue wise and direct order for their doinges: he made so great speede, that he tooke some F of their cities from them by force, and other some by practise, causing them to rebell against the king, and turne to the GREECIANS side. Insomuch as there was not a man of warre left

for

A for the king of PERSIA, in all ASIA, from the contrie of IONIA, directly downe to PAMPHYLIA. And furthermore, being aduertiſed that the kinges Captaines were vppon the coaſt of PAMPHYLIA with a great armie by ſea, bicauſe he would feare them in ſuch ſorte, that they ſhould not braue any more to ſhewe them ſelues apon the ſea, on this ſide of the Ile of the CHELIDONIANS: he departed from the Ile of GINDOS, and from the citie of TRIOPIVM, with two hundred gallies, the which at the firſt had bene excellently well made and deuiſed by *Themiſtocles*, as well for ſwitt ſayling, as for eaſie turning. Howbeit *Cimon* made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carie the greater number of men of warre in battell, to aſſault the enemies. And ſo went firſt againſt the PHASELITES, who were GREECIANS borne, and yet notwithſtanding would neither take the GREECIANS parte, nor receiue their armie into
B their hauens: landed there, deſtroyed all the contrie, and then came and camped with his armie hard at their walles. But the men of CHIO being auncient frendes of the FASELITES, and *Chio an Ile.*
in *Cimons* armie at that iorney: did ſomewhat pacifie his anger, and gaue aduertiſement to them of the citie of their doinges by letters, which they tyed to their arrowes, and ſhotte ouer the walles. So as in the end they procured their peace with condicion, that the FASELITES *Cimon wanne the city of Faſelis.*
ſhould pay ten talentes for a fine: and furthermore ſhould alſo follow the armie of the GREECIANS, and from thencefoorth fight with them, and for them, againſt the barbarous people. Now *Ephorus* ſayth, that the PERSIAN Captaine that had charge of the armie by ſea, was called TITHRAVSTES, and the Captaine of the armie by lande, PHERENDATES. But *Calliſthenes* wryteth, that *Ariomandes* the ſonne of *Gobrias*, was the kinges Lieutenaunt, hauinge chiefe
C authority ouer the whole armie that lay at ancker, before the riuer of Eurymedon, & had no *Ariomandes the kinges Lieutenant of his whole armie by ſea, ryding at ancker before the riuer of Eurymedon.*
deſire to fight, bicauſe they looked for a new ſupply of foure ſcore ſayle of the PHENICIANS, that ſhould come to them from CYPRVS. But *Cimon* contrarily, ſought to fight before theſe gallies of the PHENICIANS came to ioyne with them, and put his gallies in order of battell, determininge to geue a charge, and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not. Which the barbarous people perceiuing, drew neerer into the mouth of the riuer Eurymedon, bicauſe they ſhould not compaſſe them in behinde, nor force them to come to battell againſt their willes. Which notwithſtanding, when they ſaw the ATHENIANS come to ſet apon them where they lay, they made out againſt them, a fleete of ſixe hundred ſayle, as *Phanodemus* declareth: or as *Ephorus* wryteth, three hundred and fifty ſayle only. But they did no-
D thinge worthie of ſo great a power, at the leaſt touchinge the fight by ſea, but turned their *Cimons victory of the Perſians both by ſea and land.*
prooes ſtraight to the riuer: where ſuch as coulde recouer the mouth thereof in time ſaued them ſelues, flying to their armie by lande, which was not farre from that place ſet alſo in order of battell. But the reſt that were taken tardy by the way, they were ſlaine, and their gallies ſonke or taken: whereby we may know that there were a great nũber of them, for many were ſaued as it is likely, and many alſo were ſplitted to peeces, and yet the ATHENIANS tooke two *Cimon tooke two hundred ſayle priſoners at the battell fought by the riuer of Eurymedon.*
hundred of them priſoners. In the meane ſeaſon, their armie by lande came neerer to the ſea ſide: which *Cimon* perceiuing, ſtoode in ſome doubt whether he ſhould lande his men or not, bicauſe it ſeemed a hard & daungerous thing vnto him, to land in ſpight of his enemies: and to put forth the GREECIANS already wearied with the firſt battell againſt the barbarous peo-
E ple, who were altogether whole, freſhe, and luſtie, and withall many in number againſt one. Neuertheleſſe, perceiuing that his men truſted in their force, beſides the corage which the firſt victorie gaue them, and that they deſired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: he put them a lande while they were whotte yet with the firſt battell. And ſo with great furie and lowde cries they ranne immediatly againſt the barbarous people, who ſtoode ſtill & ſturred not, & receiued their firſt charge very valliantly: by reaſon wherof, the battell grew ſharpe and bloody, inſomuch as there were ſlaine all the greateſt perſonages & men of beſt accompt of all the ATHENIANS armie. But the other fought it out ſo valliantly, that in the ende they wanne the field, and with maruelous difficultie made the barbarous people flye, whereof they *Cimon ouercame the battell of the barbarous people alſo by lande.*
ſlue a great number in the place, and tooke the reſt priſoners with all their tents & pauilions,
F which were full of all ſortes of riches. Thus *Cimon* like a valliant champion of the holy games, hauing in one ſelfe day wonne two victories, and hauing excelled the battell by ſea alſo which the GREECIANS had wonne within the channell of SALAMINA, with that which he wanne

then vpon the lande: and the battell which the GRÆCIANS wanne by lande before the city of PLATEES, with that which he wanne the day before on the sea: yet he was not contented with all this. For, after two so famous victories obteined, he would once againe fight for the honor of the tokens of triumphe: and being aduertised that the foure score sayle of the PHOENICIANS (comming too late to be present at the first battell by sea) were arriued at the head of *Hydra*, he sayled thither with all possible speede. Now the Captaines of this fleete, knewe no certainty of the ouerthrow of their chiefest armie, but stoode in doubt of it, and would not be perswaded that it was ouerthrowen in that sorte: and therefore were they so much the more affrayed, when they descried a farre of the victorious armie of *Cimon*. To conclude, they lost all their shippes, & the greatest parte of their men, which were either drowned or slaine. This victorie against the PERSIANS did so dawnte and plucke downe the pride and loftie minde of the barbarous PERSIAN king, as he made that condicion of peace so much spoken of in auncient histories, in the which he promised and sware, that his armies thenceforth should come no neerer to the GRÆCIAN sea, then the carrere of a horse, and that he would sayle no further forward, then the Iles CHELIDONIANS, and CYANEANS, with any gallies or other shippes of warre. Howbeit the historiographer *Callisthenes* wryteth, that it was no parte of any article cõprised within the condicion of peace, but that the king kept it for the feare he had of this so great an ouerthrow: and that afterwardes he kept so farre from the GRÆCIAN sea, that *Pericles* with fiftie saile, and *Ephialtes* with thirty only, did sayle beyonde the Iles CHELIDONIÆ, and no barbarous fleete euer came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongest the common actes of ATHENS, which *Craterus* hath gathered together, the articles of this peace are found wrytten at large, as a thing that was true in deede. And it is sayd, that for this occasion the ATHENIANS built an aulter of peace, and that they did *Callias* great honor, for that he was sent Ambassador vnto the king of PERSIA to take his othe for confirmation of this peace. So whē all these spoiles of the enemies were sold to thē that would geue most, there was such store of gold and siluer in the sparing cofers of their treasurie, that there was enough to serue their turne for any seruice they would employ it to, & besides that, they had sufficient to build vp the side of the wall of the castell which looketh towardes the south, this voyage and great spoyle did so enrich them. And it is sayd moreouer, that the building of the long walles that ioyne to the citie with the hauen, which they call the legges, was built & finished afterwards: howbeit the first fundacions thereof were built with the money *Cimon* gaue towardes it, for that the worke met with moorish and watery places, by meane whereof they were driuen to fill vp the marisses, with force of flyntes & great logges, which they threw vnto the bottome. It was he also that first did beawtifie and set forth the citie of ATHENS, with places of liberall exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much esteemed. For he caused plane trees to be set in the market place: and the Academie which before was very drye and naked, he made it now a pleasaunt groue, and full of goodly springes which he brought into it, and made fine couered arbors to walke in, and goodly long smooth allies to runne a good course in. On a time he had newes brought him, that certaine PERSIANS dwelling in CHERRONESVS, (to say a demy Ile of the contrie of THRACIA) would not be gotten out, but sent to the people of high THRACIA, to pray their aide to defend them selues against *Cimon*: of whome they made but litle accompt, bicause he was departed from ATHENS with a very few shippes, who set vpon them only with foure gallies, and tooke thirteene of theirs. And so hauing driuen the PERSIANS out of CHERRONESVS, and subdued the THRACIANS, he conquered all the contrie of CHERRONESVS, from THRACIA vnto his owne contrie. And departing from thence went against them of the Ile of THASOS, that had rebelled against the ATHENIANS: and hauing ouercome them in battell by sea, he wanne three and thirtie of their shippes, and besides that tooke their citie by siege, and wanne the mynes of golde lying beyonde the same to the ATHENIANS, with all the lands that belonged vnto them. This conquest made his way open into MACEDON, and gaue him great oportunitie to haue taken the best parte thereof at that present time. But bicause he let it alone, and followed not that oportunitie, he was suspected to haue taken money, and to haue bene bribed by presentes of king *Alexander*: whereupon, his secret enemies layed their heades together, and accused him. But *Cimon* to clere him

Cimon brought the king of Persia to condicio of peace.

Callias sent Ambassador to take the othe of the king of Persia.

Cimon was at the charge of certaine cõmõ buildings.

Cimon draue the Persians out of Thracia.

Cimon accused and discharged.

A him ſelfe before the iudges of this accuſation, ſayd vnto them: I haue practiſed frendſhippe neither with the IONIANS, nor yet with the THESSALIANS, both which are very riche and wealthie people: neither haue I taken their matters in hand, as ſome other haue done, to receiue both honor and profit by them. But in deede I am a frende to the LACEDÆMONIANS, for I confeſſe I loue them, and deſire to followe their ſobrietie, and temperaunce of life, the which I preferre and eſteeme aboue any riches or treaſure: although I am very glad notwithſtandinge to enrich our ſtate and common wealth with the ſpoyles of our enemies. *Steſimbrotus* reporteth this accuſation, and ſayth: that his ſiſter *Elpinice* went to *Pericles* houſe, (who was the ſharpeſt and ſtraighteſt accuſer of his) to pray him not to deale ſo extreamely with her brother: and that *Pericles* laughing on her, ſayd, alas, thou art too old, *Elpinice*, thou, now B to ouercome theſe matters. Yet for all that, when *Cimons* cauſe came to hearinge, he was a more gentle aduerſarie, then any other of his accuſers, and roſe vp but once to ſpeake againſt him, and that for manners ſake only: ſo that *Cimon* thereby eſcaped, and was cleared of this accuſation. And furthermore, ſo long as he was preſent in ATHENS, he alwayes kept the ſeditious people in obedience, who would euer croſſe and thwart the authoritie of the nobilitie, bicauſe they would haue all the ſway and rule in their owne handes. But when *Cimon* was ſent abroade any whither to the warres, then the common people hauing no bodie to gainſay them, turned, and altered the gouernment of the citie topſie turuey, and confounded all the auncient lawes and cuſtomes which they had obſerued of long time, and that by the procurement and ſetting on of *Ephialtes*. For they tooke away all hearing of cauſes in maner from C the court of * *Areopagus*, & put all authoritie of matters iudiciall into the handes of the people, and brought the ſtate of the citie into a pure Democratia, to ſay: a common weale ruled by the ſole and abſolute power of the people, *Pericles* being then in great credit, who altogether fauored the peoples faction. Wherefore *Cimon* at his returne, finding thauthority of the Senate and counſell ſo ſhamefully defaced and troden vnder foote, was marueloufly offended withall, and ſought to reſtore thauncient ſtate of iudgement againe as it was before, and ſet vp the gouernment of the nobility (called Optimacia) that was eſtabliſhed in the time of *Cliſthenes*. But then beganne his enemies againe with open mouth to crye out vpon him, reuiuing the olde former naughty rumor that ranne of him before, that he kept his owne ſiſter: & furthermore accuſing him, that he did fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS. And amongeſt other D thinges there ranne in the peoples mouthes the verſes of the Poet *Eupolis*, which were made againſt *Cimon*.

Cimō praiſeth the temperate life of the Lacedæmonians.

Steſimbrotus the hiſtorian.

* *Areopagus was a village of Mars by Athens, where the iudges called Areopagitæ did ſit to iudge cauſes of murder, and other waighty matters concerning the common wealth.*

Democratia rule of communalty.

Pericles in Cimons abſence reduceth the common wealth vnto the ſtate Democratia.

Optimacia the gouernment of the nobility.

No vvicked man he vvas, but very negligent,
And therevvithall to vvyne much more, then vnto money bent.
He ſtale ſomtimes avvay, at Sparta for to ſleepe:
And left poore Elpinice his vvife, at home alone to vveepe.

And if it be ſo, that being thus negligent & geuen to wyne, he haue gotten ſo many cities, and wonne ſuch ſundry great battells: it is out of doubt then that if he had bene ſober & carefull, there had neuer bene before him nor ſince any GRÆCIAN Captaine, that had paſſed him in glorie of the warres. In deede it is true, that from the beginning he euer loued the manner E of the LACEDÆMONIANS: for of two twynnes which he had by his wife *Clitoria*, he named thone of them *Lacedæmonius*, and thother *Eleus*, as *Steſimbrotus* wryteth, ſaying that for that cauſe *Pericles* did euer twit them in the teeth with their mothers ſtocke. Howbeit *Diodorus* the Geographer wryteth, that both thoſe two, and an other third called *Theſſalus*, were borne of *Iſodice*, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, the ſonne of *Megacles*. Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Cimons* credit grew the greater, by the fauor and countenaunce which the LACEDÆMONIANS gaue him, who had hated *Themiſtocles* of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that *Cimon* being but a yoūg man, did beare more ſway in ATHENS then he. Which the ATHENIANS perceiued well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning: bicauſe the goodwill of the LACEDÆMONIANS towardes him, did bring them great commo- F dity. For when the ATHENIANS beganne to growe of great power, and to practiſe ſecretly that the confederats of the GRÆCIANS ſhould forſake the LACEDÆMONIANS to ioyne with them: the LACEDÆMONIANS were not angrie withall, for the honor and loue they bare vn-

Cimō followed the Lacedemonian maner.

to *Cimon*, who did alone in maner manedge all thaffayres of GRÆCE at that time, bicauſe he was very curteous vnto the confederates, and alſo thankefull vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. But afterwardes when the ATHENIANS were aloft and of great power, and that they ſaw *Cimon* ſtucke not for a litle matter with the LACEDÆMONIANS, but loued them more then they would haue had him: they beganne then to enuy him, bicauſe in all his matters he had to do, he euer highly praiſed and extolled the LACEDÆMONIANS before them. But ſpecially, when he would reproue them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perſwade them to do any thing: the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſayd he, I warrant ye do not ſo. That, as *Steſimbrotus* ſayth, made him maruelouſly to be maliced of the people. But the chiefeſt thing they accuſed him of, and that moſt did hurt him, fell out vpon this occaſion. The fourth yeare of the raigne of *Archidamus*, the ſonne of *Zeuxidamus* king of SPARTA, there fortuned the wonderfulleſt and moſt fearefull earthquake in the citie of LACEDÆMON, and thereabouts, that euer was heard of. For the earth in many places of the contrie opened, and fell as into a bottomleſſe pit. The mountaine Taygetum ſhooke ſo terribly, that points of rockes fell downe from it. All the citie was layed on the ground and ouerthrowen, fiue houſes only excepted, the reſt being wholy deſtroied. And it is ſaid alſo, that a litle before this earthquake came, the young men of that citie were playing with the young boyes exerciſing thē ſelues ſtarke naked vnder a great galery couered ouer: & as they were ſporting together, there ſtarted vp a hare hard by them. The young men ſpying her, ranne after the hare ſtarke naked and oyled as they were, with great laughter. They were no ſooner gone thence, but the top of the gallery fell downe apon the boyes that were left, and ſquaſhed them all to death. And in memorie of the ſame, the tombe where they were afterwardes buried, is called vnto this day Siſmatias, as much to ſay, as the tombe of thoſe which the earthquake had ſlaine. But king *Archidamus* foreſeeing ſtraight vppon the ſodaine the daunger that was to come, by that he ſaw preſent, perceiuing his citizens buſie in ſauing their houſeholde ſtuffe, and that they were running out of their houſes: made the trompetters to ſound a hotte alarome vpon it, as if their enemies had come ſtealingly vpon them to take the citie, to thende that all the inhabitantes ſhould preſently repayre vnto him (ſettinge all buſines aparte) with armor and weapon. That ſodaine alarome doubtleſſe ſaued the citie of SPARTA at that time: for the ILOTÆ, which are their ſlaues and bondmen in the contrie of LACONIA, and the contrie clownes of litle villages thereaboutes, came running armed out of all partes, to ſpoyle and robbe them vpon the ſodaine, that were eſcaped from this earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they returned backe againe as they came: and then beganne afterwardes to make open warres vpon them, when they had drawen certaine of their neighbors vnto their confederacie, & ſpecially the MESSENIANS, who made hotte warres vpon the SPARTANS. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent *Periclidas* vnto ATHENS to demaunde ayde: whome *Ariſtophanes* the Poet mocking, ſayed.

A maruelous great earthquake in Lacedæmon.

Taygetum mons.

Archidamus ſodaine policy ſaued the city.

Ilotæ ſlaues & bondmen to the Lacedæmonians.

VVith viſage pale and vvanne, he on the aulter ſate,
In ſkarlet govvne requiring ayde, to ſuccor their eſtate.

Againſt whom *Ephialtes* alſo ſpake very much, proteſting that they ſhould not ayde nor relieue a city that was an enemy vnto ATHENS, but rather ſuffer it to fall to the ground, and to ſpurne the pride and arrogancy of SPARTA vnder their feete. But *Cimon* (as *Critias* ſaieth) being more carefull for the benefit of SPARTA, then for thenlarging and encreaſing of his contry: brought it to paſſe by his perſwaſion, that the ATHENIANS ſent him thither with a great power to helpe them. And furthermore *Ion* rehearſeth the very ſelfe wordes that *Cimon* ſpake to moue the people to graunt his requeſt. For he beſought them that they woulde not ſuffer GRÆCE to halte, as if LACEDÆMON had bene one of her feete, and ATHENS the other: nor to ſuffer their citie to loſe an other citie their frend, and ſubiect to the yoke and defence of GRÆCE. Hauing therfore obteyned ayde, to leade vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, he went with his army through the CORINTHIANS contry: wherwith *Lachartus* a Captaine of CORINTHI was maruelouſly offended, ſayinge, that he ſhould not haue entred into their contrie with an armie, before he had asked licence of them of the citie. For ſayd he, when one knocketh at a mans dore or gate, yet he commeth not in, before the maſter of the houſe commaundeth him.

Cimon procured ayde for the Lacedæmonians.

A him. But ye CORINTHIANS (fayed *Cimon* to him againe) haue not knocked at the gates of the CLEONÆIANS, nor of the MEGARIANS, to come in, but haue broken them open, and entred by force of armes, thinkinge that all ſhould be open vnto them that are the ſtronger. Thus did *Cimon* ſtowtely aunſwere the CORINTHIAN Captaine againe, bicauſe it ſtoode him vppon, and ſo went on with his armie through the contrie of CORINTHE. Afterwardes the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent againe vnto the ATHENIANS, to require ayde againſt the MESSENIANS and the ILOTES, (which are their ſlaues) who had wonne the citie of ITHOME. But when the ATHENIANS were come, the LACEDÆMONIANS were afrayed of the great power they had brought, and of their boldnes beſides: wherefore they ſent them backe againe, and would not imploy them of all other their confederats that came to their ſuccor, bicauſe they B knew them to be men very tickle, deſiring chaunge and alteracions. The ATHENIANS returned home, miſliking much that they were ſent backe againe: inſomuch as euer after they hated them that fauored the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing. And for the LACEDÆMONIANS ſake therefore, taking a ſmall occaſion of offence againſt *Cimon*, they baniſhed him out of their contrie for tenne yeres: which was the full terme appointed and limited vnto them that were baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon baniſhment. Now within the terme of theſe ten yeares, the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuned to vndertake the deliuery of the citie of DELPHES, from the ſeruitude and bondage of the PHOCIANS, and to put them from the cuſtodie and keeping of the temple of *Apollo*, which is in the ſayd city. Wherfore, to obtaine their deſire and purpoſe, they came to plante their campe neere vnto the citie of TANAGRE in PHOCIDE, where the C ATHENIANS went to fight with them. *Cimon* vnderſtanding this, although he was in exile, came to the ATHENIANS campe armed, with intent to do his duety to fight with his contrie men againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and ſo went into the bandes of the tribe Oeneide, of the which he was him ſelfe. But his owne contry enemies cried out againſt him, and ſayd, that he was come to none other ende, but to trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwardes bring them to the city ſelfe of ATHENS. Whereuppon the great counſell of the fiue hundred men were afrayed, and ſent to the Captaines to commaunde them they ſhould not receiue him into the battell: ſo that *Cimon* was compelled to departe the campe. But before he went, he prayed *Euthippus* ANAPHLYSTIAN, and his other frendes that were ſuſpected as him ſelfe was, to fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS doinges: that they ſhould doe their D beſt endeuor to fight valliantly againſt their enemies, to thintent their good ſeruice at that battell might purge their innocencie towardes their contry men: and ſo they did. For the ATHENIANS keeping the ſouldiers *Cimon* had brought with him, which were a hundred in all, they ſet them aparte by them ſelues in a ſquadron, and fought it ſo valliantly and deſperatly, that they were ſlaine euery man of them in the field, leauing the ATHENIANS maruelous ſory for them, and repenting them that they had ſo vniuſtly miſtruſted them as traitors to their contrie. Wherefore they kept not their malice long againſt *Cimon*, partely as I am perſwaded, bicauſe they called his former good ſeruice to minde which he had done to their contrie aforetime, and partely alſo, bicauſe the neceſſitie of the time ſo required it. For the ATHENIANS hauing loſt a great battell before TANAGRE, looked for no other about the ſpring of the E yeare, but that the PELOPONNESIANS would inuade them with a great power: wherefore, they reuoked *Cimons* baniſhment by decree, whereof *Pericles* ſelfe was the only author & procurer. So ciuill and temperate were mens enmities at that time, regarding the common benefit of their publicke ſtate and weale: and ſo much did their ambition (being the moſt vehement paſſion of all other, and that moſt troubleth mens mindes) geue place, and yeelde to the neceſſities and affayres of the common weale. Now when *Cimon* was againe returned to ATHENS, he ſtraight pacified the warre, & reconciled both cities together. And when he ſaw that the ATHENIANS could not liue in peace, but woulde be doing ſtill, and enlarge their dominions by warre, for lukers ſake: to preuent them that they ſhould not fall out with any of the GRÆCIANS, nor by ſcowring and coaſting vp and downe the contrie of PELOPON- F NESVS, and the Iles of GRÆCE, with ſo great a nauie, ſhould moue occaſion of ciuill warres amongeſt the GRÆCIANS, or of complaintes vnto their confederates againſt them: he rigged & armed out two hundred gallies to go againe to make warre in CYPRVS, & in EGYPT,

Cimon baniſhed for 10. yeares.

Cimon called from exile.

bicauſe he would acquaint the ATHENIANS with the warres of the barbarous people, and thereby make them lawfull gainers by the ſpoyles of thoſe their naturall borne enemies. But when all things were in readines to departe, and the armie preſt to ſhippe and ſayle away: *Cimon* dreaming in the night had this viſion. It ſeemed vnto him that he ſaw a bitch angrie with him, and barking earneſtly at him, & that in the middeſt of her barking, ſhe ſpake with a mans voyce, and ſayd vnto him:

Cimons dreame.

Come hardily, ſpare not: for if thou come by me,
My vvhelpes, and I vvhich here do ſtand, vvill quickely vvelcome thee.

This viſion being verie hard to interpret, *Aſtyphilus* borne in the citie of POSIDONIA, a man expert in ſuch coniectures, and *Cimons* familiar frende, tolde him that this viſion did betoken his death, expounding it in this ſorte. The dogge commonly is an enemie to him he barketh at. Againe, nothing gladdeth our enemie more, then to heare of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a mans voyce with the barking of a bitche, ſignifieth nothing els, but an enemie of the MEDES: bicauſe the armie of the MEDES is mingeled with the barbarous people and the GRÆCIANS together. Beſides this viſion, as he did ſacrifice to the god *Bacchus*, the Prieſt opening the beaſt after it was ſacrificed, about the blood that fell to the grounde, there aſſembled a ſwarme of antes, which caried the congealed blood of from the grounde by litle and litle, and layed it all about *Cimons* great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: *Cimon* at the laſt ſpied it by chaunce, and as he was looking of them to marke what they did, the miniſter of the ſacrifice brought the beaſtes liuer that was ſacrificed, to ſhew him, whereof the biggeſt end that they call the head was lacking, and this they iudged for a very ill token. Notwithſtanding, hauing all things readie for preparation of this iorney, ſo as he could not well goe backe, he launched into the ſea, and hoyſed ſayle, and ſending three ſcore of his gallies into EGYPT, ſayled with the reſt vpon the coaſt of PAMPHYLIA. Where he wanne a battell by ſea of the king of PERSIA, ouercomming the gallies of the PHENICIANS and the CILICIANS, and conquered all the cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into EGYPT. For he had no ſmall thoughtes in his minde, but reached to high enterpriſes, and determined vtterly to deſtroy the whole Empire of the mighty kinge of PERSIA, and ſpecially for that he vnderſtoode *Themiſtocles* was in maruelous credit and reputacion amõgeſt the barbarous people, bicauſe he had promiſed the king of PERSIA to lead his armie for him, and to doe him notable ſeruice whenſoeuer he ſhoulde haue occaſion to warre with the GRÆCIANS. It is thought this was the chiefe cauſe that made *Themiſtocles* poiſon himſelfe, bicauſe he diſpaired that he could not performe that ſeruice againſt GRÆCE which he had promiſed: aſſuring him ſelfe that it was no eaſie matter to vanquiſhe *Cimons* corage, and good fortune, who lay at that time with his armie all alongeſt the Ile of CYPRVS, promiſing him ſelfe great matters at that inſtant. But in the meane ſeaſon, *Cimon* ſent certaine of his men vnto the oracle of *Iuppiter Ammon*, to aske him ſome ſecret queſtion: for no man euer knew neither then nor ſince, for what cauſe he had ſent them thither, neither did they alſo bring backe any aunſwere. For they were no ſooner come thither, but the oracle commaunded them ſtraight to returne: ſaying vnto them, that *Cimon* was then comming to him. So *Cimons* men receiuing this aunſwere, left the oracle, and tooke their iorney backe to the ſeawardes. Now when they were commen againe to the GRÆCIANS campe, which at that preſent lay in EGYPT, they heard that *Cimon* was departed this worlde: and reckoninge the dayes ſence his death, with the inſtant of their aunſwere receiued by the oracle, that *Cimon* was then comming vnto him: they knew ſtraight that darkely he had ſignified his death vnto them, and that, at that very time he was with the goddes. He dyed at the ſiege of the citie of CITIVM in CYPRVS, as ſome reporte, or elſe of a hurte he receiued at a skirmiſhe, as other holde opinion. When he dyed, he commaunded them that were vnder his charge, to returne into their contry againe, and in no caſe to publiſhe his death: which commaundement was ſo wiſely and cunningly handeled, that they all came home ſafe, and not an enemie, nor any of their confederates that once vnderſtoode any thing of it. So was the armie of the GRÆCIANS gouerned and led by *Cimon*, though him ſelfe was dead, the ſpace of thirtie dayes, as *Rhanodemus* wryteth: But after his death, there was no GRÆCIAN Captaine

The interpretation of the dreame.

Cimons death prognoſticated.

The cauſe of Themiſtocles willing death.

The death of Cimon.

Cimons death kept very ſecret.

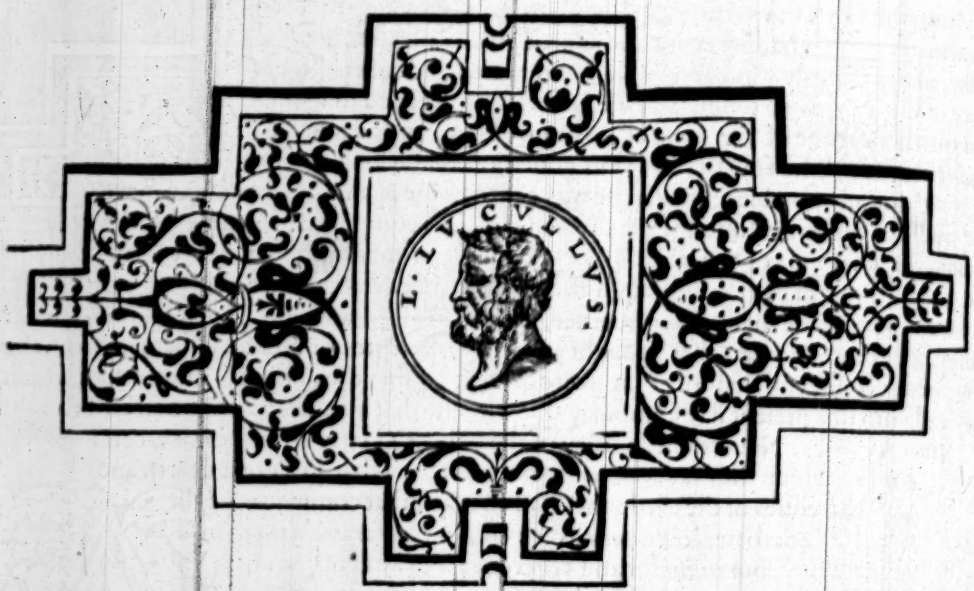
A taine that did any notable thing worthie of fame againſt the barbarous people, bicauſe the Orators and gouernors of the chiefeſt cities of GRÆCE ſtirred them vp one againſt an other, and there was no man that would once ſteppe in as a mediator to make peace betwene them. And thus the GRÆCIANS now did one deſtroy and ſpoyle an other by ciuill warre amongeſt them ſelues: which happely gaue the king of PERSIA leaſure and time to reſtore him ſelfe againe, and contrarily was cauſe of ſuch vtter ruine and deſtruction of the whole power and force of GRÆCE, as no tongue can well expreſſe. In deede a long time after, kinge *Ageſilaus* came with an armie of the GRÆCIANS into ASIA, and beganne a ſmall warre againſt the Lieutenauntes of the king of PERSIAES gouernors of the lower contries of ASIA. But before he could doe any notable exployte, he was called home againe by occaſion of newe troubles B and ciuill warres riſinge amonge the GRÆCIANS, and compelled to returne into his contrie, leauing the treaſorers of the king of PERSIA, raiſing of ſubſidies and taxes vpon the cities of the GRÆCIANS in ASIA, although they were confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereas in the time that *Cimon* gouerned, they neuer ſawe any of the kinges ſergeauntes at armes, or commiſſioner, that brought any letters pattentes or commaundement from the king, or any ſouldier that durſt come neere the ſea, by fortie furlonges. The tombes which they call vnto this preſent day Cimonia, doe witneſſe that his aſhes and bones were brought vnto ATHENS. Neuertheleſſe, they of the citie of CITIVM doe honor a certaine tombe, which they ſay is *Cimons* tombe: bicauſe that in a great dearth and barrennes of the earth, they had an oracle that commaunded them, C not to neglect *Cimon*, as the Orator *Nauſicrates* writeth it, but to honor and reuerence him as a god. Such was the life of this GRÆCIAN Captaine.

No famous act done by any Græcians to the barbarous people, after Cimons death.

Cimons monuments at Athens.

The end of Cimons life.

THE LIFE OF
Lucius Lucullus.



Lucullus parents.

AS for *Lucullus*, his grandfather was a Conſull, and ſo was *Metellus* (ſur- A named *Numidicus*, bicauſe of his conqueſt of NVMIDIA) his vncle by the mothers ſide. His father notwithſtanding was conuict of fellony, for robbing the treaſure of the ſtate whileſt he was officer: and *Cæcilia* his mother was reported to haue led an vnchaſt life. But for *Lucullus* ſelfe, before he bare office, or rule in matters of ſtate: the firſt thing he towched and tooke in hande for the cauſe of his contrie was, thac-

Lucullus accuſeth Seruilius the Soothſayer.

cuſation of *Seruilius* the ſoothſayer (who before had accuſed his father) for that he alſo had delt falſely in his office, and deceiued the common wealth. And this the ROMANES thought very well handled of him, inſomuch as a pretie while after there was no other talke in ROME but of that matter, as though it had bene a notable valliant acte B

The Romanes thought it a noble dede to accuſe the wicked.

done by him. For otherwiſe, though priuately they had no iuſt occaſion, yet they thought it a noble deede to accuſe the wicked, and it pleaſed them as much to ſee the young men put lawe breakers in ſute, as to ſee a notable good courſe of a dogge at a hare. Howebeit there followed ſuch ſturre and bandinge vppon this ſute, that ſome were verie ſore hurte, and other ſlaine in the market place: but in fyne, *Seruilius* was cleared and quite diſmiſſed. *Lucullus*

Lucullus eloquence.

was verie eloquent, well ſpoken, and excellently well learned in the Greeke and Latin tongues: inſomuch as *Sylla* dedicated vnto him the commentaries of all his doings which himſelfe had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole hiſtorie thereof, and cowche it more eloquētly together in wryting. For he had not only a ready tongue to vtter that he would ſpeake, and pleade his matters with great eloquence, as other be ſeene to doe, hauing matters of ſute C or open audience.

Like tonny fiſhe they be, vvhich ſvviftly diue and doppe,
Into the depth of Occean ſea, vvithouten ſtay or ſtoppe:

But afterwardes alſo when ye take them out of their common practiſe and pleadinges,

Then are they graueld ſtraight vvithouten grace or skill,
Their eloquence lyes then in dyke, and they them ſelues be ſtill.

For *Lucullus* had ſtudied humanitie from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberall ſciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refreſhe his witte (after great troubles)

he

A he fell to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which quickened the contemplatiue parte of his ſoule, & mortified, or at the leaſt betimes brideled the ambitious and actiue parte, ſpecially after the diſſention betwixt him and *Pompey*. But to acquaint you better with his learning yet, it is ſaid, that when he was a young man, he layed a great wager with *Hortenſius* the Orator, and *Siſenna* the hiſtoriographer (in ieſt as it were at the firſt, but afterwardes it fell to good earneſt) that he would write the breuiary of the warres of MARSICVM in verſe or proſe, in the Latin or Greeke tongue, which ſoeuer fell to his lotte: and I thinke his happe was to doe it in proſe in the Greeke tongue, bicauſe we finde a litle Greeke ſtorie extant of the warres of the ROMANES againſt the MARSIANS. He dearely loued his brother *Marcus Lucullus*, as appeared by many manifeſt proofes: but the chiefeſt and moſt noted proofe among the ROMANES was B this. Him ſelfe was elder then his brother *Marcus*, and yet for all that would neuer ſue to beare office in the common wealth, nor accept any before his brother, but taried alwayes till he ſhould be choſen, and let his owne time paſſe ouer. This great curteſie to his brother ſo wanne the peoples hartes, as *Lucius* being abſent, they choſe him Ædilis, and his brother *Marcus* with him for his ſake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the MARSIANS warres, wherein he did many wiſe and valliant deedes. The cauſe notwithſtanding that moued *Sylla* to make choyce of him, was rather for his conſtancy, & good curteous nature, then for any other reſpect. For when *Sylla* had once wonne him, he euer after employed him continually in his moſt weightie cauſes: as in a commiſſion ſpecially, he gaue him to coyne money. For in deede parte of the money that *Sylla* ſpent in the warres againſt king *Mithridates*, was coyned C by *Lucullus* commaundement within the contrie of PELOPONNESVS: whereupon they were called *Lucullian* peeces, and were currant a longe time amongeſt the ſouldiers, to buy ſuch things as they ſtoode in nede of, and neuer refuſed by any. *Sylla* being afterwards at ATHENS, the ſtronger by land, but the weaker by ſea, ſo as his enemies cut of his vittells from him: ſent *Lucullus* into EGYPT and LIBYA to bring him ſuch ſhippes as he found in thoſe partes. It was in the deepe of winter, and yet he ſpared not to ſayle with three brigantines of GREECE, and as many galliots of the RHODIANS, putting himſelfe not only to the daunger of the ſea in ſo long a voyage, but of his enemies in like maner: who knowing them ſelues to be the ſtronger, went ſayling euery where with a great nauie. But for all theſe daungers, he firſt arriued in the Ile of CRETA, and wanne their goodwilles. From thence went to the citie of CYRENE, where D he found the inhabitaunts turmoyled with ciuil warres, and continuall oppreſſions of tyrans: from which troubles he deliuered them, and gaue them lawes to eſtabliſhe gouernment amongeſt them, putting them in remembraunce of *Platoes* wordes ſpoken to their aunceſters in old time, in the ſpirite of a prophecie. For when they prayed *Plato* to write them lawes, and to appoint them ſome forme of gouernment for their common wealth, he made them aunſwere: it was a hard thing to geue lawes to ſo riche and fortunate people as they were. For to ſay truely, as nothing is harder to be ruled, then a rich man: ſo contrarily, nothing readier to receiue counſell and gouernment, then a man in aduerſity. This leſſon framed the CYRENIANS at that time to be more ciuill and obedient to the lawes *Lucullus* gaue them. When he departed thence, he coaſted towardes EGYPT, where he loſt the more parte of his ſhippes by E pyrates: but for his owne perſon, ſcaping their handes, he was very honorably receiued in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. For all the kinges armie came to meete him at ſea, gallantly trimmed and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the kinge when he returned from any voyage by ſea: and king *Ptolomye* him ſelfe being very young at that time, gaue him as honorable entertainment as he poſſible could. For amongeſt other honors that he did him, he lodged him in his courte, and defrayed his ordinarie dyet, where neuer ſtraunge Captaine was lodged before: and did not only ſpend the ordinary allowance in feaſting of him which he vſed vnto others, but commaunded foure times as much prouiſion more to be made as he had before. Notwithſtanding, *Lucullus* tooke no more then reaſonable was for his perſon: nor yet would he receiue any maner, gift althogh the king had ſent him preſents to the value of foure F ſcore talentes. And which more is, would not ſo much as go ſee the citie of MEMPHIS, nor any other of the famous monumentes and wonderfull ſightes in EGYPT, ſaying: that it was for a man that trauelled vp and downe for his pleaſure, and had leaſure withall, to ſee ſuch

Lucullus ſtudied Philoſophy in his latter time.

Lucullus booke of the warre of the Marſians, in Greeke.

Lucullus loue to his brother Marcus.

Lucius & M. Lucullus both choſen Ædiles.

Sylla gaue Lucullus commiſſion to coyne money in Peloponneſus.

Lucullus geueth lawes to the Cyrenias.

A notable ſaying of Plato.

Lucullus iorney into Egypt.

thinges, but not for him that had left his Captaine in the field, at the siege of the walles of his enemies. To conclude, this young king *Ptolomye* would in no case fall in frendshippe with *Sylla*, fearing least he should thereby put him selfe into warres: but gaue him men and shippes to bring him into CYPRVS. And as he was ready to imbarke, the king bidding him farewell, and embracing him, gaue him a goodly rich emerod set in gold, which *Lucullus* at the first refused, vntill the king shewed him his picture grauen in it: and then accepted the gift, fearing least the vtter refusall might cause the king thinke he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an ambushe by sea for him. Thus hauing gotten a certaine number of shippes together of the porte townes thereaboutes, ouer and besides such as the pyrates and sea rouers had hidden, being parte of their spoyles, and bestowed with their receitors: went on with them into CYPRVS, where he vnderstoode that his enemies lay close in certaine creekes vnder the foreland, watching to bourde him as he sayled by. Whereuppon he vnrigged and bestowed his shippes in docks, and sent worde to all the porte townes thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there: and therefore willed them to prouide him vittells & other necessarie munition to be in readines against the spring. But in the meane while, when he saw time conuenient, he put his whole fleete againe to the sea with all possible speede, went him selfe away, and in the day time caried a lowe sayle, but in the night packt on all the cloth he could for life: so that by this craftie fetche, he wanne RHODES, and lost not one shippe. The RHODIANS they also furnished him with shippes: & besides thē, he so perswaded the GNIDIANS and the inhabitantes of the Ile of CO, that they forsooke king *Mithridates*, and went to make warres with him against them of the Ile of SAMOS. But *Lucullus* him selfe alone draue kinge *Mithridates* men out of CHIO, restored the COLOPHONIANS againe to libertie: and tooke *Epigonus* the tyranne prisoner, whō had kept them in bondage. Now about that time, *Mithridates* was compelled to forsake the citie of PERGAMVM, and to retyre to the citie of PITANE, within the which *Fimbria* kept him besieged very straightly by lande. Wherefore *Mithridates* hauing the sea open vpon him, sent for his force and nauy out of all partes, not daring to hazard battell against *Fimbria*, who was very valliant, of a venturous nature, & at that time moreouer was him selfe a conqueror. *Fimbria* perceiuing what *Mithridates* ment, and hauing no power by sea of his owne: sent straight to *Lucullus* to requeste him to come with his nauie into those partes to his ayde, for thouercomming of this king, the greateste and most cruell enemie that euer the ROMANE people had. Bicause that so notable a praye, which they followed with such daunger and trouble, should not escape the ROMANES, while they had him in their handes, and was come him selfe within their daunger: and that therefore he should so much the more harken vnto it, bicause that if it fortuned *Mithridates* to be taken, no man shoulde winne more honor and glorie by his takinge, then he that had stopped his passage, and layed handes on him, euen as he thought to haue fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble victorie runne in equalitie betwene them both: the one that had driuen him from lande, and the other that had stopped his passage by sea. And furthermore, that the ROMANES would nothinge regard all the famous battells and victories of *Sylla* in GRÆCE, which he had wonne before the cities of CHÆRONEA and ORCHOMENE: in comparison of taking the king. This was theffect of *Fimbriaes* message sent vnto *Lucullus*, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelyhoode. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if *Lucullus* would haue beleued him at that time (and haue gone thither with his ships to stoppe the hauens mouth of the citie, in the which *Mithridates* was besieged, considering also that he was so neere at hande) this warre had taken ende there, and the worlde besides had then bene deliuered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwardes. But, whether *Lucullus* preferred the consideration and respect he had vnto *Sylla*, whose Lieutenaunt he was, before all other due regarde of priuate or common benefit: or that he detested and abhorred *Fimbria* as a cursed persone, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his hands in the blood of his Captaine: or elsse that it was through the secret prouidence and permission of the goddes that he spared *Mithridates* at that time, to the end he might be reserued as a worthie enemie, against whom he might afterwardes shew his valure: howsoeuer it was, it so fell out that he harkened not vnto *Fimbriaes* message, but gaue *Mithridates* time and

A notable rich emerod geuen Lucullus by kinge Ptolomye.

Lucullus dooinges vnder Sylla by sea.

Lucullus stratageame.

Fimbria beseiged Mithridates in Pitane.

A and leasure to flye, and finally to scorne all *Fimbriaes* force and power. But *Lucullus* selfe alone afterwardes ouercame the kinges armie by sea, once neere vnto the head of Lectum, which is on the coast of TROADE: and an other time neere vnto the Ile of TENEDOS, where *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates* Lieutenaunt by sea, lay in wayte for him with a farre greater number of shippes then he had. And yet so soone as *Lucullus* had discried him, he sayled before all his nauie being Admirall, in a galley of the RHODES, at fiue ores to a bancke, whereof one *Demagoras* was master, a man well affected to the seruice of the ROMANES, and very skillfull in battell by sea. And when *Neoptolemus* on the other side rowed against him with great force, commaunding his pylot that he should so order his galley, that he might stemme him right in the prowe: *Demagoras* fearinge the full meetinge of the kinges galley which was very strong and B heauie, and furthermore well armed with poyntes and spurres of brasse before, durst not encounter her with his prowe, but nimbly made his gallie to winde about, & turned his poupe towardes him. Whereby the galley being low at that end, receiued the blow without hurte, considering that they hit vppon the dead workes, and those partes which are alwayes aboue water. In the meane time *Lucullus* other shippes were come, who commaunding his master to turne the beakehead of his gallie forward, did many famous actes: so that he made his enemies flye, and draue *Neoptolemus* away. And departing from thence, went to seeke out *Sylla* euen as he was readie to passe ouer the seas, about CHERRONESVS: holpe him to waft his armie, and so passed him ouer with safety. Afterwardes when peace was concluded, and that king *Mithridates* was comen into his realme and contries againe, which lye vpon the sea Ma- C ior: *Sylla* condemned the prouince of ASIA to pay the summe of twenty thowsand talentes for a fyne, by reason of their rebellion. And for leauying of this fyne, left *Lucullus* there with commission to coyne money: which was a great comforte and hartes ease vnto the cities of ASIA, considering the extreamitie that *Sylla* had vsed towardes them. For in so grieuous and odious a commission vnto them all, as that was: *Lucullus* did not only behaue him selfe vprightly and iustly, but also very fauorably and curteously. For, as touching the MITYLENIANS that were openly in armes against him, he was very willing they should know their fault, and that for satisfaction of thoffence they had committed takinge *Marius* parte, they should suffer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continewe in their naughtines, he went against them, and hauing ouercome them in battell, compelled them D to keepe within their walles, and layed siege vnto their citie, where he vsed this policy with them. At none dayes he launched into the sea, in the view of all the MITYLENIANS, and sayled towardes the citie of ELEA: howbeit in the night time secretly returned backe, and making no noyse, layed an ambushe nere vnto the citie. The MITYLENIANS mistrusting nothinge, went out the next morning very rashly without order, & without any maner watche or ward, to spoyle the campe of the ROMANES, supposing euery man had bene gone: but *Lucullus* comming sodainly vpon them, tooke a great number prisoners, slue about fiue hundred such as resisted, and wanne sixe thowsande slaues, with an infinite quantitie of other spoyle. Now did the goddes happely preserue *Lucullus*, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull miseries and troubles, which *Sylla* and *Marius* made poore ITALIE suffer, euen then when he E was occupied in the warres of ASIA: and yet notwithstanding his absence, he was in as good credit and fauor with *Sylla*, as any of his frendes about him. For as we haue sayd before, he dedicated his commentaries vnto him, for the goodwill he bare him, and by his last will and testament appointed him Tutor vnto his sonne, leauing *Pompey* out: which seemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrell and grudge that fell out afterwardes betwene them, bicause they were both young men, and vehemently desirous of honor. Shortly after the death of *Sylla*, *Lucullus* was chosen Consull with *Marcus Cotta*, about the three score Olympiade: and then they began to reuiue the matter againe, that it was very needefull to make warres against *Mithridates*, and specially *Marcus Cotta*, who gaue out that it was not ended, but only slept for a while. Wherefore, when the Consulls came to draw lottes what prouinces they should take F charge of, *Lucullus* was maruelous sorie that the prouince of GAVLE, lying betwene the Alpes and ITALIE, fell to his lotte: bicause he thought it no contrie wherein any great exploytes were to be done, and againe, the glorie of *Pompey* grieued him greatly, whose honor dayly in-

Lucullus would not aide Fimbria in besieging Mithridates.

Neoptolemus king Mithridates Lieutenant by sea.

Lucullus put to flight Neoptolemus Mithridates Lieutenaunt by sea.

Lucullus stratageame at the siege of the Mitylenians.

Lucullus honored of Sylla.

The first occasio of quarrell, betwext Pompey and Lucullus.

Lucullus, M. Cotta Consuls.

creased by the famous battells he wan in SPAINE. So that it was most certaine, that so soone A as *Pompey* had ended the warres there, they would haue chosen him generall in the warres against *Mithridates*. Wherefore, when *Pompey* sent to ROME in earnest maner, to require money to make pay to his souldiers, wryting to the Senate, that if they did not send him money the sooner, he would leaue *Sertorius* there, SPAINE behinde him, and bring his army backe into ITALIE: *Lucullus* made all the meanes he could to haue it quickely sent him, fearing least he should returne into ITALIE vpon any occasion, while he was Consul. For he thought that if he returned againe to ROME with so great an armie, he would easily do what him list: and the rather, bicause that *Cethegus* and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the sway and rule at ROME, bicause he spake and did all that pleased the common people, being a vitious liuer, and dissolutely geuen, for which cause *Lucullus* hated him. But there was an other B common Orator among the people called *Lucius Quintius*, and he would haue had all *Syllaes* doinges reuoked and broken: a matter to alter euen the whole state of the common wealth, and to turmoyle the citie of ROME againe with ciuill dissention, which then liued quietly and in good peace. This *Lucius Quintius Lucullus* talked withall a parte to perswade him, and openly reproued him with such words, that he was disswaded from his euell purpose, & by reason ruled his rash ambition, handling it both wisely and as cunningly as he could possible (for the safety of the common wealth) bicause it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infinite troubles were like to growe. While these thinges were thus in hande, newes came that *Octauius* the gouernor of CILICIA was dead. Straight whereuppon many put forward them selues to sue for this charge, & to courte *Cethegus*, as the only man who aboue all other might C make any man officer whom he thought good. Now for *Lucullus*, he made no great reckening of the gouernment of CILICIA in respect of the contry, but bicause CAPPADOCIA was hard adioyning to it, and perswading him selfe that if he could obtaine the gouernment thereof, they would geue none other (but him selfe) the authoritie to make warres with *Mithridates*: he determined to procure all the meanes he could, that none should haue it but him selfe. And hauing proued sundry wayes, was compelled in the ende, against his owne nature, to practise a meane neither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly deuise to obtaine his desire. There was a woman in ROME at that time called *Præcia*, very famous for her passing beawty, and also for her pleasaunt grace in talke and discourse, howbeit otherwise vnchaste after curtisan manner. But bicause she employed the credit & fauor of them that fre- D quented her companie, to the benefit and seruice of the common wealth, and of them that loued her: she wanne the reporte (besides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very louinge woman, and readie to fauor and further any good enterprise, and it wanne her great fame and reputacion. But after she had once wonne *Cethegus*, (who ruled all the common wealth at his pleasure) and brought him to be so farre in fancie with her, that he could not be out of her sight: then had she all the whole power & authority of ROME in her hands, for the people did nothing but *Cethegus* preferred it, and *Cethegus* did what euer *Præcia* would will him to. Thus *Lucullus* sought to come in fauor with her, sending her many presentes, and vsing all other curtesies he could offer vnto her: besides that it seemed a great reward for so prowde & ambitious a woman as she, to be sued vnto by such a man as *Lucullus* was, who by E this meanes came to haue *Cethegus* at his cõmaundement. For *Cethegus* did nothing but cõmend *Lucullus* in all assemblies of the people, to procure him the gouernment of CICILIA: who after it was once graunted him, had then no neede of the helpe neither of *Præcia*, nor yet of *Cethegus*. For the people wholly of them selues with one cõsent did graunt him the charge to make warre with *Mithridates*, bicause he knew better how to ouercome him, then any other Captaine, and bicause that *Pompey* was in the warres with *Sertorius* in SPAINE, and *Metellus* also growen too olde, both which two were the onely men that could deseruedly haue contended for this office with him. Neuertheles, *Marcus Cotta* his fellow Consull, made such F sute to the Senate, that they sent him also with an armie by sea, to keepe the coastes of PROPONTIDE, and to defende the contrie of BITHYNIA. Thus, *Lucullus* hauing his commission, went into ASIA with one legyon only, the which he leauied a new at ROME: & when he was come thither, he tooke the rest of the strength he founde there, which were men marred and

Cethegus a vitious liuer.

Lucius Quintius, a seditious Orator at Rome.

Lucullus ambition to make warres against king Mithridates.

Præcia a famous curtisan of Rome.

Cethegus ruled all Rome.

The gouernment of Cilicia & the warres against king Mithridates were geuen to Lucullus.

cor-

A corrupted altogether of long time, through couetouſnes and delicacie of the contrie. For amongeſt others, were the bandes which they called the *Fimbrian* bandes, men geuen ouer to ſelfe will, and very ill to be ruled by marſhall diſcipline, bicauſe they had liued a long time at their owne libertie, without all obedience to any man. They were thoſe ſelfe ſouldiers that together with *Fimbria*, ſlue their generall *Flaccus*, Conſull of the ROMANE people, and that afterwardes betrayed *Fimbria* him ſelfe, and forſooke him, leauing him vnto *Sylla*, being mutiners, traitors, and wicked people: howbeit otherwiſe very vallyant, well trayned, and painefull ſouldiers. Notwithſtanding, *Lucullus* in ſhorte time brideled their boldnes meetely well, and reformed the others alſo, who before had neuer proued (in my opinion) what the value of a good Captaine and Generall ment, that knew how to commaund: but were vſed to flat-

B tering leaders, that commaunded the ſouldiers no more then they them ſelues liked of. Now concerning the ſtate of the enemies, thus it was with them. *Mithridates* that in the beginning was very braue and bolde (as theſe floriſhing Sophiſters commonly are) vndertaking warre againſt the ROMANES, with a vaine vnprofitable armie, but paſſing freſhe and ſumptuous to the eye: but after that he was once foyled and ouercome with no leſſe ſhame then loſſe, when he came to make this ſecond warre, he cut of all ſuperfluous pompe, and brought his armie into a conuenient furniture to ſerue for warres at all aſſayes. For he put by the confuſed multi-

C tude of ſundrie nations, the fierce threatninges of the barbarous people in ſo many ſundrie tongues, and clearely baniſht alſo the riche grauen armors with goldeſmythes worke, and ſet with precious ſtones, as thinges that more enriched the enemies that wanne them, then gaue ſtrength or corage to thoſe that ware them. And contrariwiſe, cauſed long ſtiffe ſwords to be made after the ROMANE facion, and great heauy ſhields, and brought to the field a maruelous number of horſe, more ready for ſeruice, then riche in furniture. Then he ioyned ſixe ſcore thowſand footemen together, appointed & ſet in order like vnto the battell of the ROMANES, with ſixteene thowſand horſe of ſeruice, beſides thoſe that drue his armed cartes with ſicthes about, which were in all to the number of a hundred. And beſides all this land preparation, he brought alſo a great number of ſhippes and gallies together, which were not decked with goodly golden pauilions, as at the firſt, neither with ſtooues nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiouſly hanged for Ladies and gentlewomen: but furniſhed full of armor,

D artillerie, and ſlinges, and with money alſo to pay the ſouldiers. With all this armie and preparation, he went firſt to inuade BITHYNIA, where the cities receiued him very gladly, & not thoſe only, but all the other cities of ASIA wholly: the which were fallen againe into their former miſeries and diſeaſes, by the crueltie of the ROMANE farmers and vſerers, who raiſing taxes and impoſtes vppon them, made them abide vntollerable thinges. It is true that *Lucullus* draue them away afterwardes, like the *Harpyæ*, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mowthes: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reaſonable by the perſwaſions he vſed vnto them, and qualified a litle the inclination of the people vnto rebellion, being euery one of them in manner willing to reuolt. Now *Lucullus* being buſie about

E theſe matters, *Marcus Cotta* the other Conſull (and his companion) ſuppoſing that the abſence of *Lucullus* was a fit occaſion offered him to doe notable ſeruice, prepared to fight with *Mithridates*. And although he had newes brought him from ſundrie places, that *Lucullus* was with his armie in PHRYGIA, and comming towardes him: yet notwithſtanding, imagining that he had the honor of triumphe aſſured alreadie in his handes, and bicauſe *Lucullus* ſhould be no partaker of it, he aduaunced forwardes to geue battell. But *Mithridates* ouercame him both by ſea and by lande: ſo that *Cotta* by ſea loſt three ſcore of his ſhippes with all the men in them, foure thowſand footemen by lande, and was after with ſhame ſhut vp and beſieged in the citie of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopeleſſe to eſcape, but by *Lucullus* onely ayde and meanes. Howbeit there were in *Lucullus* campe, that were very earneſt with

F him to leaue *Cotta*, and to go further, aſſuring him that he ſhould finde the realme of *Mithridates* both without men of warre, or any defence at all: ſo that he might eaſily be Lord of the whole. And theſe were the wordes of the ſouldiers that ſpyted *Cotta*, bicauſe his fooliſhe raſhnes and fonde imagination had not only brought thoſe men to the ſhambles to be ſlaine and caſt away, whom he had the leading of: but had let them alſo, that they could not ouer-

Fimbriã ſouldiers very diſſolute and corrupted.

Mithridates armie againſt Lucullus.

Mithridates armie.

Aſia fell into former miſeries by the Romane vſerers.

Cotta the Cõſull ouercome by Mithridates in battell.

come him, and ende this warre without blowes, for that they were driuen to go to his helpe. A
The godly saying of Lucullus for the sauing of a citizen. Howbeit *Lucullus* making an Oration vnto them, aunswered, that he had rather saue the life of one ROMANE citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And when *Archelaus*, (who had bene *Mithridates* Lieutenaunt in BOEOTIA in the first warres against *Sylla*, and now in this seconde warre tooke parte with the ROMANES) assured him that so soone as they sawe him in the realme of PONTVS, they would all rise against *Mithridates*, and yeelde them selues vnto him: *Lucullus* aunswered him thus, that he would not shewe him selfe more
Lucullus army. fearefull, then the good hunters which neuer suffer the beast to recouer his denne. And when he had so sayd, he marched with his armie towardes *Mithridates*, hauing in all his campe thirtie thowsande footemen, and two thowsande fiue hundred horse. When he came so neere vnto his enemies, that he might easily at eye discerne all their hoast, he wondered at the great B multitude of souldiers that were in their campe, and was in minde to geue battell, supposing yet that the better way was to prolong time, and drawe these warres out in length. But one *Marius* a ROMANE Captaine, whom *Sertorius* had sent out of SPAYNE vnto *Mithridates* with a certaine number of souldiers: came forwardes, and prouoked him to battell. *Lucullus* for his parte did put his men also in a readinesse to fight. But euen as both battells were prepared to ioyne, the element opened vpon the sodaine, without any shewe of chaunge of weather decerned before, and they plainly saw a great flake of fire fall betwene both armies, in forme and
A flame of fire fell betwene both armies, out of the elements. shape much like to a tonne, and of the colour of molten siluer. This celestiall signe put both tharmies in such a feare, as they both retyred, and fought not a stroke: and this wonderfull C sight fortuned (as it appeared) in a place of PHRYGIA, called Otryes. Nowe *Lucullus* afterwards considering with himselfe, that there was no riches nor prouision so great in the world, that could suffice to vittell so many thowsandes of people as *Mithridates* had in his campe any long time together, hauing his enemies campe so lying before them: willed that one of
Lucullus politicke consideration to dissipher the enemy. the prisoners should be brought into his tent, and first of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabin, then what corne he had left in their cabbin. And when the prisoner had aunswered to all his demaundes, he returned him to prison, and sent for an other: then for a third, and questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the store of their corne, and other proportion of vittells they had, with the number of men the same should maintaine: he founde that all would be spent in three or foure dayes at thutmost. Whereupon he relied on his first determination, to delay time without hazard of bat- D tell. So he caused a maruelous deale of wheate to be brought into his campe out of euerie quarter, that the same being throughly vittelled, he might easily tary the occasion which his enemies necessitie should offer him. *Mithridates* in the meane time, sought which way he might take the citie of the CYZICENIANS, who had bene ouerthrowen before with *Cotta* at the battell of CHALCEDON, where they had lost three thowsande men, and tenne of their shippes. And bicause that *Lucullus* should not vnderstand of his enterprise, *Mithridates* stale away by night after supper, taking the oportunity of a darke rainy night, and marched thither-
Mithridates besiegeth Cyzicus. wardes with such speede, that he was before the city of CYZICVS by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddesse *Adrastia* standeth, which is the goddesse of fatall destinie. *Lucullus* receiuing intelligence of *Mithridates* departure from his campe, fol- E lowed him straight wayes steppe by steppe, and being glad that he was not met withall of his enemies in disorder, lodged his armie in a village called THRACIA, in a place of great aduantage for him, and conuodiously seated also vppon the high wayes, and through fare of the neighbors therabouts, by the which they must come of necessity to vittel *Mithridates* campe. Wherefore *Lucullus* wisely foreseing what would follow: would not keepe his purpose secret from his souldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his campe, called them to counsell, and there making an oration vnto them, tolde them openly by manifest demonstration of assured hope, that ere many dayes passed, he would geue victorie into their handes, and that without losse of one droppe of blood. In the meane season, *Mithridates* enuironned the GRÆCIANS round about by lande, hauing deuided his armie into tenne campes, & stop- F ped vp the mouth of the arme of the sea, which deuideth the citie from firme lande, with his shippes from one side to an other. Now the CYZICENIANS were valliant men, and determined

A ned to abide all extreamity for the ROMANES sakes: but one thing only troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of *Lucullus*, neither could they heare any newes of him, though his campe stoode in such a place, where they might easily deceme it from the citie. But *Mithridates* souldiers deceiued them, for shewing them the ROMANES campe that lay aboue hard by them, sayd vnto them: doe ye see yonder campe there? They are the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS, whom *Tigranes* hath sent to the ayde of *Mithridates*. These wordes put the CYZICENIANS in a maruelous feare, seeing such a multitude of enemies dispersed round about them: that when *Lucullus* should come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to passe. Yet at the length they heard of *Lucullus* approach, by one called *Demonax*, whom *Archelaus* sent vnto them, but they would not beleue him at the first, taking it for a tale, only
B to make them be of good corage, and valliantly abide the furie of the siege: vntill such time as a litle boy of theirs, escaped from the enemies that before had take him prisoner, was come againe vnto them. Of whome they inquired where *Lucullus* was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they ieasted to aske that questiō of him. But when he saw they were in good earnest, he shewed them the ROMANES campe with his finger: then they beleued it in deede, and were coragious againe. There is a lake neere vnto the citie of CYZICVS called Dascylitide, and it is nauigable with conuenient bigge boates. *Lucullus* tooke one of the greatest of them, put it in a carte, and so caried it to the sea, and there put as many souldiers in her as she could well carry, who by night entred into the citie, the skowte of the enemies neuer discoying them. This
C small supply did maruelously comforte the besieged CYZICENIANS: and it seemeth that the goddes, deliting to see their noble corage, would further increase and assure the same, by many manifest tokens which they sent from heauen, and specially by one which was this. The day of the feast of *Proserpina* was at hand, and the citizens had neuer a blacke cowe to offer in solemne sacrifice, as their aunciēt ceremonies required: so they made one of paste, & brought it hard vnto the aulter. Now, the cowe that was vowed to this sacrifice, & which they reered vp of purpose to serue for that day, was feeding amongest the heard of the citie in the fieldes, on thother side of the arme of the sea. But that day she kept alone from all the rest of the heard, and swamme ouer the arme of the sea, and came into the citie: where she went of her selfe vn-
D to the place of the sacrifice. Furthermore, the goddesse *Proserpina* her selfe appeared vnto *Aristagoras* in his dreame, secretary of the state and common wealth of the CYZICENIANS, and sayd vnto him: I am come hither to bring the flute of LIBIA, against the trompet of PONT, and therefore tell the citizens from me, that I will them to be of good corage. The next morning when the secretarie had tolde them his vision, the CIZICENIANS maruelled much at the goddesses wordes, and could not imagine what they ment. Howbeit at the breake of day there rose a great whistling winde, that made the sea billowes rise very high: and the kings engines of batterie which were brought to the walles of the citie to plucke them downe (being wonderfull workes that one *Niconides* a THESSALIAN enginer had made and deuised) began to make such a noyse, and to breake in peeces by the roughnes of the winde, that a man might easily iudge what would follow vpon it. Then all at one instant, the southwinde was become so vehement bigge, that in a moment it burst all these engines a sunder, and specially a tower
E of wodde of the height of a hundred cubittes, which the winde shooke so vehemently, that it ouerthrewe it to the ground. And it is sayd furthermore, that in the citie of ILIVM the goddesse *Minerua* appeared vnto diuerse in their sleepe, all in a sweat, and showing parte of her vaile torne, as if she had bene newly retorned from geuing ayde vnto the CYZICENIANS: in confirmacion whereof, the inhabitantes of ILIVM haue a piller yet vnto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetuall memorie. Now was *Mithridates* maruelous sory for the breaking & losse of his engines, by meanes wherof, the CIZICENIANS had escaped the daunger of assaulte, & of the siege in like maner, vntill he truly vnderstood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreame dearth to be such, as the souldiers were compelled to eate
F mans flesh, which (his Captaines abusing him) had for a time kept secret from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth in dede, he left of his vaine ambition obstinately to continewe siege: knowing well that *Lucullus* made not warres with threats and brauery, but (as the common prouerbe sayth) lept on his belly with both his feete, that is to say, he did

The stratagesme of Mithridates souldiers.

A wonderfull token of a cow that came to offer her selfe to the Cizicenians to be sacrificed.

Aristagoras vision.

Extreame famine in Mithridates campe.

Prouerbe: He lept on his belly with both his feete.

what he could possible to cut of all the vittells from him. And therefore one day when *Lucullus* was gone to assault a castell that troubled him very neere vnto his campe: *Mithridates* bicause he would not lose that oportunity, sent the most parte of his horsemen to get vittels in BITHYNIA, with all his cartes, and beastes of cariage, and his most vnprofitable footemen. *Lucullus* hearing thereof, returned againe the selfe same night vnto his campe, and the next morninge betimes being in the winter season, followed them by the tracke with ten ensignes of footemen only and all his horsemen. But the snow was so deepe, the cold so terrible sharp, and the weather so rough, that many of his souldiers not being able to abide it, dyed by the way. For all that he marched on still, till he ouertooke his enemies about the riuer of Rindacus, where he gaue them such an ouerthrowe, that the very women came out of the citie of APOLLONIA, and went to steale the vittells they had loden, and strippe the dead, which were a maruelous great number, as a man may iudge in such a case: and neuertheless there were taken sixe thowsande horse of seruice, an infinite number of beastes for cariage, and fifteene thowsande men besides, all which spoyle he brought to his campe, and passed hard by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the historiographer *Salust*, who wryting of this matter sayth, that here was the first time that euer the ROMANES saw any camells. Me thinkes it straunge how he should thinke so, that they who long before had ouercomen *Antiochus* the great vnder *Scipio*, and thothers that a litle before had fought against *Archelaus*, neere vnto the cities of ORCHOMENE and CHÆRONEA, should not haue seene camells. But to returne againe to our matter. *Mithridates* being feared with this ouerthrow, resolued with him selfe immediatly to flie, with all the speede he could possibly make: and to entertaine and stay *Lucullus* for a time behinde him, determined to sende *Aristonicus* his Admirall with his army by sea, into the sea of GRÆCE. But as *Aristonicus* was ready to hoyse sayle, his owne men betraied him, and deliuered him into the handes of *Lucullus*, with tenne thowsand crownes which he caried with him, to corrupt if he could parte of the ROMANES army. *Mithridates* hearing of this, fled by sea, leauing the rest of his armie by lande in the handes of his Captaines, to be brought away by them as well as they could. *Lucullus* followed vnto the riuer of Granicus, where he set apon them, and after he had slaine twenty thowsande of them, tooke an infinite number prisoners. And they say there dyed in that warres, what souldiers, what slaues, what lackeis, and other stragglers that followed the campe, about the number of three hundred thowsand people. This done, *Lucullus* returned to the citie of CYZICVS, where after he had spent some dayes, enioying the glorie due vnto him, and receiued the honorable entertainment of the CYZICENIANS: he went to visite the coast of HELLESPONT, to get shippes together, and to prepare an armie by sea. And passing by TROADE, they prepared his lodging within the temple of *Venus*: where, as he slept in the night, it seemed to him he saw the goddesse appeare before him, which sayd these verses vnto him.

Rindacus fl.

Lucullus ouerthrew Mithridates horsemen.

Mithridates fled by sea.
Granicus fl.
Lucullus ouerthroweth Mithridates footemen by the riuer of Granicus.

Lucullus dreame.

O Lyon fierce, and stowte: vvhy sleepest thou so sounde?
Since at thy hande so fayre a praye, is ready to be founde.

Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his frends to him, tolde him the vision he had in his dreame: and about that very time also there came some vnto him from the citie of ILIVM, that brought him newes of fifteene gallies of kinge *Mithridates*, hauing fiue ores to euery bancke, that were seene in the hauen of the ACHAIANS, and that sayled towards the Ile of LEMNOS. Whereupon *Lucullus* tooke shippe straight, went and tooke them euery one: for at his first comming he slue the Captaine called *Isidorus*, and went afterwardes to the other mariners that lay at ancker on the coast side, who seeinge him come, drew towardes land with their shippes, in purpose to runne them all a shore, and fighting aboue hatches, hurt many of *Lucullus* souldiers, bicause they could not compasse them in behinde, and for that also the place where they had layed their shippes was such, as there was no way to force them before, their gallies floting in the sea as they did, and the others being fastned to the land as they were. *Lucullus* with much a do all this notwithstanding, found meanes in the end to put a shore certaine of the best souldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might easily lande. These souldiers went straight and set vpon the enemies behinde, slue some of them euen at their first comming, & compelled the rest to cut a sunder

the

A the cables that faſtned the gallies to the banckes. But when they thought to flie from lande, the gallies bruſed and brake one an other: and that worſt of all was, ranne vpon the poyntes and ſpurres of *Lucullus* gallies. And ſo many of them that ſtoode aboue hatches were ſlaine, the reſt taken priſoners: amongeſt whom, *Marius* the ROMANE Captaine was brought vnto *Lucullus*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent out of SPAINE vnto *Mithridates*. He had but one eye, and *Lucullus* had commaunded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eye: bicauſe *Marius* ſhould not dye ſo happy a death, as to be ſlaine, but that he ſhould dye ſome ſhamefull death, and be condemned by order of lawe. That done, *Lucullus* went in perſone with all the ſpeede he could poſſible to follow *Mithridates*, hoping to finde him yet vpon the coaſt of BITHYNIA, where *Voconius* ſhould haue ſtayed him: for he had ſent

B this *Voconius* before with a certaine number of ſhippes vnto the citie of NICOMEDIA, to ſtop him from flying. But he taried ſo long in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA ſacrificing to the goddes of the ſame, and to be receiued into the fraternitie of their religion; that he could neuer after come neere *Mithridates* to ſtoppe him from flying: hauing alreadie made ſayle with all the whole fleete, and haſting with all poſſible ſpeede to recouer the realme of PONTVS, before *Lucullus* could returne from whence he went. But in ſayling thitherwardes, he met with ſuch a terrible ſtorme, that caried parte of his ſhippes ſo away, that they ranne ſtragling to ſeeke their fortune, and parte of them ſplitted and drowned outright: ſo that all the coaſtes and riuers thereabouts, for many dayes after, were full of dead bodies and ſhippewrackes caſt a ſhore by waues of the ſea. Nowe for *Mithridates* owne perſone, he was in a ſhippe of great

C burden, the which for her greatnes could not ſayle neere the ſhore, nor recouer land, ſhe was alſo very euill to be guided by the pylots in ſo boyſterous a ſtorme: the mariners beſides were put out of all their skill and knowledge, and the ſhippe her ſelfe moreouer tooke in ſuch ſtore of water, and was ſo heauely charged withall, that they durſt no more put her out to the ſea. By reaſon whereof *Mithridates* was compelled to goe abord a litle pinaſe of pyrates, and to put him ſelfe and his life into their handes, by whoſe helpe in the ende, (beyond all expectation, but not without great daunger) he got to lande, and recouered the citie of HERACLEA in the realme of PONTVS. Now here is to be noted, that the great brauerie *Lucullus* ſhewed vnto the Senate of ROME, fell out according to his imagination by the fauor of the goddes.

D For when the Senate had appointed for ending of theſe warres to prepare a great nauie of ſhippes, and therewithall had geuen order alſo for three thowſande talentes: *Lucullus* ſtayed them by letters that they ſhould not doe it, wryting brauely vnto them, that without all this charge and great preparation he would be ſtrong enough to driue *Mithridates* from the ſea, with the onely ſhippes he would borrowe of their frendes and confederates. And in deede, through the ſpeciall fauor of the goddes, he brought it ſo to paſſe: for they ſay, that this terrible ſtorme that deſtroyed the armie of *Mithridates*, was raiſed vp by *Diana*, being offended with the men of the realme of PONTVS, bicauſe they had deſtroyed her temple in the citie of PRIAPOS, and had caried away her image. Now there were diuers that counſelled *Lucullus* to deferre the reſt of this warre, vntill an other ſeaſon: but notwithſtanding all their perſwaſions, he went through the contrie of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to inuade the realme of *Mi-*

E *thridates*. In the which voyage, at the firſt beginning he lacked vittells, ſo that there were thirty thowſand men of GALATIA following his campe, that caried euery one of them a buſhell of wheate on their ſhoulders: howbeit entring further into the contrie, and conquering the whole, there was ſuch exceeding plenty of all thinges, that an oxe was ſold in his campe but for a Drachma, & a ſlaue at foure times as much. And of all other ſpoyle there was ſuch great ſtore, that either they made no reckening of it, or elſe they made hauoke of it, bicauſe there was no man to ſell it vnto, euery man hauing ſo much of his owne. For they ranne ouer all the contrie vnto the citie of THEMISCYRA, and to the vallies that lay apon the riuer of Thermodon, and ſtayed no where lenger then they were a ſpoyling. Thereupon the ſouldiers be-

F ganne to murmure at *Lucullus*, bicauſe he aſſured all the cities vpon compoſition, and neuer tooke any of them by force, nor gaue them any meanes to enrich them ſelues by ſpoyle: and yet ſayd they, he would make vs now go further, and leaue AMISVS a great rich citie which we might eaſily take by force, if it were but a litle ſtraightly beſieged, and lead vs into the de-

Lucullus ouercame Mithridates many by ſea.

Mithridates in great daũger apon the ſea by tempeſt.

Lucullus ambition commendable.

Lucullus iorney into Pontus.

An oxe bought for a Drachma.

The mutiny of Lucullus ſouldiers.

sertes of the TIBARENIANS and the CHALDÆIANS to fight against *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* passed ouer all these complaints, and made no reckening of them, bicause he would neuer haue thought that they would haue fallen into such mutinie and furie, as afterwards they did: and contrarily excused him selfe the more carefully to them that blamed & reproued him, for his long tarying vpon townes and villages that were not worth the reckening, and suffering *Mithridates* in the meane time to gather a new force and armie together at his pleasure. For, said he, that is the marke I shotte at, and that maketh me linger time vp and downe as I doe, wishing nothing more, then that he might once againe make him selfe strong, and bring a second armie to the field, that might embolden him to come eftsoones to the fight with vs, and runne away no more. Doe you not see, sayd he, that at his backe he hath an infinite number of desert contries, where it is vnpossible euer to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him also the mounte Caucasus, and many other vnpassable places, which are sufficient not only to hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings besides that would flie battell, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a litle way from the contrie of the CABIRENIANS vnto the realme of ARMENIA, where *Tigranes* the king of kinges inhabiteth, whose power is so great, that he driueth the PARTHIANS out of ASIA, and carieth whole townes and cities of GRÆCE vnto the realme of MEDIA, who hath all SYRIA and PALÆSTINE in his handes, and hath slaine and rooted out the kinges and successors of the great *Seleucus*, and hath caried away their wiues and daughters prisoners by force. This great and mightie kinge is allyed vnto *Mithridates*, for he maried *Mithridates* daughter: and it is not likely that when *Mithridates* shall come and intreate him to helpe him in his distresse, that *Tigranes* will refuse him, but rather we must thinke certainly that he will make warres vpon vs in his defence. And thus, in making hast to driue out *Mithridates*, we shall bring our selues into great daunger, to prouoke a new enemie, euen *Tigranes* against vs, who of long time hath lurked for a iust occasion to make warres with vs: and he can haue no honester cause to take armes, then to defend and kepe a king his neighbour, and so neere a kinseman, from vtter destruction, and one that is compelled to seeke vpon him for succor. What neede we then to prouoke him to procure it, and teache *Mithridates* (which he purposeth not) to whom he should repayre for aide, to make warres against our selues, and pricke him forward, or to say better, put him with our owne handes into the way to go seeke aide of *Tigranes*: which of him selfe he will neuer doe, (thinking it a dishonor vnto him) onlesse we driue him to it for very necessitie. Is it not better for vs to geue him leasure and time, to gather a second force againe of him selfe, and his owne people, that we might rather fight with the COLCHIANS, TIBARENIANS, CAPPADOCIANS, and with such other people whome we haue so many times ouercome: then with the MEDES and ARMENIANS? With this determination *Lucullus* taried a great while before the citie of AMISVS, continuing this siege of purpose, without distressing them at all. Afterwardes when winter was past, he left *Murena* there to continue the siege, and him selfe with the rest of his armie went to meete *Mithridates*: who had planted his campe neere vnto the citie of CABIRA, determining to tarie the ROMANES comming, hauing gathered together againe a new armie of fortie thowsand footemen, and foure thowsand horsemen, in the which he put his most confidence and trust, so that he passed ouer the riuer of Lycus, & went and presented battell to the ROMANES in the plaine field. There the horsemen skirmished, & the ROMANES had the worse: for there was one *Pomponius* a ROMANE taken, of great estimacion, who was brought vnto king *Mithridates* hurt as he was. *Mithridates* asked him, if in sauing his life, and healing his woundes, he would become his seruaunt and frend. Straight replyed *Pomponius*, with all my hart quod he, so that thou make peace with the ROMANES: if not, I will euer be thine enemie. The king esteemed his corage much, and would doe him no hurt. And as for *Lucullus*, he was affrayed to come into the plaine, bicause his enemie was the stronger of horsemen: and he doubted also on thother side to take his way by the mountaine, bicause it was very high, vneasie to clime, and full of woddes and forrestes. But as he stoode thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine GRÆCIANS by chaunce that were fled, and hidden in a caue hard by, among the which there was an old man called *Artemidorus*, who promised *Lucullus* if he would beleue and follow him, he would bring him into a sure strong place to lodge his

Lucullus oration & excuse to his souldiers.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, maried Mithridates daughter.

Mithridates camped at Cabira.

Mithridates armie.

Lycus fl.

The constancy of a Romane souldier.

Lucullus flieth Mithridates horsemen.

A his campe, where was a caſtell aboue the citie of CABIRA. *Lucullus* beleued the olde mans wordes, wherefore ſo ſoone as night came, he raiſed great fires in his campe, and went his way: and after they had paſſed certaine ſtraight and daungerous wayes of the mountaines, he came in the morning vnto the place which *Artemidorus* had promiſed to bring him. Now the enemies were maruelouſly amazed when day light came, to ſee him there ouer them, in a place where if he liſt to fight, he might come apon them with aduantage: and if he liked not to ſturre, it was vnpoſſible to compell him. For he ſtoode indifferent then to hazard battell or not. But in the meane ſeaſon, they ſay certaine of the kinges campe by chaunce were a hunting the harte. The ROMANES perceiuing that, fell vpon them to cut them of by the way: and they began by this meanes one to charge an other in ſuch ſorte, reliefe growing ſtill from ei-
B ther ſide, as *Mithridates* men grew the ſtronger. But the ROMANES ſeeing their men flie from the trenches of their campe aboue, were in ſuch a rage, that they all ranne in a choller to *Lucullus* to pray him he would leade them to battell, and geue them a ſignall to fight. *Lucullus*, bicauſe he would ſhew them by experience how much the preſence & eye of a good wiſe Captaine in time of neede was worth: commaunded them they ſhould not once ſturre, and he him ſelfe in perſone went downe into the valley, where he commaunded the firſt of his men he met withall flying, to ſtay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they preſently did, and all the other in like caſe: and thus gathering them together againe, did eaſily make their enemies returne, that before had them in chaſe, and draue them backe, fighting with them euen hard to their owne forte. Afterwardes vppon his returne againe to his campe, he
C ſette his ſouldiers that fled, vnto a certaine peece of worke to ſhame them withall, which the ROMANES are wont to vſe in ſuch a caſe: & that is, that he made them digge a ditch of twelue foote longe, being in their ſhirtes, all vntruſſed, and their other companions preſent ſeeinge them doe it. Now there was in king *Mithridates* campe, one *Olthacus*, prince of the DARDARIANS (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling vpon the mariſhes of Mæotin) a noble gentleman of his perſone, vallyant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good iudgement to doe any great enterpriſe as any that was in all the armie, and furthermore a prince of great good grace and entertainment in companie, knowing how to facion him ſelfe with all men. This prince, being alwayes at ſtrife with other Lordes of his contrie, and contending who ſhould haue the firſt place of honor and fauor about the king: went vnto *Mithridates*, &
D promiſed him that he would do him notable ſeruice, and that was, that he would kill *Lucullus*. The king was very glad of this promiſe, and praiſed him maruelouſly in ſecret: howbeit openly of purpoſe he did him many iniuries, bicauſe he might haue ſome colour to counterfeate anger and diſpleaſure, and to geue way for him to goe yelde him ſelfe vnto *Lucullus* as he did. *Lucullus* was maruelous glad of him, bicauſe he was one of the chiefeſt men of name in all his campe, and to proue him withall, gaue him charge immediatly: in the which he behaued him ſelfe ſo well, that *Lucullus* greatly eſteemed his wiſedome, and commended his diligence, in ſuch ſorte that he did him this honor, to call him ſomtimes vnto the counſell, and make him ſit at his borde. One day when this DARDARIAN prince *Olthacus* thought to haue found fit occaſion to execute his enterpriſe, he commaunded his footemen to be ready with his horſe
E out of the trenches of the campe: and at none dayes when the ſouldiers tooke reſt, and ſlept here and there in the campe, he went vnto *Lucullus* tent, thinking to haue found no body there to kepe him from comming in, conſidering the familiaritie *Lucullus* ſhewed him, ſaying alſo he had matters of great importance to talke with him of: and ſure he had gone in immediatly vnto him, if ſleepe that caſteth away ſo many other Captaines, had not at that time preſerued & ſaued *Lucullus* that ſlept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called *Menedemus*, who by good fortune kept the dore of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, bicauſe *Lucullus* being wearied with trauell and lacke of ſleepe, was but then newly layed downe to reſt. *Olthacus* whatſoeuer the other ſayd to him, would not be ſo aunſwered, but tolde him he would come in whether he would or not, for he muſt nedes ſpeake with him in a matter of great im-
F portaunce. *Menedemus* aunſwered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more neceſſarie, then the preſeruation of his maſters life and health, who had neede to take reſt: and with theſe words, he thruſt him backe with both his hands. *Olthacus* was affrayed

The fight of a Generall in a battell is of maruelous force.

A politicke deuiſe of the Romanes to puniſhe cowardly ſouldiers.

The Dardarians what people they be.

Lucullus daūger by Olthacius conſpiracy.

Olthacus prince of the Dardarians.

Lucullus life ſaued by ſleepe.

then, and withdrew him ſelfe ſecretly out of the trenches of the campe, tooke his horſe back, A
and rode ſtraight to *Mithridates* campe without his purpoſe he came for, which was to kill
Lucullus. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occaſion, and oportunity of time, euen in great
matters deliuereth meanes, to ſaue or deſtroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicines
geuen vnto the ſicke and diſeaſed perſones. Shortly after, *Lucullus* ſent one of his Captaines
called *Sornatius* to get vittells, with tenne enſignes of footemen. Whereof *Mithridates* being
aduertiſed, ſent preſently at his tayle one of his Captaines alſo, called *Menander*, vnto whom
Sornatius gaue battell, and ſlue him with great ſlaughter of his men beſide. And afterwardes
Lucullus ſent an other of his Lieutenauntes called *Adrianus* with a great companie of ſoul-
diers, to get vittells into his campe more then he ſhould neede. *Mithridates* did not let ſlippe
Lucullus victory of certaine of Mithridates Captaines. this occaſion, but ſent after him two of his Captaines alſo called *Menemachus* and *Myron*, B
with a great number of men, as well footemen as horſemen: all which were ſlaine, two only
excepted, that brought newes backe to *Mithridates* campe: the which he ſought to ſalue as
well as he could, ſaying that the loſſe was much leſſe then it was thought for, and that it fortu-
ned through the ignoraunce and raſhnes of his Lieutenauntes. But *Adrianus* at his returne,
paſſed by *Mithridates* campe with great pompe and maieſtie, carying a huge number of carts
loden with corne and ſpoyles he had wonne: which draue *Mithridates* ſelfe into ſo great a di-
ſpaire, & all his people into ſuch a feare and trouble, that he preſently determined to remoue
thence. Whereupon, the nobility and ſuch as had place of credit about him, beganne to ſend
Mithridates noble men & familiars, cauſe of mutiny & ouerthrowe of his whole army. before, and ſecretly to conuey their ſtuffe out of the campe, but vtterly prohibiting others to
doe the ſame. The reſt of the ſouldiers ſeing the ſtowtnes of the kinges minions, beganne to C
ſet vpon them with open force, not ſuffering them on the other ſide once to iſſue out of the
campe. This mutinie grewe to ſuch a fury, that they ouerthrewe their cariages and ſumpter
moyles, and ſlue them preſently downe. Amongeſt others there was ſlaine *Dorylaus*, one of
the chiefeſt Captaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple gowne,
for the which they killed him: & *Hermæus* the Prieſt of the ſacrifices was troden vnder foote,
and ſmoothered at the campe gate, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe that fled in ſo great
Mithridates flieth. diſorder. The king him ſelfe amongeſt others fled, but hauing neuer a one of his garde about
him, nor any of the quiries of his ſtable to bring him a horſe: *Ptolomy*, one of the groomes of
his chamber, perceiuing him in the company of them that fled, lighted of his owne horſe, and
gaue him the king, but euen in manner too late. For the ROMANES that followed him were D
then euen hard at his tayle: and it was not for lacke of ſpeede they miſſed the taking of him,
Couetouſnes, the ouerthrow of ſouldiers. for they were very neere him: but the couetouſnes of the ſouldiers was the loſſe of the praye
they had ſo long ſought for, with ſo great paine and hazard of battells, and depriued *Lucullus*
of the honor and reward of all his victories. For they were ſo neere vnto him, that if they had
but followed *Mithridates* neuer ſo litle further, they had out of doubt ouertaken him, and his
horſe that caried him away. But one of the moyles that caried his gold and ſiluer (whether by
A ſtratageame of Mithridates. chaunce, or of pretended policie of *Mithridates*, as a matter purpoſely habandoned to them
that purſued him) was found in the middeſt of the high way betwixt him that fled, & the Ro-
MANES that followed: who ſtayed there to robbe the gold & ſiluer, fighting about it, that *Mi-
thridates* by that meanes wanne ground ſo farre before them, as they could neuer after come E
neere him againe. And this loſſe was not all which the couetouſnes of the ſouldiers made *Lu-
cullus* to loſe. For, one of the chiefeſt ſecretaries of the king being taken, called *Calliſtratus*,
whom *Lucullus* commaunded to be brought vnto him to his campe: they that had the charge
of him, hearing tell that he had fiue hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedines of
them, ſlue him by the way, and yet notwithſtanding *Lucullus* ſuffered them to ſpoyle and de-
ſtroy the whole campe of their enemies. After *Mithridates* flight, *Lucullus* tooke the citie of
CABIRA, and many other caſtells and ſtrong places, where he founde great treaſure, and the
priſons full of poore priſoners of the GRÆCIANS, & many Princes a kinne vnto the king him
ſelfe, which were thought to be dead long before: and then ſeeing them ſelues deliuered from
this miſerable bondage, by the grace and benefit of *Lucullus*, thought with them ſelues they F
were not only taken out of priſon, but reuiued & turned againe vnto a ſecond life. There was
alſo taken one of king *Mithridates* ſiſters called *Niſſa*, whoſe taking fell out profitable for her:

bicauſe

A bicause all *Mithridates* other wiues and sisters whome they placed furthest of, as out of all daunger (and sent into a contrie of greatest safety, neere vnto the citie of PHARNACIA) dyed pitiefully, and were miserably slaine. For *Mithridates* sent one of the groomes of his priuie chamber vnto them called *Bacchides*, to bring them word that they must all dye. Amongest many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kinges sisters, called *Roxane* & *Statira*, which were forty yeres old a peece, & yet had neuer bene maried: & two of his wiues also whom he had maried, both of the contrie of IONIA, the one called *Berenicè*, borne in the Ile of CHIO, and the other *Monimè*, in the citie of MILETVM. *Monimè*, she was very famous amongest the GRÆCIANS: for notwithstanding king *Mithridates* importunate dealing, being farre in loue with her, insomuch as he sent her fifteene thowsand crownes at one time, yet she would neuer B geue eare vnto his sute, vntill such time as the mariage was agreed vpon betwene them, and that he had sent her his Diadeame or royall bande, and called her by the name and title of Queene. This poore Ladie after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long liued a woefull life, bewailing continually her accursed beauty, that in steade of a husband, had procured her a master: and in steade of the matrimoniall companie which a noble woman should enioy, had gotten her a gard and garrison of barbarous men, that kept her as a prisoner, farre from the sweete contrie of GRÆCE: in chaunge whereof, she had but a dreame and shadow of the hoped goods she looked for, hauing vnfortunately left thē within her owne contry she happely enioyed before. Now when this *Bacchides* was come vnto them, & had commaunded them from the king to choose what maner of death they would, & which euery one of thē thought C most easiest, and least painefull: *Monime* pluckt of the royall bande from her head, and tying it on a knot aboue her necke, hung her selfe, but the band not being strong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon she cried out: O cursed and wicked tissue, wilt thou not yet serue me to end my sorowfull dayes? And speaking these wordes, cast it on the grounde and spit apon it, and held out her throte to *Bacchides* to be cut a sunder. The other, *Berenicè*: she tooke a cuppe full of poyson her mother being present, who prayed her to let her haue halfe, the which she did, and they dranke it of betwene them. The force of the poyson was stronge enough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not so quickely to destroy the daughter: bicause she had not taken that proportion which would haue serued her turne, but drue out the paines of her death in length, vntill such time as *Bacchides* hasting to dispatch her, she in the D end did strangle her self. As for the kings two sisters, *Roxane* & *Statyra*, which were virgines yet vnmaried, they say, that one of them also dranke poison, cursing & detesting the cruelty of her brother: howbeit *Statira* gaue neuer an euill word, nor was fainte harted or sorowfull to dye, but contrarily did commend and thanke her brother highly, that seeing him selfe in daunger, had not yet forgotten them, but was carefull to cause them dye, before they shoulde fall as slaues into the handes of their enemies, and before they could come to dishonor them, or do them villany. These pitiefull misfortunes went to *Lucullus* hart, who was curteous and gentle of nature: neuertheless he went on further, still following *Mithridates* at the heeles, vnto the citty of TALAVRA. And there vnderstanding that he was fled foure dayes before vnto *Tigranes* in ARMENIA, returned backe againe, hauing first subdued the CHALDEANS, and the TIBAE RENIANS, taken ARMENIA the lesse, and brought the cities, castells, and strong places vnto his obedience. That done, he sent *Appius Clodius* vnto king *Tigranes*, to summone him to deliuer *Mithridates* vnto him: & him selfe tooke his iorney towards the citie of AMISVS, which was yet besieged. The cause why this siege continued long, was the sufficiencie and great experience of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called *Callimachus*: who vnderstoode so well howe all sortes of engines of batterie were to be vsed, and was so subtill besides in all inuentions that might serue to defende a place besieged, as he troubled the ROMANES much in this attempt: but afterwardes he was not only met withall, and payed home for all his labor, but also outreached by *Lucullus* for all his fineneſſe. For where before he had alwayes vsed to sound the retreate at a certaine hower, & to call his men backe from the assaulte, to rest them: F one day he brake that order on the sodaine, and comminge to assaulte the walle, at the first charge wanne a peece of it, before those within could come in time to resist them. *Callimachus* seeing that, and knowing it was now vnpossible to keepe the city any lenger, forsooke it.

Mithridates slue his sisters and wiues.

The corage of Monimè Mithridates wife.

Monimè her throte was cut.

Berenicè strāgled her selfe.

The corage of Statira Mithridates sister.

Appius Clodius sent vnto Tigranes from Lucullus.

Callimachus gouernor of Amisus.

Lucullus wan Amisus.

Callimachus setteth fire of Amisus and flieth.

But before his departing he set the citie a fire, either for the malice to the ROMANES, bicause he would not they should enriche them selues with the sacke of so great a citie: or else for a policy of warre to haue the more leasure to saue him selfe, and flie. For no man gaue eye to them that fled by sea, bicause the flame was so great, that it dispersed it selfe euen to the very walles, and the ROMANE souldiers, they only prepared to spoyle. *Lucullus* seeing the fire without, had compassion of the citie within, and would gladly haue holpen it, and for the purpose prayed the souldiers quickely to quench it: but not a man would harken to him, euery one gaping after the spoyle, making great noyse with clashing of harnesse, and being very lowde besides otherwise, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gaue the city wholly to spoyle, hoping thereby to saue the houses from fire, but it fell out cleane contrary. For the soldiers them selues in seeking all about with torches & linckes lighted, to see if any thing were hidden: they set a number of houses a fire. So as *Lucullus* comming into the citie the next morning, and seeing the great desolacion the fire had made, fell of weeping, saying vnto his familiar frends about him: he had oftentimes before thought *Sylla* happy, howbeit he neuer wondred more at his good fortune, then that day he did. For, *Sylla* sayd he, desiring to saue the citie of ATHENS, the goddes graunted him that fauor that he might do it: but I that would faine follow him therein, and saue this citie, fortune thwarting my desire, hath brought me to the reputacion of *Mummius*, that caused CORINTHE to be burnt. Neuertheless he did his best endeuor at that time to helpe the poore citie againe. For touching the fire, euen immediatly after it was taken, by Gods prouidence there fell a shower of raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and *Lucullus* selfe before he left the citie, made a great number of the houses which were spoyled by fire, to be built vp againe, and curteously receiued all the inhabitauntes that were fled, besides them he placed other GRÆCIANS there also, that were willing to dwell amongest them, and increased the boundes and confines of the citie which he gaue them, one hundred and twenty furlonges into the contrie. This citie was a colony of the ATHENIANS, who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire florished, and that they ruled the seas: by reason whereof, many flying the tyranny of *Aristion*, went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the naturall inhabitants of the same. This good happe fell vpon them, that forsaking their owne goodes, they went to possesse and enioy the goodes of other men: but the very citizens of ATHENS it selfe that had escaped from this great desolation, *Lucullus* clothed them well, and gaue them two hundred Drachmas a peece, and sent them againe into their contrie. *Tyrannion* the grammarian was taken at that time, whom *Muræna* begged of *Lucullus*: and *Lucullus* hauing graunted him vnto him, he made him free, wherein he delt very discourteously, and did much abuse *Lucullus* liberality and gift vnto him. For in bestowing this prisoner vppon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane *Muræna* should take him for a bondeman, whereby he should neede afterwardes to make him free. For seeming to make him free, and restore him to libertie: was no more but to take that freedome and liberty from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other thinges, and not in that only, *Muræna* layed him selfe open to the world, that he had not all the partes a worthy Captaine should haue in him. When *Lucullus* departed from AMISVS, he went to visite the cities of ASIA, to thend that whilest he was not now occupied with warres, they might haue some refreshing of lawes and iustice. For, by reason that law was not executed of long time in ASIA, the poore contry was so afflicted, and oppressed with so many euills and miseries: as no man liuing would scant beleue, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreame and horrible couetousnes of the farmers, customers, and ROMANE vserers did not only deuoure it, but also kept it in such bondage and thraldome, that particularly the poore fathers were driuen to sell their goodly young sonnes and daughters in mariage, to pay the interest and vsery of the money which they had borowed to discharge their fines withall: & publikely the tables dedicated vnto the temples, the statues of their goddes, and other church iuells: and yet in the end, they them selues were also iudged to be bondmen & slaues to their cruell creditors, to weare out their dayes in miserable seruitude. And yet the worst of all was, the payne they put them to before they were so condemned: for they imprisoned them, set them on the racke, tormented them vppon a litle brasen horse, sette them in the stockes, made them stande naked in the greatest

Lucullus curteste towardes the citie of Amisus.

Lucullus gentle saying.

Tyrannio the grammarian taken.

Lucullus releeueth Asia from extreame vsery.

A greateſt heate of ſommer, and on the iſe in the deepeſt of winter, ſo as that bondage ſeemed vnto them a reliefe of their miſeries, and a reſt of their tormentes. *Lucullus* found the cities of ASIA full of ſuch oppreſſiõs, but in a ſhorte time after he deliuered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For firſt he tooke order, they ſhould accompt for the vſery that was payed monethly, the hundred parte of the principall det onely, and no more. Secondly he cut of all vſeries that paſſed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greateſt matter of all, he ordained that the creditor & vſerer ſhould enioy the fourth parte of the profites & reuenues of his detter. And he that ioyned vſery with the principall, that is to ſay, tooke vſery vpon vſery: ſhould loſe the whole. So that by this order, all dettes were payed in leſſe then foure yeares, and the owners landes and reuenues ſet clere of all maner payments. This ſurcharge of vſeries, came

That is after the rate of 12. in the hũdred for the yeare.

Lawes ſet downe for vſerers.

B of the twenty thowſande talentes, wherein *Sylla* had condemned the contrie of ASIA: the which ſumme they had payed twiſe before vnto the farmers and collectors of the ROMANES, who had raiſed it, ſtill heaping vſery vpon vſery, to the ſumme of ſixe ſcore thowſand talents. Wherefore theſe collectors and farmers ranne to ROME, and cried out vpon *Lucullus*, ſaying, that he did them the greateſt wrong that could be, and by meanes of money, they procured certaine of the common counſellers to ſpeake againſt him: which they might eaſily doe, bicauſe they had diuerſe of their names in their bookes that delt in thaffaires of the common wealth at ROME. But *Lucullus* was not only beloued of thoſe contries whom he did good vnto, but was wiſhed for and deſired alſo of others, who thought the contries happy that might haue ſuch a gouernor. Now for *Appius Clodius*, whom *Lucullus* had ſent before from TALAV-

Appius Clodius, Lucullus wiues brother.

C RA vnto king *Tigranes* in ARMENIA, and whoſe ſiſter at that time was *Lucullus* wife: he firſt tooke certaine of the kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high contry, making him fetch a great compaſſe about, by many dayes iorneys ſpent in vaine: vntill ſuch time as one of his infranchefed bondmen that was borne in SYRIA, taught him the right way. Whereupon he diſcharged theſe barbarous guides, and leauing the wrong wayes they had led him, within fewe dayes paſt ouer the riuer of Euphrates, and arriued in the citie of

Euphrates fl.

ANTIOCH, ſurnamed EPIDAPHNE. Where he had commaundement to abide *Tigranes* returne, who was then in the contry of PHENICIA, where he ſubdued certaine cities, & had ſome other yet to conquer. *Appius* in the meane time wanne ſecretly diuers of the princes and noblemen, that obeyed this ARMENIAN king but for feare, by force, and againſt their willes, a-

D mongeſt whom was *Zarbienus*, king of the prouince of GORDIÆNA: & promiſed the aide of *Lucullus* alſo to many the cities that ſent vnto him, (which had not long before bene ſubdued & brought into bondage) to whom neuertheles he gaue in expreſſe charge, that for the time they ſhould not once ſturre, nor alter any thing. For, the rule of theſe ARMENIANS was in-

Zarbienus king of Gordiana.

Tigranes pride and power.

tollerable to the GRÆCIANS, and ſpecially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Who, by reaſon of his great proſperitie, was growen to ſuch pride and preſumption, that whatſoeuer men did commonly eſteeme beſt, & make moſt reckoning of, he would not only haue it, and vſe it as his owne, but alſo tooke it that all was made for him ſelfe whatſoeuer: and this great ouerwening grew, by reaſon of fortunes ſpeciall grace and fauor towardes him. For at the be-

E ginning he had but very litle, and yet with this litle (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations, and plucked downe the power of the PARTHIANS as much as any man that euer was before him. He repleniſhed the contry of MESOPOTAMIA with GRE-CIAN inhabitauntes, which he brought by force out of CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, compelling them to inhabite there. He made the ARABIANS chaunge their maner of liuing, who are otherwiſe called the SCENITES, as much to ſay, as tent dwellers, bicauſe they are vagarant people that dwell in no other houſes but tentes, which they euer vſe to carie with them, and brought them out of their naturall contrie, and made them followe him, vſing them for his commodity in trade of marchaundiſe. There were euer many kings in his courte that waited on him: but amongeſt others, he had foure kinges that waited continually on his perſon, as his footemen: for when he rode abroade any whether, they ranne by his ſtirroppe in their

F ſhirtes. And when he was ſet in his chaire of ſtate to geue audience, they ſtoode on their feete about his chaire holding their handes together, which countenaunce ſhewed the moſt manifeſt confeſſion and tokens of bondage that they could do vnto him: as if they had ſhewed

thereby that they reſigned all their libertie, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and maſter, more ready to ſuffer, then any thing to doe. Notwithſtanding, *Appius Clodius* being nothing abaſhed nor feared with all this tragicall pompe, when audience was geuen him: tolde king *Tigranes* boldly to his face, that he was come to carie king *Mithridates* away with him, who was due to the triumphe of *Lucullus*: & therefore did ſummone him to deliuer that king into his handes, or elſe that he proclaimed warres vpon him ſelfe. They that were preſent at this ſummons, knew well enough that *Tigranes* (although he ſet a good countenaunce of the matter openly with a fainte counterfeate laughing) yet hearing theſe wordes ſo boldly & gallantly ſpoken out of this young mans mowth, was galled to the quicke, and hitte at the harte. For *Tigranes* hauing reigned, (or to ſay better tyrannically gouerned) fiue and twenty yeares ſpace, had neuer heard any bold or francke ſpeache but that. Notwithſtanding, he aunſwered *Appius*, that he would not deliuer *Mithridates*: and if the Romanes made warres with him, that he would defende him ſelfe. And being greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letters gaue him not the title, king of kinges, but only king ſimply: in the letters he wrote backe to *Lucullus* againe, he did not ſo much as vouchſaue to call him Captaine onely. But when *Appius* tooke his leaue, he ſent him goodly riche preſentes which he refuſed. Whereupon the king ſent others againe vnto him, of the which *Appius* tooke a cuppe only, bicauſe the king ſhould not thinke he refuſed ought of anger, or ill will: and ſo ſending all the reſt againe vnto him, made great haſt to returne to his Captaine *Lucullus*. Nowe *Tigranes* before that time would not once ſee king *Mithridates* his ſo neere kinſeman, who by fortune of warres had loſt ſo puiſant and great a kingdome, but prowdly kept him vnder in fennie, marriſhe, and vnholſome grounds, without any honor geuen vnto him, as if he had bene a very priſoner in deede: howbeit then he ſent for him honorably, and receiued him with great curteſie. When they were neere together in the kinges palace, they talked ſecretly one with an other, & excuſing themſelues, clearing all ſuſpicions conceiued betwene them, to the great hurt of their ſeruauntes and frendes, whom they burdened with all thoccaſion of vnkindnes betwene them: amongſt which number *Metrodorus* Scepsian was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in ſpeache, and one whome *Mithridates* ſo much loued and eſteemed, that they called him the kinges father. *Mithridates* at the beginning of his warres had ſent him Ambaſſador vnto *Tigranes*, to pray ayde of him againſt the Romanes. At which time *Tigranes* ſayd vnto him: but what ſayeſt thou to it *Metrodorus*: what aduiſe wilt thou geue me? *Metrodorus* either bicauſe he had regard vnto *Tigranes* profit, or elſe bicauſe he was loth *Mithridates* ſhould eſcape, anſwered him againe. As Ambaſſador, O king, I would wiſh you ſhould do it: but as a counſellor, that you ſhould not do it. *Tigranes* now reported this ſpeache vnto *Mithridates*, not thinking he would haue hurt *Metrodorus* for it, though in deede he preſently put him to death vpon it. Whereat *Tigranes* was hartely ſorie, and repented him greatly to haue tolde him ſo much, although he was not altogether the occaſion of his caſting away, hauing but only reuiued *Mithridates* euill will before conceiued againſt him. For he had borne him diſpleaſure of a long time, as appeared amongſt his ſecret papers and writings that were taken from him, where he had ordained that *Metrodorus* ſhould be put to death: but in recompence thereof *Tigranes* buried his body honorably, ſparing no coſt at all vnto the dead body of him, whom liuing he had betrayed. There dyed in king *Tigranes* courte alſo, an Orator called *Amphicrates*, if he deſerue that mention ſhould be made of him, for the citie of Athens ſake whereof he was borne: for it is ſayd, that when he was baniſhed out of his contrie, he fled into the city of Selevcia, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Tigris. When the inhabitāts of the ſame praied him to teache them the arte of eloquence in their contrie, he would not vouchſaue it, but aunſwered them prowdly: that a platter was too litle to holde a Dolphine in, meaning that their citie was too ſmall a thing to containe it. From thence he went vnto *Cleopatra*, *Mithridates* daughter, and king *Tigranes* wife, where he was quickely ſuſpected and accuſed: ſo that he was forbidden to frequent the Græcians cōpany any more, which grieued him ſo much, that he famiſhed him ſelfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was alſo very honorably buried by the Queene *Cleopatra*, nere vnto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that contry. Now when *Lucullus* had quieted all thinges in Asia, and had eſtabliſhed good lawes among

The boldnes of Appius Clodius, Lucullus Ambaſſador vnto Tigranes.

Appius abſtinēce from taking of giftes.

Tigranes and Mithridates meeting.

Metrodorus praiſe, and death.

Amphicrates an Orator of Athens, dyed in king Tigranes courte.

Seleucia a city ſtanding vpon Tigris fl.

A platter too litle to holde a Dolphin in, prou.

among them, he was not careleſſe alſo of games and pleaſaunt paſtimes, but while he was at leaſure in the city of EPHESVS, he made many games, feaſtes, wreſtlinges and ſence playes at the ſharpe for ioy of his victory, delighting all the cities of ASIA with them, the which in recompence therof did inſtitute a ſolemne feaſt alſo in the honor of him, which they called Lucullea, and did celebrate it with great ioy, ſhewing a true and no fained frendſhippe and good will towardes him, which pleaſed him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honor they could deuiſe to geue him. But after that *Appius Clodius* was returned from his Ambaſſade, and had tolde *Lucullus* that he muſt make warres with *Tigranes*: *Lucullus* went backe againe vnto the realme of PONTVS, where he tooke his armie which he had left in garriſon, and brought it before the city of SINOPE to lay ſiege vnto it, or rather to beſiege certaine CILICIANS that were gotten into the city in the behalfe of *Mithridates*. But when they ſawe *Lucullus* come againſt them, they flue a great number of the citizens, and ſetting fire on the city, fled their way by night. *Lucullus* being aduertiſed of it, entred the citie, put eight thowſande of the CILICIANS to the ſword which he found there, and reſtored the naturall citizens and inhabitantes thereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cauſe that made him to be carefull to preſerue the city, was this viſion he had. He thought in his nightes dreame that one came to him, and ſayd: goe a litle further *Lucullus*, for *Autolycus* commeth, who is deſirous to ſpeake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the viſion ment. It was the ſelfe ſame day on the which he tooke the city of SINOPE, where following the CILICIANS that eſcaped by flying, he found an image lying on the ground vpon the ſea ſide, which the CILICIANS would haue caried away: but they were taken and followed ſo neere, that they had no leaſure to ſhippe it. This ſtatue (as it is reported) was one of the goodlieſt and notableſt workes of *Sthenis* the Image grauer. And ſome ſay that it was the image of *Autolycus* who founded the city of SINOPE. For *Autolycus* was one of the princes that went out of THESSALIE with *Hercules* to go againſt the AMAZONES, and he was the ſonne of *Deimachus*. And they reporte that at the returne from this voyage, the ſhippe in the which *Autolycus* was imbarked, with *Demoleon* & *Phlogius*, made ſhippewracke vpon a rocke on the coaſt of CHERRONESVS, where ſhe was caſt away: howbeit that he & his mē ſcaping with all their furniture, came to the city of SINOPE, which he tooke from certaine SYRIANS, who came (as they ſay) of one *Syrus* the ſonne of *Apollo*, and of the nimphe *Sinope* *Aſopus* daughter. *Lucullus* vnderſtanding this matter, called a ſaying of *Sylla* to minde, which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may geue more credit vnto, then that which is ſignified to vs by dreames. In the meane ſeaſon he was aduertiſed, that *Tigranes* & *Mithridates* were ready to come downe into LYCAONIA, and CILICIA, bicauſe they might firſt enter ASIA. *Lucullus* marueled much at *Tigranes* counſell, that ſithence he was minded to warre with the ROMANES, he did not vſe *Mithridates* ayde in his warres at ſuch time, as when he was in his beſt ſtrength and force: and that he did not then ioyne his power with *Mithridates*, rather then ſuffer him to be deſtroyed and ouerthrowen, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new warre, hazarding him ſelfe with thoſe, that could not helpe them ſelues. While theſe thinges paſſed in this ſorte, *Machares* king *Mithridates* ſonne, that kept the realme of BOSPHORVS, ſent a crowne of golde vnto *Lucullus*, of the waight of a thowſande crownes, praying him that he would name him a frende and confederate of the ROMANES. Whereupon *Lucullus* thought he was then at the very laſt ende of his firſt warre, and leauing *Sornatius* with ſixe thowſand men to keepe the realme of PONTVS, he departed with twelue thowſand footemen, and leſſe then three thowſand horſemen to go to the ſecond warres. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too raſh and light a parte of him to goe with ſo ſmall a company to fight with ſo many warlike nations, and to put him ſelfe vnto the hazard of ſo many thowſandes of horſemen, in a maruelous large contry, and of a wonderfull length, enuironned round about with deepe riuers, and mountaines, couered with ſnowe all the yeare through: ſo that his ſouldiers, which otherwiſe were no ſpeciall well trained men, nor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an euill will, and did ſtubbornly diſobey him. And on thother ſide, the common counſellers at ROME cried out on him continually, and openly proteſted before all the people, that out of one warre he ſowed an other, which the

Lucullus taketh Sinope in Pontus.

Lucullus dreame.

A ſtatue made by Sthenis.

Autolycus founder of the city of Sinope.

The Syrians why ſo called.

Syllaes note for dreames.

Machares Mithridates ſonne prayeth frendſhippe of Lucullus.

Lucullus goeth againſt Tigranes with a ſmall company.

The quarrellinge counſellers at Rome, enuy Lucullus proſperity.

common wealth had nothing to doe withall, and that he looked after none other thinge but A
ſtill to raiſe newe occaſions of warres, to the ende he might alwayes haue armies at his commaundement, & neuer leaue the warres, bicauſe he would make him ſelfe great with the coſt and perill of the common wealth. Theſe crying counſellers in the end obtained their purpoſe, which was: to call home *Lucullus* againe, and to ſubſtitute *Pompey* in his place. But *Lucullus* for all that, marched on with his army with all the poſſible ſpeede he coulde, ſo that he came in few dayes vnto the riuer of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough by reaſon of the winter ſeaſon: which troubled him marueloufly at that preſent, doubting leaſt it would hold him there a long time in finding out of boates, & making of poſtes and planckes to build a bridge to paſſe ouer his army. But towardes night the water beganne to fall a litle, and in the night fell ſo much, that the next morning the riuer was comen to her ordinary ſtreame: and B
moreouer, the contrie men them ſelues decerning certaine litle Ilandes that appeared vnto them in the middeſt of the water courſe, and the riuer very calme as a marriſhe rounde about them, did honor *Lucullus* as a god, bicauſe it was a thing they had neuer ſeene chaunce before, as though at his comming the riuer had ſodainly yeelded vnto him, and was become gentle to geue him ſafe and eaſie paſſage. And bicauſe he would not looſe that oportunitie, he paſſed ouer his army immediatly: and was no ſooner on thother ſide, but he met with a happie token of good lucke, which was this. On thother ſide of the riuer, there was a certaine number of kyne conſecrated to *Diana Perſica*, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyonde the riuer of Euphrates, do reuerence and honor aboue all the other goddes: and theſe kyne they employ to none other vſe, but only to ſacrifice them vnto this goddeſſe. They wander all a- C
bout the contry where they will, without any maner of tying, or ſhackling otherwiſe, hauing only the marke of the goddeſſe, which is a lampe printed vpon their bodies, and they are not eaſie to be taken when one would haue them, but with great a doe. One of theſe conſecrated kyne, after that *Lucullus* army was paſſed ouer Euphrates, came to offer her ſelfe vpon a rock which they ſuppoſe is hallowed or dedicate vnto this goddeſſe, bowing downe her head, and ſtretching out her necke, like thoſe that are tyed ſhorte, as if ſhe had comen euen of purpoſe to preſent her ſelfe to *Lucullus*, to be ſacrificed as ſhe was. And beſides her, he ſacrificed a bull alſo vnto the riuer Euphrates, in token of thankes for his ſafe paſſage ouer. *Lucullus* the firſt day did nothing but encampe him ſelfe only, on the other ſide of the riuer: but the next morning, and the other dayes following, he went further into the contry by the way of SOPHENE, D
hurting none that came and yeelded vnto him, or that willingly receiued his army. For when his men would haue had him to haue take a caſtell by force, where they ſaid was great ſtore of gold and ſiluer: he ſhewed them mownte Taurus a farre of, and told them it is that which we muſt rather go to take. As for the thinges which be in this caſtell, they be kept for them that vanquiſhe: and going on ſtill with great iorneys, paſſed ouer the riuer of Tigris, and ſo entred the realme of ARMENIA with a maine armie. Now for *Tigranes*, the firſt man that ventured to bring him newes of *Lucullus* comming, had no ioy of it: for he cut of his head for his labor. And therefore from thenceforth there durſt no man ſay any thing vnto him, vntill ſuch time as he was at the laſt enuironned rounde with fire, which *Lucullus* army had raiſed about him, before he could heare any thing thereof. For he was ſporting and gauding with his familiars, E
hearing their flattering tales, that *Lucullus* in deede were a noble Captaine, if he durſt but tary *Tigranes* comming downe in the citie of EPHESVS only, and howe he would ſtraight flie out of all ASIA, ſo ſoone as he might but heare tell of his comming againſt him with ſo triumphing an army of ſo many thowſand men. And thus may we ſee, that like as all bodies and braines, are not a like ſtrong nor able to cary much wine: ſo in like caſe all wittes be not reſolute and conſtant, neuer to doe amiſſe, nor to ſwarue from reaſons bandes in great proſperity. Howbeit in the end, *Mithrobarzanes*, one of *Tigranes* familiars, was the next man that enterpriſed to tell him the troth: whoſe boldnes had litle better reward for his newes, then the firſt that was beheaded. For *Tigranes* ſent him immediatly with three thowſand horſe, and a good number of footemen, commaunding him that he ſhould bring *Lucullus* aliue vnto him, and F
that furthermore, he ſhould marche vpon the bellies of his men. Now was *Lucullus* alreadie camped with parte of his army, & the other parte comming after, when his skowtes brought him

Lucullus came to the riuer of Euphrates, & found it very high, and rough.

The ſtraunge and ſodaine fall of the riuer of Euphrates, from her great ſwelling.

Diana Perſica.

Kyne conſecrated to Diana Perſica.

A ſtraunge thing of a cow that came to offer her ſelfe to Lucullus to be ſacrificed.

The contry of Sophene.

Tigris fl.

Tigranes ſlue the firſt meſſenger that brought the newes of Lucullus approach.

Tigranes ſendeth Mithrobarzanes againſt Lucullus.

him newes of the barbarous Captaines approache: which at the firſt put him in feare, that if the enemy ſhould come and aſſaile them thus ſcattered in companies, & not raunged in battell, and ready to fight, he might ouerthrow them whiles they were in diſorder. And therefore he remained within his campe to fortifie the ſame, and ſent *Sextilius* one of his Lieutenaunts, with a thowſand ſixe hundred horſe, and as many footemen (or a few more) as well naked as armed: commaunding him to approach as neere to his enemy as he could without fighting, only to ſtay him there, vntill ſuch time as he heard newes that all his army was comē together into his campe. *Sextilius* went to doe his commaundement, but he was compelled to fight, (though againſt his will) *Mithrobarzanes* came ſo brauely & luſtely to aſſayle him. So was the battell ſtriken betwene them, in the which *Mithrobarzanes* was ſlaine valliantly fighting, & all his men either broken or killed, fewe excepted, that onely by flying ſaued them ſelues. After this ouerthrow, *Tigranes* forſooke his great royall citie of TIGRANOCERTA that he built him ſelfe, & went to mownt Taurus, where he aſſembled a great number of men out of all partes. But *Lucullus* would geue him no leaſure to prepare him ſelfe, but ſent *Muræna* on the one ſide to cut them of by the way, and to ouerthrowe thoſe that were aſſembled about him: and on the other ſide *Sextilius* to ſtoppe a great company of the ARABIANS that were comming to *Tigranes*, whom *Sextilius* ſet apon as they were ready to lodge, and ouerthrew them in maner euery man. And *Muræna* following king *Tigranes* at the heeles, ſpyed an occaſion to geue the charge as he paſſed a long and narrow valley, in the bottome wherof the way was very ill, and ſpecially for an armie of ſuch a length: & taking the oportunity, ſet apon the rereward, which *Tigranes* perceiuing, fled ſtraight vpon it, making all his cariage to be throwen downe in the way before the enemies to ſtay them. There were a great number of the ARMENIANS ſlayne in this ouerthrow, and moe taken. Thoſe thinges hauing this ſucceſſe, *Lucullus* went to the citie of TIGRANOCERTA, the which he beſiegeth round. In that citie were a maruelous number of GRÆCIANS that had bene brought thither by force out of CILICIA, and many of the barbarous people alſo whom they had vſed in the like forcible maner, as they had done the ADIABENIANS, the ASSYRIANS, the GORDIÆNIANS, and the CAPPADOCIANS, whoſe townes and cities *Tigranes* had deſtroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By reaſon whereof, this city of TIGRANOCERTA was full of golde and ſiluer, of mettells, ſtatues, tables and pictures, bicauſe euery man (as well priuate, as Princes and Lords) ſtudied to pleaſe the king, to enrich and beawtifie this city, with all kindes of furniture and ornamentes fit for the ſame. And hereuppon *Lucullus* ſtraighted the ſiege as much as he could, perſwading him ſelfe that *Tigranes* would neuer ſuffer, that it ſhould be taken, but (though he had otherwiſe determined) yet for very anger would preſent him battell, thereby to enforce him to raiſe his ſiege. And ſurely he geſſed right, had it not bene that *Mithridates* had diſſwaded him by expreſſe letters and meſſengers that he ſhould in no caſe hazard battell, and perſwaded him rather to cut of the vittells on all ſides from the ROMANES with his horſemen. The ſelfe ſame counſell and aduiſe did *Taxiles* (the Captaine whom *Mithridates* ſent) geue him in his campe, and prayed him very earneſtly, that he would not proue the inuincible force of the ROMANES. *Tigranes* pacientlie harkened to their reaſons at the firſt. But when the ARMENIANS were come, and all the force of the contry beſides, and the GORDIÆNIANS, and that the kinges of the MEDES and of the ADIABENIANS were commen alſo with all their power, and that on thother ſide there came a maruelous great hoſt of the ARABIANS that dwell apon the ſea of BABYLON, and a multitude of the ALBANIANS from the CASPIAN ſea, and of the IBERIANS their neighbors, beſides a great company of free people liuing without a king, that dwell by the riuer of Araxes, ſome comming freely to doe him pleaſure, other for their penſions and pay which he gaue them: then was there none other talke neither at his table nor in counſell, but of aſſured hope of victorie, and of great bragges and barbarous threatninges, ſo that *Taxiles* was in great daūger of him ſelfe, bicauſe he was againſt the determination taken in counſell for geuing of the battell. Now was it thought that *Mithridates* did enuy the glory of king *Tigranes*, and therefore did thus diſſwade him from battell. For which reſpect *Tigranes* would not ſo much as tary for him, and bicauſe alſo *Mithridates* ſhould haue no parte of the honor of his victory: but went into the fielde with all this great army, vaunting amongeſt his fami-

Lucullus ſendeth Sextilius againſt Mithrobarzanes.

Sextilius ſlue Mithrobarzanes and ouerthrewe his force.

The citie of Tigranocerta, built by Tigranes.

Lucullus beſiegeth Tigranocerta.

Taxiles perſwadeth Tigranes not to fight with the Romanes.

liars as they reporte, that nothing grieued him but one, that he ſhould fight with *Lucullus* alone, and not with all the other ROMANE Captaines. Now this brauery was not ſo fond, nor ſo farre out of ſquare, but that there was great likelyhoode of it when he ſaw ſo many ſundrie nations about him, ſo many kinges that followed him, ſo many battells of armed footemen, and ſo many thowſande of horſemen. For he had in his army of bowmen and ſlinges onely, twenty thowſand: fiue and fifty thowſand horſemen, whereof ſeuenteene thowſande men of armes, armed from toppe to toe, as *Lucullus* him ſelfe wrote vnto the Senate: and a hundred and fifty thowſand armed footemen, deuided by enſignes and ſquadrons: of pyoners, carpinters, maſons, and ſuch other kinde of handy craftes men, to plaine wayes, to make bridges to paſſe ouer riuers, to ſtoppe ſtreames, to cut wodde, and to make ſuch kinde of workes, of this ſorte of people, the number of fiue and thirty thowſand, who followed in battell ray in the reareward of the army, making their campe ſeme farre greater, & by ſo much the more ſtronger. When *Tigranes* ſhewed on the toppe of mownt Taurus, and that they might plainly ſee his whole army from the city, and that him ſelfe alſo might eaſily decerne *Lucullus* armie that beſieged TIGRANOCERTA: the barbarous people that were within the citie were ſo glad of this ſight, that they made wonderfull ſhowtes of ioy, and great clapping of handes, threatning the ROMANES from their walles, and ſhewing them the army of the ARMENIANS. *Lucullus* in the meane time ſate in counſell to conſider what was to be done: wherein ſome were of opinion that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege, and goe with his whole armie vndeuided againſt *Tigranes*. But others liked not that he ſhould leaue ſo great a number of enemies at his backe, neither that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege. *Lucullus* made them aunſwere, that neither of them both did counſell him well, but both together did counſell him right. Whereuppon he deuided his armie, and left *Muræna* at the ſiege of TIGRANOCERTA with ſixe thowſand men: and he with foure and twenty cohortes (in the which were not aboue tenne thowſand armed footemen) and all his horſemen, with a thowſand bow men and ſlinges or thereabouts, went towardes *Tigranes*, and camped in a goodly broade fielde by the riuers ſide. The ROMANES ſeemed but a handfull to *Tigranes* campe, ſo that for a while *Tigranes* paraſyts made but a may game of them to ſporte withall. For ſome mocked them to ſcorne, other drewe lottes, and played away their parte of the ſpoyles, as if they had already wonne the fielde: and euery one of the kinges and Captaines came and offered them ſelues to *Tigranes*, and beſought him euerie man for him ſelfe, that he would geue him the honor alone to leade this battell, & that it would pleaſe him to ſit by in ſome place to ſee the ſporte. *Tigranes* then, bicauſe he would ſhewe that he could be as pleaſaunt as the reſt, ſpake a thing knowen to euery man. If they come as Ambaſſadors, quod he, they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but fewe. And thus they played vpon the ROMANES, and tooke their pleaſure of them at that time: but the next morning by breake of day, *Lucullus* brought all his men armed into the fielde, and put them in order of battel. Now the campe of the barbarous people lay on thother ſide of the riuer towards the Eaſt, and by chaunce the ſtreame of the riuer turned ſodainly towardes the Weſt, where there was a better ford to paſſe ouer. Wherfore *Lucullus* marching with his army by the riuers ſide, following the ſtreame to meete with ſome forde, haſting to get ouer, *Tigranes* thought he had marched away, and called for *Taxiles*, and ſayd vnto him, laughing. Doeſt thou ſee *Taxiles*, thoſe goodly ROMANE legyons, whom thou praiſeſt to be men ſo inuincible: howe they flie away now? *Taxiles* aunſwered the king againe. I would your good fortune (O king) might worke ſome miracle this day: for doutleſſe it were a ſtraunge thing that the ROMANES ſhould flie. They are not wont to weare their braue cotes and furniture vppon their armor, when they meane onely but to marche in the fieldes: neither doe they carie their ſhieldes and targets vncaſed, nor their burganets bare on their heades, as they doe at this preſent, hauing throwen away their leather caſes and coueringes. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we ſee ſo bright and gliſtering in our faces, is a manifeſt ſigne that they intend to fight, and that they marche towardes vs. *Taxiles* had no ſooner ſpoken theſe wordes, but *Lucullus* in the view of his enemies, made his enſigne bearer turne ſodainly that caried the firſt Eagle, & the bands tooke their places to paſſe the riuer in order of battell. Then *Tigranes* ſecretly comen to him ſelfe, as out of dronkennes: cried out alowde twiſe, or thriſe, come they then to vs? But then

The prowde ſaying of Tigranes.

Tigranes whole armie: two hundred three ſcore thowſand men.

Lucullus army againſt Tigranes.

was

A was there no ſmall ſturre and tumult, to put ſuch a world of people into battell. The king *Tigranes* him ſelfe vndertooke to leade the midle battell, gaue the left wing vnto the king of the ADIABENIANS, and the right vnto the king of the MEDES: in the which were the moſt parte of the complete armed men, who made the firſt front of all the battell. But as *Luculius* was redy to paſſe the riuer, there were certaine of his Captaines that came vnto him, to wiſh him to take heede that he fought not that day, bicauſe it was one of thoſe which the ROMANES thought vnfortunate, and call them Atri, to ſay, blacke: for vpon one of thoſe dayes, one *Cæpio* was ouerthrowen in a ſet battell with all his army by the CIMBRES. But *Luculius* gaue thē a prety aunſwere againe, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (ſayd he) for the ROMANES. It was the ſixteenth day of the moneth of October. And ſo with thoſe B wordes encoraging his men, paſſed ouer the riuer, and went him ſelfe the foremoſt man, and marched directly towardes his enemy, armed with an anima of ſteele, made with ſcalloppe ſhelles, ſhining like the ſunne, & vpon that an arming coate fringed round about, holding his ſword drawen in his hand: to let his men vnderſtand, that they muſt ſodainly ioyne with their enemies, and fight at the ſwordes pointe, that were not acquainted to fight but a farre of with ſhotte and ſlinges, and that he would ſo quickely winne the diſtaunce of grounde they had to marche ere they could ioyne, that they ſhould haue no leaſure to ſhoote. And furthermore, perceiuing that the ſtrength of their men of armes (wherof they made ſo great accompt) was ranged in battell vnder a hill, the toppe whereof was very plaine and euen, and the way vp the hill not paſſing foure furlonges trauaill, and not very hard nor ſteepe to clime: he ſent thither C certaine horſemen of the THRACIANS and GAVLES which he had in pay, and commaunded them to geue a charge on the flancke to diſorder them, & aſſay to cut their launces, with their ſwordes. For all the ſtrength of theſe men of armes conſiſteth in their launces, and they can do nothing for them ſelues, nor againſt their enemies, they are ſo heauely armed and loden: ſo as it ſeemeth they are locked vp in their armor, as in an iron priſon. And he him ſelfe therewithall taking two enſignes of footemen, ſtroue alſo to gaine the toppe of the hill, his ſouldiers following him hard at the heeles with a notable corage, bicauſe they ſaw him the formoſt man trauailing a foote, and digging againſt the height of the hill. When he had gotten vp to the toppe, he ſtayed a litle in the higheſt place he could finde, and then cried out with a lowd voyce: oh companions, the victory is ours. And as he ſpake thoſe wordes, he ledde them a- D gainſt theſe men of armes, commaunding them they ſhould not medle with throwing of their dartes, but taking their ſwordes in their handes they ſhould ſtrike at their thighes and legges, bicauſe they haue no other partes of their bodies naked. Howbeit there was no neede of ſuch fight, for they taried not the ROMANES, but with great crying out turned their horſe heades immediatly, and ranne cowardly (them ſelues and their horſes, heauie armed as they were) through the middeſt of the bandes of their footemen, before they had ſtriken a ſtroke. And thus were ſo many thowſandes of men broken without any ſtroke ſtriken, or any man hurt, or one droppe of blood ſeene to be ſpilt. But the great ſlaughter was, when they beganne to flie, or (to ſay better) when they thought to flie: for they could not flie, they ranne ſo one apon an others necke by reaſon of the maruelous length and bredth of their battells. *Tigranes* a- E mongeſt the reſt was one of the firſt that diſlodged with a ſmall company, & ſeeing his ſonne running the ſame fortune, flying as him ſelfe did, tooke of his diadeame or royall bande from his head, and gaue it him weeping, commaunding him to ſaue him ſelfe as well as he could by ſome other way. But the young prince durſt not put it on his head, but gaue it to one of his truſty ſeruauntes to keepe, who by chaunce was taken and brought vnto *Luculluss*: ſo that amongeſt the other ſpoyle and priſoners, there was taken *Tigranes* diadeame. It is thought that there were ſlaine at this ouerthrow, aboue a hundred thowſand footemen, and very few of all the horſemen ſaued. On the ROMANES ſide, there were about a hundred hurt, and fiue ſlaine. *Antiochus* the Philoſopher ſpeaking of this battell in a treatiſe he made of the gods, wryteth that the ſunne neuer ſaw the like ouerthrowe. And *Strabo* an other Philoſopher in a certaine F abridgement he made of ſtories ſayd, that the ROMANES were aſhamed, and laughed at them ſelues that they had drawen their ſwordes againſt ſuch daſtardly ſlaues. And *Titus Liuius* declareth alſo, that the ROMANES were neuer in any battell with ſo ſmall a number of fighting

The ordering of Tigranes battell.

Atri blacke or vnfortunate dayes.

Luculius battell with Tigranes.

Luculius armor.

Luculius famous victorie of Tigranes.

Tigranes flight.

Tigranes diadeame taken by Luculius.

men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerers were not in all the world the twentith parte (nothing like) of those that were ouercome. Wherefore the oldest and best experienced Captaines of the ROMANES did highly commende *Lucullus*, bicause he had ouercome two of the greatest & most mighty Princes of the world, by two sundry cõtrary meanes: the one by tract and delay, and the other by spede and swiftnes. For he vndermyned and consumed *Mithridates*, by holding backe, & delaying, at that time when all his strẽgth was whole: and to the contrary he destroyed *Tigranes* with great speede and haste. And thus did he that, which few Captaines could euer do: that is, vsed delay of time to execute, and valliant expedition to winne the victory. This was the cause why *Mithridates* made no hast to come to the battel, thinking still that *Lucullus* had vsed his wonted policy, to delay and geue backe alwaies: and therefore he came by small iorneys vnto *Tigranes* campe. But meeting at the first with a fewe of the ARMENIANS that fled as he came on his way, like men that had bene frayed, he straight mistrusted the ouerthrow: but afterwards meeting greater troupes of them naked, & sore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to seeke out *Tigranes*, whom he found alone, forsaken of his men, and in very poore estate, yet did not he requite *Tigranes* in aduersity with that pride and disdaine he had vsed him before in his miserie: but lighted of his horse, to bewaile with him their common misfortune, and gaue him all his officers, and traine of a kings court that followed him to serue him, comforting him, & exhorting him to plucke vp his hart againe, and to be coragious thenceforth. Hereupon they both leauied a freshe the whole force & power they could from all the partes of their dominions. In the meane season, there fell out great sedition in the city of TIGRANOCERTA, betwene the GRÆCIANS and the barbarous people: for the GRÆCIANS, they would haue yeelded vp the towne into *Lucullus* hands. Whereupon, *Lucullus* geuing an assault to the city at that very instant, wanne it, & seased vpon the kings treasure there, leauing all the rest to the spoile of the souldiers: in the which, besides all other riches, there was eight thowsand talents in ready money. And yet besides all that, he gaue of the spoile that was won apon the enemies, eight hũdred Drachmas vnto euery souldier. And vnderstanding that there were diuers musitians, common players, minstrels, and such kinde of people meete for feastes and sporte, whom *Tigranes* had sent for thither from all partes, to dedicate the Theater he had made in his city: he caused all thẽ to serue at the sportes and feastes of this victory. After the solempnization whereof, he sent the GRÆCIANS home againe vnto their contry, and gaue them money to defraye their charges by the way, and the barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their natiue contries. And so it fortuned, that by the desolation and destruction of a city forsaken, many others were built againe, and stored with people: bicause those cities had thereby recouered their naturall inhabitants againe, who euer after did loue & honor *Lucullus*, as their benefactor and founder. All other things prospered also, according to his vertue and merites. For *Lucullus* liked better the praise that came of bounty, of iustice, and of clemencie: then that that came by force of marshall prowes & cheualry. For in deedes of armes, he sayd his army partly deserued praise, and fortune also caried the best parte away: but the praise of the other, were onely due vnto him selfe. Whereby he shewed the valor of an excellent good man, well taught and trained vp in vertue: and so reaped the frute of his worthy deserts. For by those good partes, he wanne the hartes of the barbarous people in such sorte, that the kinges of the ARABIANS came of good will to put them selues and their goods into his hands. So did the nation of the SOPHENIANS also yeld them selues vnto him. The GORDIÆNIANS in like maner, they liked *Lucullus* so well, that they would willingly haue forsaken their cities, houses & contry, to follow him with their wiues & children vpon this occasion. *Zarbienus* king of these GORDIÆNIANS, as we haue recited before, had priuily entred amity with *Lucullus*, by meanes of *Appius Clodius*, who could no lenger away with the tyranny of *Tigranes*. This practise was bewrayed vnto *Tigranes*, who put *Zarbienus*, his wife, & children to death, before the ROMANES maine army came into the contry of ARMENIA. Howbeit *Lucullus* did not forget it, but passing through his realme, gaue him very royall funeralles. For hauing heaped vp a huge pyle of wodde, sumptuously set out with cloth of gold and siluer, & other rich spoiles of *Tigranes*: he him selfe in person, would needes set it a fire, and made the funerall effusions and accustomed sprincklinges at burialles, with his frends

Lucullus praise.
Two puyssant kinges ouercome by contrary meanes.
Lucullus tooke Tigranocerta.
Lucullus iustice and clemency.
Zarbienus king of the Gordienians slaine by Tigranes.

A frendes and kinſemen, doing him this honor, as to call him frend and confederate of the ROMANE people, & appointed alſo a great ſumme of money beſides to erect a ſumptuous tombe for him. For they found great ſtore of gold and ſiluer in the kinges caſtell, and there was plenty of prouiſion alſo of three hundred thowſand buſhells of wheate: the which did enriche his ſouldiers marueloufly, and made *Lucullus* to be wondered at, that hauinge receiued not one Drachma from the ſparing coffers at ROME, he had notwithſtanding made the warre entertaine it ſelfe. About the ſelf ſame time alſo, the king of the PARTHIANS ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him to offer him his frendſhippe and allyance: which *Lucullus* willingly accepted, and ſent Ambaſſadors frō him alſo of acceptation, who made reporte to *Lucullus* at their returne, that the king of the PARTHIANS ſtoode doubtfull how to reſolue which parte he ſhould take, and
B that ſecretly he ſent vnto *Tigranes*, to aske the realme of MESOPOTAMIA for his reward to aide him againſt the ROMANES. *Lucullus* being truly enformed of the king of PARTHIAES double dealing, determined to leaue *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, as two enemies wearied & ouercome, & a litle to proue the force & power of the PARTHIANS by making warres vpon thē, thinking it great honor vnto him, if he might diſcomfit and ouerthrow three ſo mighty kings one after an other, like a valliant conqueror that had ouercome three famous Captaines together, and had paſſed through the contries of three of the greateſt Princes vnder the ſumme, alwayes a conqueror, and neuer conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediatly vnto *Sornatius* and other of his Captaines which he had left to keepe the realme of PONTVS, that they ſhould repayre to him with all ſpeede with the bandes they had vnder their charge, for that he was determi-
C ned to departe out of the contry of GORDIÆNA, to go againſt the PARTHIANS: howbeit his purpoſe altered by occaſion. For his Lieutenauntes that had many times before founde their ſouldiers mutinous, and rebelling at their commaundements, knew plainly then their cancred ſtomakes & incorrigible diſobedience. For they could not poſſibly get them from thence, by any compulſion or perſwaſions they could vſe: but contrarily they cryed out, and tolde them plainly, that they would no lenger tary where they were, but would goe home to their contry, and leaue the realme of PONTVS without gard or garriſon at all. And further, that worſt of all was, when theſe newes were brought to *Lucullus* campe, they gaue a full example of boldnes to his ſouldiers there, to mutiny in ſuch ſorte, hauing good will and diſpoſition thereunto of themſelues before. For their purſes being full, and they acquainted with finenes, were become
D ſo dull and laſie, that they could endure no paines nor hardnes of warres, but deſired to liue in all idlenes and eaſe. And hearing the reporte of their fellowes ſtowteneſſe, called them luſtie laddes, ſaying, they muſt needes take the like courſe, and doe as they taught them, vaunting of their good ſeruice of long time done, which well deſerued leaue nowe to departe home with ſafety, and thenceforth take their reſt. *Lucullus* hearing of this their talke, & many other their words worſe, and fuller of ſedition then theſe: brake of his enterpriſe againſt the PARTHIANS, and went againe in the middeſt of ſommer to meete with *Tigranes*. But when he was come to the top of mount Taurus, it grieued him to ſee the fields ſo full of wheate yet ſtanding, which came by the ſeaſon of the yeare, and coldnes of the ayer, being ſo ſlacke and ſlowe in all thoſe partes. Neuertheles, he came downe into the valley, and at two or three skirmiſhes ouerthrew
E the ARMENIANS, that ventered to abide his comming downe. And ranne ouer all the valley, and deſtroyed the whole contry, without let or ſtoppe of any man, taking away the prouiſion of corne that was made for *Tigranes* campe: wherby he ſtraighted his enemies vnto that nede and neceſſity of vittells which him ſelfe feared, & yet ceaſed not to prouoke them (by all other meanes) to come to battell. Somtime encloſing their cāpe with trenches about, as if he ment to famiſh them: ſomtime againe deſtroying and ſpoyling the whole contry before their face. But bicauſe they had ſo ofte bene diſcomfited, they would no more ſtirre, nor once moue againſt him. *Lucullus* perceiuing that, in the end raiſed his campe, & went and layed ſiege vnto
ARTAXATA, the chiefe city of the kingdom of ARMENIA, in the which were *Tigranes* lawfull wiues & young children, hoping that *Tigranes* would rather hazard an other battell, then ſuf-
F fer that city to be loſt. It is ſayd that *Hannibal* of CARTHAGE (after king *Antiochus* was ouerthrowen in battell by the ROMANES) went vnto king *Artaxes*, whom he taught many neceſſary and profitable things for his realme: & amongeſt others, conſidering that one of the good-

Lucullus prepareth to goe againſt the Parthians.

Lucullus ſouldiers fall to mutiny.

Full purſes, & eaſe: maketh mutinous ſouldiers.

Lucullus beſiegeth Artaxata, the chief city of Armenia.

Artaxes king of Armenia.

lieſt and pleaſanteſt places of all his kingdom lay waſt, and no reckoning made of it, drewe a plat of a city, brought the king thither, and cauſed it to be built and inhabited. The king liked his deuiſe maruelous well, and prayed him to take the charge vpon him to ſee the worke finiſhed. And thus was this noble and famous city built, and called after the kings name, *Artaxata:* and held euer after the reputacion of the chiefeſt place of the whole realme of ARMENIA. *Tigranes* being aduertiſed that *Lucullus* went to laye ſiege thereunto, could not endure it, but went with all his army to follow the ROMANES, and the fourth day came and camped hard by them: inſomuch as there was but the riuer of Arſanias betwene them, which the ROMANES of neceſſitie muſt paſſe ouer to goe to ARTAXATA. *Lucullus* hauinge firſt ſacrificed vnto the goddes, aſſuring himſelfe of the victorie, as if he had it already in his handes: made his armie paſſe ouer in order of battell, putting twelue cohortes in the fronte, and the other behinde, fearing leaſt the enemies hauing a great number of men of armes ſhoulde enuiron me them at their backes. They had againſt them alſo the MARDIAN bow men a horſe backe, and the IBERIANS with their lances, in whom *Tigranes* truſted more then in any other, as in the beſt ſouldiers he had in pay: and yet for all that they did no notable ſeruice. For when they had skirmiſhed but a litle with the horſemen of the ROMANES, they durſt not tarie the legyonaries or footebands that came behinde them, but diſperſed them ſelues, ſome flying one way, ſome an other, which intiſed the ROMANE horſemen to follow the chaſe. But when the men of armes that were about *Tigranes* perſon, ſawe the horſemen ſo ſcattered abroade, they began ſtraight to breake vpon the footemen. *Lucullus* ſeeing the great multitude of them, and how paſſingly they were armed and appointed, being ſomewhat affrayed thereof: ſent in haſt to call in his horſemen that followed the chaſe, and in the meane time him ſelfe marched foremoſt, againſt theſe Lordes and Satrapes, which were in the fronte before him with all the nobility of their hoaſt, whom he put in ſuch a feare, that before he could come to hand ſtrokes, they all turned taile and fled. There were three kinges ranged in battell one hard by an other, howbeit of the three, he that fled moſt ſhamefully and cowardly, was *Mithridates* king of PONTVS, who had not the hart ſo much as to abide the cries of the ROMANES. The chaſe was very long: for it continued all night vntill ſuch time as the ROMANES were wearied with killing, taking of priſoners, and packing vp of all kindes of ſpoyles. *Titus Liuius* ſayeth, that there were ſlaine moe men in the firſt battell: but greater perſonages in the ſeconde, and the chiefeſt of the enemies were all taken. After this battell *Lucullus* hart being bigge, and fearing nothing, determined to goe further into the contry, euen vtterly to deſtroy this barbarous king. But in the time of the equinoctiall autumne, (when the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that ſeaſon haue thought) there fell out ſo great a cold, that for the moſt part it did nothing but ſnow: and if the element did any thing cleere, then froſe it ſo hard, that the horſe could come by no water, the riuers were ſo extreamely congealed with iſe. And there could no man paſſe ouer by forde: for they did not ſo ſoone enter, but the iſe brake, and cut the vaines & ſinewes of the horſe legges a ſunder, they were ſo hard and thicke withall. And furthermore, the contry being full of trees, woddes and forreſtes, and the wayes very narrowe, not being able to paſſe by the fieldes, they were through wet with ſnow that fell vpon them: & when they came to their lodging, then it was worſe, for there were they conſtrained to lye in ſoft & moyſt places. And therefore the ſouldiers had followed but few dayes after this battell, but they refuſed to goe any further. And firſt they ſent their Collonells and Captaines to intreate *Lucullus* to leaue of this iorney. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in trowpes, and in the night time beganne to murmure and groyne in their tents (which is a certaine ſigne and token of a mutinous armie, that hath a minde to rebell againſt their Generall) although that *Lucullus* vſed all gentle perſwaſions to winne them with pacience to abide this iorney, at the leaſt, till time they might take the citie of CARTHAGE in ARMENIA: to thende they might there deſtroy the worke and memory of the greateſt enemy that euer the ROMANES had in this world, meaning *Hanniball*. But when he ſaw all this would not preuaile, he brought them backe againe, & paſſed ouer mount Taurus an other way, and came downe into the contry called MYGDONIA, a very hotte and fertile ſoyle, where there is a great city, and maruelouſly repleniſhed with inhabitauntes: who call it NISIBIS, and the GRÆCIANS call it ANTIOCH, of MYGDONIA. In that

Hanniball builded Artaxata.

Arſanias fl.

Lucullus order of his army.

Other do read in this place againſt the Atropatenians, which are people of Media.

Three kings ranged in battell.

Lucullus maketh Tigranes flye againe.

The contry of Myedonia.

Niſibis, aliàs Antiochia, a citie of Mygdonia.

A that city *Gouras* was Gouernor, who was *Tigranes* owne brother: but for experience in engines of battery, and for sufficiencie and skill in such matters, there was *Callimachus* also, he that so maruelously troubled *Lucullus* before at the siege of the city of AMISVS. *Lucullus* placing his campe before this city, besieged the same by all such meanes as might enforce it, and that so valliantly, that in very shorte time he tooke it by assault. And as for *Gouras*, who submitted him selfe to *Lucullus* mercie, he was very curteously intreated. But for *Callimachus*, he would not once heare him speake, notwithstanding that he promised, if they would saue his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but him selfe onely. But *Lucullus* commaunded them to bring him with gyues to receiue the punishment he had iustly deserued, for setting the city of AMISVS a fire, and taking from him the meane to shewe the B GRÆCIANS his goodnesse, affection and liberality towardes them. Vntill this present time, it might be truely sayd, that good fortune euer fauored & followed *Lucullus* in all his enterprises and affayres: but from that time forwards, it was quickely seene that the fauorable blast of fortune failed him, he did all his things with so great payne, and all that he did fell out contrarie vnto him, and to very ill purpose. In deede he did euer shew the valiancy, pacience, and great corage that should be in a valliant Generall, or Lieutenaunt of an armie. But his exployts and doinges had neuer after that easie grace, nor shining glory they were wont to haue: but to the contrary, he was like to haue lost all that he had wonne before, through the misfortunes that fell vpon him, and for the brawles and vaine contention he had with his people to no purpose. But the worst was, that they make him selfe thonly author of all these euills, bicause he could C not, or would not entertaine the goodwill of the multitude of his souldiers: thinking that whatsoeuer a Generall, or any other officer of state or calling doth to please and content them he hath vnder his charge, is to dishonor him selfe, and to geue cause vnto his souldiers to despise his authoritie. But that which made most against him was this: that he gaue no estimacion to gentlemen, and men of like quality to him selfe, but disdained them, and thought them vnworthy to be equall with him. For these they say were his faultes and imperfections, but otherwise that he wanted no vertues, nor naturall giftes & good condicions that could be possibly wished for, or desired. For he was a talle gentleman, of goodly presence, well spoken, wise and discreete, as well in matters of gouernment, as in warres: and as well to perswade the people in peace, as to encorage his souldiers in warre. *Salust* wryteth of him, that his souldiers be- D gan to mislike with him, euen from the first entry into these warres, bicause he made them lye out two winters together in the field, one after an other: the one before the city of CIZICVS, and the other before the city of AMISVS. And euen as much did the other winters following vexe and trouble them. For either they lay in their enemies contry, or else if they lay in their frendes, yet he made them campe abroade in the field, and shrowd them selues in their tentes: for *Lucullus* neuer entred with his army into any city or confederate towne of GRÆCE. Now if the souldiers of them selues misliked *Lucullus*, the coũsellers at ROME that were his enemies, and enuied his prosperity and glory, gaue them yet greater occasions to mutine against him. For they cõtinually accused him to the people in their orations, that he drew out this warre in length, purposely bicause he would alwayes haue occasion to rule, & meanes to get, hauing in E his hands in maner all CILICIA, ASIA, BITHYNIA, PAPHLAGONIA, GALATIA, PONTVS, ARMENIA, and all the prouinces and regions as farre as to the riuer of Phasis: and yet he had not long before spoyled the Princely houses of *Tigranes*, as if he had bene sent thither only to sack and spoyle, and not to destroy & ouercome those kings. And they say that it was *Lucius Quintius*, one of the Prætors, that spake these wordes. It was he also that most moued the people to take order, that *Lucullus* should be called home, & other sent to succeede him in the charge & gouernmẽt of the contries he had subdued. By the selfe same meane, it was also ordained: that diuers which were vnder his charge, should be dispersed with all for their othes, and licenced to leaue the warres when they thought good. But besides those & such like great causes, there was yet an other more daungerous plague, & that most ouerthrew *Lucullus* proceedings, pas- F sing all the other euills being put together: and that was *Publius Clodius*, a wicked, licentious, and a harebrainde man. He was *Lucullus* wiues brother, and she was so light of her body, that *Clodius* her brother was accused of incontinencie with her. This *Clodius* being at that time in

Lucullus taketh Nisibis by assault.

Callimachus did set the city of Amisus a fire.

The alteracion of Lucullus good fortune.

Lucullus cause of all his misfortune.

Lucullus faultes.

Lucullus vertues.

The cause why Lucullus souldiers misliked with him.

Lucullus army euer lay in the fielde, winter and summer.

Phasis.

Publius Clodius a wicked man.

Lucullus campe, caried not that eſtimacion and credit he thought him ſelfe worthy of. For he tooke him ſelfe equall with the beſt, and would needes haue bene holden for chiefe: when in deede there were many of farre better deſert, he being noted both for a vitious and ill diſpoſed perſon. Whereupon he beganne for ſpight to ſuborne the bandes called FIMBRIANS, and to ſtirre them vp againſt *Lucullus*, ſowing ſweete and pleaſaunt wordes amongeſt the ſouldiers, which being wonted therunto, looked ſtill to be flattered. For they were thoſe whom *Fimbria* had procured to kill the Conſull *Flaccus*, and chooſe him in his ſteede for their Captaine. By reaſon whereof they gaue good eare to *Clodius* words, and called him a noble Captaine, and a louer of ſouldiers. For when he ſpake vnto them, he made as though he had pitied them, for that they ſhould neuer ſee an end of their great paynes and warres, but ſhould miſerably conſume their dayes in fighting continually, ſometime with one nation, and ſometime with an other: and that they wandered through all the contries of the world, receiuing no worthy reward of ſo long and painfull ſeruice, ſeruing only to gard *Lucullus* cartes & camells loden with plate and veſſell of golde, and ſiluer, and other pretious ſtones. Where the ſouldiers that had ſerued vnder *Pompey*, tooke nowe their eaſe at home in their contry with their wiues and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly fayer cities, as rich burgeſes and wealthy citizens: and yet they had not driuen *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* out of their kingdomes, into deſert places vnhabitable, nor had deſtroyed the Princely houſes of ASIA, but only made a litle warre in SPAYNE againſt thoſe that were baniſhed, & in ITALIE againſt fugitiue ſlaues. Shall we then ſayd he, cary harneſſe on our backes all the dayes of our life? Is it not better that we which are eſcaped vntil this preſent, reſerue our ſelues, our bodies & liues for that noble Captaine, who eſteemeth the greateſt honor and glory he can atchieue vnto, is to make his ſouldiers rich that ſerue vnder him? *Lucullus* army was ſo ſeduced and corrupted, with theſe mutinous and ſeditious accuſations, that the ſouldiers would no lenger follow him, neither againſt *Tigranes*, nor againſt *Mithridates*: who went preſently out of ARMENIA into his realme of PONTVS, and beganne to conquer it againe, whileſt the ROMANE ſouldiers mutining againſt their General, remained idle in the prouince of GORDIÆNA, excuſing them ſelues by the winter ſeaſon, & tarying vntill *Pompey* or ſome other Captaine ſhould quickely come to raiſe the ſiege, and ſucceede *Lucullus*. Notwithſtanding, when they vnderſtoode that *Mithridates* had ouerthrowen *Fabius*, one of *Lucullus* Lieutenaunts, and that he went againſt *Sornatius* & *Triarius*: they were then aſhamed of them ſelues, and became contented to be led by *Lucullus*. But *Triarius* in a brauery, when he heard that *Lucullus* drew neere, made haſt to winne the victory, as if it had bene cocke ſure before *Lucullus* came: and was him ſelfe ouerthrowen in a great battell, where ſome ſay there dyed aboue ſeuen thowſande ROMANES, amongeſt the which were a hundred and fifty centurions, & foure and twenty Captaines or Collonells of a thowſand men a peece, and yet beſides, *Mithridates* tooke their campe alſo. Shortly after this ouerthrow, *Lucullus* came thither, who hid *Triarius*, whom the ſouldiers ſought in their anger by all the meanes they could to kill. Now when *Lucullus* was come, he prooued ſundrie meanes to procure *Mithridates* to battell: but *Mithridates* would not once ſturre abroade, bicauſe he looked for *Tigranes* that came downe with a mighty power. Whereuppon he determined againe to goe againſt *Tigranes* to fight with him, before *Mithridates* and he ioyned forces together. But as he was in his iorney towardes him, the FIMBRIAN bandes beganne to rebell a new, and would not follow his enſignes, ſaying, and alleaging of them ſelues, that by decree of the people they had leaue to departe, and were diſcharged from their othe: and furthermore that *Lucullus* had no more to do to commaund them, conſidering that the gouernment of the prouinces which he had, was geuen vnto others. *Lucullus* perceiuing this, did ſo humble him ſelfe vnto them, ſuppoſing that way to winne them, as there was no kinde of vncomely humility but he ſubmitted him ſelfe vnto it: inſomuch as he went into their tentes to pray and intreate them one after an other, with water in his eyes, and with ſo great lowlineſſe, as euen to ſhake handes with them. But they fiercely reiected all his curteſies and fayer intreaties, caſting their pennyleſſe purſes before him, and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone, ſince he had with the ſpoile of them all ſo well enriched him ſelfe alone. Neuertheleſſe, at the interceſſion and earneſt requeſt of the other ſoldiers, theſe FIMBRIAN bands were compelled to promiſe,

Publius Clodius ſtirred vp the ſouldiers againſt Lucullus.

Mithridates victory of Lucullus Lieutenauntes.

Mithridates ouercame Triarius Lucullus Captaine.

The Fimbrian ſouldiers forſooke Lucullus.

Lucullus forced to humble him ſelfe to his mutinous ſouldiers.

A miſe,that they would yet tary all that ſommer,ſo that if no mā in the meane time offred them battell,at the ende of the tearme,they might go where they would. *Lucullus* was forced to accept this condicion,or elſe to remaine alone, & conſequently to forſake the contry of the barbarous people. With much a do thus he kept them together,but in ſuch ſorte,as he durſt no more venter to compell them to come to battell, contenting him ſelfe that they were willing onely to ſtay with him,being forced to ſuffer *Tigranes* in the meane time to deſtroy and ouerrunne the contry of CAPPADOCIA,& *Mithridates* alſo to bragge againe,of whom he had before wrytten to the Senate that he had vtterly ouercome him: inſomuch as there came commiſſioners & deputies from ROME by his owne procurement,to order the ſtate of the realme of PONTVS with him,as of a kingdom already wonne to the ROMANE Empire. But whē they B were comen, they found him not maſter of him ſelfe, & that his owne ſouldiers flowted him, and did him all the ſpight and iniury they could. For they were ſo vnruly towardes their Captaine,and did ſo much diſdaine him,that when the end of the ſommer was come, they armed them ſelues with armor and weapon, and drawing out their ſwordes in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the fielde: and after they had made the noyſe and cryes accuſtomed when they ioyned battel,and made as though they fought,hurling and ſwinging their ſwords in the ayer,they went from the campe,declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promiſed *Lucullus* to tary. On thother ſide *Pompey* had wrytten vnto the other ſouldiers that were yet in campe , to come vnto him : for through the peoples fa- uor at ROME,the practiſes and flatteries of the common counſellers there, he was ſubſtituted C Generall in *Lucullus* place. Which much miſliked the Senate and nobility: for they thought *Lucullus* greatly wronged to haue a ſucceſſor ſent, not to ſucceede him in troubles and daungers,but in honor and glory of triumphe. And that they ſhould compell him not onely to reſigne vp the office of a Generall to an other, but(for the good ſeruice he long time had done) the reward of his honor due for the ſame: and this alſo more miſliked them,that were then about him. That ſo ſoone as *Pompey* was arriued in ASIA, he tooke all power & authority from *Lucullus*, to puniſhe or reward any man,for good or ill ſeruice done to the common wealth in thoſe warres,& did moreouer prohibite by publicke bills ſet vp in euery common place, that they ſhould no more repayre vnto him,nor obey ought,that he,or any of the ten cōmiſſioners ſent to diſpoſe of the ſtate of the prouinces wonne by him,ſhould commaund or ordaine:and D bicauſe *Pompey* came with a greater power and army then his , he was in ſome feare of him. Their frends thought good neuertheleſſe they ſhould meete together: and ſo they did incontinently,in a village of GALATIA,where at their firſt meeting they ſaluted ech other very curteouſly, reioycing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. *Lucullus* was the elder man,but *Pompey* of greater dignity, bicauſe he had bene Generall of the ROMANE people in many warres,& had already triumphed twiſe. The bundells of roddes which the ſergeaunts caried before them , were wreathed about with lawrell braunches for the victories they had both atchieued: but *Pompeys* bundells were withered away , bicauſe they had comen a longe iorney through hotte and drye contries . *Lucullus* officers ſeeing theirs withered , curteouſly gaue them of theirs freſh and new gathered: which *Pompeys* frendes tooke for a ſigne of good E lucke. For to ſay truely, the thinges that *Lucullus* did in the time of his charge,were cauſe of the honor that *Pompey* afterwardes wanne. Howbeit in the end for all their talke,they were no whit the better frendes: but departed thone from thother more ſtraunge then they met. For *Pompey* by a plaine edict, brake, reuoked, and diſanulled all *Lucullus* ordinaunces, and taking from him all his other ſouldiers, left him but only ſixtene hundred to accōpany his triumphe, and yet they followed him with vnwilling mindes: ſuch was *Lucullus* imperfection & mayme, either by nature,or frowardnes of fortune,that he lacked the chiefeſt thing a Generall ſhould haue, which was, to be beloued of his ſouldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongeſt many other his excellent vertues,and magnanimity,wiſedom,iudgement,& iuſtice: the riuer of Euphrates had not bene the vttermoſt confines of the Empire of ROME on ASIA F ſide,but it had extēded as farre as the ſea Hyrcane,yea euen vnto thutmoſt parte of the world. For king *Tigranes* had already conquered the other nations that lye beyonde that, ſauing the contrie of PARTHIA, which then was not ſo great nor ſtronge, as it appeared afterwardes in

The Timbrian ſouldiers tarie out the ſommer, vpon cōdicion to departe when ſommer was done.

Pompey. Lucullus ſucceſſor in Aſia.

Iniuries offered Lucullus by Pompey.

Lucullus and Pompeys meeting.

Miſlikinges betweene Pompey and Lucullus.

Lucullus was beloued of his ſouldiers.

Craſſus time: nor ſo ioyned and knit together, but (what through ciuill diſſentions amongeſt them at home, and forrein warres of their neighbors abroade) was ſo weake, that with great difficulty they could defend themſelues from the ARMENIANS, that continually harried them out of their skinnes. But to take thinges rightly as they be in deede, me thinkes that *Lucullus* did more hurt vnto his contry by other, then he did benefit the ſame by him ſelfe. For the tokens of triumphe and victories which he wanne in ARMENIA ſo neere vnto the PARTHIANS, the cities of TIGRANOCERTA and of NISIBIS which he had ſacked and ſpoyled, the great treaſure that he brought to ROME, and the Diadeame alſo of *Tigranes*, which was ſhewed in triumphe as a priſoner with the reſt: moued *Craſſus* with ſuch a maruelous deſire to paſſe into ASIA, as if all the barbarous people had bene nothing but an aſſured ſpoyle, and a purpoſed pray vnto all thoſe that would come to take them. But *Craſſus* farre otherwiſe, finding himſelfe galled and troubled with the arrowes of the PARTHIANS, knew then by proofe, that *Lucullus* had not ſo much ouercome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wiſedom and valliantnes. But that ſhalbe ſeene hereafter. Furthermore, *Lucullus* being now returned to ROME, found firſt of all his brother *Marcus*, accuſed by one *Gaius Memmius*, for that he had done in his office of treaſorer, in *Syllaes* time, and by his commaundement, whereof he was cleared by ſentence of the iudges. But *Memmius* of ſpight turned his anger againſt *Lucullus* ſelfe, ſtirring vp the people againſt him, and letting them vnderſtand that *Lucullus* had kept backe and robbed much parte of the treaſure, which ſhould haue comen to the common wealth, and that to worke his feate the better, had prolonged theſe warres as he did: wherefore he perſwaded them flatly to deny him the honor of his triumphe. And truely *Lucullus* was in great daunger to haue loſt it vtterly: but that the noble men of the city, and they that were of greateſt authority, intermedled them ſelues with the tribes when they came to paſſe it by voyces of the people, whome they intreated ſo much through ſute and perſwaſion, that in the end, with much a doe, the people ſuffred him to enter the city in triumphe. So *Lucullus* made a triumphant entry, not terrible nor troubleſome for the long ſhewe or ſight thereof, nor for the multitude of thinges that he brought thither with him, as many other Captaines had done before him. For he cauſed the ſhowe place (which they call Circus Flaminius at ROME) to be ſet out and furniſhed chiefly with armor and weapons of the enemies to a maruelous number: and with the kinges engynes and inuentions of battering peeces, which was a pleaſant ſight to behold. And in this ſhow, there was a certaine number of his men of armes brauely armed, tenne cartes of warre armed with ſythes that paſſed by, and three ſcore of the chiefeſt frendes and Captaines of the two kinges that were led priſoners through the city. And there were alſo drawen after them, a hundred and tenne gallies all armed in the prooues with ſtrong ſpurres of copper, and a ſtatue of *Mithridates* all of cleane gold, ſixe foote high, with a rich target ſet with pretious ſtones. Beſides all that, there were twenty cubberds as full of ſiluer plate as could be, and thirty cubberds full alſo of golden veſſell, armor and coyne of gold, caried vpon mens ſhoulders. After them followed eight mules loden with golden beddes, and ſixe and fifty other mules that caried ſiluer bullion, & a hundred & ſeuen other moyles that caried ſiluer coyne, amounting to the ſumme of two hundred three ſcore and tenne thowſand Seſtertios. Furthermore, there were bookes of accompt caried alſo, wherein were particularly wrytten the ſummes of mony which *Lucullus* had deliuered before vnto *Pompey* for the warre againſt pyrates on the ſea, & vnto the treaſorers and high treaſors, to put into the ſparing coffers of the common wealth at ROME. And afterwardes in an article by it ſelfe, that he had geuen nyne hundred and fifty Drachmas to euery ſouldier by the polle. After the ſhewe of this triumphe was ended, he made a generall feaſt, in the which he feaſted all the city and villages thereabouts, which the ROMANES call Vicos. And afterwardes forſooke his wife *Clodia* for her vnchaſt and wanton life, and maried *Seruilia Catoes* ſiſter: howbeit he wanne nothing by thexchaunge, for he ſped as euill with the ſeconde, as he did with the firſt. For, ſauing that ſhe was not ſlaundred with thinceſt of her owne brethren, otherwiſe ſhe was as diſhoneſt and vnchaſt as *Clodia:* and yet he bare withall a while for her brothers ſake, but at the length grew weary of her, and put her away as he had done *Clodia*. Nowe when he had filled the Senate with a maruelous hope and expectation of him,

Craſſus deſire to conquer Aſia apon ſight of Lucullus triumphe. See the life of Craſſus what ſucceſſe he had.

Lucullus returne to Rome.

Lucullus triumphe.

Lucullus forſaketh Clodia and marieth Seruilia Catoes ſiſter, as vnchaſt as Clodia.

him, (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withstande *Pompeys* tyranny, and to vphold and maintaine the authority of the nobility and Senate against the people, for that by his noble deedes he had atchieued so great fame and reputacion) he sodainly gaue ouer all dealinges in thaffayres of the common wealth: either bicause he sawe it so best, being a hard thing now to kepe it from ruine: or else (as other sayd) for that he felt him selfe sufficiently furnished with honor and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to liue quietly all at his ease, after so great paynes, trauailes and troubles, the end whereof fell not out ouer fortunately. And surely some were of his minde, and liked this great chaunge of his maruelous well: bicause he did not as *Marius* did, neither happened on the ill successe and end that *Marius* had. For *Marius* after the notable victories which he brought from the CIMBRES, and after his valliant actes in warres which had won him great honor, yet would he not so leaue of, when he might haue bene chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an vnsatiable minde, and ambitious desire to rule and beare sway, (being withall a very olde man) went and sorted him selfe amongest young men desirous of gouernment, who brought him not only to cõmit many outrages, but made him selfe also to suffer greater cruelties. It is thought also that *Cicero* had ended his aged course more happely, if after he had quenched *Catilines* cõspiracy, he had then taken his ease. And so had *Scipio* in like case, if when he had ioyned NVMANTIA vnto CARTHAGE, he would then haue quieted him selfe. And therfore, some say, that there is a certaine reuolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wise man should medle any more with thaffayers of the common wealth: no more then a man whose youth & strength is gone and decayed, is any more fit to iust, wrestle, or enter into such exercises of the body. But contrarily, *Crassus* and *Pompey* mocked *Lucullus*, bicause he gaue him selfe so much to pleasure and pastime: as if to liue pleasauntly, & delicatly did not worse become his age, then to cõmaund an army, or to gouerne thaffayres of a common weale. And for my parte, reading *Lucullus* life: me thinkes that I read an auncient comedy, the beginning wherof is tedious, & the latter end ioyfull. For at the beginning of his life, you finde notable exployts done by him in warres, and great good gouernment also in peace: but in the end they all turned into feasts, and banckets, and lacking litle of maskes and mommeries, dauncing with torches, and all other such delights fitte for young men. For I bring within the compasse and reckoning of his finenes and pleasures, his sumptuous buildinges, his stately walles and galleries, his hotte houses and stoues, his tables and pictures, his statues also: and the great workmanshippe and curiositie he had besides of all other cartes by him, gotten together out of all partes to his infinite charge, abusing therein the world of goodes and treasure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and office of Generall, and otherwise. Insomuch, that notwithstanding excesse and superfluity hath euer since increased vntil this present time, yet they reckon the gardens *Lucullus* made, to be the most sumptuous and delicatest places that the Emperors haue. And therfore *Tubero* the Stoike Philosopher, hauing seene these stately works which *Lucullus* had caused to be made neere vnto NAPLES, by the sea side, (where there are mountaines cut through, light as day, and hanged vpon vawtes) and great ditches cast by force to make the sea passe and runne through his houses, to keepe fishe therein, and lodginges also that he built in the sea it selfe: he called *Lucullus*, *Xerxes* the gownman, as if he would haue sayd, *Xerxes* the ROMANE. For euen so did *Xerxes* in olde time cause the mountaine Atho to be cut in sunder, and a channell to be digged there to passe his shippes through. He had also many other pleasaunt places within the territories of ROME, neere vnto THVSCVLVM, where there were great large halles set vpon tarrasses to see rounde about farre of in the day time. And *Pompey* going thither somtime to see him, reproued him greatly, telling him that he had built a maruelous fayer sommer house, but not to be dwelt in, the winter season. *Lucullus* laughing, answered him: doe ye thinke me to haue lesse wit and reason then storkes or cranes, that I can not shift houses accordinge to the season? An other time there was a Prætor of ROME, that makinge playes to shewe the people pastime, sent vnto *Lucullus* to borrow certaine purple clokes to set forth his players: *Lucullus* made him aunswer, that he would cause his folkes to looke if he had any. And the next morning demaunding of him, how many he should neede: the other aunswered, that a hundred would serue his turne. Whereupon *Lucullus* told him againe, he would

Lucullus gently ouer gouernement of the common wealth.

Lucullus buildinges and pleasures.

Lucullus gardens of great estimacion.

Lucullus called Xerxes the gowne man.

Xerxes cut through the mountaine Atho, & made a channell for his shippes to passe thorow.

furnish him with two hundred,if his case so required. And therefore the Poet *Horace* wryting this story, addeth to a notable exclamation against superfluity,saying: that men thinke that a poore house, where there is no more riches then necessary,and where there is not more then appeareth in sight, and that the master knoweth of. He was a vaine man in his ordinarie seruice at his borde, not only in that his beddes whereon he sedde, were couered with rich carpettes of purple, and him selfe serued in gold and siluer vessell set with pretious stones,& that there was dauncing,musicke,playes,and other such like pastimes of ordinary:but also for that he was continually serued with all sortes of fine dainty dishes, with workes of pastry, bancketing dishes,and frute curiously wrought and prepared,which only made him to be wondered at of men of simple vnderstanding and meane condicion. Therefore was *Pompey* maruelously esteemed, and specially for a word he spake one day when he was sicke, and that the Phisitian had willed him to eate of a thrushe.For when his seruaunts told him they were hard to come by in sommer, but at *Lucullus* house where they brought them vp all the yeare through: he would in no wise they should aske any of him, but sayd vnto his Phisitian. What if *Lucullus* were not geuen to pleasure:could not *Pompey* liue?And so willed them to get him some other such thing, as they might more easily come by. *Cato* was *Lucullus* frend & kinseman both, and yet he so much misliked his maner of liuing and ordinary expence:that one day a young man making a long and tedious Oration in open Senate(out of time,and to no purpose)touching meane dyet,sobriety,& temperaunce of life: *Cato* could no lenger abide him,but rose vp,and sayd vnto him.What,wilt thou not leaue babbling to vs all day: thou that art riche as *Crassus*, that liuest as *Lucullus*,and speakest as *Cato*? Other affirme that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not *Cato* that spake them: neuertheless it is certaine, by the notable sayinges they haue gathered of *Lucullus*,he did not only delight to liue so delicately,but also he gloried in it. Some wryte that he feasted certaine GRÆCIANS many dayes together in his house,that were come out of GRÆCE to ROME: and that they being men brought vp with the sobriety and simplicity of GRÆCE,after they had bene feasted there diuers times, were ashamed,& refused to goe thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to *Lucullus*,supposing that he had made them this great chere for their owne sakes. *Lucullus* hearing of it, told them: my Lords,I pray you refuse not to come to me for that. In deede I must needes graunt that there is somewhat more then ordinary,to welcome you with all: but I tell you truly,the most parte is for *Lucullus* sake. An other time when he supped all alone, and his men had layed but one bord, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and called for his steward to know why he was serued so: the steward aunswered him. My Lord,bicause I sawe you sende for no body, I thought this supper sufficient. What, sayd he againe: knewest not thou that *Lucullus* should suppe to night with him selfe? In fine, *Lucullus* fare was cõmonly knowen through ROME,that there was no talke but of *Lucullus* noble housekeping. Whereupon, *Cicero* and *Pompey* being desirous to see the proofe thereof, came one day to him in the market place seeing him at pleasure: (for *Cicero* was *Lucullus* very good frend, and *Pompey* also: and though there was some iarre betwene them for matters of warres, he did not let for that to come vnto him, and to speake gently one to an other) and *Cicero* after he had saluted him, asked him if he would be contented they should come and see him. Oh, sayd he, with all my hart: I pray you come to me. Well then, sayd *Cicero*, *Pompey* and I will come and suppe with you to night,with cõdicion that you prouide no more then your ordinary. *Lucullus* told them againe,they should then fare but badly, and therfore it were better they taried till to morrow. But they would none of that,no nor suffer him to speake with his men, for feare he should cõmaund them,to prouide somewhat more then for him selfe. Neuertheless, at his desire, they suffered him onely in their presence alowde to tell one of his men, that he would suppe that night in *Apollo*: (for so was one of his most stately and sumpteous halles of his house called) and with that word only he finely deceiued them both, and they neuer found him. For euery halle had his certaine summe and rate appointed for the charge and expence of euery supper they made in them,and the ordinary furniture and seruice for the same. So that when his seruauntes had their watche worde but in what halle he would suppe, they knewe straight what charge he would be at for his supper,& what orders should be obserued therin. Now *Lucullus*

Lucullus curiosity & excesse in meates and seruice.

Catoes saying of Lucullus.

Certaine sayinges of Lucullus.

Lucullus hauing diuers halles, had appointed euery hall his certen rate & charge of dyet.

maner

A manner was to ſpende when he made any feaſt in the hall of *Apollo*, fifty thowſand pence, and that ſelfe day the ſupper was prepared according to that value: inſomuch as *Pompey* maruelled howe it could be poſſible that a ſupper of ſo exceeding great charge could be ſo ſodainly prepared. In ſuch thinges therefore did *Lucullus* lauiſhly and riotouſly ſpend his goodes, like ſpoyles in deede gotten of ſlaues and barbarous people. But that ſpecially which he beſtowed vppon bookes, was very commendable and honeſt expence. For he had gathered together a great number of notable hiſtories, the vſe wherof was more honor to him, then the hauing of them. For his library was euer open to all comers, and they ſuffred the GRÆCIANS to come into his goodly tarraſſes & fayer walkes, or other pleaſaunt places thereabouts conuenient to ſit and reaſon together, and neuer ſhut dore againſt them: where learned men met commonly, and oftentimes ſpent the whole day in conference together, as in the houſe of the *Muſes*, being very glad when other matters were diſpatched, they had ſo much leaſure as but to goe thither. And *Lucullus* ſelfe would alſo many times be amongeſt them, in thoſe tarraſſes and pleaſaunt walkes, delighting much to talke with them: and he did euer helpe to diſpatch them that had any buſines with him, and graunted the thing they requeſted of him. To conclude, his houſe was a common receite for all them that came from GRÆCE to ROME. He loued all maner of Philoſophy, and refuſed no ſect of the ſame. But from his youth vpward, he euer loued & eſteemed beſt the ACADEMICKE ſect, not that which they call the new ACADEMICKE (although it floriſhed at that time through *Carneades* workes, which *Philo* made ſuch eſtimacion of) but the old ACADEMICKE, which the Philoſopher *Antiochus* of the city of ASCALON did defende and maintaine at that time, being an eloquent rethoritian and well ſpoken, whom *Lucullus* ſought to win by all meanes to make him his frende, and to haue him in houſe with him: bicauſe he might inuey againſt *Philoes* hearers and followers, whoſe ſcholler *Cicero* among the reſt was, that wrote a notable booke againſt this olde ACADEMICKE ſect. And in the ſame he reciteth *Lucullus*, maintaining the opinion of the old ACADEMICKES: who hold, that a man may certainly know, and comprehend ſomething, and called that Catalepſin: but *Cicero* defended the contrary. The booke is intituled *Lucullus*: for they were (as we haue rehearſed before) very good frendes, and had both one ſelfe deſire for gouernment in the commonwealth. For *Lucullus* did not ſo withdrawe him ſelfe from matters of ſtate, that he would no more medle at all, nor heare ſpeake of them: but he betimes gaue ouer all ambition & contention, as a thing of no ſmall daunger, & breeding great reproache and diſhonor to *Marcus Craſſus*, and *Cato*, to be chiefe in authority. And theſe two were they that defended the Senate, and whom they raiſed vp to withſtand *Pompeys* greatnes, being affrayed of him, after that *Lucullus* had refuſed the chiefe place of authority. But otherwiſe, *Lucullus* would be in the market place at courtes and common counſells, to pleaſure his frendes when they requeſted him: and would goe to the Senate alſo, when there was occaſion to breake any new practiſe, or to ouerthrowe *Pompeys* ambitious policie. For he ouerthrewe all the orders and conſtitutions that *Pompey* had made, after he had ouercome the kinges, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*: and with the helpe of *Cato* hindered a diſtribution of money which *Pompey* had wrytten for to ROME, to be beſtowed amongeſt his ſouldiers. Whereupon *Pompey* fell in frendſhippe, (or to ſpeake more plainly, in conſpiracy) with *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*, by whoſe helpe and aſſiſtaunce, he filled ROME with armes and ſouldiers: and made the people by force to paſſe and confirme what he would haue done, after he had violently expulſed *Lucullus* and *Cato* out of the market place. Whereat the noble men were much offended, and miſliking the great wrong they had offred *Lucullus* & *Cato*, *Pompeys* followers ſuborned a * BRVTIAN, and ſaid he was taken lying in waite to kill *Pompey*. Whereupon the ſayd BRVTIAN being examined by the Senate, named certaine: but when he came before the people, he named *Lucullus*, ſaying that he had hyered him to kill *Pompey*. But no man beleued him. For they perceiued openly in the market place, that he was procured by them ſelues falſely to accuſe *Lucullus*, & *Pompeys* other aduerſaries. And this was proued more plainly within few dayes after, when they threw the body of this BRVTIAN dead in the middeſt of the ſtreete, out of the priſone: who they ſay dyed of him ſelfe with ſickenes. Howbeit the markes being plainly ſeene of the halter wherewith they had ſtrangled him, and the ſtripes appearing alſo which they had geuen him: did plainly ſhew that they them ſelues

VVhat Lucullus ſupper was in Apollo.

Lucullus library.

Lucullus loued Philoſophie.

Antiochus of Aſcalon an eloquent rethoritian.

The opinion of the Academickes.

Marcus Craſſus, Cato, Lucullus, againſt Pompey.

Lucullus and Cato againſt Pompey.

Pompey, Craſſus, Cæſar, conſpired together againſt the ſtate.

**Cicero calleth him Lucius Veſtius, howbeit it may be that he was a Brutian borne.*

did it, whom after they had ſuborned to accuſe *Lucullus*, they ſlue in this maner. This was the cauſe why *Lucullus* did more thē before abſent him ſelfe from medling in publicke cauſes: but after, when he ſawe that they had ſo wickedly exiled *Cicero*, and found meanes alſo to conuey *Cato* farre enough of, vnder pretenced colour to ſende him with charge into the Ile of CYPRVS: then he gaue vp altogether. Some wryte that a litle before his death, he was not perfit in his wittes, decaying through age by litle & litle. Howbeit *Cornelius Nepos* ſayth, that it was not for age, nor ſickenes, that his wittes did alter: but through poyſon which one of his ſlaues had geuen him, whom he had made free, called *Calliſthenes*: who gaue it him, not of any euill intent, but bicauſe his maſter ſhould loue him the more, ſuppoſing that this poyſon had power to make him loue him. But he troubled his wits ſo much with this poyſon, that *Lucullus* while he liued was faine to haue his brother *Marcus* to ouerſee his goods. Notwithſtāding this, whē he was dead, he was as much bewayled and lamented of all the people, as if he had dyed in his beſt credit, and greateſt proſperity. For all the people ranne to honor his funeralls, and his bodie was caried to the place, by the young noble men of the citie. The people woulde in any caſe haue buried him within the field of *Mars*, as they had before buried *Sylla*. But bicauſe no man thought of it before, and alſo for that things neceſſary were not eaſily to be prouided for the place: his brother *Marcus* beſought the people they would be content his funeralls might be at a towne of his owne, neere vnto the city of THVSCVLVM, where his tombe was prepared, and he him ſelfe liued not long time after. For as *Lucullus* both in age, and honor, had not left him farre behinde him: ſo did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had alwayes dearely loued him, he could not then long liue, and ſuruiue him.

Lucullus fell out of his wits before his death.

Calliſthenes poyſoned Lucullus whereof he died. Lucullus death.

THE COMPARISON OF *Lucullus with Cimon.*

Lucullus death bleſſed.

NOthing (in my opinion) made *Lucullus* more happy, then to dye when he did, before he ſawe the chaunge & alteracion of the cōmon weale, which the fatall deſtinies plagued the ROMANES withall, with ſedition & ciuill warres: and that he dyed in his contry yet enioying her liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that he was likeſt vnto *Cimon* aboue all other things: who died whileſt the GRÆCIANS were in good loue and peace with other, and not in broyle of diſcorde and ciuill warres. In deede *Cimon* dyed in his campe, being Generall of his contry, at the ſiege of the city of CITIVM in CYPRVS, not withdrawen to his home, as one wearied, liuing idlely, or leading a voluptuous life in feaſtes and bankets, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphes: but as *Plato* ſaid, (when he wiſely blamed and reproued *Orpheus*, who promiſeth perpetuall dronkenes in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that liued well in this life) merily. And truely it is a great

A great comfort and contentation of minde, for an old man feebled with age, and compelled by weakenes, to withdraw him selfe from the world, as well in matters of gouernment in peace, as in warres: and quietly to passe his time in studie, where delight is ioyned with honest contemplation. But to finish his vertuous deedes, by referring them to pleasure, as vnto their only end, and moreouer, to grow old by pleasure and vanity, solemnising *Venus* feast all the rest of his life, after he hath made such warres, & commaunded such armies: that me thinkes a thing vnworthy of an honest ACADEMICKE, and altogether vnmeete for one professing olde *Xenocrates* doctrine, but fit rather for a man geuen ouer altogether to *Epicurus* discipline. There is a wonderfull thing to be considered of in these two men, that the ones youth was altogether vitious and reproachfull, and thothers to the contrary, honest and vertuous. But he is the better that chaungeth for the better: & that nature is alwayes more commendable, in whom vice decayeth, and vertue waxeth young: then that which by continuance of time sheweth still the contrary. And furthermore, they both grew rich by one selfe meane: but they did not both a like vse their riches. For it were to no purpose to compare the buildings of the wall that standeth south within the castell of ATHENS, which was built with the money *Cimon* brought thither: with the fine built chambers, and high raised turrets to gaze a farre, & enuironned about with conduits of water, which *Lucullus* erected by NAPLES, with the spoyles of the barbarous people. Neither is *Cimons* table also of moderate fare & dyet, but yet open to euery man, comparable to *Lucullus* borde: which was sumptuously furnished, and shewed the greatnes of his Lord. For *Cimons* bord fed many mouthes dayly with a small charge: and *Lucullus* table exceded in expence, to feede a few, with superfluous dainties. Onlesse they will say, that time caused this difference betwene them. But who can tell, if *Cimon* had bene at leasure to haue withdrawen him selfe to quiet in age from gouernment, and armes, he also would not haue ledde a more sumptuous & dissolute life, geuen to all pleasure, then *Lucullus* did? For of his owne nature he loued wine, banckets, and playes, and was also geuen to women, as we haue told you before. But prosperity, and fortunate successe of thinges doe bring such delight to ambitious men of nature, and borne to great enterprises: that they make them forget to runne after their other voluptuous vaine desires. And therefore had *Lucullus* dyed abroade in the warres, whilest he commaunded armies: there had not bene that liuing man, how curious soeuer he had bene to reproue other mens faultes, that could haue detected him of any reproachefull vice. And thus much for their maner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their warres: no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by sea as by land. And like as in games of prise and exercises of body which are shewed in GRÆCE, they that in one selfe day winne the games at wrestling, and weapons both, are called by a straunge custome, not conquerours only, but victors also, to honor them withall: euen so me thinkes that *Cimon* in like case hauing in one selfe day crowned GRÆCE with two notable markes of triumphe, for two battels he wanne, the one by sea, and the other by lande, deserueth to haue some place and preferment before other Captaines. And moreouer, *Lucullus* receiued the authoritie to commaund, of his contry and common wealth: but *Cimon* gaue his contry both authority & ability to commaund. *Lucullus* found his contry a commaunding people to all their frends and confederats: through whose aide he ouercame his enemies. And *Cimon* contrarily, found his contry marching vnder an others ensigne, and through his valliantnes did so behaue him selfe, that he made his city goe before her confederats, and triumphe ouer her enemies: compelling the PERSIANS by force to geue them the rule by sea, and perswading the LACEDÆMONIANS willingly to geue place vnto them by lande. Now if the chiefest thing that can be in an excellent Captaine, is to make him selfe to be beloued of his souldiers, that they may delight to obey him: then was *Lucullus* despised of his souldiers, & *Cimon* esteemed and wondred at, euen of the confederates them selues. For *Lucullus* was forsaken of his owne men: and *Cimon* was followed by very straungers, for the confederates did ioyne together with him. *Lucullus* returned home into his contry, forsaken of those he caried out with him. *Cimon* returned againe, commaunding them that were sent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his contry three notable things, & hard for them to haue compassed: to wit, made peace with the enemies, geuen them authority & rule of their confederats, and ioyned frendshippe with

A good gift to decay vice & to encrease vertue.

Cimons two victories obtained in one day.

Great difference betweene Cimon & Lucullus.

the LACEDÆMONIANS. Both of them vndertooke to destroy great Empires, and conquer all ASIA. But neither of them both could bring their enterprise to passe. The one by reason of his death, which cut him of on the sodaine being Generall, and when his affayres prospered best. The other can hardly be excused, that there was not a great fault in him: either in that he could not, or bicause he would not satisfie the complaints & griefes of his men, which caused them so much to hate and mislike him. And yet it might be sayd also, that in this fault he was like vnto *Cimon*: who was oftentimes accused by his citizens, and at the length banished his contrie for the space of tenne yeares, bicause that in tenne yeares space (as *Plato* sayth) they should no more heare him speake. For to say truely, it seldom times happeneth, that the graue wittes of noble men do please the multitude, neither are they acceptable vnto the common people: bicause they striuing continually to reforme them when they go awry, do grieue them as much, as surgeons doe their pacients when they binde vp their sores with bandes to cure them. For though by that binding they restore & bring to their natural places againe the broken bones or members out of ioynt: yet put they the pacient to great paine and griefe. And therfore me thinkes neither the one nor the other is to be blamed. Furthermore, *Lucullus* wēt a great deale further with his army, then euer *Cimon* did. For he was the first ROMANE Captaine that passed ouer mount Taurus, and the riuer of Tigris with an army. He tooke and burnt almost in sight of both the kinges, the royall cities of ASIA, TIGRANOCERTA, CABIRA, SINOPE, and NISIBIS. Towards the north, he went as farre as the riuer of Phasis: towards the east, into MEDIA: and southward, euen to the redde sea, and vnto the realmes of ARABIA, subduing all vnto the ROMANE Empire. And hauing ouerthrowen all the power of these two mighty kinges, he tooke from them all, but their persons only: who fled and hid them selues like wild beastes, in infinite deserts and vnpassable forrestes. Wherin is easily discerned the difference betwixt the doinges of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor ouerthrow at all by *Cimon*, fought a battell immediatly after against the GRÆCIANS, & ouerthrew the greatest parte of their army in EGYPT: where *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, after *Lucullus* victories, did neuer any notable act. For the one finding him selfe altogether pulled downe on his knees, and broken by the former battells: durst neuer once only shew his army vnto *Pompey*, out of the strength of his campe, but fled into the realme of BOSPHORVS, where he dyed. And *Tigranes*, he went and humbled him selfe on his knees, vnarmed, and without weapon, vnto *Pompey*: and taking his diadeame of from his head, layed it at his feete, not flattering him for the victories he had won, but for those which *Lucullus* had triumphed for. By reason wherof he scaped good cheape, & thought him selfe happy, when *Pompey* gaue him only the marke and title of a king, the which before had bene taken from him. He therefore is to be thought the more worthy Captaine, & stowtest champion, that leaueth his enemy in weake estate for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwardes with him. And furthermore, *Cimon* found the power of the king of PERSIA ouerharried, the pride and fiercenesse of the PERSIANS layed a grounde, by many great battells they had lost before vnto *Themistocles*, king *Pausanias*, & *Leotychides*, who had ouerthrowen them: and going now againe to fight a fresh with them, it was an easie thing to ouercome the bodies of those, whose harts were already vanquished. Where *Lucullus* to the contrary, assailed *Tigranes*, that had neuer bene ouercome, but bare a maruelous lofty minde with him, for the many great battells and conquestes he had wonne. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no comparison betwene those that *Cimon* ouerthrew, & those that were raunged in battell against *Lucullus*. So that all thinges weyed and considered, it were hard to iudge which of them two proued the worthiest man: for that it seemeth, that the goddes did fauor both the one and the other, telling the one what he should doe; and the other what he should not doe. And thus it appeareth by testimonie of the goddes, they were both good men, and that they both obtained euerlasting glorie.

Graue magistrates resembled by similitude vnto good Surgeōs.

Mithridates king of Pontus, dyed in the realme of Bosphorus.

Tigranes king of Armenia, submitteth himselfe to Pompey.

The end of Lucullus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Nicias.*

I Haue reason (as I thinke) to compare *Nicias* with *Crassus*, and the euēts that happened to the one in PARTHIA, with those that befell the other in SICYLE: yet am I to pray them that shall happen to read my wrytinges, not to thinke me in entermeddling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, *Thucydides* hath gone beyond him selfe, both for variety & liuelines of narration, as also in choice & excellent words) to haue the like intent and opinion, that *Timæus* the historiographer had. Who, hoping by the grauety & life of his words and reportes, to darken the glorie of *Thucydides*, and make *Philistus* (in comparison of him selfe) appeare ignoraunt, & without any grace of historicall narration: hath in his history of purpose sought occasion to enter into the describing of those battels by sea and by land, and the reporte of those speches and orations, which are deliuered by them with great iudgement and eloquence. Wherein he commeth as neere them whome he contendes to passe, as doth the footeman to the LYDIAN coche, as sayth *Pindarus*: and besides sheweth him selfe fond and of small iudgement, or as *Diphilus* sayth,

The praise of Thucydides.

Timæus follies.

A lubber laden vvith Sicylian grease.

And in diuers places, he falleth into *Xenarchus* follies. As where he sayth, that he thinkes it was an euill token for the ATHENIANS, that *Nicias* the Captaine (whose name was deriued of this word Nice, signifying victory) disswaded their attempts against SICYLE: and that by the throwing downe and mangling of the Hermes (to say, the images of *Mercury*) it was foreshewed that they should receiue great ouerthrowes by the General of the SYRACVSANS, called *Hermocrates*, the sonne of *Hermon*. And further, that it was not vnlikely that *Hercules* did fauor the SYRACVSANS, by reason of the goddesse *Proserpina*, (protector and defendor of the citie of SYRACVSA) to requite her for that she gaue him Cerberus the dogge, porter of hell: and that he did malice the ATHENIANS besides, bicause they tooke the ÆGESTÆANS partes: (who came of the TROYANS, whom he much hated) for breaking their promise and faith with him, whose city him selfe had ouerthrowen in reuenge of the wrong that *Laomedon* king of TROY had offered him. Howbeit *Timæus* shewes as much wit and iudgement, in deliuering vs such toyes in an history: as he doth in correcting the stile of *Philistus*, or in condēning and railing of *Plato* and *Aristotle*. But in my fansie, this ambition & contention to wryte

Timæus reproueth Plato and Aristotle.

or to ſpeake more clerkely then others, ſheweth alwayes a baſe enuious minde, like a ſcholler A
full of his ſchoole pointes. But when it ſtriueth with thinges that are paſt all chalenge & correcting, then is it extreame follie and madnes. Sence therefore I may not paſſe ouer nor omit certaine thinges, which *Thucydides* and *Philiſtus* haue already ſet downe, and eſpecially thoſe wherein they lay open *Nicias* nature and qualities, which the variety of his ſucceſſes and fortune did couer: I muſt lightly touch them, and reporte ſo much as is neceſſary, & conuenient, leaſt men condemne me, for ſlouth and negligence. And in the reſt I haue endeuored to gather and propounde thinges not commonly marked and knowen, which I haue collected as well out of ſundry mens workes & auncient recordes, as out of many olde antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will ſerue (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of *Nicias* therefore may be ſayd that which *Ariſtotle* hath wrytten of him: that there B
were three famous citizens of ATTHENS, very honeſt men, & which fauored the cõmunalty
Nicias equalls. with a naturall fatherly loue: *Nicias* the ſonne of *Niceratus*, *Thucydides* the ſonne of *Mileſius*, and *Theramenes* the ſonne of *Agnon*. But of the three, this laſt was of ſmalleſt accompt: for he is flowted as a forrenner borne in the Ile of CEOS, and chalenged beſides for inconſtant & inreſolute in matters of ſtate and gouernment: and inclining ſomtimes to one faction, ſometime to an other, he was called *Cothurnus*, a kinde of buskin indifferently ſeruing for both legges, and in old time was vſed of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, *Thucydides* being the elder, did many good actes in fauor of the nobility againſt *Pericles*, who alwaies tooke parte with the inferior ſorte. *Nicias* that was the younger, had reaſonable eſtimation in *Pericles* life time: for he was ioyned Captaine with him, and oftentimes alſo had charge by C
him ſelfe alone without him. After *Pericles* death, the nobility raiſed him to great authoritie, to be as a ſtrong bulwarke for them, againſt *Cleons* inſolency & boldnes: and with all, he had the loue of the people, to aduaunce and preferre him. Now this *Cleon* in troth could do much with the people, he did ſo flatter and dandle them, like an olde man, ſtill feeding their humor with gaine: but yet they them ſelues whome he thus flattered, knowing his extreame couetouſnes, impudency, and boldnes, preferred *Nicias* before him, bicauſe his grauity was not ſeuere nor odious, but mingled with a kinde of modeſty, that he ſeemed to feare the preſence of the people, which made them thereby the more to loue and eſteeme him. For being (as he
Nicias, a timorous man. was) of a fearefull & miſtruſtfull nature & diſpoſition: in warres he cloked his feare with good fortune, which euer fauored him alike in all his iorneys and exploytes that he tooke in hande D
where he was Captaine. Now being much affrayed of accuſers, this timorous manner of his proceeding in the citie, was founde to be popular, whereby he wanne him the good will of the people: and by meanes thereof roſe daily more and more, bicauſe the people commonly
The nature of the people. feare thoſe that hate them, & aduaunce them that feare them. For the greateſt honor nobility can doe to the communalty, is to ſhewe that they doe not deſpiſe them. Nowe *Pericles*, who through his perfit vertue only, and force of his great eloquence ruled the whole ſtate & common wealth of ATHENS, he needed no counterfeate colour, nor artificiall flattering of the people, to winne their fauor and good willes: but *Nicias* lacking that, and hauing wealth enough, ſought thereby to creepe into the peoples fauor. And where *Cleon* would entertaine
the ATHENIANS with pleaſaunt toyes and deuiſes, and could feede the peoples humor that E
way: *Nicias* finding him ſelfe no fit man to worke by ſuch encounter, crept into the peoples
Nicias liberality & magnificence. fauor with liberality, with charges of common playes, and with ſuch like ſumptuouſnes, exceeding in coſt and pleaſaunt ſportes, not only all thoſe that had bene before him, but ſuch alſo as were in his time. There yet remaine monuments of his conſecrating vnto the goddes: as the image of *Pallas* in the caſtell of ATHENS, the gilt being worne of: and the chappell which is vnder the feſtiuall table of *Bacchus*: for he many times had the chiefe priſe in *Bacchus* daunſes, & neuer went away without ſome game. And touching this matter, there goeth a reporte that at certaine playes whereof *Nicias* defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth apon the players ſtage before the people, apparelled like *Bacchus*: & being a goodly tall young man, without any heare on his face, the ATHENIANS tooke ſuch pleaſure to ſee him ſo attired, that F
they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for ioy. Therewithall *Nicias* ſtoode vp, and told them, that it were a ſhame for him to leaue the body of a man in bondage, that

openly

A openly was esteemed as a god: and thereupon foorthwith made this young slaue a free man. Men wryte also of certaine sumptuous and deuout acts he did in the Ile of DELOS, where the daunsers and singers which the cities of GRÆCE sent thither to singe rimes and verses in the honor of *Apollo*, were wont before to arriue disorderly: and the cause was, for the numbers of people that ranne to see them, who made them singe straight without any order, and landing in hast out of their shippes, they left their apparell, and put on such vestements as they should weare in procession, and their garlands of flowers on their heades, all at one present time. But *Nicias*, being commaunded to go thither to present the singers of ATHENS, landed first in the Ile of RENIA, hard adioyning to the Ile of DELOS, with his singers, his beastes for sacrifice, and with all the rest of his traine, carying a bridge with him, which he had caused to be made
B at ATHENS, vpon measure taken of the channell, betwext the one and thother Ile set out with pictures and tables, with gilding, with nosegayes and garlandes of triumphe, and with excellent wrought tapistry: which in the night he set vp vpon the channell, being not very broade, and the next morning by breake of the day caused his singers to passe ouer apon it, singing all the way as they went in his procession so nobly set forth, euen vnto the very temple of *Apollo*. And when the sacrifice, the feast, and games that were to be played were finished, he gaue a goodly palme tree of copper, which he offered vp to *Apollo*, bought landes besides that cost him tenne thowsande Drachmas, which he consecrated also vnto the god Patron of the Ile: and ordained, that the profittes of the same should be yearely bestowed by the DELIANS, a-
C pon an open sacrifice and feast, in the which they should pray to their god, for the health and prosperity of *Nicias*: and so caused it to be wrytten and grauen apon a piller he left in DELOS, as a perpetuall monument and keeper of his offring, and foundation. Afterwards, this copper palme tree being broken by windes, it fell apon the great image of the NAXIANS gift, and threw it downe to the ground. Surely in this ceremony and act of his, there was a maruelous pompe, & great shew of popular ambition: neuertheless, he that shall consider of his life and actions, may easely perswade him selfe that aboue all he did it of very pure zeale & deuotion, and secondly, to geue pleasure and pastime to the people. For by *Thucydides* reporte of him, he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly geuen to religion. We finde wrytten in one of the dialogues of *Pasiphoon*, that *Nicias* did sacrifice dayly to the goddes, and kept a soothsayer continually in his house, geuing out abroade, that it was to counsayle with
D him what should happen about the affayers of the common wealth: but in troth it was to inquier of his owne busines, and specially of his mynes of siluer. For he had many great mynes about LAVRION side, that were very profitable to him: but withall they digged with great daunger, and he was driuen continually to kepe a maruelous number of slaues at worke there. The most parte of *Nicias* riches was in ready money, and thereby he had many crauers and hangers on him, whome he gaue money vnto: for he gaue as well vnto wicked people that might doe mischiefe, as vnto them that deserued reward, and were worthie of his liberalitie. Thus was his feare a rent to the wicked, as his liberalitie was also a reuenue to the good: and hereof the comicall Poets doe deliuer vs auncient testimony. For *Teleclides* speaking of a certaine informer sayth thus:

Nicias superstitious.

Nicias mynes of siluer.

Nicias for feare gaue to the wicked.

E
Charicles did refuse to geue one Mina for to stay,
The bruting of his secret birth, conueyed close avvay:
But Nice, the sonne of Nicerate, did vvillingly bestovv,
A brace of Minaze doble told. And though I vvell doe knovv
The cause of his so doing, yet I vvill not him bevvray:
For vvhy? The man is my good frend, and vvise I dare vvell say.

And he, whom *Eupolis* mocketh in his comedy intituled Maricas, bringing a plaine simple man apon the stage, doth aske him:

The informer.

F *Hovv long is it a goe since thou didst speake vvith Nicias?*

The plaine man.

I savv him standing euen right novv vpon the market place.

The informer.

This man affirms he ſavv him there. And vvherefore should he ſay
He ſavv him, but of ſome intent his levvdnes to bevvray?
Novv ſirs ye ſee hovv Nicias here is taken in the trip,
For all his vvalking cloſe in clovvdes to geue the priuy ſlip.

The Author.

O foolish folke, ſuppoſe ye that ſo good a man as he,
In any fault or shamefull fact vvill tardy taken be?

And *Cleon* threatning in the comedie of *Ariſtophanes*, intituled the Knightes, ſayth theſe wordes.

The Orators if by the throte I take,
Then ſure I am, that Nicias ſtreit vvill quake.

Phrynichus ſelfe alſo telleth vs glaunſingly, that he was ſo timorous and eaſie to be frayed, when he ſayd ſpeaking of an other man:

A good ſtovvt man (I knovv full vvell) he vvas,
And not a covvard like to Nicias.

Nicias warines to offende.

Now *Nicias* being thus timerous of nature, and fearing to geue any litle occaſion to the Orators to accuſe him: kept him ſelfe ſo warely, that he neither durſt eate nor drinke with any man in the city, nor yet put foorth him ſelfe in companie to talke, or paſſe the time amongeſt them, but altogether auoyded ſuch ſportes and pleaſures. For when he was in office, he would neuer out of the counſayle houſe, but ſtill buſied him ſelfe in diſpatching cauſes, from morning till night, and was euer the firſt that came, and laſt that went away. And when he had no matter of ſtate in hande, then was he very hardly to be ſpoken withall, and would ſuffer no acceſſe vnto him, but kept cloſe in his houſe: and ſome of his frendes did euer aunſwere them that came to his gate, and prayed them to pardon him, ſaying, that he was buſie then about affayers of the common wealth. One *Hieron*, whom *Nicias* had brought vp in his houſe, and had him ſelfe taught him both learning & muſicke, was his greateſt procurer and inſtrument to keepe him from ſpeech with any man, and brought him to this reputation of greatnes and grauety. This *Hieron* (as it is reported) was the ſonne of *Dionyſius Chalcus*, of whom they finde certaine Poeticall workes at this day: who being Captaine of a certaine number of men that were ſent to dwell in Italie, did build there the citie of Thvries. *Hieron* I ſay did ſerue his turne, and holpe him ſecretly to inquier what he would vnderſtande of the Soothſayers, and gaue out theſe wordes among the people: that *Nicias* led too miſerable and painefull a life, for the ouergreat care he tooke to ſerue the common wealth: inſomuch, as though he were in his hotte houſe to waſh him, or at his table at meate, his minde ranne ſtill of ſome matters about the common wealth, and to ſerue the ſtate, did neglect his owne priuate affayers: ſo that he ſcant beganne to ſleepe & take reſt, when others commonly had ſlept their firſt ſleepe, and that he looked like no body. Furthermore, that he was growen crabbed and vncurteous, euen to ſuch as before had bene his familiar frendes. So that, ſayd he, he loſeth them together with his goodes, and all for ſeruice of the common wealth: where others grow rich, and win frendes, by the credit they haue to be heard of the people, and can make mery among them, and ſporte with the matters of ſtate which they haue in their handes. Now in troth, ſuch was *Nicias* life, that he might truely ſay that which *Agamemnon* ſpake of him ſelfe in the tragedie of *Euripides*, called *Iphigenie* in Avlide.

Nicias Hieronis ſchoolemaſter.

Dionyſius Chalcus founder of the city of Thuries.

Nicias life.

In outvvard shovv of ſtately pompe all others I exceede,
And yet the peoples vnderling I am in very deede.

And *Nicias* perceiuing that the people in ſome thinges did ſerue their turnes with the experience of them that were eloquent, & wiſer then others, although they yet miſtruſted their ſufficiency, and had a ſpeciall eye to them, plucking downe their corage, by taking their authority from them: as for proofe the condemnation of *Pericles*, the baniſhment of *Damon*, and the miſtruſt they had of *Antiphon* Rhamnvsian, and moreouer by that they did vnto *Paches* (that tooke the Ile of Lesbos) who being brought before the iudges in open counſell to geue vp an accompt of his charge, drewe out his ſword, and ſlue him ſelfe in preſence of them all.

Nicias

A *Nicias* I saye, remembring these examples, sought euer to flie from these offices, which were either too great, or too smal, and when he accepted any, had speciall regard to worke surely, & to venture nothing. Whereby all his enterprises that he tooke in hand, as we may easily coniecture, prospered maruelous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wisedom, nor yet to his vertue and sufficiencie, but thanked fortune euer for all, and praying diligently to the goddes, contented him selfe to lessen his glory, and that onely to auoyde enuy. As the euent of thinges falling out euen in his time doe sufficiently witnes vnto vs. For the citie of ATHENS hauing susteined many great losses and ouerthrowes, he was neuer a party, nor had ought to doe in any of them. As once for example: the ATHENIANS were ouercome in THRACIA by the CHALCIDONIANS, howebeit it was vnder the leading of *Calliades* & *Xenophon*, who were
B their Captaines. An other time, the losse they had in ÆTOLIA vnder the charge of *Demosthenes*. Moreouer at DELIVM, a city of BOEOTIA, where they lost a thowsande men at one conflict, *Hippocrates* then being there Generall. And as touching the plague, the greatest number layed the fault thereof to *Pericles*, who by reason of warres kept the men that came out of the contry, within the walles of the citie of ATHENS: and so by chaunging of ayer, and their wonted maner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and misfortunes, was *Nicias* euer burdened: but contrariwise he being Captaine tooke the Ile of CYTHERA, which the LACEDÆMONIANS inhabited, being an excellent place for situation to molest and destroy the contrie of LACONIA. He wanne diuers cities againe that had rebelled in THRACIA, and brought them once more vnder the obedience of ATHENS. At his first com-
C ming, hauing shut in the MEGARIANS within their walles, he tooke the Ile of MINOA: and at his departure thence, shortly after wanne the hauen of Nisea also. Furthermore, landing in the contry of the CORINTHIANS, he ouercame them that offered him battell, and slue a great number, and among others *Lycophron* the Captaine. At this battell he chaunsed to forget to bury two of his men that were slaine, whose bodies could not be found in gathering vp of the rest: howbeit so soone as he heard of it, he caused all his fleete to stay, and sent an Herauld to the enemies, to pray leaue to fetche away those two bodies. Now, though by law of armes they that sent to aske leaue to take away their deade to bury them, did thereby lose the honor of their victory, & were barred to set vp any marke or token of triumphe, bicause it seemed by the sute, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the peti-
D cioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed not to haue made demaunde of them: *Nicias* notwithstanding was contented rather to forsake the honor of his victory, then to leaue the bodies of two of his contrymen in the field without buriall. So, after he had destroyed all the coast of LACONIA, and had ouercomen certaine LACEDÆMONIANS that came against him in battell: he tooke the city of THYREA, which the ÆGINETES kept at that time, whom he brought prisoners vnto ATHENS. And when the PELOPONNESIANS had prepared great armies both by sea and by land to besiege the forte of PYLE, the which *Demosthenes* the Captaine had fortified: battell being geuen by sea, it chaunsed there remained foure hundred naturall citizens of SPARTA, within the Ile of SPACTERIA. Now the ATHENIANS thought it a noble exployte of them, (as in deede it was) to take those foure hundred aliue: howbeit the
E siege was very sore, bicause they lacked water euen in the middest of sommer, and were forced to fetch a maruelous compasse to bring vittells to their campe, which whē winter should be once commen would be very daungerous, and almost an impossible thing to doe. Whereupon, they then became sory, and repented them much that they had sent away the Ambassadors of the LACEDÆMONIANS which came to them to treate of peace, and that they had (through *Cleons* procurement) suffred them to departe in that sorte without resolucion taken: who was against thē altogether, only to do *Nicias* a despite, being his enemy, & did earnestly solicite the matter the LACEDÆMONIANS requested. This was the cause why *Cleon* perswaded the ATHENIANS, to refuse their offer of peace. But when the people saw that this siege drewe out in length, and that their campe suffered grieuous wantes and necessities: then fell
F they out with *Cleon*, and he againe burdened *Nicias*, saying that through his feare he would let the besieged SPARTANS escape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they should not haue holden out so long. Thereupon the ATHENIANS sayd a lowde to *Cleon*: and why doest not thou

Notable actes done by Nicias.

The lawe of armes.

goe thither yet to take them? Moreouer *Nicias* ſelfe alſo riſing vp, openly gaue him his authority to take this Pyle, and bad him leauy as many ſouldiers as he would to goe thither, and not to bragge with ſuch impudent wordes where was no daunger, but to doe ſome notable ſeruice to the cõmon wealth. *Cleon* at the firſt ſhronke backe, being amaſed withall, litle thinking they would haue taken him ſo ſodainly at his word. But in the ende, perceiuing the people vrged him to it, and that *Nicias* alſo was importunate with him: ambition ſo enflamed him, that he not onely tooke the charge apon him, but in a brauery ſayd, that within twenty dayes after his departure he would either put all the SPARTANS to the ſword, or bring them priſoners vnto ATHENS. The ATHENIANS hearing *Cleon* ſay ſo, had more luſt to laugh a good, then to beleue that he ſpake: for it was their maner euer to laugh at his anger and folly.

A ieaſt of Cleon.

For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being ſolẽnly aſſembled in counſell earely in the morning, to heare what *Cleon* would ſay, & hauing taried long for him: at the length he came with a garland on his head, and prayed the aſſemblie to diſmiſſe the courte till the next morning: for, quod he, I ſhall not be at leaſure to day, bicauſe I haue ſacrificed, and doe feaſt alſo certaine ſtraungers my frendes that are come to ſee me. So the people burſt out in a laughing, and brake vp thaſſembly. This notwithſtanding, fortune fauored him at that time,

Cleons victory of the Lacedæmonians.

& he hãdled him ſelfe ſo well in this charge with *Demoſthenes*, that he tooke all the SPARTANS that they beſieged, within the time he had appointed, ſauing ſuch as were ſlaine: and hauing made them yeelde, brought them priſoners to ATHENS. This fell out greatly to *Nicias* ſhame and reproache. For it appeared not only a caſting away of his ſhielde, but worſe then that, a voluntary forſaking of his prouince apon a baſe timerous minde, geuing his enemy occaſion thereby to doe ſome noble exployt, depriuing him ſelfe of his honorable charge. Wherefore *Ariſtophanes* mocketh him againe, in his comedy of birdes, ſaying:

It is no time to ſlepe and linger ſtill,
As Nicias doth: vvithout good cauſe or skill.

Alſo in an other place of his comedy of plowmen he ſayth:

I faine vvould follovv husbandry. VVho lets thee? Mary you.
A thovvſand Dragmaze I vvill geue to be diſcharged novv
Of office in the common vveale. Content, ſo ſhall vve haue
Tvvo thovvſand Dragmaze iuſt, vvith thoſe that Nicias lately gaue.

The immoderate liberty of Cleon.

But herein *Nicias* did great hurt to the cõmon wealth, ſuffering *Cleon* in that ſorte to grow to credit & eſtimacion. For after that victory, *Cleon* grew to ſo hautie a minde & pride of him ſelfe, that he was not to be delt withall: wherupon fel out the occaſiõ of the great miſeries that happened to the city of ATHENS, which moſt grieued *Nicias* of all other. For *Cleon* amongſt other thinges tooke away the modeſty and reuerence vſed before in publicke Orations to the people: he of all other was the firſt that cried out in his Orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his gowne, & floong vp & downe the pulpit as he ſpake. Of which exãple afterwardes followed all licentiouſnes, and contempt of honeſty, the which all the Orators & counſellors fell into, that delt in matters of ſtate & cõmon wealth, & was in the end the ouerthrow of all together. In that very time began *Alcibiades* to grow to credit, by practiſe in the ſtate, who was not altogether ſo corrupt, neither ſimply euill: but as they ſay of the lande of EGYPT, that for the fatnes and luſtines of the ſoyle,

Cleons lewd and light ſeaſtures in his Orations.

It bringeth forth both holſome herbes, and alſo noyſome vveedes.

Alcibiades diuers wit.

Euen ſo *Alcibiades* wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cauſe and beginning of great chaunge and alteracion. For, it fell out, that after *Nicias* was ridde of *Cleon*, he could not yet bring the citie of ATHENS againe to peace and quietnes. For when the common wealth began to grow to ſome reſt and reaſonable good order, then was it againe brought into warres, through *Alcibiades* extreame fury of ambition. And thus it beganne. The only peacebreakers and diſturbers of common quiet generally throughout GRÆCE, were theſe two perſones, *Cleon* and *Braſidas*: for warre cloked the wickednes of the one, and aduaunced the valiantnes of the other, geuing to either occaſion to doe great miſchiefe, and alſo oportunity to worke many noble exployts. Now *Cleon* and *Braſidas* being both ſlaine together at a battell fought by *Amphipolis*, *Nicias* ſtraight perceiuing the SPARTANS had long deſired peace, and that the

Cleon & Braſidas the two peacebreakers generally of all Græce.

ATHE-

A ATHENIANS were no more ſo hottely geuen to the warres, but that both the one & the other had their handes full, & were willing to be quiet: deuiſed what meanes he might vſe to bring SPARTA and ATHENS to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the cities of GRÆCE alſo from broyle and miſery of warre, that thenceforth they might all together enioy a peaceable and happy life. The riche men, the olde men, and the husbandmen, he found very willing to hearken to peace: and talking priuately alſo with diuers others, he had ſo perſwaded them, that he cooled them for being deſirous of warres. Whereupon, putting the SPARTANS in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they ſought it: the SPARTANS beleued him, not onely for that they had founde him at other times very ſoft and curteous, but alſo bicauſe he was carefull to ſee that their priſoners of SPARTA, (who had bene taken at the ſorte of Pyle) were
B gently intreated, and had made their miſerable captiuity more tollerable. So, peace was concluded betwene the SPARTANS and the ATHENIANS for a yeare, during which abſtinence, they frequenting one an other againe, and beginning to taſte the ſweetenes and pleaſures of peace, and the ſafety of free acceſſe one to ſee an others frendes that were ſtraungers: began then to wiſhe that they might ſtill continue in peace and amity together, without effuſion of blood of either partie, and tooke great delight in their daunces, to heare them ſinge ſuch ſonges:

Nicias reconcileth the Spartans with the Athenians.

And let my ſpeare lye ouergrowen, with duſty ſpyders wwebbes.

They did alſo with great ioy & gladnes remember him which ſayd, that in peace no ſound of trompet, but the crowing of the cocke doth wake them that be a ſleepe: and on the other
C ſide they curſed and tooke on with them that ſayd it was predeſtined, the warre ſhould continue thriſe nine yeares. And ſo, vpon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an vniuerſall peace throughout all GRÆCE. Now moſt men thought that ſurely all their ſorrowes and miſeries were come to an ende, and there was no talke of any man but of *Nicias*, ſaying: that he was a man beloued of the goddes, who for his deuotion towardes them, had this ſpeciall gift geuē him, that the greateſt bleſſing that could come vnto the world, was called after his name. For to confeſſe a troth, euery man was certainly perſwaded that this peace was *Nicias* worke, as the warre was *Pericles* procurement, who vpon light cauſes perſwaded the GRÆCIANS to runne headlong into moſt grieuous calamities: and *Nicias* on the other ſide had brought them to become frends, and to forget the great hurtes the one had receiued
D of the other in former warres. And euē to this preſent day, that peace is called Nicium, as who would ſay, *Nicias* peace. The capitulacions of the peace were thus agreed vpon: that of either ſide they ſhould alike deliuer vp the cities, and landes, which eche had taken from other in time of warres, together with the priſoners alſo: and that they ſhould firſt make reſtitution, whoſe lot it was to beginne. *Nicias* (according to *Theophraſtus* reporte) for ready money ſecretly bought the lot, that the LACEDÆMONIANS might be the firſt that ſhould make reſtitution. And when the CORINTHIANS and BOEOTIANS that diſliked of this peace, ſought by the complaintes they made, to renue the warre againe: *Nicias* then perſwaded both the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, that they ſhould adde for ſtrength vnto their contry, the allyance & peace offenſiue and defenſiue made betwene them, for a more ſure knot of frend-
E ſhippe, wherby they might be the better aſſured the one of the other, and alſo the more dredfull to their enemies that ſhould rebell againſt them. Theſe thinges went cleane againſt *Alcibiades* minde: who beſides that he was ill borne for peace, was enemy alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that they ſought to *Nicias*, and made none accompt of him, but deſpiſed him. Here was thoccaſion that cauſed *Alcibiades* to proue from the beginning what he could doe to hinder this peace, wherein he preuailed nothing. Yet ſhortly after, *Alcibiades* perceiuing that the ATHENIANS liked not ſo well of the LACEDÆMONIANS, as they did before, and that they thought themſelues iniuried by thē, bicauſe they had lately made league with the BOEOTIANS without their priuity, and had not wholly rendred vp the cities of PANACTVM & AMPHIPOLIS according to the condicions articled betwene them: began then to enlarge and ag-
F grauate the peoples complaintes, and to make them offended with euery one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambaſſadors from the city, of ARGOS to come to ATHENS, and ſo handled the matter, that the ATHENIANS made league offenſiue & defenſiue with them.

Nicias peace.

Ambassadors sent frō Sparta to Athens.

While these matters were thus in hand, there came to ATHENS also Ambassadors from LACEDÆMON, with full power and authority to set all thinges at stay, and to compound all controuersies: who hauing first spoken with the Senate, propounded things vnto them both very honest and reasonable. Whereupon, *Alcibiades* being affrayed that they letting the people vnderstand so much, should thereby bring them to yeelde to what they desired: he finely deceiued the poore Ambassadors by this deuise. He promised apon his othe to helpe them in that they went about, so farre foorth as they would not confesse them selues to haue absolute power from the Ephores: making them to beleue it was the only way to bring their matters to passe. The Ambassadors geuing credit to his wordes, relied apon him, and so forsooke *Nicias*. Whereupon *Alcibiades* brought them before the people being set in counsell, and there demaunded openly of them, whether they had full power and authoritie to accorde all matters yea or no. Whereunto they made him aunswere with a lowde voyce, that they had not. Thereupon *Alcibiades*, contrarie both to their expectation, and his owne othe and promise made vnto them: beganne to call the counsell to witnes, whether they did not in open Senate say the contrary, and so aduised the people not to trust nor geue credit vnto such men, as were openly taken with so manifest a lye, & that in one selfe matter would one while say one thing, an other while an other. It bootes not to aske whether the Ambassadors were much amased to heare *Alcibiades* wordes: for *Nicias* him selfe wist not what to say to the matter, the suddennes of the cause did so confuse and grieue him, being a thing he least looked for. Nowe the people they were so moued besides, that they became indifferent whether to haue sent for the Ambassadors of ARGOS presently to haue made league with them or not: but there fell out an earthquake apon this matter, that greatly serued *Nicias* turne, and brake vp the assemblie. The people meeting againe in counsell the next morning, *Nicias* with all that he could doe, or say, could scant withhold them from making league with the ARGIVES: and to get leaue in the meane time to go to the LACEDÆMONIANS, promising he would make all well againe. Thereupon, *Nicias* going to SPARTA, was receiued and honored there like a noble man, and as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the rest, he preuailed nothing, and being ouercomen by those that fauored the BOEOTIANS, returned againe to ATHENS as he departed thence. Where he was not onely ill welcomed home, and worse esteemed, but was also in daunger of his person, through the fury of the people, that at his requeste & counsell had redeliuered such men prisoners, and so great a number of them. For in deede, the prisoners which *Cleon* had brought to ATHENS from the forte of Pyle, were all of the chiefest houses of SPARTA, and their kinsemen and frends were the noblest men of the city. Notwithstanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, sauing that they chose *Alcibiades* their Captaine, and made league with the ELIANS, and MANTINIANS (which had reuolted from the LACEDÆMONIANS) and with the ARGIVES also: & sent pyrates to the forte of Pyle, to spoyle the contry of LACONIA. Vpon these occasions the ATHENIANS fell againe into warres. Now when the quarrell and controuersie was greatest betwene *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, the Ostracisмon (to wit, the banishment for a time) came in, by the which the people banished for tenne yeares any such of their citizens as they thoughr either of too great authority, or that was most enuied for his wealth and substaunce. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were then not a litle perplexed, considering their present daunger, being sure that thone of them two should not faile but be banished by this next banishment. For the people hated *Alcibiades* life, & were afrayed of his valliantnes: as we haue more amply declared in the descriptiō of his life. And for *Nicias*, his wealth made him to be enuied, besides they misliked his straunge maner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conuersant with the people than he was, and compted him too stately: moreouer they hated him also, bicause in many matters he had spoken directly against the thing the people desired, & had enforced them against their willes to agree to that which was profitable for them selues. In fine to speake more plainly, there fell out great strife betwene the young men that would haue warres, and the olde men that coueted peace, some desirous to banish *Nicias*, and some others *Alcibiades*: but

Alcibiades craft and deceit.

Alcibiades perswed.

The earthquake helpe Nicias.

Nicias sent Ambassador vnto Sparta.

The vse of the Ostracisмon.

Where discorde reignes in realme or towne,
The wicked wyn the chiefe renowne.

And

A And so fell it out then. For the ATHENIANS being deuided in two factions, gaue authority to certaine of the most impudent & insolent persones that were in all the city: and among them was one *Hyperbolus* of the towne of PERITHVS, a man of no hauior nor value, why he should be bold: but yet one that grew to some credit & power, dishonoring his contry, by the honor they gaue him. Now *Hyperbolus* thinking him selfe free at that time from any daunger of banishment, (hauing rather deserued the gallowes) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him well enough that remained behinde: shewed openly, that he was glad of their discorde and variance, and busily stirred vp the people against them both. *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* being acquainted with his wicked practises, hauing secretly talked together, ioyned both their factions in one: whereby they brought it so to passe, that neither of them B were banished, but *Hyperbolus* selfe for tenne yeres. Which matter for the present time made the people very mery, though afterwardes it grieued them much, seeing their ordinaunce of the Ostraciſmon blemished by the vnworthines of the person: which punishment was an honor vnto him. For this banishment was thought a meete punishment for *Thucydides*, *Aristides*, and such like men of accompt as they, or their like: but for *Hyperbolus*, it was thought too great an honor, & too manifest an occasion of glory to be geuen to him, that for his wickednes had the selfe same punishmēt, which was to be inflicted vpon the chiefest estates for their greatnes. And the comicall Poet *Plato* him selfe sayth in a place,

Hyperbolus.

Nicias and Alcibiades ioyned tribes against Hyperbolus.

Hyperbolus banished for tenne yeares.

Although his lewd behauior did deserue as much or more,
Yet was not that the punishment he should haue had therefore.
C *The Ostracie deuised was for men of noble fame,*
And not for varlets, whose lewd life deserued open shame.

After this *Hyperbolus*, there was neuer man banished with the Ostraciſmon. For himself was the last, as *Hipparchus* CHOLARGIAN, and neareſt kinſeman to the tyranne, was the first. Sure fortune is a very vncerten thing, & without cōceit of reason. For had *Nicias* franckely put him selfe to the hasard of this banishment against *Alcibiades*, one of these two things must needes haue happened him: either to haue remained in the city with victory, his aduersary being banished: or being conuict by his banishment to haue scaped those extreame miseries and calamities the which he afterwards fell into, besides the fame he had wonne of a wise Captaine, though he had bene ouercomen. I know notwithstanding that *Theophrastus* wryteth, how *Hyperbolus* not *Nicias*, was banished through the dissention that fell betwext *Phaax* and *Alcibiades*: albeit most wryters agree with that I haue told you before. Now the Ambassadors of the EGESTANS and LEONTINES being comen to ATHENS, to perswade the ATHENIANS to attempt the conqueſt of SICILIA: *Nicias* being against it, was ouercome by *Alcibiades* craft & ambition. For he, before they were called to counsell, had already through false surmises filled the peoples heades with a vaine hope & perswasion of conqueſt. Insomuch as the young men meeting in places of exercise, & the old men also in artificers shoppes, and in their compassed chayers, or halfe circles where they sate talking together, were euery one occupied about drawing the platforme of SICILE, telling the nature of the SICILIAN sea, & reckoning vp the hauens and places looking towards AFRICKE. For they made not their accompt that E SICILE should be the end of their warres, but rather the storehouse and armorie for all their munition and martrall prouision to make warre against the CARTHAGINIANS, and to conquer all AFRICKE, and consequently all the AFRICKE seas, euen to *Hercules* pillers. Now all their mindes being bent to warres, when *Nicias* spake against it, he founde very fewe men of quality to stand by him. For the riche, fearing least the people would thinke they did it to auoide charge, and the cost they should be at about these warres, they held their peace, though in dede not contented withall: yet would not *Nicias* leaue still to counsell thē to the contrary. But when they had past the decree in counsell for the enterprise of SICILE, and that the people had chosen him chiefe Captaine, with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, to follow the same: at the next session of the counsell holden in the citie, *Nicias* rose vp againe, to see if he could turne F the people from this iorney with all the protestations he could possibly make, burdening *Alcibiades*, that for his owne ambition and priuate commodity, he brought the common wealth into so farre and daungerous a warre. But all his wordes preuailed not. Him selfe before ali-

The taking away of tenne yeres banishments.

Nicias chosen Captaine for the warres of Sicile.

thers was thought the meeteſt man for this charge, partely bicauſe of his experience, but chiefely for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater ſafety, when his timerous foreſight ſhould be ioyned with *Alcibiades* valiantnes, and with *Lamachus* ſoftnes, which in deede moſt confirmed the election. Now after the matter thus debated, *Demoſtratus* one of the Orators that moſt procured the ATHENIANS to vndertake this enterpriſe ſtepped foorth, and ſayd. It were good that *Nicias* left of, and ſet a ſide all theſe excuſes and deuiſes, and preferred a decree, that the people ſhoulde thorowely authoriſe the Captaines that were choſen, to ſet forward & execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and ſo perſwaded the people to paſſe and authoriſe it. Yet it is ſayd that the Prieſtes obiected many thinges to hinder the iorney. But *Alcibiades* alſo hauing ſuborned certaine ſoothſayers, alleaged in like caſe ſome auncient Oracles that ſayd, the ATHENIANS ſhould haue great honor from SICILE: & further had intiſed certaine pilgrimes, who ſayd they were but newly come from the Oracle of *Iupiter Ammon*, and had brought this Oracle thence, *That the Athenians ſhould take all the Syracuſans*. But worſt of all, if any knew of contrary ſignes or tokens to come, they held their peace, leaſt it ſhould ſeeme they entermeddled to prognoſticate euill for affections ſake, ſeeing that the ſignes them ſelues, which were moſt plaine and notorious, could not remoue them from thenterpriſe of this iorney. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the Hermes, and images of *Mercurye*, which in one night were all to be mangled, ſauing one image only called the Hermes of *Andocides*, which was geuen & conſecrated in old time by the tribe of the ÆGEIDES, and was ſet vp directly ouer againſt a citizens houſe called *Andocides*. Furthermore, the chaunce that happened by the aulter of the twelue goddes: where a man leaping ſodainly vpon it, after he had gone round about it, cut of his genitories with a ſtone. And in a temple alſo in the city of DELPHES, where was a litle image of *Minerua* of gold, ſet apon a palme tree of copper, which the citie of ATHENS had geuen of the ſpoyles wonne of the MEDES. Apon that palme tree ſate certaine crowes many dayes together, and neuer left pecking and iobbing at the frute of it which was all of golde, vntill they made the ſame to fall from the tree. But the ATHENIANS ſayd, that the DELPHIANS (whom the SYRACVSANS had ſubdued) had finely fained this deuiſe. There was a prophecy alſo that commaũded them to bring one of *Mineruaes* Nunnes to ATHENS, that was in the city of CLAZOMENES. So they ſent for this Nunne called *Heſychia*, which is, reſt: & it ſeemeth it was that which the goddes by this prophecy did counſell them vnto, that for that time they ſhould be quiet. *Meton* the Aſtronomer hauing charge in the army leauied for the warre of SICILE, being afrayed of this prophecie, or otherwiſe miſliking the celeſtiall ſignes, and ſucceſſe of the iorney: fained him ſelfe mad, and ſet his houſe a fire. Others ſay he counterfeated not madnes, but did one night in deede ſet his houſe a fire, and that the next morning looking ruefully on it, he went into the market place as a man brought to pitiefull ſtate, to ſue to the people, that in cõſideration of his great misfortune happened him, they would diſcharge his ſonne of the voyage, who was to take charge of a gallie at his owne coſt, and ready to make ſayle. Moreouer, the familiar ſpirite of wiſe *Socrates* that did vſe to tell him before what ſhould happen: told him then that this iorney would fall out to the deſtruction of ATHENS. *Socrates* told it to certaine of his very familiar frendes: and from them the rumor became common. And this alſo troubled a number of them, for the vnluckie dayes on the which they did imbarke. For they were the very dayes on the which the women celebrated the feaſt and yereday of *Adonis* death: and there were alſo in diuers partes of the city, images of dead men caried to buriall, and women following them, mourning & lamenting. So that ſuch as did put any confidence in thoſe ſignes, ſayd they miſliked it much, and that they were afrayed leaſt the ſame ſignified, that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was ſet out with ſuch pompe & bratuery) would come to nothing. Now for *Nicias*, that he ſpake againſt this warre in open counſell, whileſt they were deliberating apon it, and that he was not caried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed vp with the glory of ſo honorable a charge to make him chaunge his minde: therein ſurely he ſhewed him ſelfe an honeſt man, wiſe, and conſtant. But when he ſaw plainly that he could by no perſwaſions remoue the people from the enterpriſe of this warre, neither yet by ſute nor intreaty get him ſelfe diſcharged from being a Captaine thereof, but that they

Signes to feare the Athenians not to attempt the enterpriſe of Sicile.

Statues mangled as Ashes.

The madnes of Meton the Aſtronomer.

A they would in any caſe make him one of the heades of the army: then was it out of time to be fearefull, and ſtill geuing backe, turning his head ſo oft like a child to looke apon his gallie behinde him, and euer to be telling that no reaſon could be heard in determining of this iorney. For in deede this was enough to diſcorage his companions, & to marre all at their firſt ſetting out: where, to ſay truly, he ſhould ſodainly haue ſet apon his enemies, & haue gone to it with a luſty corage, to haue aſſayed fortune. But he tooke a cleane contrary courſe. For when *Lamachus* thought good at their firſt comming to goe ſtraight to SYRACVSA, and to geue them battell as neere the walles as might be, & that *Alcibiades* on the other ſide was of opinion firſt of all to goe about to winne the cities that were in league with the SYRACVSANS, and after that they had made them rebell, then to goe againſt the SYRACVSANS themſelues. *Nicias* to
B the contrary ſpake in counſell, and thought it better to goe on fayer and ſoftly, deſcrying the coaſtes of SICILE round about to view their gallies and preparation, & ſo to returne ſtraight to ATHENS againe, leauing only a few of their men with the EGESTANS, to helpe to defende them. But this from the beginning maruelouſly cooled the corage of the ſouldiers, and quite diſcoraged them. Shortly after alſo, the ATHENIANS hauing ſent for *Alcibiades* to aunſwere to certaine accuſations, *Nicias* remaining Captaine with *Lamachus* (the other Captaine in ſight, but *Nicias* ſelfe in power and authority the Lieutenaunt generall of all the army) ſtill vſed delayes, running vp and downe, and ſpending time ſo long in conſultation, till the ſouldiers were left without both hope and corage: and the feare the enemy had of them at their firſt comming to ſee ſo great an army, was now in maner cleane gone. Yet *Alcibiades* being in the
C army, before he was ſent for from ATHENS, they went with three ſcore gallies to SYRACVSA, of the which they placed fifty in battell ray out of the hauen, and ſent the other tenne into the hauen to diſcouer: which approaching neere the city, cauſed an Herauld to make open proclamation, that they were come thither to reſtore the LEONTINES to their landes and poſſeſſions, and tooke a ſhippe of the enemies, in the which among other thinges they founde tables, wherein were wrytten the names of all the inhabitants of SYRACVSA, according to their tribes and houſes. Theſe tables were kept farre from the citie, in the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, but at that time they had ſent for them to know the number of men of ſeruice, and of age to beare weapon. The ſame tables being taken by the ATHENIANS, and caried to the generalls of the army, the ſoothſayers ſeeing this long rolle of names, at the firſt miſliked it, fearing leaſt
D the prophecy had bene fulfilled, which promiſed them, that the ATHENIANS one day ſhould take all the SYRACVSANS. Howebeit it is reported this prophecy came to paſſe in an other exployte, whē *Callippus* ATHENIAN hauing ſlaine *Dion*, wan alſo the city of SYRACVSA. Now when *Alcibiades* was gone from the campe, *Nicias* bare all the ſway and commaunded the whole army. For *Lamachus*, though otherwiſe he was a ſtowte man, an honeſt man, and very valliant of his handes, and one that would not ſpare him ſelfe in time of neede: neuertheleſſe he was ſo poore and miſerable, that euen when he was in ſtate of a Generall, & gaue vp an accompt of his expences, he would not ſticke to put into his bookes, ſo much, for a gowne, and ſo much for a payer of pantophles. Where *Nicias* authority & reputacion contrarywiſe was
E of an other maner of cut, as well for other reſpectes, as for his riches, and for the honor of many noble thinges which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captaine with others, and ſitting in counſell with his companions in the counſell houſe at ATHENS, about the diſpatch of certaine cauſes, he ſpake vnto *Sophocles* the Poet, then preſent amongeſt them, and bad him ſpeake firſt and ſay his opinion, being the oldeſt man of all the whole company. *Sophocles* aunſwered him againe: in deede I confeſſe I am the oldeſt man, but thou art the nobleſt man, and him whom euery man regardeth beſt. So hauing at that time *Lamachus* vnder him, a better Captaine & man of warre then him ſelfe was, yet by being ſo ſlow to imploy the army vnder his charge by deferring of time ſtill, and houering about SICILE as farre from his enemies as he could: he firſt gaue the enemies time and leaſure to be bold without feare of him. And then going to beſiege HYBLA, being but a pel-
F ting litle towne, and raiſing the ſiege without taking of it: he fell into ſo great a contempt with euery man, that from thenceforth no man almoſt made any more reckoning of him. At laſt, he retyred vnto CATANA with his army, without any other exployte done, ſauing that he

Nicias fooliſh fearefulnes.

Nicias counſeld for inuading the Syracuſans.

Lamachus valliant, but ſimple.

Lais the courtisan carried out of Sicile into Peloponnesus.

tooke HYCCARA, a baggadge village of the barbarous people, and where it is sayd *Lais* the courtisane was borne, and that being then a young gerle, she was sold among other prisoners, and afterwardes caried into PELOPONNESVS. And in fine, the sommer being farre spent, *Nicias* was informed that the SYRACVSANS had taken such corage to them, that they would come and enterprise the charge apon them first: and that their horsemen were approached already before his campe, to skirmish with them, asking the ATHENIANS in mockery, if they were come into SICILE to dwell with the CATANIANS, or to restore the LEONTINES to their landes againe. Hereupon with much a do, *Nicias* determined to goe to SYRACVSA and

Nicias notable stratageame.

bicause he would campe there in safety, and at ease without hasard: he sent one of CATANA before to SYRACVSA, to tell them (as if he had bene a spye) that if they would sodainly come and set apon the campe of the ATHENIANS & take all their cariage, he wished them to come with all their power to CATANA at a day certaine which he would appoint them. For the ATHENIANS (sayd he) for the most parte are within the city, wherein there are certaine citizens, which fauoring the SYRACVSANS, haue determined so soone as they heare of their cõming, to keepe the gates of the city, and at the same time also to set the ATHENIANS shippes a fire: and how there were also a great number in the citie of this confederacy, that did but looke euery hower for their comming. And this was the noblest stratageame of warre, that *Nicias* shewed all the time he was in SICILE. For by this deuise he made the SYRACVSANS come into the fielde with all their power, so that they left their citie without garde: and he him selfe

Nicias winneth the hauen of Syracusa.

departing in the meane time from CATANA with all his fleete, wanne the hauen of SYRACVSA at his ease, and chose out a place to campe in, where his enemies could not hurt him: in the which he was both the stronger, and might without let or difficulty set apon them with that, wherein he most trusted. The SYRACVSANS returning straight from CATANA, and offering him battell hard by the walles of SYRACVSA, he came out into the field, and ouerthrew them. There were not many of the SYRACVSANS slaine at this battell, bicause their horsemen did hinder the chase: but *Nicias* breaking vp the bridges apon the riuer, gaue *Hermocrates* occasion to mocke him. For, comforting & encoraging the SYRACVSANS, he told them *Nicias* deserued to be laughed at, bicause he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had not purposely come from ATHENS to SYRACVSA to fight. This notwithstãding, he made the SYRACVSANS quake for feare: for where they had then fifteene Captaines, they chose out three only, to whom the people were sworne, that they would suffer them to haue full power & authority to commaund and take order for all thinges. The temple of *Iupiter Olympian* was

Nicias forbeareth to spoyle the temple of Iupiter.

hard by the ATHENIANS campe, which they would gladly haue taken, for that it was full of rich iuells and offeringes of gold and siluer, geuen vnto the temple afore time. But *Nicias* of purpose still draue of time, and delayed so long, till the SYRACVSANS at last sent a good garrison thither to keepe it safe: thinking with him selfe, that if his souldiers came to take and spoyle the temple, his contry should be nothing the richer by it, and him selfe besides should beare all the blame of sacrilege. So, hauing obteined victorie without profit, (which ranne straight through SICILE) within few dayes after he returned vnto the city of NAXOS, where he lay all the winter, consuming a wonderfull masse of vittells with so great an army, for the doing of thinges of small moment, vpon certaine SICILIANS that yelded to him. The SYRACVSANS in the meane time being in hart againe, and coragious: returned to CATANA, where they spoyled and ouerranne all the contrie, and burnt the campe of the ATHENIANS. Herefore euery man blamed *Nicias* much, bicause through his long delay, and protracting of time to make all thinges sure, he let slippe sundry occasions of notable exploytes, wherein good seruice might haue bene done. Yet when he would do a thing in deede, he did it so thorowly as no man could take exception to his doinges, for that he brought it to so good a passe: and once taking it in hande, he did execute it with all speede, though he was both slowe to determine and a coward to enterprise. Now when he remoued his army to returne to SYRACVSA,

Nicias besieged Syracusa.

he brought it so orderly, & also with such speede & safety: that he was come by sea to THAPSVS, had landed & taken the forte of Epipolis, before the SYRACVSANS had any intelligence of it, or could possibly helpe it. For the choyce men of the SYRACVSANS being set out against him, hoping to haue stopped his passage: he ouerthrew them, tooke three hundred prisoners,

and

A & made their horſemen flie, which before were thought inuincible. But that which made the SYRACVSANS moſt afrayed, and ſeemed moſt wonderfull alſo to the other GRÆCIANS, was this: that in a very ſhort ſpace he had almoſt enuironned SYRACVSA with a walle, which was as much in compaſſe about, as the walls of ATHENS, and worſſe to performe, by reaſon of the woddy contry, and for the ſea alſo that beateth apon the walles, beſides that there were diuers marriſſes hard by it: and yet (ſicke as he was of the ſtone) he had almoſt finiſhed it. And ſure good reaſon it is that we attribute the fault of the not finiſhing of it, vnto his ſickeneſſe. For mine owne parte I wonder maruelouſly both of the care & diligence of the Captaine, and of the valiantnes and dexterity of the ſouldiers, which appeareth by the notable feates they did. For *Euripides* after their ouerthrowe and vtter ruine, made a funerall Epitaphe in verſe, and

B ſayth thus.

Eight times our men did put the men of Syracuſa to flight,
So long as vvith indifferencie the goddes did vſe their might.

Nicias wall at the ſiege of Syracuſa.

But we finde it wrytten, that the SYRACVSANS were not only eight times, but many times more ouerthrowen by them: a time at length there was in deede, that both the gods and fortune fought againſt them, euen when the ATHENIANS were of greateſt power. Now *Nicias* in his owne perſon was euer in the greateſt and moſt weighty affayers, ſtriuing with his ſickely body. Howbeit one day when his diſeaſe grew ſore apon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his campe with a few of his men: & *Lamachus* in the meane time alone hauing charge of the whole army, fought with the SYRACVSANS, who then had brought a walle from the

C city, vnto the wall with the which the ATHENIANS had purpoſed to haue ſhutte them in, to keepe that they ſhoulde not compaſſe it rounde. And bicauſe the ATHENIANS commonly were the ſtronger in theſe skirmiſhes, they many times ouer raſhely followed the chaſe of their enemies that fled. As it chaunſed one day that *Lamachus* went ſo farre, that he was left alone to encounter a company of horſemen of the city, before whom *Callicrates* marched formeſt, a valliant man of his handes, who challenged *Lamachus* hand to hand. *Lamachus* abode him, and in the conflict was firſt hurt: but he gaue *Callicrates* alſo ſuch a wound therewithall, that they both fell downe dead preſently in the place. At that time the SYRACVSANS being the ſtronger ſide, tooke vp his body, and caried it away with them: but they ſpurred out for life to the ATHENIANS campe, where *Nicias* lay ſicke, without any gard or ſuccor at all: ne-

The death of Lamachus.

D uertheleſſe, *Nicias* roſe with ſpeede out of his bed, and perceiuinge the daunger he was in, commaunded certaine of his frendes to ſet the wodde a fire which they had brought within the trenches of the campe, to make certaine deuiſes for battery, and the engines of timber alſo that were already made. That deuiſe onely ſtayed the SYRACVSANS, ſaued *Nicias*, and the ſtrength of their campe, together with all the ſiluer and cariage of the ATHENIANS. For the SYRACVSANS perceiuing a farre of, betwext them and the ſtrength of their campe, ſuch a great flame as roſe vp in the ayer: apon ſight of it turned taile ſtraight, and made towardes their city. Thinges falling out thus, *Nicias* being left ſole Captaine of the army without any companion, in great hope notwithſtanding to do ſome good: diuers cities of SICILE yelded vnto him, ſhippes fraught with corne came out of euery quarter to his campe, and many ſub-

Nicias ſole Captaine of the whole army.

E mitted them ſelues, for the good ſucceſſe he had in all his doings. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS alſo ſent to parle with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to defende their city any lenger againſt him. *Gylippus* alſo a Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, comming to aide the SYRACVSANS, vnderſtanding by the way howe the city of SYRACVSA was ſhut in with a wall round about, and in great diſtreſſe: helde on his voyage notwithſtanding, not with any hope to defend SICILE (ſuppoſing the ATHENIANS had wonne the whole contry) but with intent neuertheleſſe to helpe the cities of ITALIE if he could poſſibly. For it was a common rumor abroade, that the ATHENIANS had wonne all, and that their Captaine for his wiſedome and good fortune was inuincible. *Nicias* him ſelfe now contrary to his wonted wiſedom and foreſight, truſting altogether to the good ſucceſſe which he ſaw to follow him,

Gylippus a Lacedæmonian, aideth the Syracuſans.

F but ſpecially beleuing the reportes that were told him of SYRACVSA, & the newes that were brought him thence by ſome of them ſelues, which came ſecretly vnto him, perſwading him ſelfe that within few dayes he ſhould haue SYRACVSA by compoſition: tooke no care to with-

ſtand *Gylippus* comminge hether, neither ſent any men to kepe him from landinge in SICILE. By which negligence, *Gylippus* landed in a paſſenger, without *Nicias* knowledge: ſo ſmall reckoning they made of him, and ſo much did they fondly deſpiſe him. *Gylippus* being thus landed farre from SYRACVSA, beganne to gather men of warre together, before the SYRACVSANS them ſelues knew of his landing, or looked for his comming: inſomuch as they had alreadie appointed the aſſemblie of a counſell to determine the articles and capitulacions of peace, which they ſhould conclude vpon with *Nicias*. Moreouer, there were ſome that perſwaded they ſhould doe well to make haſt to conclude the peace, before the incloſure of *Nicias* walle was altogether finiſhed, which then lacked not much to performe, hauinge all the ſtuffe for the purpoſe brought euen ready to the place. But as theſe thinges were euen thus a doing, arriued one *Gongylus* at SYRACVSA, that came from CORINTHE with a gally. At whoſe landing, the people apon the peere flocking about him, to heare what newes: he tolde them that *Gylippus* would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other gallies after to their aide. The SYRACVSANS would hardly beleue him, vntill there came an other meſſanger alſo ſent from *Gylippus* ſelfe of purpoſe, that willed them to arme, and come to him into the fielde. Thereupon the SYRACVSANS being maruelouſly reuiued, went all ſtraight & armed them ſelues. And *Gylippus* was no ſooner come into SYRACVSA, but he preſently put his men in battell ray, to ſet apon the ATHENIANS. *Nicias* for his parte had likewiſe alſo ſet the ATHENIANS in order of battell, and ready to fight. When both tharmies were now approached neere eche to other, *Gylippus* threw downe his weapons, and ſent a Herauld vnto *Nicias* to promiſe them life and bagage to departe ſafely out of SICILE. But *Nicias* would make the Herauld none aunſwere to that meſſage. Howbeit there were certaine of his ſouldiers that in mockerie asked the Herauld, if for the comming of a poore cape and wande of LACEDÆMON, the SYRACVSANS thought thē ſelues ſtrengthened ſo much, that they ſhould deſpiſe the ATHENIANS, which not long before kept three hundred LACEDÆMONIANS priſoners in irons, farre ſtronger and more heare on their heades, then *Gylippus* had, and had alſo ſent them home to their citizens at LACEDÆMON. And *Timæus* wryteth alſo, that the SICILIANS them ſelues, made no reckoning of *Gylippus*, neither then, nor at any time after. After, bicauſe they ſawe his extreame couetouſneſſe and miſerie: and then, for that he came ſo meanely apparrelled, with a threede bare cape, and a long buſh of heare, which made them ſcorne him. Yet in an other place he ſayth, that ſo ſoone as *Gylippus* arriued in SICILE, many came to him out of euery quarter with very good will, like birdes wondering at an owle. This ſecond reporte ſeemeth truer then the firſt: for they ſwarmed about him, bicauſe in this cape & wand they ſaw the tokens of the maieſty of the city & ſeigniory of SPARTA. *Thucydides* alſo ſaith, that it was *Gylippus* only that did all there. And much like doth *Philiſtus* ſelfe a SYRACVSAN confeſſe, who was preſent then in priſon & ſaw all thinges that were done. Notwithſtanding, at the firſt battel the ATHENIANS had the vpper hand, & ſlue a number of the SYRACVSANS, among the which *Gongylus* the CORINTHIAN was one. But the next morning following, *Gylippus* made them know the skill and experience of a wiſe Captaine. For, with the ſelfe ſame weapons, with the ſame men, with the ſame horſes, and in the ſame places, chaunging only the order of his battell, he ouerthrew the ATHENIANS: and (fighting with them ſtill) hauing driuen them euen into their campe, he ſet the SYRACVSANS a worke to build vp a walle ouerthwarte, (with the very ſelfe ſame ſtones and ſtuffe which the ATHENIANS had brought and layed there for the finiſhing of their incloſure) to cut of the other, and to kepe it from going forward, that it ioyned not together. So, all that the ATHENIANS had done before vntill that preſent, was vtterly to no purpoſe. Things ſtanding in theſe tearmes, the SYRACVSANS being coragious againe, beganne to arme gallies, and running vp and downe the fieldes with their horſemen and ſlaues, tooke many priſoners. *Gylippus* on thother ſide, went in perſone to and fro through the cities of SICILE, perſwading and exhortinge the inhabitantes in ſuch ſorte, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke armes by his procurement. *Nicias* ſeeing thinges thus falle out, fell to his olde trade againe, and conſideringe the chaunge of his ſtate and former good lucke, his hart beginning to fainte: wrote ſtraight to the ATHENIANS to ſend an other army into SICILE, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any

Gongylus a Corinthian.

Gylippus arriuall at Syracuſa.

Gongylus the Corinthian ſlaine.

Nicias good fortune chaūged.

caſe

A case to geue him leaue to returne, and to discharge him of his office, for cause of his sickenes. The ATHENIANS were indifferent before he wrote, to send aide thither: howbeit the enuy the nobility bare vnto *Nicias* good fortune, did euer cause some delay that they sent not, vntil than, and then they determined to send with spede. So *Demosthenes* was named to be sent away immedialy after winter, with a great nauy. In the middest of winter, *Eurymedon* went to *Nicias*, & caried him both money, & newes, that the people had chosen some of them for his companions in the charge, which were already in seruice with him, to wit, *Euthydemus*, and *Menander*. Now *Nicias* in the meane time being sodainly assailed by his enemies, both by sea and lande: though at the first he had fewer gallies in number than they, yet he budged diuers of theirs and suncke them. But by lande againe, he could not aide his men in time, bicause *Gylippus* at the first onset had taken a forte of his called Plemmyrion, within the which lay the store and tackell for many gallies, & a great masse of ready money which was wholly lost. Besides, in the same conflict also were many men slaine, and many taken prisoners. Yet further, the greatest matter of weight was, that therby he tooke from *Nicias* the great commodity he had to bringe his vittells safely by sea to his campe. For while the ATHENIANS kept this forte, they might at their pleasure bring vittels without daũger to their campe, being couered with the same: but when they had lost it, then it was hard for them so to do, bicause they were euer driuen to fight with the enemies, that lay at ancker before the forte. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS did not thinke that their armie by sea was ouerthrowen, bicause their enemies were the stronger, but for that their men had followed the ATHENIANS disorderedly: and therfore C were desirous once againe to venter, in better sorte and order than before. But *Nicias* by no meanes would be brought to fight again: saying, that it were a madnes looking for such a great nauy & a new supply as *Demosthenes* was comming withall, rashly to fight with a fewer number of shippes than they, and but poorely furnished. But contrarily, *Menander*, and *Euthydemus*, newly promoted to the state of Captaines with *Nicias*, being pricked forwards with ambition against the two other Captaines (*Nicias*, and *Demosthenes* that was then comming) desired to preuent *Demosthenes*, in performing some notable seruice before his arriuall, & thereby also to excell *Nicias* doinges. Howbeit, the cloke they had to couer their ambition withall was, the honor & reputacion of the city of ATHENS, the which (sayd they) were shamed and dishonored for euer, if they now should shew thẽselues afraied of the SYRACVSANS, who pro- D uoked them to fight. Thus brought they *Nicias* against his will to battell, in the which the ATHENIANS were slaine and ouercome, by the good counsell of a CORINTHIAN Pilot called *Ariston*. For the left wing of their battell (as *Thucydides* wryteth) was clearely ouerthrowen, and they lost a great number of their men. Whereupon *Nicias* was wonderfully perplexed, considering on the one side that he had taken maruelous paines, whilest he was sole Captaine of the whole army: and on thother side, for that he had committed a foule fault, when they had geuen him companions. But as *Nicias* was in this great dispaire, they descried *Demosthenes* a- pon a pere of the hauen, with his fleete brauely set out and furnished, to terrifie the enemies. For he had three score and thirteene gallies, and in them he brought fiue thowsande foote- men well armed and appointed, and of darters, bowmen, and hurlers with slinges about three E thowsand, and the gallies trimmed and set foorth with goodly armors, numbers of enfignes, and with a world of trompets, howboyes, and such marine musicke, and all set out in this triumphant shew, to feare the enemies the more. Now thought the SYRACVSANS them selues againe in a pecke of troubles, perceiuing they stroue against the streame, and consumed them selues to no purpose, whẽ by that they saw there was no likelyhoode to be deliuered frõ their troubles. And *Nicias* also reioyced, that so great aide was come, but his ioy helde not longe. For so soone as he began to talke with *Demosthenes* of the state of thinges, he found him bent forthwith to set apon the SYRACVSANS, and to hasard all with spede, that they might quickely take SYRACVSA, and so dispatche away home againe. *Nicias* thought this more hast then good speede, and feared much this foolehardines. Wherupon he prayed him to attempt no- F thing rathely, nor desperately: and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the warre against the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would soone be forsaken of their confederates. And besides, if they came once to be pinched for lacke of vittells: that,

Euthydemus and Menander chosen Captaines with Nicias.

Demosthenes arriuall at Syracusa.

Demosthenes rashnes.

Nicias counsell vnto Demosthenes.

they would then quickely ſeeke to him for peace,as they had done afore time. For there were many within SYRACVSA that were *Nicias* frendes, who wiſhed him to abide time: for they were weary of warre, and waxed angry alſo with *Gylippus*. So that if they were but ſtraighted a litle more with want of vittells, they would yeelde ſtraight. *Nicias* deliuering theſe perſwaſions ſomwhat darkely,and keping ſomwhat alſo from vtteraunce,bicauſe he would not ſpeake them openly: made his colleagues thinke he ſpake it for cowardlines,and that he returned againe to his former delayes to keepe all in ſecurity, by which manner of proceedinge he had from the beginning killed the hartes of his armie, for that he had not at his firſt comming ſet apon the enemies, but had protracted time ſo long, till the corage of his ſouldiers was colde and done,and him ſelfe alſo brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the other Captaines(his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) *Euthydemus* and *Menander*, ſtucke to *Demoſthenes* opinion: wherunto *Nicias* was alſo forced againſt his will to yeeld. So *Demoſthenes* the ſelfe ſame night taking the footemen, went to aſſault the fort of Epipolis: where, before his enemies heard any thing of his comming,he ſlue many of them, and made the reſt flee that offered reſiſtaunce. But not content with this victory, he went furder, till he fell apon the BOEOTIANS. They gathering themſelues together were the firſt that reſiſted the ATHENIANS, baſing their pikes with ſuch furie and lowde cries, that they cauſed the former to retyre, and made all the reſt of thaſſailantes afrayed and amaſed. For the formoſt flyinge backe, came full vpon their companions: who taking them for their enemies,and their flight for a charge, reſiſted them with all their force, & ſo miſtaking one an other,both were wounded and ſlaine,and the hurt they ment vnto their enemies, did vnfortunately light vpon their owne fellowes. For this multitude meetinge thus confuſedly together, what through their great feare, & what for that they could not diſcerne one an other in the night,the which was neither ſo darke that they could not ſee at all, nor yet ſo cleere, as they might certainly iudge by ſight what they were that met them: (for then the moone declined a pace, and the ſmall light it gaue was diffuſed with the number of men that ran to & fro) the feare they had of the enemy, made them miſtruſt their frendes. All theſe troubles and diſaduantages had the ATHENIANS, and beſide,the moone on their backes,which cauſing the ſhadow to fall forward, did hide their number, and gliſtering of armor: and contrarily, the enemies targets, glaring in their eyes by the reflection of the moone that ſhone vpon them, encreaſed their feare, and making them ſeeme a greater number and better appointed than they were in deede. At laſt, the enemies geuing a luſty charge vppon them on euery ſide, after they once beganne to geue backe and turne taile: ſome were ſlaine by their enemies,others by their owne company,and others alſo brake their neckes falling from the rockes. The reſt that were diſperſed abroade in the fieldes, were the next morning euery man of them put to the ſworde by the horſemen. So,the account made,two thowſand ATHENIANS were ſlaine, and very few of them eſcaped by flight,that brought their armors backe againe. Wherefore *Nicias* that alwayes miſtruſted it would thus come to paſſe,was maruelouſly offended with *Demoſthenes*, and condemned his raſhnes. But he excuſing him ſelfe as well as he cõuld, thought it beſt to imbarke in the morning betimes, and ſo to hoyſe ſayle homewardes. For, ſayd he, we muſt looke for no new aide from ATHENS, neither are we ſtrong enough with this armie to ouercome our enemies:and though we were,yet muſt we of neceſſity auoide the place we are in,bicauſe(as it is reported) it is alwayes vnholſome for an army to campe in, and then ſpecially moſt contagious,by reaſon of the automne and ſeaſon of the yeare,as they might plainly ſee by experience. For many of their people were already ſicke, and all of them in maner had no minde to tary. *Nicias* in no caſe liked the motion of departing thence, bicauſe he feared not the SYRACVSANS, but rather the ATHENIANS,for their accuſations & condemnation. And therefore in open counſell he told them, that as yet he ſaw no ſuch daunger to remaine: and though there were, yet that he had rather dye of his enemies hands,than to be put to death by his owne contrymen. Being therin of a contrary minde to *Leo* BIZANTINE, who after that ſayd to his citizens. I had rather ſuffer death by you,than to be ſlaine with you. And furthermore, as for remouing their campe to ſome other place, they ſhould haue leaſure enough to determine of that matter as they thought good. Now when *Nicias* had deliuered this opinion in counſell, *Demoſthenes* hauing

Demoſthenes raſhnes.

The ſlaughter of the Athenians at Syracuſa.

The corage of Leo Bizantine.

A uing had ill lucke at his firſt cõming, durſt not contrary it. And the reſidue alſo ſuppoſing that *Nicias* ſtucke not ſo hard againſt their departure, but that he relied apon the truſt and confidence he had of ſome within the city: they all agreed to *Nicias*. But when newes came that there was a new ſupply come vnto the SYRACVSANS, and that they ſaw the plague encreaſed more and more in their campe: then *Nicias* ſelfe thought it beſt to departe thence, and gaue notice to the ſouldiers to prepare them ſelues to ſhippe away. Notwithſtanding, when they had put all thinges in readines for their departure, without any knowledge of thenemy, or ſuſpicion thereof: the moone beganne to eclipſe in the night, and ſodainly to loſe her light, to the great feare of *Nicias* and diuers others, who through ignoraunce and ſuperſticion quaked at ſuch ſightes. For, touching the eclipſe and darkening of the ſunne, which is euer at any B coniunction of the moone, euery common perſon then knew the cauſe to be the darkenes of the body of the moone betwixt the ſunne and our ſight. But the eclipſe of the moone it ſelfe, to know what doth darken it in that ſorte, and howe being at the full it doth ſodainly loſe her light, and chaunge into ſo many kinde of colours: that was aboue their knowledge, and therfore they thought it very ſtraunge, perſwading them ſelues that it was a ſigne of ſome great miſchiefes the goddes did threaten vnto men. For *Anaxagoras*, the firſt that euer determined and deliuered any thing, for certaine and aſſured, concerning the light and darkeneſſe of the moone: his doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquity, nor was generally knowẽ, but only to a few, who durſt not talke of it but with feare euen to thẽ they truſted beſt. And the reaſon was, for that the people could not at that time abide C them that profeſſed the knowledge of natural Philoſophy, & inquired of the cauſes of things: for them they called then Μετεωρολεσχης, as much to ſay, as curious inquirers, and tatlers of things aboue the reach of reaſon, done in heauen and in the ayer. Bicauſe the people thought they aſcribed that which was done by the goddes only, vnto certaine naturall and neceſſarie cauſes, that worke their effectes not by prouidence nor will, but by force, and neceſſary conſequences. For theſe cauſes was *Protagoras* baniſhed from ATHENS, and *Anaxagoras* put in priſon: frõ whence *Pericles* had much a do to procure his deliuery. And *Socrates* alſo, though he did not medle with that parte of Philoſophy, was notwithſtanding put to death for the ſuſpicion thereof. In fine, the doctrine of *Plato* being receiued and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as alſo for that he ſubmitted the neceſſity of naturall cauſes vnto the controlement & diſD poſition of diuine power, as vnto a more excellent and ſupreame cauſe: tooke away all the ill opinion which the people had of ſuch diſputations, and gaue open paſſage and free entry vnto the Mathematicall ſciences. And therefore *Dion*, one of *Platoes* ſchollers and frendes, an eclipſe of the moone chaunſing euen at the very ſame time that he was weying vp his anckers to ſayle from ZACYNTHE, to make warre with the tyran *Dionyſius*: being nothing afrayed nor troubled therewithall, made ſayle notwithſtanding, and when he came to SYRACVSA, draue out the tyran. But then it fell out vnfortunatly for *Nicias*, who had no expert nor skilful ſoothſayer: for the party which he was wont to vſe for that purpoſe, and which tooke away much of his ſuperſtition, called *Stilbides*, was dead not long before. For this ſigne of the eclipſe of the moone (as *Philochorus* ſayth) was not hurtfull for men that would flie, but contrarily very E good: for ſayd he, thinges that men doe in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemy vnto them. But this notwithſtanding, their cuſtome was not to kepe them ſelues cloſe aboue three dayes in ſuch eclipſes of the moone and ſunne, as *Autoclides* ſelfe preſcribeth in a booke he made of ſuch matters: where *Nicias* bare them then in hande, that they ſhould tary the whole and full reuolution of the courſe of the moone, as though he had not ſeene her ſtraight cleere againe, after ſhe had once paſſed the ſhadow and darkenes of the earth. But all other thinges layed a ſide and forgotten, *Nicias* diſpoſed him ſelfe to ſacrifice vnto the gods: vntil ſuch time as the enemies came againe as well to beſiege their fortes, and all their campe by lande, as alſo to occupy the whole hauen by ſea. For they had not onely put men aborde into their gallies able to weare armor, but moreouer young boyes into fiſher bores and other F light barkes, with the which they came to the ATHENIANS, and ſhamefully reuiled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble houſe, called *Heraclides* whoſe bote being forwarder than his companions, was in daunger of taking by a gallie of the

The eclipſe of the moone.

The eclipſe of the moone not knowẽ of long time.

Anaxagoras the firſt that wrote of the eclipſe of the moone.

The Athenians do perſecute the Philoſophers. Socrates put to death for Philoſophy.

Dyon very skilfull in naturall cauſes.

Nicias ignorant of naturall cauſes.

ATHENIANS, that rowed against him. *Pollichus* his vncle being afrayed of it, lanched forward with tenne gallies of SYRACVSA for his rescue, of the which him selfe was Captaine. The other gallies douting also least *Pollichus* should take hurt, came on likewise a mayne: so that there fell out a great battell by sea, which the SYRACVSANS wanne, and slue *Eurymedon* the Captaine, and many other. This made the souldiers of the ATHENIANS so afrayed, that they beganne to crie out, it was no lenger tarying there, and that there was none other way but to departe thence by land. For after the SYRACVSANS had wonne that battell, they had straight shut vp the hauen mouth. *Nicias* could not consent to such a retyre. For, sayd he, it would be too great a shame for them to leaue their gallies and other shippes to the enemy, considering the number not to be much lesse then two hundred: but he thought good rather to arme a hundred and tenne gallies with the best & valliantest of their footemen, and darters, that were in the army, bicause the other gallies had spent their owers. And for the rest of the army, *Nicias* forsaking their great campe and walles (which reached as farre as the temple of *Hercules*) did set thē in battell ray apon the peere of the hauen. Insomuch, that the SYRACVSANS which vntill that day could not performe their wonted sacrifices vnto *Hercules*: did then sende their Priestes and Captaines thither to do them. The souldiers being imbarked into the gallies, the Priestes and Soothsayers came and told the SYRACVSANS, that vndoutedly the signes of the sacrifices did promise thē a noble victory, so that they gaue no charge, but only stoode vppon their defence: for so did *Hercules* euer ouercome, defending, when he was assailed. With this good hope the SYRACVSANS rowed forward, and there was such a hot and cruell battell by sea, as had not bene in all this warre before: the which was as dreadfull to them that stoode on the shore to behold it, as it was mortall vnto them that fought it, seeing the whole conflict, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the ATHENIANS did as much hurte them selues by the order they kept in their fight, and by the rankes of their shippes, as they were hurt by their enemies. For they had placed all their great shippes together, fighting with the heauy, against the enemies that were light and swift, which came on on euery side of them, whurling stones at them which were made sharpe to wound how euer they lighted: whereas the ATHENIANS onely casting their dartes, and vsing their bowes and slinges, by meanes of their rowing vp and downe could not lightly ame to hit with the head. That maner of fight, *Aristo* a CORINTHIAN (an excellent shippe maister) had taught the SYRACVSANS, who was him selfe slaine valliantly fighting, when they were conquerers. The ATHENIANS therupon being driuen to fight, hauing susteined a maruelous slaughter & ouerthrow, (their way to flie by sea being also cleerely taken from them) and perceiuing moreouer that they could hardly saue them selues by lande: were then so discoraged, as they made no lenger resistaunce, when their enemies came hard by them and caried away their shippes, before their faces. Neither did they aske leaue to take vp their dead mens bodies to bury them, taking more pity to forsake their diseased and sore wounded companions, than to bury them that were already slaine. When they considered all these thinges, they thought their owne state more miserable than theirs, which were to end their liues with much more cruelty, than was their misery present. So they being determined to departe thence in the night, *Gylippus* perceiuing the SYRACVSANS through all the citie disposed them selues to sacrifice to the goddes, and to be mery, as well for the ioy of their victorie, as also for *Hercules* feast: thought it booteless to perswade them, and much lesse to compell them, to take armes vppon a sodaine, to set apon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit *Hermocrates* deuising with him selfe how to deceiue *Nicias*, sent some of his frendes vnto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from such as were wont to send him secret intelligence of all thinges during this warre: and willed him to take heede not to departe that night, least he fell into the ambushes which the SYRACVSANS had layed for him, hauing sent before to take all the straights and passages, by the which he should passe. *Nicias* being ouerreached by *Hermocrates* craft and subtilty, stayed there that night, as though he had bene afrayed to fall within the daunger of his enemies ambush. Therupon, the SYRACVSANS the next morning by peepe of day, hoysed sayle, got the straights of *Nicias* passage, stopped the riuers mouthes, & brake vp the bridges: and then cast their horsemen in a squadron in the next plaine fieldes adioyning, so that the ATHENIANS had no way left

The Syracusans ouercome the Athenians by sea.

The soothsayers do promise victory to the Syracusans.

The Athenians againe ouercome vn the sea by the Syracusans.

Nicias deceiued by Hermocrates.

A left to escape, and passe by them, without fighting. At last notwithstanding, hauing stayed all that day and the next night following, they put them selues in iorney, and departed with great cryes & lamentations, as if they had gone from their naturall contry, and not out of their enemies lande: as well for the great distresse and necessity wherein they were, (lacking all things needefull to susteine life) as also for the extreame sorowe they felt to leaue their sore wounded companions and diseased kinsemen and frends behinde them, that could not for their weakenes followe the campe, but specially for that they looked for some woorse matter to fall to them selues, than that which they sawe present before their eyes to be happened to their fellowes. But of all the most pitiefull sightes to beholde in that campe, there was none more lamentable nor miserable, than the person of *Nicias* selfe: who being tormented with his dis-

B ease, and waxen very leane and pale, was also vnworthely brought to extreame want of naturall sustenance, euen when he had most neede of comfort, being very sickely. Yet notwithstanding his weakenes and infirmity, he tooke great paines, and suffered many thinges, which the soundest bodies doe labor much to ouercome and suffer: making it appeare euidently to euery mã, that he did not abide all that paines for any respect of himselfe, or desire that he had to saue his owne life, so much as for their sakes in that he yeelded not vnto present dispayre. For where the souldiers for very feare & sorrow burst out into teares & bitter wayling: *Nicias* selfe shewed, that if by chaunce he were forced at any time to doe the like, it was rather vpon remembraunce of the shame and dishonor that came into his minde, to see the vnfortunate

C successe of this voyage, in steade of the honor and victory they hoped to haue brought home, than for any other respect. But if to see *Nicias* in this misery, did moue the lookers on to pity: yet did this much more encrease their compassion, when they remembred *Nicias* wordes in his orations continually to the people, to breake this iorney, & to disswade them from thenterprise of this warre. For then they plainly iudged him not to haue deserued these troubles. Yet furthermore, this caused the souldiers vtterly to dispayre of helpe from the goddes, when they considered with them selues, that so deuout and godly a man as *Nicias* (who left nothing vndone that might tend to the honor and seruice of the goddes) had no better successe, than the most vile and wicked persones in all the whole army. All this notwithstandinge, *Nicias* strained him selfe in all that might be, both by his good countenaunce, his cheerefull words,

D & his kinde vsing of euery man: to let them know that he fainted not vnder his burden, nor yet did yeeld to this his misfortune and extreame calamity. And thus trauelling eight dayes iorney outright together, notwithstanding that he was by the way continually set apon, wearied, and hurt: yet he euer mainteined his bandes, and led them whole in company vntill that *Demosthenes*, with all his bandes of souldiers was taken prisoner, in a certaine village called Polyzelios: where remaininge behinde, he was enuirronned by his enemies in fight, and seeing him selfe so compassed in, drewe out his sword, and with his owne handes thrust him selfe thorow, but dyed not of it, bicause his enemies came straight about him, and tooke hold of him. The Syracvsans thereupon went with speede to *Nicias*, and told him of *Demosthenes* case. He geuing no credit to them, sent presently certaine of his horsemen thither to vnderstand the troth: who brought him worde that *Demosthenes* and all his men were taken pri-

E soners. Then he besought *Gylippus* to treate of peace, to suffer the poore remaine of the Athenians to departe out of Sicile with safety, and to take such hostages for the sure payement of all such summes of money the Syracvsans had disbursed by meanes of this warre, as should like him selfe: which he promised he would cause the Athenians to performe & satisfie vnto them. Howbeit the Syracvsans would in no wise hearken to peace, but cruelly threatning & reuiling them that made mocion hereof, in rage gaue a new onset vpon him, more fiercely then euer before they had done. *Nicias* being then vtterly without any kinde of vittells, did notwithstãding hold out that night, & marched all the next day following (though the enemies dartes still flew about their eares) vntill he came to the riuer of Asinarus, into the which the Syracvsans did forcibly driue them. Some others of them also dying for thirst,

F entred the riuer of them selues, thinking to drinke. But there of all others was the most cruell slaughter of the poore wretches, euen as they were drinking: vntil such time as *Nicias* falling downe flat at *Gylippus* feete, sayd thus vnto him. Sence the goddes haue geuen thee (*Gylippus*)

The miserable state of the Athenians departing from Syracusa.

Nicias extreame misery.

Demosthenes taken of the Syracusans.

Nicias moueth treaty of peace.

Nicias army ouercome at the riuer of Asinarus.

Nicias words, yelding him selfe vnto Gylippus.

victory, shewe mercy, not to me that by these miseries haue won immortall honor and fame, but vnto these poore vanquished ATHENIANS: calling to thy remembraunce, that the fortunes of warre are common, and howe that the ATHENIANS haue vsed you LACEDÆMONIANS curteously, as often as fortune fauored them against you. *Gylippus* beholding *Nicias*, and perswaded by his wordes, tooke compassion of him, (for he knew he was a frend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS at the last peace concluded betwext them, and furthermore thought it great honor to him, if he could cary away the two Captaines or generalls of his enemies prisoners) shewed him mercy, gaue him wordes of comforte, and moreouer commaunded besides that they should take all the residue prisoners. But his commaundement was not knowen in time to all: insomuch as there were many moe slaine than taken, although some priuate souldiers saued diuers notwithstanding by stealth. Now the SYRACVSANS hauing brought all the prisoners that were openly taken into a troupe together, first vnarmed them, then taking their weapons from them hong them vp apon the goodliest younge trees that stoode apon the riuers side in token of triumphe. And so putting on triumphing garlandes apon their heades, & hauing trimmed their owne horses in triūphant maner, & also shorne all the horses of their enemies: in this triumphing sorte they made their entry into the citie of SYRACVSA, hauing gloriously ended the most notable warre that euer was amongest the GREEKES one against an other, and attained also the noblest victory that could be atchieued, and that only by force of armes and valliancy. So at their returne, a counsell and assembly was holden at SYRACVSA, by the citizens and their confederates: in the which, *Eurycles* one of the orators, (a practiser in publicke causes) first made peticion, that the day on the which they had taken *Nicias*, might for euer thenceforth be kept holy day, without any maner of worke or labor, but only to doe sacrifice to the goddes: and that the feast should be called, Asinarus feast, after the name of the riuer where the ouerthrow was geuen. This victory was had the six and twenty day of the moneth of Iuly. And as touching the prisoners, that the confederats of the ATHENIANS and their slaues should be openly solde by the dromme: and that the naturall ATHENIANS which were free men, and their confederates of the contry of SICILE, should be clapped in irons, & layed in prison, the Captaines only excepted, whom they should put to death. The SYRACVSANS cōfirmed this decree. And when the Captaine *Hermocrates* went about to perswade them that to be merciful in victory, would be more honor vnto them, than the victory it selfe: they thrust him backe with great tumult. And furthermore, when *Gylippus* made sute that for the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, he might cary them aliue with him to SPARTA: he was not onely shamefully denyed, but most vilely abused, so lusty were they growen apon this victory, beside also that in the time of the warre they were offended with him, & could not endure his straight seuere LACONIAN gouernment. *Timæus* sayth moreouer, that they accused him of couetousnes and theft, which vice he inherited from his father. For *Cleandrides* his father was conuict for extorcion, and banished ATHENS. And *Gylippus* selfe hauing stolen thirty talentes out of a thowsande which *Lysander* sent to SPARTA by him, and hauing hid them vnder the eusinges of his house, being bewrayed, was compelled with shame to flie his contry, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lysander*. So *Timæus* wryteth, that *Nicias* & *Demosthenes* were not stoned to death by the SYRACVSANS, as *Thucydides* and *Philistus* reporte, but that they killed them selues, apon word sent them by *Hermocrates* (before the assemble of the people was broken vp) by one of his men whom the kepers of the prison let in vnto them: howebeit their bodies were cast out at the iaile dore, for euery man to beholde. I haue heard there is a target at this present to be seene in a temple at SYRACVSA, which is sayd to be *Nicias* target, couered all ouer with golde and purple silke, passinge finely wrought together. As for the other prisoners of the ATHENIANS, the most of them dyed of sickenes, and of ill handling in the prison: where they had no more allowed them to liue withall but two dishefulls of barley for their breade, and one of water for eche man a day. In deede many of them were conueyed away, and sold for slaues: and many also that scaped vnknowen as slaues, were also solde for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the printe of a horse, who notwithstanding besides their bondage endured also this paine. But such, their humble pacience and modesty did greatly profit them. For either shortly after they were made free men,

Gylippus sheweth mercy to Nicias.

The Syracusans enter into Syracusa with triumphe.

Asinarus feast.

The Captaines of the Athenians cōdemned to dye.

Gylippus, a couetous man. Cleandrides condemned for extorcion.

Nicias and Demosthenes slue them selues.

or

A or if they ſtill continued in bondage, they were gently intreated, and beloued of their maſters. Some of them were ſaued alſo for *Euripides* ſake. For the SICILIANS liked the verſes of this Poet better, than they did any other GRÆCIANS verſes of the middeſt of GRÆCE. For if they heard any rimes or ſonges like vnto his, they would haue them by hart, & one would preſent thē to an other with great ioy. And therfore it is reported, that diuers eſcaping this bondage, and returning againe to ATHENS, went very louingly to ſalute *Euripides*, & to thanke him for their liues: and told him how they were deliuered from ſlauery, only by teaching them thoſe verſes which they remembred of his workes. Others tolde him alſo, how that after the battel, they ſcaping by flight, & wandering vp and downe the fieldes, met with ſome that gaue them meate & drinke to ſing his verſes. And this is not to be maruelled at, weying thē reporte made
B of a ſhippe of the city of CAVNVS, that on a time being chaſed in thether by pyrates, thinking to ſaue thē ſelues within their portes, could not at the firſt be receiued, but had repulſe: howbeit being demaunded whether they could ſing any of *Euripides* ſonges, and aunſwering that they could, were ſtraight ſuffered to enter, and come in. The newes of this lamentable ouerthrow, was not beleued at the firſt, when they heard of it at ATHENS. For a ſtraunger that landed in the hauen of PIRÆA, went and ſat him downe (as the maner is) in a barbers ſhoppe, & thinking it had bene commonly knowen there, beganne to talke of it. The barber hearing the ſtraunger tell of ſuch matter, before any other had heard of it: ranne into the city as faſt as he could, and going to the gouernors tolde the newes openly before them all. The magiſtrates thereupon did preſently call an aſſembly, and brought the barber before them: who being de-
C maunded of whom he heard theſe newes, could make no certaine reporte. Whereupon being taken for a forger of newes, that without ground had put the city in feare and trouble: he was preſently bound, and layed on a wheele, wheron they vſe to put offenders to death, and ſo was there tormented a great time, vntill at laſt there arriued certaine men in the city, who brought too certaine newes thereof, and told euery thing how the ouerthrow came. So as in fine they found *Nicias* wordes true, which now they beleued, when they ſawe all thoſe miſeries light fully apon them, which he long before had prognoſticated vnto them.

Euripides verſes famed many of the Athenians liues.

The Athenians doe torment the bringer of the newes of their ouerthrow.

Nicias foreſhewed the miſeries of the Athenians.

D

The end of Nicias life.

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Craſſus.

Marcus Craſſus kinred, & youth.

Marcus Craſſus was the ſonne of a Cenſor, who had alſo receiued the A honor of triumphe: but him ſelfe was brought vp in a litle houſe with two other of his brethren, which were both maried in their fathers & mothers life time, and kept houſe together. Whereuppon it came to paſſe, that he was a man of ſuch ſober and temperate dyet, that one of his brethrē being deceaſed, he maried his wife by whom he had children. For women, he liued as continent a life, as any ROMANE of his time: notwithſtanding, afterwardes being of riper yeares, he was accuſed by *Plotinus* to haue deflowred one of the Veſtall Nunnes called *Licinia*. But in troth the cauſe of that ſuſpicion grew thus. *Licinia* had a goodly pleaſaunt garden hard by the ſuburbes of the city, wherewith *Craſſus* was maruelouſly in loue, and would B faine haue had it good cheape: and vpon this only occaſion was often ſeene in ſpeeche with her, which made the people ſuſpect him. But foraſmuch as it ſeemed to the iudges that his couetouſnes was the cauſe that made him follow her, he was clered of thinceſt ſuſpected, but he neuer left following of the Nunne, till he had got the garden of her. The ROMANES ſay

Craſſi is couetouſnes.

there was but that only vice of couetouſnes in *Craſſus*, that drowned many other goodly vertues in him: for mine owne opinion, me thinkes he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, ſince it grew ſo great, as the note of that only did hide and couer all his other vices. Nowe to ſet out his extreame couetous deſire of getting, naturally bred in him, they proue it by two manifeſt reaſons. The firſt, his maner and meanes he vſed to get: and the ſeconde, the greatnes of his wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worthe, C then three hundred talentes. And during the time that he delt in the affayers of the common wealth, he offered the tenthes of all his goodes wholly vnto *Hercules*, kept open houſe for all the people of ROME, and gaue alſo to euery citizen of the ſame as much corne as would kepe him three monethes: & yet when he went from ROME to make warre with the PARTHIANS, him ſelfe being deſirous to know what all he had was worth, founde that it amounted to the ſumme of ſeuen thowſande one hundred talentes. But if I may with licenſe vſe euill ſpeeche, wryting a troth: I ſay he got the moſt parte of his wealth by fire and blood, raiſing his greateſt reuenue of publicke calamities. For when *Sylla* had takē the citie of ROME, he made porteſale of the goods of them whom he had put to death, to thoſe that gaue moſt, tearming them his booty,

Craſſ. riches.

How Craſſus came by his goodes.

booty, onely for that he would the nobility, and greateſt men of power in the citie ſhould be partakers with him of this iniquity: and in this open ſale *Craſſus* neuer left taking of gifres, nor bying of thinges of *Sylla* for profit. Furthermore, *Craſſus* perceiuinge that the greateſt decay commonly of the buildinges in ROME came by fire, and falling downe of houſes, through the ouermuch weight by numbers of ſtories built one apon an other: bought bondmē that were maſons, carpinters, and theſe deuiſours and builders, & of thoſe he had to the numbet of fiue hundred. Afterwardes, when the fire tooke any houſe, he would buy the houſe while it was a burning, and the next houſes adioyning to it, which the owners ſolde for litle, being then in daunger as they were, and a burning: ſo that by proces of time, the moſt parte of the houſes in ROME came to be his. But notwithſtanding that he had ſo many ſlaues to his workemen, he neuer built any houſe from the ground, ſauing his owne houſe wherein he dwelt: ſaying, that ſuch as delighted to builde, vndid them ſelues without helpe of any enemy. And though he had many mynes of ſiluer, many ploughes, and a number of hyndes and plowmen to followe the ſame: yet all that commoditie was nothing, in reſpect of the profit his ſlaues and bondemen brought him dayly in. As readers, ſcriueners, goldſmythes, bankers, receiuers, ſtewards of houſeholde, caruers, and other ſuch officers at the table, taking paines him ſelfe to helpe them when they were learners, and to inſtruct them what they ſhould doe: and to be ſhorte, he thought the greateſt care a good houſeholder ought to haue, was to ſee his ſlaues or ſeruauntes well taught, being the moſt liuely cattell and beſt inſtruments of a mans houſe. And ſurely therein his opinion was not ill, at the leaſt if he thought as he ſpake: that all thinges muſt be done by ſeruauntes, and his ſeruauntes muſt be ruled by him. For we ſee that the arte and skill to be a good husbande, when it conſiſteth in gouernment of thinges without life or ſence, is but a baſe thing, only tending to gaine: but when it dependeth apon good order and gouernment of men, me thinkes then it is to knowe how to gouerne well a common wealth. But as his iudgement was good in the other, ſo was it very bad in this: that he thought no man riche, and wealthie, that could not maintaine a whole army with his owne proper goods. For the warre (as king *Archidamus* was wont to ſay) is not made with any certainty of expence: and therefore there muſt no ſufficiency of riches be limited for the maintenance of the ſame. But herein *Marius* and he differed farre in opinion: who hauinge allowed euery ROMANE foureteene akers lande (called with them, Iugera) vnderſtanding that ſome were not pleaſed, but would haue more, made them this aunſwer. The gods forbid any ROMANE ſhould thinke that land litle, which in deede is enough to ſuffiſe for his maintenance. This notwithſtanding, *Craſſus* was curteous to ſtraungers, for his houſe was open to them all, and he lent his frendes money without intereſt: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he roūdly demaunde his money of them. So, his curteſie to lende many times without intereſt, did more trouble them, than if he had taken very great vſery. In deede when he bad any man to come to his table, his fare was but euen ordinary, without all exceſſe: but his fine and cleanly ſeruice, & the good entertainment he gaue euery man that came to him, pleaſed them better, than if he had bene more plentifull of dyet and diſhes. As for his learning and ſtudy, he chiefly ſtudied eloquence, and that ſorte ſpecially that beſt would ſerue his turne to ſpeake in open preſence: ſo that he became the beſt ſpoken man in ROME of all his time, and by his great induſtry and diligent indeuor excelled all them that euen by nature were moſt apt vnto it. For ſome ſay, he had neuer ſo ſmall nor litle a cauſe in hande, but he alwayes came prepared, hauing ſtudied his caſe before for pleading: and oftentimes alſo when *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, and *Cicero* refuſed to riſe, and ſpeake to matters, *Craſſus* would defend euery cauſe if he were requeſted. And therfore was he generally beloued & well thought of, bicauſe he ſhewed him ſelfe painfull, & willing to helpe euery man. Likewiſe was his gentlenes maruelouſly eſteemed, bicauſe he ſaluted euery body curteouſly, and made much of all men: for, whom ſo euer he met in the ſtreetes that ſpake to him as he paſſed and ſaluted him, were he neuer ſo meane, he woulde ſpeake to him againe, and call him by his name. It is ſayd alſo he was very well ſtudied in ſtories, and indifferently ſeene in Philoſophy, ſpecially in *Ariſtotels* workes, which one *Alexander* did read vnto him, a man that became very gentle and pacient of nature, by vſing of *Craſſus* company: for it were hard to ſay, whether *Alexander* was poorer when he came to *Craſſus*

Craſſus ſaying of builders.

Craſſus care about ſeruauntes.

What belongeth to good husbandry, and in whom it conſiſtes.

Craſſus iudgement who was a riche man. Archidamus ſaying of warre.

Craſſus fare at his bourde.

Craſſus eloquence.

or made poorer while he was with him. Of all his frendes he would euer haue *Alexander* abroade with him, and while they were abroade, would lend him a hat to couer his head by the way: but so soone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull pacience of a man? to see that he making profession of Philosophie as he did, the poore man being in great pouerty, did not place pouerty in thinges indifferent. But hereof we will speake more hereafter. *Cinna* and *Marius* being now of greater power, and comming on directly towardes ROME, euery man suspected straight their cõming was for no good to the common wealth, but as appeared plainly, for the death and destruction of the noblest men of ROME. For it so fell out in deede, that they slue all the chiefe men they found in the city, among whom *Crassus* father & his brother were of the number, and him selfe being at that time but young, escaped the present daunger only by flight. Furthermore, *Crassus* hearing that they layed waite to take him, & that the tyrannes sought him in euery place, tooke three of his frends in his company, and tenne seruauntes only, and fled into SPAYNE with all possible speede, where he had bene with his father before, and had got some frendes when he was Prætor, and ruled that contrie. Neuertheless, seeing euery body afrayed, and mistrusting *Marius* cruelty as if he had bene at their dores, he durst not bewray him selfe to any man, but went into the fieldes, and hid him in a great caue being within the lande of one *Vibius Piciacus* by the sea side, from whence he sent a man of his to this *Piciacus*, to feele what good will he bare him, but specially for that his vittells beganne to faile him. *Vibius* hearing that *Crassus* was safe, and had scaped, became very glad of it: and vnderstanding how many persones he had with him, and into what place he was gotten, went not him selfe to see him, but called one of his slaues (who was his receiuer and occupied that ground for him) & bringing him neere the place where *Crassus* was, commaunded him euery night to prouide meate for supper, to bring it ready dressed to this rocke whereunder was the caue, & make no wordes of it, neither be inquisitiue for whom it was, for if he did, he should dye for it: & otherwise, for keping the thing secret as he commaunded, he promised to make him a free man. This caue is not farre from the sea side, & is closed in round about with two rockes that mete together, which receiue a soft coole winde into them. Whē ye are entred into the caue, it is of a great height within, and in the hollownes thereof are many other caues of great receite one within an other, and besides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a well of passing good water running hard by the rocke, and the naturall riftes of the rockes also receiuing the light without, where they mete together, do send it inward into the caue. So that in the day time it is maruelous light, and hath no dampe ayer, but very pure and drye, by reason of the thickenes of the rocke, which sendeth all the moistnesse and vapour into that springinge well. *Crassus* keeping close in this caue, *Vibius* receiuer brought vittells thither dayly to relieue him, and his company, but saw not them he brought it to, nor could vnderstand what they were: and yet they saw him plainly, obseruing the houre & time of his comming when he brought the same. He prouided them no more then would euen necessarily serue their turne, and yet plenty sufficient to make good cheare withall: for *Vibius* was bent to entertaine *Crassus* as honorably as he could possible, insomuch as he considered he was a younge man, and therefore reason woulde he shoulde offer him some occasion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required. For to relieue his necessity only, he thought that rather a parte of feare, than any shew of loue towards him. One day he tooke two fayer young damsells, and brought them with him to the sea side: and when he came to the caue, shewed them where they should get vp, and bad them not be afrayed. *Crassus* at the first, when he saw the young wenches, was afrayed he had bene betrayed: yet he asked them what they were, and whome they sought. They being instructed by *Vibius* what they should say, aunswered, that they sought their master that was hidden there. Then *Crassus* knew this was *Vibius* mirth to shew him curtesie: so he receiued them into his caue, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting *Vibius* vnderstand by them what he lacked. *Fenestella* wryteth, that he saw one of them when she was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this tale many a time with great delight. In fine, *Crassus* (after he had lyen hidden in this caue eight monethes) vnderstanding that *Cinna* was dead, came out: and so soone as he made him selfe to be knowen, there repayred a great number of souldiers vnto him, of whom he only chose

Crassus flieth Marius and Cinna.

Vibius curtesie vnto Crassus.

Crassus caue.

two

A two thowſand fiue hundred, and with them paſſed by many cities, and ſacked one called MALACA, as diuers doe wryte, but he flatly denied it, and ſtowtly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwardes hauing gotten ſhippes together, went into AFRICKE, to *Metellus Pius*, a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great army together. Howbeit he taried not long with *Metellus*, but iarring with him, went vnto *Sylla*, who welcomed and honored him as much, as any that he had about him. *Sylla* afterwardes arriuing in ITALIE, intending to imploy all the young nobility he had in his cõpany, gaue euery one of them charge vnder him, and ſent *Craſſus* into the contry of the MARSIANS, to leauy men of warre there. *Craſſus* deſiring certaine bandes of *Sylla* to aide him, being driuen to paſſe by his enemies: *Sylla* aunſwered him angrely againe. I geue thee thy father, thy brother, thy frendes and kinſemen to aide B thee, whom they moſt wickedly haue ſlaine and murdered, and whoſe deathes I purſue with hot reuenge of maine army, apon thoſe bloody murtherers that haue ſlaine them. *Craſſus* being netled with theſe wordes, departed thence preſently, and ſtowtly paſſing through his enemies, leauied a good number of ſouldiers: & was euer after ready at *Syllaes* commaundement in all his warres. Here began firſt (as they ſay) the ſtrife and contention betwext him and *Pompey*. For *Pompey* being younger than *Craſſus*, and borne of a wicked father in ROME, whom the people more hated thã euer they did man: came yet to great honor by his valliancy, & by the notable acts he did in the warres at that time. So that *Sylla* did *Pompey* that honor many times, which he ſeldom did vnto them that were his elders, nor yet vnto thoſe that were his equalls: as to riſe vp when he came towardes him, to put of his cappe, to call him Imperator, as much C as Lieutenant generall. And this galled *Craſſus* to the hart, although he had no wrong in that *Pompey* was taken before him, bicauſe he had no experience in matters of warre at that time, and alſo bicauſe theſe two vices that were bred in him, miſery and couetouſnes, drowned all his vertue and well doing. For at the ſacke of the city of TVDER, which he tooke, he priuely got the moſt parte of the ſpoyle to him ſelfe, wherof he was accuſed before *Sylla*. Yet in the laſt battell of all this ciuill warre (which was the greateſt and moſt daungerous of all other) euen before ROME it ſelfe, the wing that *Sylla* led, was repulſed and ouerthrowen: but *Craſſus* that led the right wing, ouercame his enemies, followed them in chaſe till midnight, ſent *Sylla* word of his victory, and demaunded vittells for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great defame, for buying, or begging the confiſcate goodes of the outlawes appointed to be D ſlaine, for litle or nothing. And it is ſayd alſo, that he made one an outlaw in the contry of the BRVTIANS, without *Syllaes* priuitie or commaundement, only to haue his goodes. But *Sylla* being told of it, would neuer after vſe him in any open ſeruice. Surely this is a ſtraunge thing, that *Craſſus* ſelfe being a great flatterer of other, & could creepe into any mans fauor: was yet himſelfe eaſie to be won through flattery, of any man that would ſeeke him that way. Furthermore, it is ſayd of him that he had this property: that though him ſelfe was as extremely couetous as might be, yet he bitterly reproued and vtterly miſliked them that had his owne humor of auarice. *Pompeyes* honor that he attained vnto dayly, by bearing great charge and rule in the warres, did greatly trouble *Craſſus*: both bicauſe he obtained the honor of triumphe before he came to be Senatour, and alſo for that the ROMANES commonly called him, *Pompeius* E *Magnus*, to ſay, *Pompey* the great. *Craſſus* beinge in place on a time when one ſayd that ſawe *Pompey* comming, ſee, *Pompey* the great is come. And how great I pray ye, ſayd he ſcornefully? howbeit diſpayring that he could not attaine to match him in the warres, he gaue him ſelfe vnto the affayers of the city: and by his paines and induſtry of pleading, and defending mens cauſes, by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that ſued for any office, or demaunded any thing els of the people, he attained in the end to the like eſtimacion and authoritie that *Pompey* was come vnto, by his many noble victories. And there was one notable thing in either of them. For *Pompeyes* fame & power was greater in ROME, when him ſelfe was abſent: and contrarywiſe when he was there preſent, *Craſſus* oftentimes was better eſteemed than he. *Pompey* caried a great maieſty and grauity in his maner of life, would not be F ſeene often of the people, but kept from repayring to open places, and would ſpeake but in fewe mens cauſes, and that vnwillingly: all to keepe his fauor and credit whole for him ſelfe, when he ſtoode in neede to employ the ſame. Where *Craſſus* diligence was profitable to ma-

Craſſus viage into Africke.

Craſſus ſent by Sylla into the contry of the Marſians.

The emulacion betwext Craſſus and Pompey.

Sylla called Pompey Imperator.

Craſſus tooke the city of Tuder.

The valliantnes of Craſſus.

Craſſus emuleth Pompey.

The Romanes called Pompey the great.

Craſſus induſtry and cauſe of riſing in the common wealth.

ny, bicauſe he kept continually in the market place, and was eaſie to be repayred vnto by any man that required his helpe, dayly following thoſe exerciſes, indeuoring him ſelfe to pleaſure euery man: ſo that by this eaſie acceſſe and familiaritie, for fauor and good will, he grew to exceede the grauety and maieſty of *Pompey*. But as for the worthines of their perſons, their eloquence of ſpeeche, & their good grace & countenaunce: in all thoſe (it is ſayd) *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were both alike. And this enuy and emulation neuer caried *Craſſus* away, with any open malice and ill will. For though he was ſory to ſee *Pompey* and *Cæſar* honored aboue him: yet the worme of ambition neuer bred malice in him. No, though *Cæſar* when he was taken by pyrates in Asia (as he was once) and being kept priſoner cryed out alowde: O *Craſſus*, what ioy will this be to thee, when thou ſhalt heare I am in priſon. This notwithſtanding, they were afterwardes good frendes, as it appeareth. For *Cæſar* being ready on a time to depart out of Rome for Prætor into Spayne, and not being able to ſatisfie his creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to ſtay & arreſt his cariage: *Craſſus* in that time of neede forſooke him not, but became his ſurety for the ſumme of eight hundred and thirty talentes.

Three factiõs at Rome.

In fine, all Rome being deuided into three factions, to wit, of *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, and *Craſſus* (for as for *Cato*, the eſtimacion they had of his fidelity was greater, than his authority: and his vertue more wondered at then practiſed) inſomuch as the graueſt and wiſeſt men tooke parte with *Pompey*. The liuelieſt youthes, and likelieſt to runne into deſperate attemptes, they followed *Cæſars* hope. *Craſſus* keeping the middeſt of the ſtreame, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes chaunged his minde and purpoſe. For in matters of gouernment in the common weale, he neither ſhewed him ſelfe a conſtant frend, nor a daungerous enemy: but for gaine, was eaſily made frend or foe. So that in a moment they ſaw him praiſe and reproue, defende and condemne, the ſame lawes, and the ſame men. His eſtimacion grewe more, through the peoples feare of him: than for any good will they bare him. As appeareth by the aunſwere that one *Sicinius* (a very buſie headed man, and one that troubled euery gouernor of the common weale in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not buſie with *Craſſus* amongeſt the reſt: and howe it happened that he ſo ſcaped his handes? O, ſayd he, he caries haye on his horne. The maner was then at Rome, if any man had a curſt bullocke that would ſtrike with his horne, to winde haye about his heade, that the people might beware of him when they met him. The commocion of fenſers, which ſome call *Spartacus* warre, their waſting and deſtroying of Italie came apon this occaſion. In the citie of Capva, there was one *Lentulus Batiatus*, that kept a great number of fenſers at vnrebated foyles, whom the Romanes call Gladiatores, whereof the moſt parte were Gavles and Thracians. Theſe men were kept locked vp, not for any fault they had cõmitted, but only for the wickednes of their maſter that had bought them, and compelled them by force, one to fight with an other at the ſharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to ſteale away: but their conſpiracy being bewrayed, three ſcore and eighteene of them entred into a cookes houſe, and with the ſpittes and kitching knines, which there they got, went quite out of the city. By the way they fortuned to meete with cartes loden with fenſers weapons, that were brought from Capva going to ſome other city: thoſe they alſo tooke by force, and arming them ſelues therewith, got them then to a ſtrong place of ſcituacion. Where amongeſt them ſelues they choſe three Captaines, and one *Spartacus* a Thracian borne (and of thoſe contrymen that go wandring vp and downe with their heards of beaſtes neuer ſtaying long in a place) they made their Generall. This *Spartacus* was not onely valliant, but ſtrong made withall, and endued with more wiſedom and honeſty, than is commonly found in men of his ſtate and condicion: and for ciuility and good vnderſtanding, a man more like to the Græcians, than any of his contrie men cõmonly be. It is reported, that when *Spartacus* came firſt to Rome to be ſold for a ſlaue, there was founde as he ſlept, a ſnake wound about his face. His wife ſeeing it, being his owne contry woman, & a wiſe woman beſides, poſſeſt with *Bacchus* ſpirite of diuination: ſaid plainly that it did ſignifie, that one day he ſhoulde be of great power, much dread, and haue very good ſucceſſe. This ſame woman propheteſſe was then with him, and followed him likewiſe when he fled. Now firſt they ouerthrewe certaine ſouldiers that came out of Capva againſt them, thinking to take them: and ſtripping them of their armor & weapons, made them glad

Craſſus inconſtancie.

Sicinius prouerbe.

The warre of the bondmen, called Spartacus warre.

The wit and behauior of Spartacus, the chiefe Captaine of the bondemens warre.

to

A to take the fenſers weapons, which they threw away as vile & vnſeemely. After that, the ROMANES ſent *Clodius* Prætor againſt them, with three thowſand men. Who beſieged them in their forte, ſeituate apon a hill that had a verie ſteepe and narowe aſcent vnto it, and kept the paſſage vp to them: all the reſt of the grounde rounde about it, was nothing but high rockes hanging ouer, & apon thē great ſtore of wilde vines. Of them the bondmen cut the ſtrongeſt ſtirppes, and made thereof ladders, like to theſe ſhippe ladders of ropes, of ſuch a length and ſo ſtrong, that they reached from the toppe of the hill euen to the very bottome: apon thoſe they all came ſafely downe, ſauing one that taried aboue to throwe downe their armor after them, who afterwards by the ſame ladder ſaued him ſelfe laſt of all. The ROMANES miſtruſting no ſuch matter, theſe bondmen compaſſed the hill round, aſſailed them behinde, & put them B in ſuch a feare with the ſodaine onſet, as they fled apon it euery man, and ſo was their campe taken. Thereupon diuers heardmen and ſheapherds that kept cattell hard by the hill, ioyned with the ROMANES that fled, being ſtrong and hardy men: of which ſome they armed, and others they vſed as ſcowtes and ſpialls to diſcouer. Apon this ouerthrowe was ſent an other Captaine from ROME, called *Publius Varinus*, againſt theſe bondmen: who firſt ouercame *Furius*, the Lieutenant of *Varinus* in battell, & two thowſand of his men: & after that againe they ſlue one *Coſsinius*, and ouerthrew a great army of his, being ioyned with *P. Varinus*, as his fellow & counſeller. *Spartacus* hauing intelligence that *Coſsinius* was bathing him ſelfe at a place C called the ſalte pittes, had almoſt taken him tardy, hatting much a do by flight to ſaue himſelfe: notwithſtanding, *Spartacus* wanne all his cariage at that time, and hauing him hard in chaſe, tooke his whole cāpe with great ſlaughter of his men, among whom *Coſsinius* ſelfe was ſlaine. *Spartacus* hauing thus now in ſundry battells and encounters ouercome the Prætor him ſelfe, *P. Varinus*, and at the length taken his ſergeauntes from him that caried the axes before him, and his owne horſe whereon he rode him ſelfe: was growen then to ſuch a power, as he was dreaded of euery man. Yet all this notwithſtandinge, *Spartacus* wiſely conſidering his owne force, thinking it not good to tary till he might ouercome the power of the ROMANES: marched with his armie towardes the Alpes, taking it their beſt way after they had paſſed them ouer, euerie man to repayre home to his owne contrie, ſome into GAVLE, the reſt into THRACIA. But his ſouldiers truſtinge to their multitude, and perſwading them ſelues to doe great thinges: would not obey him therein, but went againe to ſpoile and ouerrunne all ITA- D LIE. The Senate of ROME being in a great perplexity, not onely for the ſhame and diſhonor that their men ſhould be ouercome in that ſorte by ſlaues and rebells, but alſo for the feare & daunger all ITALIE ſtoode in beſides: ſent both the Conſulls together, *Gellius* and *Lentulus*, as vnto as difficult and daungerous a warre, as any that could haue happened vnto them. This *Gellius* one of the Conſuls, ſetting ſodainly apon a band of the GERMAINES, which in a brauery and contempt as it were, diſperſed them ſelues from their campe, put them to the ſworde euery man. *Lentulus*, his colleague and fellow Conſull on thother ſide, compaſſed in *Spartacus* round with a great army: but *Spartacus* charged his Lieutenaunts that led tharmy, gaue them battell, ouerthrew them, and tooke all their cariage. Hereupon, marching on ſtill with his army towardes the Alpes, *Caſsius* the Prætor, and Gouernor of GAVLE about the Po, came a- E gainſt him with an army of tenne thowſand men. *Spartacus* ioyned battell with him, and ouercame him. *Caſsius* hauing loſt a great number of his men, with great difficulty ſaued him ſelfe by flying. The Senate hearing of *Caſsius* ouerthrow, were maruelouſly offēded with the Conſulls, and ſent commaundement vnto them, to leaue of the warre: and thereuppon gaue the whole charge thereof vnto *Marcus Craſſus*, who was accompanied in this iorney with many noble young gentlemen of honorable houſes, both for that he was maruelouſly eſteemed, & alſo for the good will they bare him. Now went *Craſſus* from ROME, and camped in ROMANIA, tarying *Spartacus* comming, who was marching thitherwarde. He ſent *Mummius* one of his Lieutenauntes with two legyons, to fetche a compaſſe about to intrappe the enemie behinde, ſtraightly commaunding him to follow *Spartacus* rereward, but in no caſe to offer him F skirmiſhe nor battell. But *Mummius* notwithſtanding this ſtraight commaundement, ſeeing ſome hope geuen him to doe good, ſet apon *Spartacus*, who gaue him the ouerthrowe, ſlue numbers of his men, and moe had ſlaine, ſauing that certaine of them ſaued them ſelues by

Clodius a Romane Prætor, ſent againſt Spartacus with 3000 men.

Clodius the Prætor ouercome of Spartacus.

Publius Varinus Prætor, ſent againſt Spartacus.

Spartacus victory of P. Varinus.

Gellius and Lentulus, both Conſulls, ſent againſt Spartacus.

Caſſius ouercomen by Spartacus.

Craſſus ſent againſt Spartacus.

Mummius, Craſſus Lieutenant.

Mummius ouerthrowen by Spartacus.

flight, hauing only loſt their armor and weapons. Hereupon *Craſſus* was grieuouſly offended with *Mummius*, and receiuing his ſouldiers that fled, gaue them other armor and weapons: but yet vpon ſureties, that they ſhould keepe them better thencefoorth, than they had before done. Now *Craſſus* of the fiue hundred that were in the firſt ranckes, and that firſt fled, them he deuided into fifty times ten, and out of euery one of thoſe he put one of them to death as the lot fell out: renuing againe the auncient diſcipline of the ROMANES to puniſh cowardly ſouldiers, which of long time before had not bene put in vſe. For it is a kinde of death that bringeth open ſhame withall, and bicauſe it is done in the face of the campe, it maketh all the reſidue afrayed to ſee the terror of this puniſhment. *Craſſus* hauing done execution in this ſorte apon his men, led his armie againſt *Spartacus*: who ſtill drue backe, vntill he came to the ſea ſide through the contry of the LVCANIANS, where he found in the ſtraight of the Far of MESSINA, certaine pyrates ſhippes of CILICIA, and there determined tō goe into SICILIA. And hauing put two thowſande men into SICILE, he then reuiued the warre there of the ſlaues, which was but in maner newly ended, and lacked ſmall prouocation to beginne it againe. But theſe pyrates hauing promiſed *Spartacus* to paſſe him ouer thither, & alſo taken giftes of him, deceiued him, & brake their promiſe. Whereupon *Spartacus* returning backe againe from the ſea ſide, went & camped within a litle Ile of the RHEGIANS. *Craſſus* comming thither to ſeeke him, and perceiuing that the nature of the place taught him what he ſhould doe: determined with a walle to choke vp the barre or channell entring into this litle Ilande, both to keepe his men occupied from idlenes, & his enemies alſo from vittell. This was a maruelous hard and long peece of worke, notwithſtanding, *Craſſus* finiſhed it beyonde all mens expectation in a very ſhorte time, and brought a trenche from one ſide of the ſea to the other ouerthwart this barre, which was three hundred furlonges in length, fifteene foote broade, and ſo many in height: and apon the toppe of this trenche built a high wall, of a maruelous ſtrength, wherof *Spartacus* at the firſt made light accompt, and laughed at it. But when pillage beganne to faile him, & traueling all about the Ile for vittells, perceiuing him ſelfe to be ſhut in with this wall, and that there was no kinde of vittells to be had within all the compaſſe of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boyſterous night, the winde being very great, when it ſnewed exceedingly, ſet his men a worke, and filled vp a peece of the trenche (being of a ſmall bredth) with earth, ſtones, and boughes of trees, whereupon he paſſed ouer the third parte of his army. *Craſſus* at the firſt then became afrayed, leaſt *Spartacus* would haue taken his way directly toward ROME: but he was ſoone put out of that feare, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling againſt *Spartacus*, went & camped by them ſelues by the lake of LVCANIA, which water by reporte hath this variable property, that at certaine times it chaungeth and becommeth very ſweete, and at ſome other times againe ſo ſalte and brackiſh, as no man can drinke it. *Craſſus* going to ſet apon them, draue them beyond the lake, but could kill no great nūber of them, nor follow them very farre: bicauſe *Spartacus* came preſently to the reſcue with his army, who ſtayed the chaſe. *Craſſus* had wrytten letters before to the Senate, to call *Lucullus* home out of THRACIA, & *Pompey* out of SPAYNE, wherof he then repented him, & made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to end this warre, before either of them came thither: knowing, that which of them ſo euer came to his helpe, to him would the people geue the honor of ending this warre, and not to him ſelfe. Wherefore he firſt determined to aſſaile them that had reuolted from *Spartacus*, and camped by them ſelues: who were led by *Caius Canicius*, and an other called *Caſtus*. So *Craſſus* ſent ſix thowſand footemen before to take a hil, commaunding them to lye as cloſe as they could, that their enemies might not diſcouer them: and ſo they did, and couered their morians & headpeeces as well as might be, from being ſeene. Neuertheleſſe they were diſcouered by two women doing ſacrifice for the ſafety of their army: and therupon were all in great hazard of caſting away, had not *Craſſus* bene, who came in time to their aide, and gaue the enemies the cruelleſt battell that euer they fought in all that warre. For there were ſlaine of the ſlaues at that battel, twelue thowſand and three hundred, of which, two only were found hurt in the backes, and all the reſt ſlaine in the place of their ranckes, valliantly fighting where they were ſet in battell ray. *Spartacus* after this ouerthrowe, drew towardes the mountaines of Petelie, whither *Quintus*, one

The Romanes maner of puniſhinge cowardly ſouldiers.

Craſſus wonderfull trench and wall.

A wonderfull nature of the water of the lake of Lucania.

Ambuſh laied by Craſſus.

The validines of Spartacus ſouldiers.

Spartacus retyred to the mountaines of Petelie.

A one of *Crassus* Lieutenauntes, and *Scrofa* his treasorer followed him, still skirmishing with his rereward all the way: yet in fine, *Spartacus* turned sodainly apon them, made the ROMANES flie that still harried his men in that sorte, and hurt *Scrofa Crassus* treasorer, so sore that he hardly escaped with life. But the vantage they had of the ROMANES by this ouerthrow, fell out in the ende to the vtter destruction of *Spartacus*. For his men thereby, being the most of them fugitiue bondmen, grew to such a stowtenes and pride of them selues, that they would no more flie from fight, neither yet would they any lenger obey their leaders and Captaines: but by the way as they went, they compassed them in with their weapons, and tolde them, that they should go backe againe with them whether they would or not, and be brought through LVCANIA against the ROMANES. All this made for *Crassus* as he wished, for he had receiued
B newes that *Pompey* was comming, and that diuers were suters for him at ROME to be sent in this iorney, saying, that the last victory of this warre was due to him, and that he would dispatche it at a battell, as soone as he came thither. *Crassus* therefore seeking occasion to fight, lodged as neere the enemie as he could, and made his men one day cast a trenche, which the bondmen seeking to preuent, came with great fury, and set apon them that wrought. Wherupon fell out a hotte skirmishe, and still supplies came on of either side: so that *Spartacus* in the ende perceiuing he was forced vnto it, put his whole power in battell ray. And when he had set them in order, & that they brought him his horse he was wont to fight on: he drew out his sword, and before them all slue the horse dead in the place, saying: if it be my fortune to winne the field, I know I shall haue horse enow to serue my turne: and if I chaunse to be ouer-
C comen, then shal I nede no moe horses. After that, he flew in among the ROMANES, thinking to attaine to fight with *Crassus*, but he could not come neere him: yet he slue with his owne handes two ROMANE Centurions that resisted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forsooke him and fled, so as *Spartacus* was left alone among his enemies: who valliantly fighting for his life, was cut in peeces. Now though *Crassus* fortune was very good in this warre, and that he had shewed him selfe a noble and valliant Captaine, venturing his persone in any daunger, yet he could not keepe *Pompey* from the honor of ending this warre: for the slaues that scaped from this last battell where *Spartacus* was slaine, fell into *Pompeyes* handes, who made an end of all those rebellious rascalls. *Pompey* hereupon wrote to the Senate, that *Crassus* had ouercomen the slaues in battell, but that he him selfe had pulled vp that warre euen by
D the very rootes. After this *Pompey* made his entrie into ROME, and triumphed for his victorie of *Sertorius*, and the conquest of SPAYNE. *Crassus* also sued not for the great triumphe, neither thought he the small Ouation triumphe a foote, which they graunted him, any honor vnto him, for ouercomming a few fugitiue bondmen. But for this small triumphe, whereby it was called Ouatio, how much it differeth from the great triumphe: see *Marcellus* life, where we haue at large discoursed thereof. Now *Pompey* being called to be Consull: *Crassus*, though he stoode in good hope to be chosen Consull with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his frendshippe and furtherance. *Pompey* was very willing to helpe him, and was euer desirous to make *Crassus* beholding to him: whereupon he delt frendly for him, and spake openly in thassembly
E of the city, that he would no lesse thanke the people to appoint *Crassus* his companion & fellow Consull with him, then for making him selfe Consull. But notwithstandinge they were both Consulls together in office, their frendshippe held not, but were euer at iarre, & the one against the other. So by meanes of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Consulshippe, without any memorable act done: sauing that *Crassus* made a great sacrifice to *Hercules*, and kept an open feast for the people of ROME of a thowsande tables, and gaue to euery citizen corne to finde him three monethes. But in the ende of their Consulshippe, at a common counsell holden, there was a knight of ROME called *Onatius Aurelius* (a man not greatly knowen, for that he had no dealinges in the state, and kept most in the contry) who gettinge vp to the pulpit for orations, told the people what a vision he had seene in his dreame. *Iupiter*, said he, appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye should not put *Crassus* &
F *Pompey* out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no sooner spoken the wordes, but the people commaunded them to be frendes. *Pompey* sate still, and sayd neuer a word to it. But *Crassus* rose, and tooke *Pompey* by the hand, & turning him to the people, told

The noble corage of Spartacus.

Spartacus slaine.

Pompeyes triumphe for Spayne.

Ouatio see Marcellus life.

Crassus made Consull with Pompey.

Crassus great feasting of the people of Rome.

The dreame of Onatius Aurelius.

Crassius and Pompey made frendes.

them alowde: my Lordes of ROME, I do nothing vnworthy of my selfe, to seeke *Pompeis* frendship and fauor first, since you your selues haue called him the great, before he had any heare vpon his face, & that ye gaue him the honor of triumphe, before he was Senatour. And this is all that *Crassus* did of any accompt in his Consulship. When he was Censor also, he passed it ouer without any acte done. For he reformed not the Senate, mustered not the men of warre, nor tooke any view or estimate of the peoples goodes: although *Luctatius Catulus* was his colleague and sellowe Censor, as gentle a persone as any of that time that liued in ROME. Now *Crassus* at the first entry into his office of Censor, going about a cruell and violent act, to bring EGYPT to pay tribute to the ROMANES, *Catulus* did stowtly withstand him: wherby dissention falling out betwene them, they both did willingly resigne their office. In that great conspiracie of *Catiline*, which in manner ouerthrewe the whole state and common wealth of ROME, *Crassus* was had in some iealousie and mistrust: bicause there was one of the confederats that named him for one of them, howbeit they gaue no credit vnto him. Yet *Cicero* in an oration of his, doth plainly accuse *Crassus* & *Cæsar*, as confederats with *Catiline*: howbeit this oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made also, when his office and authority of Consul ceased, he sayd: that *Crassus* came one night to him, & shewed him a letter touching *Catiline*, certainly confirming the conspiracy then in examination. For which cause *Crassus* euer after hated him: and that he did not openly reuenge it, the let was by meane of his sonne. For *Publius Crassus* much fauoring eloquence, and beinge geuen to his booke, bare great good will vnto *Cicero*: in such sorte, that apon his banishment he put on chaunged garmentes as *Cicero* did, and procured many other youthes to do the like also, and in fine, perswaded his father to become his frend. *Cæsar* now returning to ROME from the prouince he had in gouernment, intended to sue for the Consulshippe: and perceiuing that *Pompey* & *Crassus* were againe at a iarre, thought thus with him selfe, that to make the one of them his frend to further his sute, he should but procure thother his enemy: and minding therfore to attaine his desire with the fauor of them both, sought first the meanes to make thē frendes, & perswaded with them, that by their controuersie thone seeking thothers vndoing, they did thereby but make *Cicero*, *Catulus*, and *Cato*, of the greater authority, who of them selues were of no power, if they two ioyned in frendshippe together: for making both their frendes and factions one, they might rule the state and common wealth euen as they would. *Cæsar* hauing by his perswasion reconciled *Crassus* and *Pompey*, ioyning their three powers in one, made them selues vnuincible, which afterwardes turned to the destruction of the people and Senate of ROME. For he made them not only greater than they were before, the one by the others meanes: but him selfe also of great power through them. For when they beganne to fauor *Cæsar*, he was straight chosen Consull without any deniall: and so behaued him selfe in the Consulship, that at the length they gaue him charge of great armies, and then sent him to gouerne the GAVLES: which was, as a man may say, euen them selues to put him into the castell that should kepe all the citie in subiection: imagining that they two should make spoyle and good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a gouernment. Now for *Pompey*, the cause that made him commit this error was nothing els, but his extreame ambition. But as for *Crassus*, besides his old vice of couetousnes rooted in him, he added to that a newe auarice and desire of triumphes and victories, which *Cæsars* fame for prowes and noble actes in warres did throughly kindell in him, that he being otherwise his better in all thinges, might not yet in that be his inferior: which furie tooke such holde as it neuer left him, till it brought him vnto an infamous end, and the common wealth to great misery. Thus *Cæsar* being come out of his prouince of GAVLE vnto LVCA, diuers ROMANES went thither to see him, and among other, *Pompey* and *Crassus*. They hauing talked with him in secret, agreed among them to deuise to haue the whole power of ROME in their handes: so that *Cæsar* should kepe his armie together, and *Crassus* and *Pompey* should take other prouinces and armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one: that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should againe sue the second time to be Consulls, and that *Cæsars* frendes at ROME should stand with them for it, sending also a sufficient number of his souldiers to be there at the day of choosing the Consulls. Thereupon *Pompey* and *Crassus* returned to ROME to that ende, but not without suspicion of their

Crassius Censor with Catulus.

Crassius suspected for Catilines conspiracie.

Crassius and Cæsar confederates with Catiline.

Crassius Ciceroes enemie.

Cæsar reconciled Crassius and Pompey togither.

Pompey, Crassius, and Cæsar, all three ioyned in frendshippe.

Pompey and Crassius did meete with Cæsar at Luca.

A their practise: for there ranne a rumor in the citie, that their meeting of *Cæsar* in LVCA, was for no good intent. Whereupon, *Marcellinus* and *Domitius* asked *Pompey* in open Senate, if he ment to make sute to be Consull. *Pompey* aunswered them: peraduenture he did, peraduenture he did not. They asking him againe the same question: he aunswered, he would sue for the good men, not for the euill. *Pompeyes* answers were thought very prowde & hawty. Howbeit *Crassus* aunswered more modestly, that if he saw it necessary for the common wealth, he would sue to be Consull: if not, that he would not stand for it. Vpon these words, some were so bold to make sute for the Consulshippe, as *Domitius* among other. But afterwardes *Pompey* and *Crassus* standing openly for it, all the rest left of their sute for feare of them, *Domitius* only excepted: whom *Cato* so prayed and intreated, as his kinseman and frend, that he made B him to seeke it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the defense of their libertie, and how that it was not the Consulshippe *Crassus* and *Pompey* looked after, but that they went about to bring in a tyranny: & that they sued not for the office, but to get such prouinces and armies into their handes as they desired, vnder colour and countenaunce of the Consulship. *Cato* ringing these words into their eares, & beleuing it certainly to be true as he sayd, brought *Domitius* as it were by force into the market place, where many honest men ioyned with the: bicause they wondred what the matter ment that these two noble men should sue the second time to be Consulls, and why they made sute to be ioyned together, and not to haue any other with them, considering there were so many other worthy men, meete to be companion with either of them both in that office. *Pompey* fearing he should be preuented of his purpose, C fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongest other, when the day came to choose the Consulls, *Domitius* going earely in the morning before day, accõpanied with his frends to the place where the electiõ should be: his man that caried the torch before him was slaine, by some whom *Pompey* had layed in waite, & many of his companie hurt, and among others, *Cato*. And hauing thus dispersed them, he beset a house rounde about whether they fled for succour, and inclosed them there, vntill they were both chosen Consulls together. Shortly after they came with force to the pulpit for orations, and draue *Cato* out of the market place, & slue some of them that resisted & would not flye. They also then prolonged *Cæsars* gouernment of the GAVLES for fiue yeres more, and procured for them selues by decree of the people, the contries of SYRIA and SPAYNE. Againe, when they drew lottes together, SYRIA fell D to *Crassus*, and SPAYNE to *Pompey*. Euery man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the one side were loth *Pompey* should goe farre from ROME: & him selfe also louing his wife well, was glad he had occasion to be so neere her, that he might remaine the most of his time at ROME. But *Crassus* of all other reioyced most at his happe, that he should goe into SYRIA: and it appeared plainely that he thought it was the happiest turne that euer came to him, for he would euer be talking of the iorney, were he in neuer so great or straunge company. Furthermore, being among his frendes and familiars, he would geue out such fonde boastes of it, as no young man could haue made greater vauntes: which was cleane contrary to his yeres and nature, hauing liued all his life time as modestly, and with as small ostentacion as any man liuing. But then forgetting him selfe too much had such fond conceites in his heade, as he not E only hoped after the conquest of SYRIA, and of the PARTHIANS, but flattered him selfe that the world should see all that *Lucullus* had done against king *Tigranes*, and *Pompey* against king *Mithridates*, were but trifles (as a man would say) to that he intended. For he looked to conquer the BACTRIANS, the INDIANS, and the great Occean sea toward the East, though in the decree passed by the people there was no mention made of any warres against the PARTHIANS. Nowe euery man sawe *Crassius* ambition and greedy desire of honor: insomuch as *Cæsar* selfe wrote vnto *Crassus* out of GAVLE, commending his noble intent and forwardnes, and wished him to goe thorow therewith. But *Atteius* one of the Tribunes being bent against *Crassus* to withstand his departure: (hauing diuers other confederats with him to further his purpose, who much misliked that any man of a brauery and lustines should make warre with any F nation or people that had no way offended the ROMANES, but were their frends and confederates) *Crassus* fearing this conspiracy, prayed *Pompey* to assist and accompany him out of the city, bicause he was of great authority and much reuerenced of the people, as it appeared then.

Pompeyes flout aunswere.

Crassius modest aunswere.

Pompey made him selfe and Crassus Consulls by force.

Pompey and Crassius Consulls the second time.

Crassus had the gouernment of Syria.

Atteius the Tribune, against Crassius departure.

For, though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpose to let *Crassus* of his departure, and to crie out apon him: yet when they saw *Pompey* goe before him, with a pleasant smyling countenaunce, they quieted them selues, and made a lane for them, suffering them to passe on, and sayd nothing. This notwithstanding, *Atteius* the Tribune stepped before them, and commaunded *Crassus* he should not departe the city, with great protestations if he did the contrary. But perceiuing *Crassus* still held on his way notwithstanding, he commaunded then one of the officers to lay hold of him, & to arrest him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not suffer the officer to doe it. So the sergeaunt dismissed *Crassus*. Then *Atteius* running towards the gate of the city, got a chafingdish with coles, & set it in the middest of the streete. When *Crassus* came against it, he cast in certaine perfumes, and made sprinckelinges ouer it, pronouncing horrible curses, and calling apon terrible and straunge names of goddes. The Romanes say that those manner of curses are very auncient, but yet very secret, and of so great force: as he that is once cursed with that curse can neuer escape it, nor he that vseth it doth euer prosper after it. And therefore fewe men doe vse it, and neuer but apon vrgent occasion. But then they much reproued *Atteius*, for vsing of these dreadfull ceremonies and extreame curses, which were much hurtefull to the common wealth, although he for his contries sake had thus cursed *Crassus*. *Crassus* settinge forward notwithstandinge, sayled on, and arriued at Brvndvsivm, when winter stormes had not left the seas, and he had lost many of his shippes: howbeit he landed his army, and marched through the contry of Galatia. There he found king *Deiotarus*, a very old man and yet building a new city: and to taunte him pretily, sayd vnto him. What, O king, beginne you to builde now in the afternone? To whom the king of the Galatians againe smiling made aunswere. And truely Syr Captaine, you goe not very earely (me thinkes) to make warre with the Parthians. For in deede *Crassus* was three score and vpward, and yet his face made him seeme elder then he was. But to our story againe. *Crassus* being comen into the contry, had as good lucke as he looked for: for he easily built a bridge apon the riuer of Euphrates, and passed his armie ouer it without any let or trouble. So entring into Mesopotamia, receiued many cities, that of good will yeelded them selues vnto him. Howbeit there was one city called Zenodotia, whereof *Appolonius* was tyran, where *Crassus* lost a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole armie thither, tooke it by force, sacked their goodes, and sold the prisoners by the drumme. The Greekes called this citie Zenodotia, and for winning of the same *Crassus* suffered his men to call him Imperator, to say, soueraigne Captaine: which turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to be thought of a base minde, as one that had small hope to attaine to great thinges, making such reconing of so small a trifle. Thus when he had bestowed seuen thowsand of his footemen in garrison, in those cities that had yeelded vnto him, and about a thowsand horsmen: he returned backe to winter in Syria. Thither came his sonne *Publius Crassus* to him out of Gavle from *Iulius Caesar*, who had geuen him such honors, as Generalles of Rome did vse to geue to valliant souldiers for reward of their good seruice: and brought vnto his father a thowsand men of armes, all choise men. This me thinkes was the greatest fault *Crassus* committed in all his enterprise of that warre. For when he should presently haue gone on still, and entred into Babylon and Selevcia, (cities that were euer enemies vnto the Parthians) he tracted time, & gaue them leasure to prepare to encounter his force when he should come against them. Againe they found great fault with him for spending of his time when he lay in Syria, seeming rather to leade a marchauntes life, than a chiefetaines. For he neuer saw his army, nor trained them out to any marshall exercise, but fell to counting the reuenue of the cities, and was many dayes busily occupied weying of the gold and siluer in the temple of the goddesse *Hierapolis*. And worse then that: he sent to the people, princes, and cities about him, to furnishe him with a certaine number of men of warre, and then he would discharge them for a summe of money. All these things made him to be both ill spoken of, & despised of euery body. The first token of his ill lucke that happened to him, came from this goddesse *Hierapolis*, whom some suppose to be *Venus*, other say *Iuno*, and others, that she is the mother and chiefe cause that giueth beginning of moisture to euery thing that commeth forth and hath a being, and taught men the original cause also of euery good thing. For as *Crassus* the father, & sonne both,

Obseruations of cursinges among the Romanes.

Crassus iorney into Syria.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia.

Crassus passeth ouer the riuer of Euphrates.

Zenodotia taken by Crassus.

Publius Crassus came to his father in Syria.

Great faultes committed by Crassus.

A both, were comming out of the temple: *Crassus* the younger fell first on his face, and the father afterwardes apon his sonne. Likewise as he was gatheringe his garrisons together, callinge them out of the cities into the fielde, there came Ambassadors vnto him from *Arsaces*, kinge of the PARTHIANS: who deliuered him their message in fewe wordes, and tolde him, that if this army he brought came from the ROMANES to make warre with their master, then that he would haue no peace nor frendship with them, but would make mortall warres against them. Further, if it were (as he had heard say) that *Crassus* against the peoples mindes of ROME, for his owne couetous desire, and peculiar profit was come in a iolity to make warre with the PARTHIANS, and to inuade their contry: then in that respect *Arsaces* would deale more fauorably, in consideration of *Crassus* yeares, and was contented also to suffer his men to B departe with life and goods, whom he tooke rather to be in prison, than in garrison within his cities. Thereto *Crassus* coragiously aunswered, that he would make them aunswere in the city of SELEVCIA. Therewith *Vagises*, one of the eldest Ambassadors fell a laughing, and shewing *Crassus* the palme of his hand, told him thus: heare will sooner grow in the palme of my hand, *Crassus*, than you will come to SELEVCIA. In this sorte the Ambassadors tooke their leaue of *Crassus*, and returned to their kinge *Hyrodes*, tellinge him he was to prepare for warre. In the meane space, certaine of *Crassus* souldiers whom he had left in garrison in the cities of MESOPOTAMIA, hauing scaped marueloꝰ daungerously and with great difficulty: brought him newes of importance, hauing them selues seene the wonderfull great campe of the enemy & their maner of fight in the assaultes they made to the cities where they lay in garrison. And, as C it falleth out commonly among men escaped from any daunger making thinges more fearefull and daungerous than they be in deede: they reported that it was vnpossible by flyinge to saue them selues, if they did followe in chase: neither to ouertake them also, if they fled. And further, that they had such kinde of arrowes as would flie swifter, than a mans eye could discerne them, and would perce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who shot them. Besides, for the horsemens weapons they vsed, that they were such, as no armor could possibly hold out: and their armors on thother side made of such a temper and metall, as no force of any thing could pearce them thorow. The ROMANES hearing these newes, fell from their former stowtnes and corage, being borne in hande before, that the PARTHIANS differed nothing at all from the ARMENIANS and CAPPADOCIANS, whom *Lucullus* had ouercome D and spoyled so oft, that he was weary withall: and they had already made accompt, that their greatest paynes in this warre, was but the tediousnes of the iorney they had to make, and the trouble they should haue to follow those men that would not abide them. But then contrarie to expectation, they looked to come to strokes, and to be lustely fought withall. Hereupon, diuers Captaines and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom *Cassius* the tresorer was one) admised *Crassus* to stay, and to deliberate in counsell to knowe whether he were best to goe on, or to remaine where he was. The soothsayers them selues did partely let *Crassus* vnderstand, that the goddes shewed no good tokens in all their sacrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But *Crassus* gaue no eare to them, neither would heare any other that told him as much, but only listned to them that counselled him to make hast. Yet *Crassus* chiefest com- E forte and incoragement, was of *Artabazes*, king of ARMENIA, who came to his campe with sixe thowsand horse, which were but only the kinges cornet and garde. Againe he promised him other tenne thowsand horsemen all armed and barbed, and thirty thowsande footemen which he kept continually in pay, and counselled *Crassus* to enter the PARTHIANS contrie vpon ARMENIAES side: bicause his campe shoulde not onely haue plenty of vittells, which he would send him out of his contry, but for that he should also march in more safety, hauing a contrie full of mountaines and woddes before him very ill for horsemen, which was the only strength and force of the PARTHIANS. *Crassus* coldly thanked *Artabazes* for his good will, & all his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his iorney through MESOPOTAMIA, where he had left many good souldiers of the ROMANES. And thus departed the king of ARF MENIA from him. But now as *Crassus* was passing his army apon the bridge he had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, there fel out sodaine straunge & terrible crackes of thūder, with fearefull flashes of lightning full in the souldiers faces: moreouer, out of a great blacke clowde

The first signes of Crassus ill lucke.

This name of Arsaces, or Arsacides, was common to all the kinges of the Parthians.

Ambassadors of the Parthians sent to Crassus.

Vagises words, shewing Crassus the palme of his hande.

Hyrodes, king of the Parthians.

Cassius treasorer vnder Crassus.

Crassus forewarned by the Soothsayers of his ill successe.

Artabazes, king of Armenia, came to Crassus campe.

Wonderfull signes and tokens to Crassus.

came a wonderfull ſtorme and tempeſt of winde apon the bridge, that the maruelous force thereof ouerthrewe a great parte of the bridge, and caried it quite away. Beſides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twiſe ſtriken with two great thunder clappes. One of his great horſe in like caſe, being brauely furniſhed and ſet out, tooke the bit in his teeth, and lept into the riuer with his ryder on his backe, who were both drowned, and neuer ſeene after. They ſay alſo, that the firſt Eagle & enſigne that was to be taken vp when they marched, turned backe of it ſelfe, without any handes layed vppon it. Further it fortuned that as they were diſtributing the vittells vnto the ſouldiers, after they had all paſſed ouer the bridge, the firſt thing that was geuen them, was ſalte, and water lintels, which the ROMANES take for a token of death and mourning, bicauſe they vſe it at the funeralles of the deade. After all this, when *Craſſus* was exhorting his ſouldiers, a worde ſcaped his mouth that troubled the armie maruelouſly. For he told them that he had broken the bridge which he had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, of purpoſe, bicauſe there ſhould not a man of them returne backe againe. Where in deede when he had ſeene that they tooke this word in ill parte, he ſhould haue called it in againe, or haue declared his meaning, ſeeing his men ſo amazed thereat: but he made light of it, he was ſo wilfull. In the ende he made ordinarie ſacrifice for the purging of his armie: and when the Soothſayer gaue him the intrells of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, they fell out of his handes. *Craſſus* perceiuing that the ſtanders by were troubled withall, fell a laughing, and told them, you ſee what age is: yet ſhall you not ſee my ſword fall out of my hande. So hauing ended his ſacrifice, he beganne to marche forwarde into the contrie by the riuers ſide, with ſeuen legions of footemen, and litle lacke of foure thowſand horſe, and in maner as many ſhot and ſlinges lightly armed. There returned to him certaine of his skoutes that had viewed the contry, and told him there was not an enemy to be ſeene in the field: howbeit that they had founde the tracke of a maruelous number of horſe, which ſeemed as they were returned backe. Then *Craſſus* firſt of all beganne to hope well: and his ſouldiers alſo, they fell to deſpiſe the PARTHIANS, thinking certainly that they would not come to battell with them. Yet *Caſſius* his treaſorer euer perſwaded him the contrary, and thought it better for him to refreſh his army a litle in one of the cities where he had his garriſon, vntil ſuch time as he heard more certaine newes of the enemies: or elſe that he would march directly towards SELEVCIA by the riuers ſide, which lay fit for him to vittell him ſelfe eaſily by botes that would alwayes follow his campe, & ſhould be ſure beſides that the enemies could not enuiron him behinde, ſo that hauing no way to ſet apon thē but before, they ſhould haue none aduantage of them. *Craſſus* going about then to conſult of the matter, there came one *Ariamnes* vnto him, a Captaine of the ARABIANS, a fine ſubtill fellow, which was the greateſt miſchiefe and euill, that fortune could ſend to *Craſſus* at that preſent time, to bring him to vtter ruine and deſtruction. For there were ſome of *Craſſus* ſouldiers that had ſerued *Pompey* before in that contrie, who knew him very well, and remembred that *Pompey* had done him great pleaſures: whereupon they thought that he bare great good will to the ROMANES. But *Ariamnes* had bene labored at that time by the king of PARTHIAES Captaines, & was wonne by them te deceiue *Craſſus*, and to intiſe him all he could, to drawe him from the riuer and the woddy contry, & to bring him into the plaine fielde, where they might compaſſe him in with their horſemen: for they ment nothing leſſe than to fight with the ROMANES at the ſwordes poynte. This barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* comming to *Craſſus*, did highly praiſe and commend *Pompey*, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was an excellent ſpoken man) and extolled *Craſſus* army, reprouing him that he came ſo ſlowly forward, tracting time in that ſorte as he did, preparing him ſelfe as though he had neede of armor and weapon, and not of feete and handes ſwift & readie againſt thenemies: who (for the chieſeſt of them) had of long time occupied them ſelues to flie with their beſt moueables, towardes the deſertes of SCYTHIA & HYRCANIA. Therfore if you determine (ſayd he) to fight, it were good you made haſt to meete them, before the king haue gathered all his power together. For nowe you haue but *Surena* and *Sillaces*, two of his Lieutenauntes againſt you, whom he hath ſent before to ſtay you that you followe him not: and for the king him ſelfe, be bold, he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lyed in all. For king *Hyrodes* had deuided his army in two partes at the firſt, whereof him ſelfe tooke the one, and went

Craſſus armie was fifty thowſand men.

Ariamnes, a Captaine of the Arabians.

Ariamnes deceiueth Craſſus.

Surena and Sillaces, Arſaces Lieutenauntes.

went to spoyle the realme of ARMENIA, to be reuenged of king *Artabazes*: and with the other he sent *Surena* against the ROMANES, not for any contempt he had of *Crassus* (for it was not likely he would disdaine to come to battel with him, being one of the chiefest noble men of ROME, and to thinke it more honorable to make warre with king *Artabazes* in ARMENIA) but I thinke rather he did it of purpose to auoyde the greater daunger, and to keepe farre of, that he might with safetie see what would happen, and therefore sent *Surena* before to hasard battell, and to turne the ROMANES backe againe. For *Surena* was no meane man, but the second person of PARTHIA next vnto the king: in riches, reputacion, valure, and experience in warres, the chiefest of his time among all the PARTHIANS, and for execution, no man like him. *Surena*, when he did but remoue into the contry only with his household, had a thowsand camels to cary his sumpters, and two hundred coches of Curtisans, a thowsand men of armes armed at all peeces, and as many moe besides lightly armed: so that his whole traine & court made aboue ten thowsand horse. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by succession from his ancesters, his office was at the first proclaiming of any king, to put the roial crowne or diadeame apon the kinges head. Moreouer, he had restored king *Hyrodes* that then reigned, to his crowne, who had bene before driuen out of his realme: and had wonne him also the great city of SELEVCIA, him selfe being the first man that scaled the walls, and ouerthrew them with his owne handes that resisted him. And though he was vnder thirtie yeares of age, yet they counted him a wise man, as well for his counsell, as his experience, which were the meanes whereby he ouercame *Crassus*. Who through his rashnes and folly at the first, and afterwards for very feare and timerousnes, which his misfortune had brought him vnto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any policy or deceit. Now this barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* hauing then brought *Crassus* to beleue all that he sayd, and drawen him by perswasion from the riuer of Euphrates, vnto a goodly plaine contrie, meeting at the first with very good way, but after with very ill, bicause they entred into sandes where their feete soncke deepe, and into desert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could decerne by eye, so that not only extreame thirst, and miserable way maruelously amazed the ROMANES, but the discomforte of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their sight vpon: that, aboue all the rest, wrought their extreame trouble. For, neither farre nor nere any sight of tree, riuer, brooke, mountaine, grasse, or greene herbe appeared within their view, but in troth an endlesse sea of desert sandes on euerie side, rounde about their campe. Then beganne they to suspect that they were betraied. Againe, when newes came that *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, was kept in his contrie with a great warre king *Hyrodes* made apon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promise come to aide him, yet that he wished him to draw towardes ARMENIA, that both their armies being ioyned together they might the better fight with king *Hyrodes*, if not, that he would alwayes keepe the woddy contrie, marching in those vallies and places where his horsemen might be safe, and about the mountaines: *Crassus* was so wilfull, as he would wryte no aunswere to it, but angrily told the messenger, that he had no leasure then to harken to the ARMENIANS, but that afterwardes he would be reuenged well enough of *Artabazes* treason. *Cassius* his treasorer was much offended with *Crassus* for this answere: howbeit perceiuing he could doe no good with him, and that he tooke euery thing in euill parte, he sayd vnto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithstanding, taking *Ariamnes* this Captaine of the ARABIANS a side, he rebuked him roundly, and sayd: O thou wretche, what cursed deuill hath brought thee to vs, and how cunningly hast thou bewitched & charmed *Crassus*: that thou hast made him bring his army into this endlesse desert, and to trace this way fitter for an ARABIAN Captaine of theeues, than for a Generall and Consull of the ROMANES? *Ariamnes* being crafty & subtill, speaking gently vnto *Cassius*, did comforte him, and prayed him to haue pacience, and going and comming by the bandes, seeming to helpe the souldiers, he tolde them merily: O my fellowes, I beleue you thinke to marche through the contry of *Naples*, and looke to meete with your pleasaunt springes, goodly groues of wodde, your naturall bathes, and the good innes round about to refreshe you, and doe not remember that you passe through the desertes of ARABIA and ASSYRIA. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the ROMANES a while: but afterwardes he dislodged betimes, before he

Surena sent against Crassus.

Surena what he was.

Surenaes contre and traine.

Surena a young man, but very wise.

Artabazes sent an Embassage vnto Crassus.

Crassus wilfulnes.

was openly knowen for a traitor, and yet not without *Crassus* priuity, whom he bare in hande, A
that he would goe set some broyle and tumult in the enemies campe. It is reported that *Crassus* the very same day came out of his tent not in his coate armor, of scarlet, (as the maner was of the ROMANE Generalls) but in a blacke coate: howbeit, remembring him selfe, he straight chaunged it againe. It is sayd moreouer, that the ensigne bearers when they should march away, had much a doe to plucke their ensignes out of the ground, they stucke so fast. But *Crassus* scoffing at the matter, hastened them the more to marche forward, compelling the footemen to goe as fast as the horsemen, till a fewe of their skowtes came in, whom they had sent to discouer: who brought newes howe the enemies had slaine their fellowes, and what a doe they had them selues to scape with life, and that they were a maruelous great army, & wel appointed to geue them battell. This newes made all the campe afrayed, but *Crassus* selfe more B
than the rest, so as he beganne to set his men in battell ray, being for hast in maner besides him selfe. At the first following *Cassius* minde, he set his ranckes wide, casting his souldiers into a square battell, a good way a sonder one from an other, bicause he would take in as much of the plaine as he coulde, to keepe the enemies from compassinge them in, and so deuided the horsemen into the winges. Yet afterwardes he chaunged his minde againe, and straited the battell of his footemen, facioning it like a bricke, more long than broade, making a front, and shewing their faces euery way. For there were twelue cohorts or ensignes imbattelled on either side, & by euery cohorte a company of horse, bicause there should be no place left without aide of horsemen, and that all his battell should be a like defended. Then he gaue *Cassius* the leading of one wing, his sonne *Publius Crassus* the other, and him selfe led the battel in the C
middest. In this order they marched forward, till they came to a litle brooke called Balissus, where there was no great store of water, but yet happely lighted on for the souldiers, for the great thirst and extreame heate they had abidden all that painefull way, where they had met with no water before. There the most parte of *Crassus* Captaines thought best to campe all night, that they might in the meane time finde meanes to knowe their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But *Crassus* yeelding to his sonnes and his horsemens perswasion, who intreated him to march on with his army, and to set apon the enemy presently: commaunded, that such as would eate, should eate standing, keeping their ranckes. Yet on the sodaine, before this commaundement could runne through the whole army, he commaunded them againe to march, not fayer and D
softly as when they go to geue battell, but with speede, till they spied the enemies, who seemed not to the ROMANES at the first to be so great a number, neither so brauelie armed as they thought they had bene. For, concerning their great number, *Surena* had of purpose hid them, with certaine troupes he sent before: and to hyde their bright armors, he had cast clokes and beastes skinnes apon them. But when both the armies approached neere thone to thother, & that the signe to geue charge was lift vp in the ayer: first they filled the fielde with a dreadfull noyse to heare. For the PARTHIANS doe not encorage their men to fight with the sounde of a horne, neither with trompets nor howboyes, but with great kettle drommes hollow within, & about them they hang litle bells & copper rings, and with them they all make a noise euery where together, and it is like a dead sounde, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing E
of a wild beast, & a fearefull noyse as if it thundered, knowing that hearing is one of the senses that sooneste moueth the harte & spirite of any man, & maketh him sooneste besides him selfe. The ROMANES being put in feare with this dead sounde, the PARTHIANS straight threw the clothes & couerings from them that hid their armor, & then shewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempered steele, that glared like fire, & their horses barbed with steele and copper. And *Surena* also, General of the PARTHIANS, who was as goodly a personage, and as valliant, as any other in all his host, though his beawtie somewhat effeminate, in iudgement shewed small likelyhoode of any such corage: for he painted his face, and ware his heare after the facion of the MEDES, contrary to the maner of the PARTHIANS, who let their heare grow after the facion of the TARTARES, without combing or tricking of them, to appeare more ter- F
rible to their enemies. The PARTHIANS at the first thought to haue set apon the ROMANES with their pykes, to see if they could breake their first ranckes. But when they drew neere, and

Crassus army against the Parthians.

Surenaes stratageame, for the hiding of his great army.

Crassus battell with the Parthians.

The Parthiās kettle drōmes.

The person of Surena, Generall of the Parthians described.

sawe

A saw the depth of the ROMANES battell ſtanding cloſe together, firmely keping their ranckes: then they gaue backe, making as though they fled, & diſperſed them ſelues. But the ROMANES marueled when they found it contrary, & that it was but a deuiſe to enuironne them on euery ſide. Whereupon *Craſſus* commaunded his ſhot and light armed men to aſſaile them, which they did: but they went not farre, they were ſo beaten in with arrowes, and driuen to retyre to their force of the armed men. And this was the firſt beginning that both feared and troubled the ROMANES, when they ſaw the vehemency and great force of the enemies ſhotte, which brake their armors, and ranne thorowe any thing they hit, were it neuer ſo hard or ſoft. The PARTHIANS thus ſtill drawing backe, ſhotte all together on euery ſide, not a fore hande, but at aduenture: for the battell of the ROMANES ſtoode ſo neere together, as if they would, they B could not miſſe the killing of ſome. Theſe bowmen drew a great ſtrength, & had bigge ſtrong bowes, which ſent the arrowes from them with a wonderful force. The ROMANES by meanes of theſe bowes were in hard ſtate. For if they kept their rancks, they were grieuouſly wounded: againe if they left them, and ſought to run apon the PARTHIANS to fight at hande with them, they ſaw they could do them but litle hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harme them ſelues. For, as faſt as the ROMANES came apon them, ſo faſt did the PARTHIANS flie from them, and yet in flying continued ſtill their ſhooting: which no nation but the SCYTHIANS could better doe than they; being a matter in deede moſt greatly to their aduantage. For by their flight they beſt doe ſaue them ſelues, and fighting ſtill, they therby ſhunne the ſhame of that their flying. The ROMANES ſtill defended them ſelues, and held it out, ſo long as they C had any hope that the PARTHIANS would leaue fighting, when they had ſpent their arrowes, or would ioyne battell with them. But after they vnderſtoode that there were a great number of camels loden with quiuers full of arrowes, where the firſt that had beſtowed their arrowes fetched about to take new quiuers: then *Craſſus* ſeeing no end of their ſhotte, began to faint, and ſent to *Publius* his ſonne, willing him in any caſe to charge vpon the enemies, and to geue an onſet, before they were compaſſed in on euery ſide. For it was on *Publius* ſide, that one of the winges of the enemies battell was neereſt vnto them, and where they rode vp and downe to compaſſe them behinde. Whereuppon *Craſſus* ſonne taking thirteene hundred horſemen with him (of the which, a thowſand were of the men of armes whom *Iulius Cæſar* ſent) and fiue hundred ſhot, with eight enſignes of footemen hauing targets, moſt neere to the place where D him ſelfe then was: he put them out in bredth, that wheling about they might geue a charge vpon them that rode vp & downe. But they ſeeing him comming, turned ſtraight their horſe and fled, either bicauſe they met in a marriſſe, or elſe of purpoſe to beguile this young *Craſſus*, intiſing him thereby as farre from his father as they could. *Publius Craſſus* ſeeing them flye, cried out, theſe men will not abide vs, and ſo ſpurred on for life after them: ſo did *Cenſorinus* and *Megabacchus* with him (the one a Senatour of ROME a very eloquent man, the other a ſtowte coragious valliant man of warre) both of them *Craſſus* well approued frendes, and in maner of his owne yeares. Now the horſemen of the ROMANES being trained out thus to the chaſe, their footemen alſo would not abide behinde, nor ſhew them ſelues to haue leſſe hope, ioy, and corage, then their horſemen had. For they thought all had bene won, and that there E was no more to do, but to follow the chaſe: till they were gone farre from the army, and then they found the deceit. For the horſemen that fled before them, ſodainly turned againe, and a number of others beſides came and ſet vpon them. Whereuppon they ſtayed, thinking that the enemies perceiuing they were ſo few, would come and fight with them hande to hande. Howbeit they ſet out againſt them their men at armes with their barbed horſe, & made their light horſemen whele rounde about them, keeping non order at all: who galloping vp and downe the plaine, whurled vp the ſand hilles from the bottome with their horſe feete, which raiſed ſuch a wonderfull duſt, that the ROMANES could ſcarce ſee or ſpeake one to an other. For they being ſhut vp into a litle roome, and ſtanding cloſe one to an other, were ſore wounded with the PARTHIANS arrowes, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguiſh F and paine they felt: and turning and tormenting them ſelues apon the ſande, they brake the arrowes ſticking in them. Againe, ſtriuing by force to plucke out the forked arrowe heades, that had pearced farre into their bodies through their vaines & ſinewes: thereby they opened

The Parthiãs fought retyring.

The maner of the Parthians fight.

The praiſe of Cenſorinus & Megabacchus.

The miſerable fight of the Romanes againſt the Parthians.

their woundes wider, and ſo caſt them ſelues away. Many of them dyed thus miſerably martyred: and ſuch as dyed not, were not able to defend them ſelues. Then when *Publius Craſſus* prayed and beſought them to charge the men at armes with their barbed horſe, they ſhewed him their handes faſt nailed to their targets with arrowes, & their feete likewiſe ſhot thorow and nailed to the ground: ſo as they could neither flie, nor yet defende them ſelues. Thereupon him ſelfe incoraging his horſemen, went and gaue a charge, and did valliantly ſet vppon thenemies, but it was with too great diſaduantage, both for offence, and alſo for defence. For him ſelfe and his men with weake & light ſtaues, brake apon them that were armed with curaces of ſteele, or ſtiffe leather iackes. And the PARTHIANS in contrary manner with mightie ſtrong pykes gaue charge apon theſe GAVLES, which were either vnarmed, or elſe but lightly armed. Yet thoſe were they in whom *Craſſus* moſt truſted, hauing done wonderfull feates of warre with them. For they receiued the PARTHIANS pykes in their handes, & tooke them about the middells, and threw them of their horſe, where they lay on the ground, and could not ſturre for the weight of their harneſſe: and there were diuers of them alſo that lighting from their horſe, lay vnder their enemies horſe bellies, & thruſt their ſwordes into them. Their horſe flinging & bounding in the ayer for very paine threw their maiſters vnder feete, & their enemies one apon an other, & in the end fell dead among them. Moreouer, extreame heate and thirſt did maruelouſly comber the GAVLES, who were vſed to abide neither of both: and the moſt parte of their horſe were ſlaine, charging with al their power apon the men at armes of the PARTHIANS, and ſo ranne them ſelues in apon the pointes of their pikes. At the length, they were driuen to retyre towardes their footemen, & *Publius Craſſus* among them, who was very ill by reaſon of the woundes he had receiued. And ſeeing a ſand hill by chaunce not farre from them, they went thither, & ſetting their horſe in the middeſt of it, compaſſed it in round with their targets, thinking by this meanes to couer and defende them ſelues the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they founde it contrary. For the contry being plaine, they in the formeſt ranckes did ſomewhat couer them behinde, but they that were behinde, ſtanding hier than they that ſtoode formeſt (by reaſon of the nature of the hill that was hieſt in the middeſt) could by no meanes ſaue them ſelues, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miſerie and misfortune, that muſt needes dye without reuenge, or declaration of their valliancy. At that preſent time there were two GRÆCIANS about *Publius Craſſus*, *Hieronymus*, and *Nicomachus*, who dwelt in thoſe quarters, in the city of CARRES: they both counſelled *P. Craſſus* to ſteale away with them, and to flie to a city called ISCHNES, that was not farre from thence, and tooke the ROMANES parte. But *P.* aunſwered them, that there was no death ſo cruell as could make him forſake them, that dyed for his ſake. When he had ſo ſayd, wiſhing them to ſaue them ſelues, he embraced them, & tooke his leaue of them: and being very ſore hurt with the ſhot of an arrow through one of his handes, commaunded one of his gentlemen to thruſt him through with a ſword, & ſo turned his ſide to him for the purpoſe. It is reported *Cenſorinus* did the like. But *Megabacchus* ſlue him ſelfe with his owne handes, and ſo did the moſt parte of the gentlemen that were of that company. And for thoſe that were left aliue, the PARTHIANS got vp the ſand hill, and fighting with them, thruſt them through with their ſpeares and pykes, and tooke but fiue hundred priſoners. After that, they ſtrake of *Publius Craſſus* head, & therupon returned ſtraight to ſet apon his father *Craſſus*, who was then in this ſtate. *Craſſus* the father, after he had willed his ſonne to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, & purſued the chaſe: & perceiuing alſo that they that remained in their great battell, did not preaſe apon him ſo neere as they did before, bicauſe that a great number of them were gone after the other for reſcue: he then began to be liuely againe, and keeping his men cloſe, retyred with them the beſt he could by a hills ſide, looking euer that his ſonne would not be long before that he returned from the chaſe. But *Publius* ſeeing him ſelfe in daunger, had ſent diuers meſſengers to his father, to aduertiſe him of his diſtreſſe, whom the PARTHIANS intercepted and ſlue by the way: and the laſt meſſengers he ſent, ſcaping very hardly, brought *Craſſus* newes, that his ſonne was but caſt away, if he did not preſently aide him, and that with a great power. Theſe newes were grieuous to *Craſſus* in two reſpectes: firſt for the feare he had, ſeeing him ſelfe in daunger to loſe all: and

Carres a city of Meſopotamia.

Iſchnes, a citie.

The death of Publius Craſſus.

ſecondly

A secondly for the vehement desire he had to goe to his sonnes helpe. Thus he saw in reason all would come to nought, and in fine determined to goe with all his power, to the reskue of his sonne. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his sonnes ouerthrow, with a more dredfull noyse and crie of victorie, than euer before: and thereupon their deadly sounding drommes filled the ayer with their wonderful noise. The Romanes then looked straight for a hot allarme. But the Parthians that brought *Publius Crassus* head apon the point of a launce, comming neere to the Romanes, shewed them his head, and asked them in derision, if they knew what house he was of, and who were his parentes: for it is not likely (sayd they) that so noble and valliant a young man, should be the sonne of so cowardly a father, as *Crassus*. The sight of *Publius Crassus* head killed the Romanes hartes more, than any other daunger B they had bene in at any time in all the battell. For it did not set their hartes a fire as it should haue done, with anger, and desire of reuenge: but farre otherwise, made them quake for feare, & strooke them starcke dead to behold it. Yet *Crassus* selfe shewed greater corage in this misfortune, than he before had done in all the warre beside. For riding by euery band he cried out alowde. The griefe and sorrow of this losse (my fellowes) is no mans but mine, mine only: but the noble succesſe and honor of Rome remaineth stil vnuincible, so long as you are yet liuing. Nowe, if you pitie my losse of so noble and valliant a sonne, my good souldiers, let me intreate you to turne your sorrow into fury: make them deerely buy the ioy, they haue gotten: be reuenged of their cruelty, and let not my misfortune feare you. For why: aspiring mindes sometime must needes susteine losse. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes*, nor *Scipio Antiochus*, C but their blood did pay for it. Our aunceſters in olde time lost a thowsande shippes, yea in Italie diuers armies and chieftaines for the conquest of Sicilia: yet for all the losse of them, at the length they were victorious ouer them, by whom they were before vanquished. For the Empire of Rome came not to that greatnes it now is at, by good fortune onely, but by pacience and constant suffering of trouble and aduersitie, neuer yeeldinge or geuing place to any daunger. *Crassus* vsing these perswasions to encorage his souldiers for resolution, founde that all his wordes wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commaunded them to geue the showte of battell, he plainely sawe their hartes were done, for that their showte rose but faint, and not all alike. The Parthians on the other side, their showte was great, and lustely they range it out. Now when they came to ioyne, the Parthians archers a horsebacke D compassing in the Romanes apon the winges, shot an infinite nũber of arrowes at their sides. But their men at armes geuing charge apon the front of the Romanes battel with their great launces, compelled them to draw into a narrow rome, a few excepted, that valliantly, and in desperate maner ranne in among them, as men rather desiring so to dye, than to be slaine with their arrowes, where they could do the Parthians almost no hurt at all. So were they sone dispatcht, with the great launces that ranne them through, head, wodde and all, with such a force, as oftentimes they ranne through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retyre, saying they would geue *Crassus* that nightes respit, to lament and bewaile his sonnes death: onlesse that otherwise he wisely looking about him, thought it better for his safety to come and offer him selfe to king *Arsaces* mercy, then to tary E to be brought vnto him by force. So the Parthians camping hard by the Romanes, were in very good hope to ouerthrow him the next morning. The Romanes on the other side had a maruelous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dresse their wounded men, that dyed in miserable paine: but euery man bewayled his hard fortune, when they saw not one of them could escape, if they taried till the morning. On the other side, to departe in the night through that desert, their wounded men did grieue them much. Bicause, to carie them so away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leaue them so behinde, their pitiefull cries would geue the enemies knowledge of their departure. Nowe, though they all thought *Crassus* the only author of their misery, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to heare him speake. But *Crassus* went a side without light, and layed him downe with his head F couered, bicause he would see no man, shewing thereby the common sorte an example of vnstable fortune: and the wise men, a good learning to know the frutes of ill counsell, and vaine ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to commaunde so many

Crassus oration to his soldiers what his hart was full of sorrow.

Crassus an example of fortunes inconstancie.

thowſandes of men, but thought (as a man would ſay) him ſelfe the meaneſt of all other, and A
one that poſſeſt nothing, bicauſe he was accompted inferior vnto two perſones only, *Pompey*,
and *Cæſar*. Notwithſtanding, *Octauius*, one of his chieftaines, and *Caſſius* the treaſorer, made
him riſe, and ſought to comforte him the beſt they could. But in the end, ſeeing him ſo ouer-
come with ſorrow, and out of hart, that he had no life nor ſpirit in him: they them ſelues cal-
led the Captaines and Centurions together, and ſate in counſell for their departure, and ſo
Craſſus flying. agreed that there was no lenger tarying for thē. Thus of their owne authoritie at the firſt they
made the army marche away, without any ſound of trompet or other noyſe. But immediatly
after, they that were left hurt and ſicke, and could not follow, ſeeing the campe remoue, fell
a crying out and tormenting them ſelues in ſuch ſorte, that they filled the whole campe with
ſorrow, and put them out of all order, with the great mone and lowde lamentation: ſo as the B
formeſt ranke that firſt diſlodged, fell into a maruelous feare, thinking they had bene the ene-
mies that had come and ſet apon them. Then turning oft, and ſetting them ſelues in battell
raye, one while loding their beaſtes with the wounded men, an other while vnloding them a-
gaine, they were left behinde, ſauing three hundred horſemen that ſcaped, who came about
midnight to the city of CARRES. *Ignatius* their Captaine called to the watche on the walles,
Coponius Gouernor of Carres in Meſopotamia. and ſpake in the Latine tongue. Who aunſwering, he willed them to tell *Coponius*, Gouernor
of the towne, that *Craſſus* had fought a great battell with the PARTHIANS, and ſayd no more,
neither told what he was: but rode on ſtill, till he came to the bridge which *Craſſus* had made
ouer Euphrates. Yet this word *Ignatius* gaue to the watch to tell *Coponius*, ſerued *Craſſus* turne
very well. For *Coponius* thought by this great haſt of his, and the ſhorte confuſed ſpeeche he C
made, paſſing on his way, that he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he ſtraight ar-
med his ſouldiers, and vnderſtanding that *Craſſus* was returning backe, went to mete him, and
brought him & his army into the city of CARRES. The PARTHIANS knew well enough of the
remouing of the ROMANES campe, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the next
morning entring into their campe where they lay, ſlue all that were left behinde, which were
about foure thowſande men: and riding after them that were gone, tooke many ſtragglers in
the plaine. Among them there was *Barguntinus*, one of *Craſſus* Lieutenauntes, who ſtrayed in
the night out of the army with foure whole enſignes, and hauing loſt his way, gotte to a hill,
where the PARTHIANS beſieged him, ſlue him & all his company, though he valliantly there
The valliantnes of twentie Romanes. defended him ſelfe: yet twenty of them only eſcaped, who with their ſwordes drawen in their D
handes, running forward with their heades, thruſt in among the thickeſt of the PARTHIANS:
They wondering at their deſperation, opened of them ſelues, & ſuffered thē to march on to-
wards the city of CARRES. In the meane time falſe newes was brought to *Surena*, how *Craſſus*
with all the chiefeſt men of his hoſt was fled, & that the great number that were receiued into
the city of CARRES were men of all ſortes gathered together, and not a man of any quality or
A ſtratageame of Surena. eſtimacion. *Surena* thereupon thinking he had loſt the honor of his victorie, yet ſtanding in
ſome doubt of it, bicauſe he would knowe the troth, that he might either beſiege the citie of
CARRES, or purſue after *Craſſus*: ſent one of his interpreters to the walles of the city, char-
ging him to call for *Craſſus*, or *Caſſius*, & to tell them that *Surena* would parle with them. The
interpreter did as he was commaunded. Word was brought to *Craſſus*, and he accepted par- E
lance. Shortly after alſo, thither came certaine ſouldiers of the ARABIANS from the campe
of the PARTHIANS, who knew *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* very well by ſight, hauing diuers times ſeene
them in their campe before the battell. Theſe ARABIANS ſeeing *Caſſius* apon the walles, told
him, that *Surena* was contented to make peace with them, and to let them goe ſafely, as his
maſters good frendes, ſo that they would ſurrender MESOPOTAMIA into the king of PAR-
THIAES handes, and how they thought that was the beſt way for both parties, rather than to
be enforced vnto it by extremitie. *Caſſius* thought this a good offer, and told them, that they
muſt appoint the day & place, where *Craſſus* and *Surena* ſhould mete to talke together of the
matter. The ARABIANS made aunſwere they would doe it: and ſo departed. *Surena* hearing
this, was glad he had them at ſuch aduantage, where he might beſiege them. The next day he F
brought all his armie before the city of CARRES. There the PARTHIANS maruelouſly reuiled
the ROMANES, and told them, they muſt deliuer them *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* bound handes and
feete,

A feete, if they would haue any grace or peace with them. The ROMANES were maruelously offended that they were thus deceiued, and told *Crassius*, that it was no boote any lenger to looke for aide of the ARMENIANS, but presently to flie: howbeit to keepe it secret in any wise from any of the CARRENIANS, till the very houre of their departure. Yet *Crassus* selfe had told it to *Andromachus*, the veriest traitor and villen in all the city, whom he had chosen to be his guide. This traitor *Andromachus* aduertised the enemies in euery pointe, of their purpose and departure. But bicause the PARTHIANS do neuer vse to fight in the night, & that it was a hard matter to bring them to it, and againe that *Crassus* departed in the night time: *Andromachus* was afrayed least the ROMANES would winne such ground before the PARTHIANS, as they could not possibly ouertake him the next day. Therefore of purpose he somtime brought them one
B way, other while an other way, and at the last, brought them into a great bogge or marisse, full of deepe holes and ditches, and where they must needes make many turnes and returnes before they could get out againe, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, some in the armie began to mistrust, that *Andromachus* ment no good to turne and tosse them vp and downe in that sorte, and therefore would follow him no more: insomuch as *Cassius* among others, returned towardes the citie of CARRES againe, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were ARABIANS) counselled him to tary there, till the moone were out of the signe of *Scorpio*, he aunswered them: I feare the signe of *Sagittarie* more. So as soone as he could, he tooke his way towardes ASSYRIA with fiue hundred horsemen. And other of the armie also hauing faithfull guides, recouered a contry of the mountaines, called Sinnaca, and retyred into a safe
C place before the breake of day: and they were about fiue hundred men, whom *Octauius* a noble man had in charge. But the day stale apon *Crassus*, hunting vp & downe yet in the marrisse, in those ill fauored places, into the which *Andromachus* that traitor had of purpose brought him, hauing with him foure ensignes of footemen all with targets, & very few horsemen, and fiue sergeauntes that caried the axes and rodes before him: with whome, with much a doe & great labor, he got into the right way, when the enemies were almost apon him, and that he was within twelue furlong of ioyning with *Octauius*. There in hast he had gotten a hill, which was not so steepe for horsemen, neither of such strength as the other hilles were, called Sinnaces, yet vnder them, and ioyning to them by a long hill that runneth alongest the plaine, so as *Octauius* plainly saw the daunger *Crassus* was in. Thereupon he first ran downe the hilles with
D a few of his men that followed him: but after also came all the rest, saying they were cowards if they should tary behinde. At their comming they gaue such a hot onset apon the PARTHIANS, that they made them geue backe from that hill: and compassing *Crassus* in the middest of them, couering him rounde with their targets, they spake nobly, that neuer arrow of the PARTHIANS should touche the bodie of their Generall, before they were slaine one after an other, and that they had fought it out to the last man in his defence. Hereupon *Surena* perceiuing the PARTHIANS were not so coragious as they were wont to be, and that if night came vpon them, and that the ROMANES did once recouer the hie mountaines, they could neuer possibly be met withall againe: he thought cunningly to beguile *Crassus* once more by this deuise. He let certaine prisoners goe of purpose, before whome he made his men geue out this
E speeche. That the king of PARTHIA would haue no mortall warre with the ROMANES: but farre otherwise, he rather desired their frendshippe, by shewing them some notable fauor, as to vse *Crassus* very curteously. And to geue colour to this brute, he called his men from fight, and going him selfe in person towardes *Crassus*, with the chiefest of the nobility of his host, in quiet maner, his bow vnbent: he held out his right hand, and called *Crassus* to talke with him of peace, and sayd vnto him. Though the ROMANES had felt the force & power of their king, it was against his will, for he could do no lesse but defend him selfe: howbeit that now he was very willing and desirous to make them tast of his mercie & clemency, and was contented to make peace with them, and to let them goe safely where they would. All the ROMANES besides *Crassus* were glad of *Surenaes* wordes. But *Crassus* that had bene deceiued before by their
F crafty fetches and deuises, considering also no cause apparant to make them chaunge thus sodainly: would not harken to it, but first consulted with his frends. Howbeit the souldiers they cried out on him to goe, and fell at wordes with him, saying: that he cared not though they

Andromachus treason to Crassus.

The Parthians do neuer fight by night.

Cassius gentle aunswere in the straightes.

The worthines of the Romane souldiers to their chiefetaine.

Another stratagame of Surena.

Surenaes crafty speeche to Crassus.

were all slaine, and that him selfe had not the hart onely to come downe and talke with the enemies that were vnarmed. *Crassus* proued first to pacifie them by fayer meanes, perswading them to beare a litle pacience but till night, which was at hande, and then they might safely departe at their pleasure, and recouer the mountaines and straight passages, where their enemies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint harted, nor to dispaire of their safety, seeing they were so neere it. But in the ende *Crassus* perceiuing they fell to mutiny, and beating of their harnes did threaten him if he went not, fearing then they would doe him some villany: went towardes the enemy, and comming backe a litle, sayd onely these wordes: O *Octauius*, and you *Petronius*, with all you ROMANE gentlemen that haue charge in this armie: you all see now how against my will I am enforced to go to the place I would not, & can witnes with me, how I am driuen with shame and force. Yet I pray you if your fortunes be to escape this daunger, that ye will report whersoeuer you come, that *Crassus* was slaine, not deliuered vp by his one souldiers into the handes of the barbarous people, as I am: but deceiued by the frawde & suttiltie of his enemies. *Octauius* would not tary behind on the hill, but went downe with *Crassus*: but *Crassus* sent away his officers that followed him. The first that came from the PARTHIANS vnto *Crassus* were two mongrel GRECIANS who dismounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to sende some of his men before, and *Surena* would shewe them, that both him selfe and his trayne came vnarmed towardes him. *Crassus* thereto made them aunswer, that if he had made any accompt of his life, he would not haue put him selfe into their handes. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren before, called the ROSCIANS, to knowe what number of men, and to what ende they met so many together. These two brethren came no sooner to *Surena*, but they were stayed: and him selfe in the meane time kept on his way a horse backe, with the noblest men of his army. Now when *Surena* came neere to *Crassus*: why, how now (quod he) what meaneth this? a Consull and Lieutenaunte generall of ROME a foote, and we a horse backe? Therewithall he straight commaunded one of his men to bring him a horse. *Crassus* aunswered *Surena* againe: In that, they neither of both offended, following the vse and maner of their contry, when any meeting is made for treatie of peace. *Surena* replied: As for the treatie of peace, that was already agreed apon betwene the king *Hyrodes*, and the ROMANES: howbeit that they were to goe to the riuer, and there to set downe the articles in wryting. For you ROMANES, sayd he, doe not greatly remember the capitulacions you haue agreed apon. With those wordes he gaue him his right hand. As *Crassus* was sending for a horse: you shall not neede, sayd *Surena*, for looke, the kinge doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a steele saddle richly gilt, apon the which his gentlemen mounted *Crassus* immediatly, and following him behinde, lashed his horse to make him runne the swifter. *Octauius* seeing that, first layed hand on the bridle, then *Petronius* Colonell of a thowsand footemen: and after them, all the rest of the ROMANES also gathered about *Crassus* to stay the horse, and to take him from them by force, that pressed him on of either side. So they thrust one at an other at the first very angrily, and at the last fell to blowes. Then *Octauius* drew out his sword, and slue one of the barbarous noble mens horsekeepers: and an other came behinde him, and slue *Octauius*. *Petronius* had no target, and receiuing a blow on his curaces, lighted from his horse, and had no hurte: and on the other side came *Pomaxathres*, one of the PARTHIANS, and slue *Crassus*. Some say notwithstanding, that *Pomaxathres* slue him not, but an other, yet that he cut of his heade & his hand after he fell dead to the ground. But all these reportes are rather coniectures, then any certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were slaine in the field fighting for *Crassus*, and other saued them selues by flying to the hill. The PARTHIANS followed them, and tolde them that *Crassus* had payed the paine he had deserued: and for the rest, that *Surena* bad them come downe with safetie. Then some of them yeelded to their enemies: and other dispersed them selues when night came, and of them very few scaped with life. Other being followed and pursued by the ARABIANS, were all put to the sword. So as it is thought there were slaine in this ouerthrow, about twentie thowsand men, and tenne thowsande taken prisoners. *Surena* had now sent *Crassus* head and his hand vnto *Hyrodes*, the king his master, into ARMENIA: and gaue out a brute as farre as the citie of SELEVCIA, that he brought *Crassus* aliue,

Crassus words to the Romanes going to his death.

Surenaes craft to Crassus.

Octauius slaine.

Crassus slaine.

The number of the Romanes that were slaine and taken.

A liue, & that he had prepared a ſight to laugh at, which he called his triumphe. Among the ROMANE priſoners there was one called *Caius Pacianus*, who was very like *Craſſius*: him they clothed in womans apparell of the PARTHIANS, and had taught him to aunſwere, when any called him *Craſſus*, or Lord captaine. Him they put a horſebacke, and had many trompets before him, and ſergeauntes apon camells backes, that caried axes before them, and bundells of roddes, and many purſes tyed to the bundells of roddes, and ROMANES heades newly cut of, tyed to the axes: and after him followed all the ſtrumpets & women minſtrells of SELEVCIA, who went ſinging of ſonges of mockery and deriſion, of *Craſſus* womaniſh cowardlines. Now for theſe open ſhowes, euery one might ſee them: but beſides that ſight, *Surena* hauing called the Senate of SELEVCIA together, layed before them *Ariſtides* bookes of ribaldrie, intituled B the Mileſians, which was no fable, for they were found in a ROMANES ſardell or truſſe, called *Ruſtius*. This gaue *Surena* great cauſe to ſcorne and deſpiſe the behauiour of the ROMANES, which was ſo farre out of order, that euen in the warres they could not refraine from doing euill, and from the reading of ſuch vile bookes. Then the Senatours of SELEVCIA found that *Æſope* was a wiſe man, who ſayd, that euery man caried a ſacke on his necke, and that they put other mens faultes at the ſackes mouth, and their owne towardes the bottome of the ſacke. When they conſidered that *Surena* had put the booke of the laſciuiouſnes of the MILESIANS at the ſackes mouth, and a long tayle of the PARTHIANS vaine pleaſures and delightes in the bottome of the ſacke, carying ſuch a number of cartes loden with naughtie packes in his army as he did, which ſeemed an army of ermites and fielde myſe. For in the voward and fore- C meſt ranckes, all appeared terrible and cruell, being onely launces, pykes, bowes, and horſe: but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a traine of harlots, inſtruments of muſicke, daunſing, ſinging, bancketing, and ryoting all night with Curtiſans. I will not deny but *Ruſtius* deſerued blame: but yet withall, I ſay, that the PARTHIANS were ſhameleſſe to reproue theſe bookes of the vanities of the MILESIANS, conſidering that many of their kinges, and of the royal blood of the *Arſacides*, were borne of the IONIAN and MILESIAN curtiſans. Things paſſing thus in this ſorte, king *Hyrodes* had made peace & league with *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, who gaue his ſiſter in mariage vnto *Pacorus*, king *Hyrodes* ſonne, & made great feaſtes one to an other: in the which were many Greeke verſes ſong, *Hyrodes* ſelfe vnderſtanding well the Grecke tongue, and *Artabazes* was ſo perfit in it, that he him ſelfe made certaine tra- D gedies, orations, and ſtories, whereof ſome are yet extant at this day. The ſame night *Craſſus* head was brought, the tables being all taken vp, *Iaſon* a common player of enterludes (borne in the city of TRALLES) came before the kinges, & recited a place of the tragedy of the BACCHANTES of *Euripides*, telling of the misfortune of *Agaue*, who ſtrake of his ſonnes heade. And as euery man tooke great pleaſure to heare him, *Sillaces* comming into the hall, after his humble duty firſt done to the king, deliuered him *Craſſius* head before them all. The PARTHIANS ſeeing that, fell a clapping of their handes, and made an outcrie of ioy. The gentlemen huſhers by the kinges commaundement, did ſet *Sillaces* at the table. *Iaſon* caſting of his apparell repreſenting *Pentheus* perſon, gaue it to an other player to put on him, & counterfeating the BACCHANTES poſſeſt with furie, beganne to rehearſe theſe verſes, with a ieaſture, tune, E and voyce, of a man madde, and beſide him ſelfe.

Behold, vve from the foreſt bring a ſtag novv nevvly ſlaine,
A vvorthy booty and revvard beſeeming vvell our paine.

This maruelouſly pleaſed the companie: and ſpecially ſinginge theſe verſes afterwardes, where the Chorus both asked, and aunſwered him ſelfe.

VVho ſtrake this ſtag?
None elſe but I thereof may brag.

Pomaxathres hearing them diſpute about the matter, being ſet at the table with others, roſe ſtraight, and went and tooke the head him ſelfe, to whome of right it belonged to ſay thoſe wordes, and not vnto the player that ſpake them. King *Hyrodes* liked this ſporte maruelouſly, F and rewarded *Pomaxathres* according to the maner of the contrie in ſuch a caſe: and to *Iaſon* he alſo gaue a talent. Such was the ſucceſſe of *Craſſius* enterpriſe and voyage, much like vnto the end of a tragedy. But afterwardes, *Hyrodes* cruelty, and *Surenaes* fowle periury and craft,

Surenaes triumphe of Craſſius.

Ariſtides bookes intituled the Mileſians.

Æſops wiſe ſaying.

The deſcription of Surenaes army.

Craſſius head brought to Hyrodes.

See the reward of craft and periury. The miserable ende of king Hyrodes and Surena.

were in the end iustly reuenged apon them both, according to their desertes. For king *Hyrodes* enuying *Surenaes* glorie, put *Surena* to death. And *Hyrodes* fell into a disease that became a dropsy, after he had lost his sonne *Pacorus*, who was slaine in a battel by the ROMANES. *Phraates* his second sonne, thinking to set his father forwardes, gaue him drinke of the iuice of Aconitum. The dropsie receiued the poison, and one draue the other out of *Hyrodes* bodie, and set him a foote againe. *Phraates* perceiuing his father to amende apon it, to make shorte worke, with his owne handes strangled him.

Hyrodes strangled by his sonne.

THE COMPARISON OF *Crassus with Nicias.*

Nicias and Crassus richesse.

BVt nowe to proceede to the compariſon: firſt, *Nicias* goodes were more iuſtely gotten, and with leſſe reproach, than *Craſſus* wealth: for otherwiſe a man can not geue any great praiſe to minerall workes, the which are wrought by lewde and ill diſpoſed barbarous fellowes kept in irons, and toyled to death in vnholſome and peſtilent places. But being compared vnto *Craſſus* buying of confiſcate goodes at *Syllaes* handes, and vngentle manly bargaines of houſes a fire, or in daunger thereof: ſurely *Nicias* trade will appeare the better way of gettinge. For as openly did *Craſſus* auow vſery, as tillage. And againe for other faultes, wherewith *Craſſus* many times was burdened, and which he ſtowtly denied: as, that he tooke money of men hauing matters before the Senate at ROME, to winne fauor for their ſide: and that he preferred matters to the preiudice of the confederates of the ROMANES, only for his priuate profit: and therefore curried fauor with Ladies, & generally ſought to cloke all fowle offenders: of all theſe faultes, was *Nicias* neuer ſo much as once ſuſpected. For he to the contrarie, was mocked of euery bodie, bicauſe for feare he maintained wicked doers by giftes: which perhappes would not haue becommed *Pericles*, nor *Ariſtides*, and yet was mete for *Nicias*, who was borne a timerous natured man, and neuer had corage in him. Whereof *Lycurgus* the Orator did vaunte afterwardes to the people, being accuſed that he redeemed detractours with money: I am glad, ſayd he, that hauing delt thus long in affayers of the ſtate, it is found I haue rather geuen than taken. And now touching expences: *Nicias* was thought the better and more ciuill citizen. For his charge and coſt was, in dedicating ſome goodly image to the goddes, or in making of publicke playes or paſtimes to recreate the people. But all the money he ſpent that way, and all that he was worth beſides, was nothing comparable, and but a ſmall parte of that *Craſſus* beſtowed in an open feaſt he made at ROME: feaſting ſo many thowſandes at one time, and did finde and maintaine them alſo for a certaine time after. Now I can not but wonder at thoſe men, that deny vice to be an inequality and diſagreement of maners, repugnant in it ſelfe, ſeeing men may honeſtly ſpend that which is naughtily gotten.

Lycurgus saying.

A ten. Thus much for their goodes. For *Nicias* doinges in the common weale, he did nothing maliciouſly, cruelly, nor vniuſtly, neither any thing of ſelfe will or ſtomake, but rather delt plainly and ſimply. For he was deceiued by truſting of *Alcibiades*, and neuer came to ſpeake before the people, but with great feare. *Craſſus*, on thother ſide was reproued for his vnconſtancie and lightnes, for that he would eaſily chaunge frendes or enemies: and he him ſelfe denied not, that he came to be Conſull the ſeconde time by plaine force and cruelty, hauing hiered two murderers to kill *Cato* and *Domitius*. And in the aſſembly the people held for deuiding of the prouinces, many men were hurte, and foure were ſlaine in the market place: and more then that, *Craſſus* him ſelfe (which we haue forgotten to wryte in his life) gaue one *Lucius Annalius* ſo ſore a blow on the face with his fiſt, for ſpeaking againſt him, that he ſent him B going with blood about his eares. But as *Craſſus* in thoſe thinges was very fierce and cruell: ſo *Nicias* womaniſh behauior on thother ſide, and faint hart in matters of the common wealth, humbling him ſelfe to the meaneſt and moſt vile perſones, deſerueth great reproache. Where *Craſſus* in this reſpect ſhewed himſelfe aſſuredly of a noble minde, not cõtending with men of ſmall accompt, as with *Cleon*, or *Hyperbolus*, but would geue no place to *Cæſars* fame and glory, nor yet to *Pompeyes* three triumphes, but ſought to goe euen with them in power and authority: and had immediatly before exceeded *Pompeyes* power, in the dignity of Cenſor. For Magiſtrates, and Gouernors of the common weale, ſhould make them ſelues to be honored, but not enuied, killing enuy by the greatnes of their power. But if it were ſo that *Nicias* preferred quietnes, and the ſafety of his perſone aboue all things elſe, and that he feared *Alcibia-* C *des* in the pulpit for orations, the LACEDÆMONIANS in the forte of Pyle, and *Perdiccas* in THRACIA: he had liberty & ſcope enough to repoſe him ſelfe in the city of ATHENS, & might haue forborne the dealing in matters, & (as Rhethoricians ſay) haue put a hoode of quietnes apon his heade very well. For doutleſſe, concerninge his deſire to make peace, it was a godly minde in him, and an act worthy of a noble perſon, to bring that to paſſe he did, appeaſing all warre: wherein *Craſſus* certainely was not to be compared to him, though he had ioyned all the prouinces to the Empire of ROME, that reach vnto the Caſpian ſea, and to the great Ocean of the INDIANS. But on the other ſide alſo, when one hath to deale with people that can diſcerne when a man ruleth according to equity and iuſtice, and that he ſeeth he is in the prime of his credit and authoritie: he muſt not then for lacke of corage ſuffer wicked men to D ſteppe in his roome, nor geue occaſion to preferre ſuch to authoritie in the common weale, as are vnworthie for that place and countenaunce: neither ſhould allowe ſuch any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor truſt, as *Nicias* did: who was the only occaſion that *Cleon*, being before but a pratling Orator, was choſen Generall. Neither doe I alſo commend *Craſſus*, for that in the warre againſt *Spartacus*, he made haſt to geue him battell, more raſhely then ſafely or conſiderately. For his ambition ſpurred him forwarde, bicauſe he was afrayed leaſt *Pompeyes* comming ſhould take from him the glorie of all that he had done in that warre: as *Mummius* tooke from *Metellus* thonor of the winning of CORINTHE. But beſides all this, *Nicias* fact therein was without the compaſſe of reaſon, and can no way be excuſed. For he did not reſigne his honor & office of Generall to *Cleon* his enemy, when there was hope of good E ſucceſſe, or litle perill: but fearing the daunger of the iorney, he was contented to ſaue one, and tooke no care beſides for the common wealth. Which *Themiſtocles* ſhewed not, in the time of the warre againſt the PERSIANS. For he, to keepe *Epicydes* an Orator (a man of no reckoning beſide his eloquence, and extreamely couetous) from being choſen Generall of ATHENS, leaſt he ſhould haue ouerthrowen the common weale: ſecretly bribed him with money to leaue of his ſute. And *Cato* alſo, when he ſaw the ſtate of ROME in greateſt daunger, ſued to be Tribune of the people for the common wealthes ſake. And *Nicias* in contrary maner, reſeruing him ſelfe to make warre with the city of MINOA, or with the Ile of CYTHERA, or with the poore vnfortunate MELIANS: if there fell out afterwards occaſion to fight againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, then away went his Captaines cloke, and he left the ſhippes, the ar- F mie, and munition to the charge and gouernment of *Cleons* raſhnes and ſmall experience of warre, when the neceſſitie of the ſeruice required the wiſeſt and moſt expert Captaine. The which he did not, deſpiſing the meanes to make him honored: but it was a plaine drawing

Nicias and Craſſus after in the common wealth.

The duetie of Gouernors & Magiſtrates.

Nicias feareſulnes.

Themiſtocles and Catoes vertue.

backe, at time of neede, to defend his contrie. Wherefore, afterwardes he was compelled against his will to be Generall, to make warres in SICILIA with the SYRACVSANS: bicause the people thought he was not so earnest to dissuade the iorney, for that he thought it not meete for the common wealth, but bicause through his sloth and cowardlinesse he would make his contrie lose so good an oportunity to conquer SICILE. Yet was this a great testimony of his honesty and trust they had in him: who though he euer hated warre, & did flie from the offices of honor and charge in the common wealth, his contriemen notwithstanding did alwayes choose him, as the most experienced persone, and meetest man of the citie. Now *Crassus* in contrarie maner desiring nothing else but to be Generall, could neuer attaine to it, but in the warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lacke of an other: (for *Pompey*, *Metellus*, and both the *Lucullus* were then abroade in the warres) although he was otherwise of great estimation and authoritie. Howbeit it seemeth to me, that his frendes that loued him best, thought him (as the comicall Poet sayth)

Nicias honestie.

A good man any vvay else, but in vvarres.

His ambition notwithstanding & couetous desire of rule, did nothing benefit the ROMANES. For the ATHENIANS sent *Nicias* to the warre against his will: but *Crassus* led the ROMANES thither against their willes. So that the common wealth fell into miserie by the one, and the other through the common wealth was brought into miserie: and yet therein there is rather cause to praise *Nicias*, than to blame *Crassus*. For *Nicias* like a wise man, & a Captaine of great experience, could neuer so much as be brought to thinke they should conquer SICILE: and therfore dissuaded his contrymen from the iorney, & would geue no place to the vaine hope of the people of ATHENS. But *Crassus* taking apon him to make warres with the PARTHIANS, as though it had bene an easie matter to ouercome them, found him selfe deceiued, yet did he aspire to great thinges. For as *Iulius Cæsar* had conquered & subdued to the Imperiall crowne of ROME, all the contries of the West partes, to say, the GAVLES, the GERMAINES, and ENGLANDE: euen so did *Crassus* desire to goe towardes the East partes, to conquer all to the great west sea of the INDIANS, and to subdue all the regions of ASIA, whereunto *Pompey* and *Lucullus* aspired, being both very noble personages, and such as euer curteously behaued them selues to all men: notwithstanding, prouoked thereunto with the like desire that *Crassus* had. For whē the charge of the warres in the East partes was assigned to *Pompey*, by decree & order of the people: the Senate vtterly misliked it, and were against it all they could. When newes were brought to ROME that *Iulius Cæsar* in battell had ouerthrowen and slaine three hundred thowsand GERMAINES: *Cato* perswading with the Senate, was yet stil of this minde, that *Cæsar* should be deliuered into the handes of his enemies whom he had ouercomen, for to be punished: thereby to turne the sharpe reuenge and wrathe of the goddes from ROME, apon him only, that was the vniust breaker of the peace. This notwithstāding, the people making none account of *Catoes* perswasions, made common feastes & processions fiftreene dayes together, and open sacrifices to the goddes with great ioy through the citie, to thanke them for this famous victory. How glad may we thinke would they haue bene, and howe many dayes would they haue feasted and sacrificed, if *Crassus* had wrytten from BABYLON of his victory, and that he had conquered all the realmes of the MEDES, of the PERSIANS, of the HYRCANIANS, of SVSE, and of the BACTRIANS, and that he had made new gouernments and prouinces to the Empire of ROME?

The diuersitie betwext Nicias and Crassus.

If a man vvill needes doe vvrong and iniustice,

As *Euripides* sayth to them, that can not liue in peace, and be contented with their owne: he must not then sticke at trifles, (as rasing of a castell of Scandia, or of a citie of MENDA, or chasing of the ÆGINETES being out of their owne naturall contrie, and hiding them selues like birdes without neastes, in an other birdes hole) but must dearely sell the wrong he doth, and not lightly contemne iustice, as a thing of small account. For they that will commend the intent of *Alexander* the great in his voyage, for the conquestes he made in the East, and doe dispraise *Crassus* voyage: doe not well to iudge of the beginning, by the euentes and succesle of the end. For executing of their offices, *Nicias* did many noble exploytes. For he ouerthrew his enemies in diuers battells, and had almost taken the citie of SYRACVSA: and sure they can not

Nicias alles commended.

A not iuſtely blame him for all the misfortunes that chaunced in the warre of SICILIA, but partely the plague was a cauſe of it, and partely alſo the enuie of thoſe towardes him that remained at ATHENS. Where as *Craſſus* ranne into ſo many errors, and committed ſuch foule partes in all his voyage, that he gaue fortune no leaſure to do him good: ſo that I wonder not ſo much that his folly was ouercome by the power of the PARTHIANS, as that it could ouercome the good fortune of the ROMANES. Sithens it ſo falleth out thē, that they both came to like vnfortunate end, *Nicias* prognoſticating before what thinges ſhould happen by arte and rule of diuination, and *Craſſus* contrarily diſdaining to obſerue any thing: ſure it falleth out hard in iudgement, which of them two proceeded with moſt ſafety. Yet according to the beſt approued opinions, a fault committed of feare is more excuſable, then of raſhnes and folly to B breake any auncient law or cuſtome. For their deathes, *Craſſus* end deſerued leaſt reproache. For he againſt his will did yeelde him ſelfe, and was neither bound nor mocked, but only perſwaded by his frendes, and through his enemies frawde and treaſon moſt traiterouſly deceiued: where *Nicias*, cowardly, and diſhonorably hoping to ſaue his life, truſting to the mercy of his enemies, made his death more infamous.

Craſſus by his folly, bleamiſhed the happines of the Romanes.

Craſſus death more commendable then Nicias end.

THE LIFE OF *Sertorius.*

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PEraduenture it is not to be maruelled at, if in long proces of time (fortune altering her effectes dayly) theſe worldly euentes fall often out one like an other. For whether it be that the variety of thinges are infinite, fortune hath ſtore of matter apt enough to worke to likenes: or be it that worldly matters be comprehēded within determinate number: of neceſſitie one thing muſt fall out like an other, ſince they proceede from one cauſe, tyed to the ſame meanes it before did vſe. But bicauſe men doe delight to compare ſuch chaunces together, as they haue ſeene or heard to haue happened ſo like, as if they had bene F done of purpoſe, thone by the example of the other: (as that of two men being both named *Attis*, both of them commen of noble houſes, thone in SYRIA, and the other in ARCADIA, both the one and the other were ſlaine with a wild bore. That of two called *Actæon*, the one

Why chaūces of neceſſitie happen one like an other.

was torne a peeces by his dogges, the other by his louers. That of the two famous *Scipioes*, the CARTHAGINIANS were first ouercomen by the one, and afterwards vtterly destroyed by the other. That the citie of TROYE was first taken by *Hercules*, for the horses that *Laomedon* had promised him: the seconde time by *Agamemnon*, by meanes of the great wodden horse: and the third time by *Charidemus*, by meanes of a horse that fell within the gate, & kept the TROYANS that they could not shutte it in time. And that of two sweete smelling plantes, Ios, and SMYRNA, two cities were named, the one signifying the Violet, and the other Myrre: it is supposed that the Poet *Homer* was borne in the one, and that he dyed in the other) we may also adde to this example, that amongest the auncient Captaines, the greatest warriers, and that haue done the noblest exploytes by wit and warlike stratageames, had but one eye: as *Philip*, *Antigonus*, *Hannibal*, and *Sertorius* also, whom we wryte of at this present. Whom we may truely reporte to haue bene more chast, than *Philip*: more faithfull to his frend than *Antigonus*: more curteous to his enemies than *Hannibal*: and for wisdom and iudgement to geue place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. The which, though she shewed her spight more to him, than to his enemies that were all great men: yet in experience he was equall with *Metellus*, in prowes and valliancie with *Pompey*, and in fortune with *Sylla*. So that being banished his contrie, a straunger in an other realme, & hauing to gouerne a barbarous nation, he notwithstanding maintained warres for a time, against the power of the ROMANES. Me thinkes therefore, that of all the GRÆCIAN Captaines I can liken none so well vnto him, as *Eumenes* the CARDIAN. For both of them knew how to commaund, both were very valliant & politicke in warres, both were banished men out of their contry, both were Captaines ouer straungers, and both of them were traiterously and villanously slaine by them, through whom they had before ouercomen their enemies. Now for *Sertorius*, he came of worshipfull parentes, and was borne in the citie of NVRSIA in the contrie of the SABINES. His father left him a very childe with his mother, who carefully brought him vp, and whom he singularly loued and reuerenced. Her name as they say was *Rhea*. His first rising and beginning grew by pleading matters in law, which he could handle very well: insomuch as being a young man he came to ROME, and wanne some name by his eloquence. Howbeit, the honor and estimation he achieued afterwardes by his valliant actes, made him imploy all his studie and ambitious care, to armes and warres. The first time of his souldierfare was, when the CIMBRES & TEVTONS inuaded GAVLE with a mighty army: where, when the ROMANES had bene ouercome vnder the leading of *Cæpio*, his horse being slaine vnder him, and him selfe hurt, he notwithstanding swame ouer the riuer of Rone, with his corselet, & target apon him, breaking the fury and rage of the riuer with meere strength, so able and lustie a bodie he had to brooke all paines and hardnes. The second time that these barbarous CIMBRES returned with an infinite number of fighting men, and with prowde and dreadfull threates, the ROMANES were thē so afrayed, that they thought him a stowte man that had but the corage to kepe his rancke, and obey his Captaine. At that time was *Marius* Generall of the ROMANE armie, and then did *Sertorius* vndertake to goe and discouer thenemies campe. And for the purpose, apparelled him selfe like a GAVLE, and learned the common wordes and phrases of their language, to salute one an other when they met, and in this sorte went among them: and hauing partly by sight and reporte learned that he sought for, he returned to *Marius*, who then gaue him such honorable reward, as was due to his deserte. All the time of the warres after, he did such valliant actes and deedes of armes, that his Captaine had him in great estimation, and committed the chiefest matters to his charge. Whereupon, the warres being ended with the TEVTONS and CIMBRES, *Sertorius* was sent into SPAYNE, vnder *Didius* the Prætor, with charge of a thowsande footemen, with whom he wintered in the citie of CASTVLO, in the marches of the CELTIBERIANS: where the souldiers finding plentie of vittells, fell to gluttonie and dronckennes, and committed great insolencie, being ouercome with wine. Insomuch as the barbarous people of the citie grew to such a misliking and disdaine of them, that they sent one night to their nexte neighbours the GYRISÆNIANS for aide, and as they came by the ROMANES lodgings, slue a great number of them. *Sertorius* hearing the noyse, went immediatly out of the citie with a few of his men, & gathering them together also that fled one after an other

The townes where Homer was borne and dyed.
Foure famous Captaines, that had but one eye a peece.
The praise of Sertorius.
The parētage of Sertorius.
Rhea the mother of Sertorius.
Sertorius eloquent.
Sertorius first souldierfare.
Sertorius souldierfare vnder Marius.
Sertorius, Coionell, of a thowsande footemen.
Castulo, a city of the Celtiberians.

A ther to saue them selues, went round about the walles of the citie, and finding the gate open where the GYRISÆNIANS came in, there entred he also: who being more carefull than they had shewed them selues, left the gates, & all the partes of the citie well garded, & then put all to the sword within that were of age to carie weapon. Nowe when he had executed this reuenge, he commaunded all his souldiers to leaue of their owne apparell and weapons, and to take these of the barbarous people whom they had slaine, and to follow him to the city of the GYRISÆNIANS, from whence they came that had on such a sodaine assailed thē in the night. The GYRISÆNIANS seeing the garmentes and weapons of their supposed men farre of, thinking certainly they had bene they: opened their gates, and a number of people went out, as to meete their frendes and citizens, whome they thought had happely sped of their purpose. B Thus were a maruelous number of them slaine by the ROMANES, euen hard at the gates of their citie: and the rest putting them selues to *Sertorius* mercy, he solde for slaues. After this exployt, *Sertorius* wanne great fame through all SPAYNE, and returning to ROME, was made Questor or Treasorer generall of GAVLE, on this side of the mountaines, by the riuer of Po. A happy chaunce for ROME: for euen at that very present time fell out the warres of the confederates and allies of ITALIE, called the MARSIANS warre, in the which he had commission to prest souldiers, and to make armor. And therein he shewed such diligence and expedition for quicke dispatche of that seruice, in respect of the longe delay and careleſſe regard other young men had of the same before: that he wan the name to be a carefull man of his charge, and one that afterwardes would atchieue great enterprises. Furthermore, when he came to C be a Captaine him selfe, he would not let to venter his persone as valliantly, as any other priuate souldier whatsoeuer, but did maruelous actes with his owne handes, euen in greateſt perills and conflictes: insomuch as at the length he lost one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was nothing ashamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, sayd he, doe not alwayes cary the markes about them of their valliant seruice, but leaue them otherwhiles at home, as their chaines, carconets, iauelinges, and crownes, geuen them by their Captaines for testimony of their valliancy: howbeit that he alwayes caried the markes about him (whereſoeuer he went) of his seruice, so that such as saw the blemish of his eye, did therewithall witnes his valliantnes and corage. The people also did honor him as became them. For when he came into the Theater, they welcomed him with clapping of their handes, and great praises, which the RO- D MANES did scantly vse vnto their oldeſt Captaines, and which were most honored for their great and noble seruice. Neuertheleſſe, when he sued to be Tribune, he was reiected by *Sylles* practise who hindered him: whereupon grew as it seemeth, that grudge & malice which he euer after bare vnto *Sylla*. For after that *Marius* was fled being ouercomen by *Sylla*, & that *Sylla* was gone out of ITALIE to make warre with *Mithridates*, and that of the two Consulls, *Octauius* tooke parte with *Sylla*, and *Cinna* thother Consull (which sought chaunge and alteration) was gathering men together to set vp *Marius* faction, that was in manner vnder foote: *Sertorius* tooke his parte, bicause he saw that *Octauius* was but a slow and lither man, and did not besides trust any of *Marius* frendes. So was there a cruell conflict betwene them, euen in the market place within the city selfe, where *Octauius* had the vpper hand: And *Cinna* & *Ser-* E *torius* scaped by flying, hauing lost few leſſe then ten thowsand men in this only ouerthrowe. Neuertheleſſe, afterwardes through practise and policy, they got those souldiers together againe that were dispersed here and there through ITALIE, so as in shorte time they made their power equall with *Octauius* force. *Marius* also being aduertised of the same, tooke the sea incontinently, and returned into ITALIE out of AFRICKE, and came to *Cinna* to serue as a priuate souldier, vnder his Captaine and Consull. Now they all liked well that *Marius* should be receiued, sauing *Sertorius*, who was against him all he could: fearing that either his credit and estimation should diminish, *Cinna* hauing a worthier Captaine then him selfe to serue him, or F else that *Marius* cruelty and seuerity (who pardoned none offence) would marre all together, hauing no stay in his anger, but bent vtterly to all kinde of cruelty to his enemies, if *Cinna* fortuned to haue the victorie. And thereunto he added this further: that nowe they had the victory in maner in their hands, if they once receiued *Marius* vnto them, he would robbe them of all the honor of ending this warre, and being also in authority, he was neither to be trusted,

Sertorius stratageame.

Sertorius, treasorer Generall of Gaule, about the Po. Padus fl.

Sertorius lost one of his eyes by fight.

The occasion of Sertorius malice vnto Sylla.

Sertorius tooke parte with Cinna.

Sertorius dissuaded Cinna to receiue Marius.

nor commaunded. Whereunto *Cinna* aunſwered thus: that he thought the words he had alleaged to be true, howbeit that he was aſhamed, and beſides, could not ſee with honeſty how he might refuſe *Marius*, or ſend him backe, ſithens he had purpoſely ſent for him, to commit parte of the charge of theſe warres vnto him. *Sertorius* againe replied. Sure I thought *Marius* had come of his owne good will vnſent for, & therfore (as for the beſt in mine owne opinion) I gaue aduiſe not to receiue him: but ſithence it is ſo that you ſent for him before, and that he is now comen vpon your cõmaundement, you were much to blame to aske counſell whether you ſhould now receiue him or not. And therefore you muſt needes accept his ſeruice, that is comen apon your worde: for, the bonde of your promes paſt you, doth now cut of all counſell or other reſolution. Thereupon *Marius* was called for: and when he came, they deuided their whole army into three partes, and then beganne to charge apon their enemies of all handes, ſo as they obteined victorie. Howebeit *Cinna* and *Marius* committed as horrible cruelty in this victory, as could poſſibly be ſhewed: inſomuch as the ROMANES thought all the miſeries they had endured in time of this warre nothing, and but a play as it were, in reſpect of the great calamities they fell into afterwardes. Nowe *Sertorius* on thother ſide neuer cauſed man to be ſlaine for any priuate malice or quarrell he had with any perſon, neither did he hurte any man when he had ouercomen, but was much offended with *Marius* inſolency & cruell murders: and when he had good oportunity to ſpeake with *Cinna* a parte, he did qualifie him the beſt he could, and made him more milde and tractable through his perſwaſion. In fine; *Sertorius* ſeeing *Marius* garded with a great number of bondmen for lacke of other ſouldiers in this warre, whom he vſed as executioners of his ſlaughter and butchery, alwayes attending about his perſon as a garde, and ſuffering them alſo to make them ſelues riche, partly with that he gaue them, or commaunded them to ſpoyle, and partely alſo with that they violently tooke without his commaundement of their owne maſters, killing them when they had done, rauiſhing their miſtreſſes, & defiling their children: he could no lenger abide ſuch wickednes and villany, but made them all to be ſlaine in their campe where they lay together, being no leſſe then foure thowſand perſones. Afterwardes, when he ſaw that the elder *Marius* was deade, and that ſoone after *Cinna* was ſlaine, the younger *Marius* his ſonne (againſt his counſell, and contrary to the lawes of ROME) had by force made him ſelfe Conſull: and that *Carbo*, *Scipio*, and *Norbanus* (which had bene ouercomen by *Sylla*) were comen out of GRACE to ROME wards, partely through the cowardlines of their Captaines, and partely alſo bicauſe they were betrayed and ſolde of their owne men: and further, conſidering therewithall, that his perſon could doe no good in thoſe affayers, which waxed worſe and worſe, by meanes of thauthoritie of ſuch as had leaſt wit and vnderſtanding, and ſpecially alſo ſeeing *Sylla* campe hard by *Scipio*, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whileſt vnderhand he wanne his ſouldiers from him, notwithſtanding that he was certainly warned and told of it before: *Sertorius* then vtterly diſpairing of ROMES proſperity and wellfare, departed from ROME, to go towardes SPAYNE, thinking that if he could get the firſt poſſeſſion and gouernment of that realme, it would at the leaſt be a refuge and receit for all thoſe of their tribe, that ſhould chaunce to be baniſhed out of their contrie. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, he met with foule and rough weather: and paſſing through a contry of mountaines, the barbarous people inhabiting the ſame, demaunded tribute of him, for licence to paſſe through their territories. Thereat the ſouldiers of his company were maruelouſly offended, ſaying: that it were too much ſhame and diſhonor for a Proconſull of ROME, to pay tribute to vile barbarous people. Notwithſtãding, *Sertorius* paſſed not for the ſhame they ſayd it would to be him, but aunſwered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he ſhould moſt recken of, that aſpireth to haughtie enterpriſes, and ſo pleaſed the barbarous people with money. And thus he made ſuch ſpeede, as he quickely recouered SPAYNE, which he found greatly repleniſhed with people, and ſpecially of young men able to weare armor. But now *Sertorius* perceiuing that they had bene hardly delt withall before, through the inſolency, pride, and couetouſnes of the ROMANE Gouernors, whom they ordinarily ſent from ROME, and that therefore they hated all manner of gouernment: firſt of all ſought to winne the good willes of all the whole contrymen one and other. Of the noble men, by being familiar and conuerſaunt with them: and

Sertorius temperance.

Sertorius ſlue Marius garde of bondmen.

Sertorius went into Spayne.

A and of the common people, by easing them of their taxe and subsidies. But that which bred him most loue of all men generally was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of souldiers, and receiuing of any garrison within their cities, compelling his souldiers to set vp their tentes, and to make their cabines without the suburbes of great cities to winter there, & causing also his owne pauillion to be first set vp, and lay in it him selfe in persone. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous people in all things to win their fauor: for he armed all the ROMANE citizens of age to cary weapon, that dwelt in SPAYNE, and made them make all sortes of engines for battery, and a number of gallies besides, so that he had all the cities at commaundement, being very curteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition, very dreadfull to his enemies. After *Sertorius* vnderstoode that *Sylla* kept ROME, and that the B most parte of the tribe of *Marius* & *Carbo* was vtterly ouerthrowen, mistrusting that it would not be long before they sent some Captaine with a great armie against him: he sent *Iulius Salinator* betimes to keepe the mountaines Pirenei, with sixe thowsande men well armed. Immediatly after *Caius Annius* also came thether, sent by *Sylla*: who seeing no possibilitie to distresse *Salinator* in a place of such aduantage, was driuē to stay at the foote of the mountaine, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune, one *Calphurnius* surnamed *Lanarius*, traiterously slue *Salinator*: whereupon his souldiers foorthwith forsooke the toppe of the mountaines, and by this meanes *Annius* had easie passage with his army which was very great, and ouerthrewe them that resisted his further comming on into the contry. *Sertorius* finding him selfe not strong enough to fight with him, marched away with three thowsand men vnto the C citie of new CARTHAGE, and there tooke sea: from thence he coasted ouer into AFRICKE, and fell with the coast of the MAVRVSIANS, where his souldiers landed immediatly for freshe water, dispersing them selues without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous people gaue a charge apon them, & slue numbers of them: insomuch as *Sertorius* was driuen to imbarke againe, and to take his course towardes SPAYNE, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driuen to take certaine pirates botes of the CILICIANS, and to sayle towardes the Ile of PITYVSA, where he landed in despite of *Annius* garrison, and put them to distresse. But shortly after came *Annius* thither him selfe with a good number of shippes, and fiue thowsand fighting men in them. Him *Sertorius* determined to abide, and to fight withall by sea, though he had but small barkes, purposely made for swift sayling, & of no strength for fight. But now D the West winde rising very bigge, did swell the sea in such sorte, that it cast the most parte of *Sertorius* shippes (being weake and very light) apon rockes in the sea, and him selfe with a few being kept from land by his enemies, and from the sea by storme was driuen to ride ten dayes together at anker, working still for life against the daunger of the surging waues & boisterous windes, which continued rough all that time: yet in the ende when it calmed againe he waied anker, and ranne into certaine desolate Iles, where was no water to be had. Then hoising saile from thence, he passed the straighte of Gilbratar, and turning on his right hande, landed apon the coast of SPAYNE, lying towardes the great Westerne sea, a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Bætis, the which falling into the sea Atlanticum, gaue name in olde time to that parte of SPAYNE, which was called HISPANIA BÆTICA. There certaine saylers met with him E that were newly arriued from the Iles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the auncients called, the fortunate Ilands. These two Ilandes are not farre one from an other, being but a litle arme of the sea betwene them, and are from the coast of AFRICKE only tenne thowsand furlongs. They haue raine there very seldom, howbeit a gentle winde commonly that bloweth in a litle siluer dew, which moisteth the earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lustie, not onely to bring forth all that is set or sowen apon it, but of it selfe without mans hand it beareth so good frute, as sufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling apon it, liuing idlely, and taking no paines. The weather is fayre and pleasaunt continually, & neuer hurteth the body, the climate and seasons of the yeare are so temperate, and the ayer neuer extreame: bicause the windes that blow apon that land frō the other side of the coast opposite to it, as the North & Easter- F ly winde comming from the maine, what with their longe comming, and then by dispersing them selues into a wonderfull large ayer & great sea, their strength is in maner spent and gone before their comming thither. And for the windes that blow from the sea (as the South and

Sertorius curteise to the Spanyardes.

Sertorius flieth out of Spayne into Africke.

The Ile of Pityusa.

The fortunate Ilandes.

Westerly) they sometime bring litle showers with them which commonly doe but moist the ground a litle, and make the earth bring forth all thinges very trimmely: insomuch as the very barbarous people them selues doe faithfully beleue, that there are the Elysian fieldes, tha- *The Elysian fieldes.* bode of blessed creatures, which *Homer* hath so much spoken of. *Sertorius* hearing reporte of these Ilandes (vpon a certaine desire now to liue quietly out of tyranny & warres) had straight a maruelous minde to go dwel there. But when the pyrates of CILICIA (who were no men of peace, but geuen altogether to spoyle & pillage) heard that: they by & by forsooke *Sertorius*, & went into AFRICKE, to restore *Ascalius* the sonne of *Iphtha* to his realme of MAVRITANIA againe. *Sertorius* quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide them that made warre against *Ascalius*, and all to thend that his souldiers seeing matter of new hope and meanes to be imployed, should not so leaue him, being faced afterwardes to be discharged of very necessity. The MAVRVSIANS being very glad of his arriuall, he presently went on with his enterprise, ouercame *Ascalius* in battell, and besieged the citie whereinto apon the ouerthrowe of his armie he was fled for refuge. *Sylla* being aduertised thereof, sent *Paccianus* thither with an army to aide *Ascalius*. *Sertorius* gaue him battell, slue him in the field, and wan *Sertorius wan the citie of Tingis.* the rest of his army, which yeelded vnto him: then tooke he the city of TINGIS, whereinto *Ascalius* was fled with his brethren. The LIBYANS wryte that *Antæus* is buried there. But *Sertorius* geuing no credit to the tales of the barbarous people of that contrie, by reason of the greatnes of the tombe they shewed: made it to be broken open round, and finding there the *Antæus tombe and greatnes.* body of a man (as they say) of three score cubits long, he marueled at it, and so finishing his sacrifice to honor the memory thereof, caused the tombe to be well closed vp againe. By this act hee did greatly increase the honor of *Antæus* memory, which the city did vnto him, and thereby confirmed the contry mens reporte of *Antæus*. For the TINGIANS doe reporte, that after *Antæus* death, his wife *Tinga* lay with *Hercules*, and had a goodly sonne by him called *Sophax*, who was king of that contrie, and there built this city, geuing it his mothers name. Furthermore, it is sayd also that this *Sophax* had a sonne called *Diodorus*, who conquered the most parte of AFRICKE with an army of the GRÆCIAN OLEIANIANS and MYCENIANS, which *Hercules* brought thether, to inhabite those partes. We were willing to imbrace the occasion offered vs to speake of this matter as we went, for the honor of *Iuba*, *Iuba, of a kinges stocke.* the noblest historiographer that euer came of royall blood: for it is thought his auncesters were lineally discended from *Sophax* and this *Diodorus*. *Sertorius* as conquerour now, hauing the whole contry in subiection, did in no wise hurt them that yeelded vnto him, & put trust in him, but restored them their goodes, cities, and gouernment againe, contenting him selfe with that they offered him of their good willes. But then standing doubtfull what way to determine: the LVSITANIANS *Sertorius was sent for by the Lusitanians to be their Captaine.* sent Ambassadors vnto him, to intreate him to be their chiefetaine. For they stoode in great neede of a worthy personage, and a man expert in warres to defende them against the furie of the ROMANES: and therefore they only trusted him, hearing of his honorable behauiour by them that were conuersaunt with him. Whose qualities as we finde wrytten, were these. He *Sertorius vertues and qualities.* was neuer greatly moued, with feare nor ioy: but as he was a resolute man without feare in most daunger, so was he most temperate in greatest prosperitie. In valliantnes inferior to no Captaine of his time, and very quicke of execution in euery imminent daunger. For where any present exployt was to be done, any strong place of aduantage to lodge or fight in to be taken, or that he was to passe ouer any riuer, or scape any instant daunger, where it stoode apon speedy execution, and to shew some stratageame or policie in time and place to supplant the enemie: in those matters he passingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountifull in *Sertorius bountie and clemencie.* rewarding good seruice, and mercifull in punishing of offenders: but this notwithstanding, the fowle murder he did in his latter dayes apon certaine younge children that were pledges with him (which doutlesse was an act of great cruelty and anger that could not forgeue) doth manifestlie proue, that he was neither mercifull nor curteous of nature: but that he manie times did finely counterfeat it, when both the time and the warres did so require it. But for mine opinion, sure I am perswaded that no misfortune can haue power to make perfite vertue, grounded vpon good reason, to worke in any sorte contrarie to it selfe: neither doe I thinke it impossible also, but that mens good willes and gentle natures being iniured without cause,

A cauſe, may peraduenture chaunge their naturall diſpoſitions. Which then proued true in *Sertorius*, who finding fortune contrary vnto him,& his good happe chaunged into ill,grewe ſo crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell reuenge of them which had villanouſly betraied him.But now to our matter where we left.*Sertorius* departed out of AFRICKE apon the LVSITANIANS offer,who choſe him for their General, geuing him abſolute power and authoritie : and ſo ſoone as he arriued, he ſtraight leauied men of warre, and with them ſubdued the people of SPAYNE fronting apon their marches, of which the more parte did willingly ſubmit them ſelues, apon the brute that ranne of him to be mercifull and curteous, and a valliant man beſides in preſent daunger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine deuiſes & ſutteties to winne their good willes : as amonge others, the policie and deuiſe he had of the *Sertorius fained lye of the hynde.*
B hynde, which was this. There was a poore man of the contrie called *Spanus*, who meeting by chaunce one day with a hynde in his way that had newly calued, flying from the hunters: he let the damme goe not being able to take her, and running after her calfe tooke it, which was a young hynde, and of a ſtraunge heare, for ſhe was all milke white. It chaunced ſo, that *Sertorius* was at that time in thoſe partes, who was alwayes very glad when any man offered him ſuch maner of preſentes : as frutes, fowle, or veniſon, & would make very much of them that brought them to him, and alſo reward them well for the ſame. So, this poore man preſented *Sertorius* with his younge hynde, which he gladly receiued, and which with time he made ſo tame, that ſhe would come to him when he called her, and followe him where euer he went,being nothing the wilder,for the dayly ſight of ſuch a number of armed ſouldiers to-
C gether as they were, nor yet afrayed of the noyſe and tumult of the campe. Inſomuch as *Sertorius* by litle & litle made it a miracle,making the ſimple barbarous people beleue that it was a gift that *Diana* had ſent him, by the which ſhe made him vnderſtande of many and ſundrie things to come:knowing wel enough of him ſelfe, that the barbarous people were men eaſily deceiued,and quickely caught by any ſubtill ſuperſtition, beſides that by arte alſo he brought them to beleue it as a thinge very true. For when he had any ſecret intelligence geuen him, that the enemies would inuade ſome parte of the contries and prouinces ſubiect vnto him,or that they had taken any of his fortes from him by any intelligence or ſodaine attempt : he ſtraight told them that his hynde ſpake to him as he ſlept, and had warned him both to arme his men, and put him ſelfe in ſtrength. In like maner if he had heard any newes that one of his
D Lieutenauntes had wonne a battell, or that he had any aduantage of his enemies, he would hide the meſſenger, and bring his hynde abroade with a garland and coller of noſegayes : and then ſay it was a token of ſome good newes comming towardes him, perſwading them withall to be of good cheare, and ſo did ſacrifice to the goddes,to geue them thankes for the good tidings he ſhould heare before it were long. Thus by putting this ſuperſtitiō into their heades, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, inſomuch as they thought they were not now gouerned any more by a ſtraunger wiſer than them ſelues, but were ſtedfaſtly perſwaded that they were rather led by ſome certaine god : and ſo much the more, bicauſe that his deedes confirmed their opinions, ſeeing his power ſo dayly to increaſe beyonde the hope and expectation of man. For with two thowſand fiue hundred ſouldiers, which he cal- *Sertorius army.*
E led ROMANES(although the moſt of them in deede were AFRIKANS, which came ouer with him out of AFRICKE into SPAYNE) & foure thowſand LVSITANIANS, with ſeuen hundred horſemen alſo,he made warre againſt foure great Captaines of ROME,which had the leading *The army of the Romanes led by foure Capitaines.* of ſixe ſcore thowſand footemen,two thowſand archers and ſlingmen, with a world of cities and contries beſides. Where *Sertorius* at the firſt had not aboue twenty at the moſt : and yet with this ſmall power to maintaine this warre withall,he did not only conquer great contries *Sertorius victories.* and many goodly cities, but tooke ſome of the Captaines priſoners alſo, whome the ROMANES ſent againſt him. Of which company *Cotta* was one,whome he ouerthrewe in battell by ſea, not farre from the citie of MELLARIA. He alſo ouercame *Fidius* in battell, being
F gouernor of SPAYNE BÆTICA,by the riuer of Bætis,where he ſlue two thowſand ROMANES. By his treaſorer likewiſe he ouercame *Lucius Domitius*, Proconſull of the other prouince of SPAYNE.And an other time he diſcomfited *Toranius* an other Captaine,one of *Metellus* Lieutenaunts,whom he ſlue in fight with all his army.And *Metellus* ſelfe,being taken at that time

for one of the moſt expert men of warre, and chiefeſt Captaines among the ROMANES: him A
he put alſo ſo oft to diſtreſſe, that *Lucius Lollius* was faine to come out of GAVLE NARBONENSIS (now *Languedocke*) to aide. And they were furthermore driuen to ſende *Pompey* the great with all ſpeede from ROME, with a new army. Bicauſe *Metellus* knew not what courſe to take, hauing to fight with a moſt valliant man, & one whom he could neuer either bring to any ſet battell, nor yet entrappe in the plaine fielde, (ſo eaſily could he caſt him ſelfe into all kinde of formes) by reaſon of the dexterity and ſwiftnes of his ſpaniſhe ſouldiers being lightly armed. Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without remouing a foote, and to lead an army heauy armed, which could kepe their rankes, and fighting ſteadely could ouerthrow their enemies with handſtrokes, and marche apon their bellies. But to clime vp the mountaines, and to be continually (as they were) charged in the rereward with theſe men armed as light as the winde, and to purſue them in chaſe that fled ſtill, and neuer kept place: it was vnpoſſible for them to doe it, and much leſſe to abide hunger and thirſt, to liue without a kitchin and fire, and likewiſe to lye on the bare ground without tentes or pauillions, as *Sertorius* ſouldiers did. Furthermore *Metellus* being growen an old man, (hauing ſpent all his youth in ſeruice of the warres, and taken & ſuffred great paynes and troubles, geuing him ſelfe now to quiet and pleaſure) was matched with *Sertorius*, being then euen at his beſt age, and luſtieſt of body, beſides that nature had made him both ſtrong, actiue, and temperate withall. For he was neuer geuen to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at moſt quiet, and out of warres, he was likewiſe acquainted with paines and hardnes from his youth, could away with long iorneys, watch many dayes and nightes without ſleepe, eate litle, and content him ſelfe C
with any meate that came to hand. And had he neuer ſo litle leaſure, he would continually be on horſebacke, riding a hunting vp and downe the fieldes, which made him very ready and expert to know how to winde him ſelfe out of daunger when he was diſtreſſed, and contrarily alſo to compaſſe in his enemy apon any aduantage: and beſides, to ſee where he might enter, and where not. For this cauſe was *Metellus* driuen (who was ſtill deſirous to fight) to abide the loſſes and diſcommodities which they ſuffer that be vanquiſhed: and *Sertorius* on thother ſide refuſing battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they haue, which chaſe their enemies whome they haue ouercomen. For he cutte of his vittells on euery ſide, tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to marche further forwarde, *Sertorius* ſtayed him. And when he lay ſtill in his campe, *Sertorius* came and gaue D
him alaroms, & draue him to diſlodge. Yf *Metellus* layed ſiege to any place, *Sertorius* ſtraight beſieged him for want of vittells. So that his ſouldiers were euen weary of altogether. Wheruppon, when *Sertorius* challenged the combat of *Metellus*: oh, well ſayd, cryed all the ſouldiers, let Captaine fight againſt Captaine, and ROMANE againſt a ROMANE. Howbeit *Metellus* refuſed him, and the ſouldiers laughed him to ſcorne. Neuertheleſſe he did but ſmyle at them, and therin ſhewed him ſelfe a wiſe man: for as *Theophraſtus* ſayth, a Captaine muſt dye as a Captaine, not like a priuate ſouldier. Furthermore, *Metellus* conſidering that the LANGOBRITES (who gaue great aide vnto *Sertorius* in all ſeruices) were eaſie to be taken for lacke of water (hauing but one onely well in all their city) and that whoſoeuer did beſiege the ſame, E
ſhould ſtraight be maſter of all the ſpring heades of the ſuburbes about it, hoping thereby to make the citie yeelde vnto him within two dayes at thutmoſt: he commaunded his ſouldiers to vittell them ſelues for fiue dayes only. But *Sertorius* hauing intelligence thereof, gaue good direction and ſpeedy order to preuent him. For he cauſed two thowſand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and promiſed rounde ſummes of money for euery skinne brought thether. Many SPANYARDS and MAVRVSIANS ſtraight tooke apon them thenterpriſe. Thereuppon *Sertorius* chooſinge the luſtieſt men amonge them, ſent them away through the mountaine, commaunding them withall, that when they deliuered their goates skinnes with water vnto the citizens, they ſhould cauſe them forthwith to put out all their idle people, that the water might laſt them the lenger which defended the city. *Metellus* receiuing aduertiſement hereof, was much agrieued withall, bicauſe his ſouldiers vittells were wel nere ſpent, which they had F
brought according to his commaundement: and therefore he ſent *Aquinus* one of his Leiutenauntes, with ſix thowſand men to get vittells. *Sertorius* hauing intelligence of his purpoſe, preſently

This place may well be taken two wayes, and either of both allowable: & according to the other it might be ſaid, to leade Romane citizens to the warres, fighting like valiant men. Sertorius warlike vertues.

Metellus practiſeth to beſiege the Langobrites, and to take their city, for lacke of water. Sertorius finely deceiued Metellus, at the ſiege of the Langobrites.

presently layed an ambush for his returne in a valley full of wodde, and bestowed there three thowsande men to set vppon the rereward, whilest he him selfe gaue charge on the voward. Thus made he *Aquinus* flie, slue the most parte of his men, and tooke the rest prisoners. Howbeit *Aquinus* selfe the Captaine hauing lost his weapons and horse, by flying recouered *Metellus* campe: who thereuppon was driuen with shame to raise his siege, being mocked of all the SPANYARDS. For these valliant deedes, was *Sertorius* wonderfully beloued and honored of all the barbarous people, and specially bicause he had made them good souldiers, brought them from their former rude & beastly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the ROMANE facion, to kepe their ranckes when they fought, to follow their ensigne, and to take the signall and word of the battell: insomuch as he made them then appeare a goodly army, well taught and trained, being before a confused multitude of theeues and robbers. Furthermore, he deuided great store of gold and siluer among them, shewing them how they should gilde their headpeeces, sette out their shieldes and targettes with fine workemanshippe, and also bratuely apparell them selues with riche clokes and sleueleſſe cassockes apon their armor, teaching them to be fine, and furnishing them with money, whereby he maruelously wanne the heartes of the barbarous people. Yet did he further binde them vnto him, by that he did vnto their children. For he sent generally for all the noble mens young sonnes, through all the contries and prouinces subiect vnto him: and brought them to the goodly citie of OSCA: where he prouided them of schoolemasters to teache them the Greeke and Latine tongue: bearing their parentes in hande, that it was to no other ende, but to make them (when they came to be men) meete to be imployed in the seruice of the common weale, albeit in deede it was but a fine deuise of him, to haue them as Ostages for their faith and loyaltie towardes him. Then were the fathers of these children glad men to see their sonnes apparelled like ROMANES, in fayer long gownes garded with purple, to goe ciuilly to the schooles: that *Sertorius* payed for their learninge: and that oftentimes he went thither to appose them, to see how they profited: and how he gaue rewardes vnto them that were the best schollers, hanging iuells about their neckes, which the ROMANES call Bulla. Insomuch, that they hauing a custome at that time in SPAINE, that such as were about the Prince or their chieftaine should dye with him when he dyed, that custome of voluntarie vowe to dye with their Lorde, being called by the barbarous people, deuotion: there were very fewe of their followers and familiars that would vowe to dye with other Captaines, but on thother side, thowsandes commonly followed *Sertorius*, hauing vowed to loose their liues with him. And for proofe hereof it is reported, that when his army on a time was ouerthrowen by a certaine citie of SPAYNE, the enemies egerly pursuing him: the SPANYARDS not regarding their owne liues to saue his, tooke him vp on their shoulders, and so passed him from man to man apon them, till they put him into the city, who being safe & out of daunger, they then looked by running to saue them selues the best they could. Thus was *Sertorius* not only beloued of the SPANYARDS, but of other souldiers also that came out of ITALIE. For when *Perpenna Vento*, being of the same faction, arriued in SPAYNE full of money, & with a good number of souldiers, intending to make warre in his behalfe against *Metellus*: his souldiers fell out with him, and had none other talke in his campe but of *Sertorius*. The which spited *Perpenna* to the hart, being prowde & stately by meanes of his wealth and estate, comming of a noble house. Newes being come that *Pompey* was past ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, the souldiers armed them selues, and plucked vp their ensignes that were fast in the ground, and cried out apon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Sertorius*, threatning him that if he would not, they would leaue him alone, and seeke them a Captaine, that could both saue him selfe and them. So was *Perpenna* forced against his will to followe their mindes, and to leade the three and fiftie ensignes he had with him, to ioyne with *Sertorius* force. Thus became *Sertorius* army very great, and specially after all the cities on this side the riuer of Ebrus had yeelded vnto him. For then came souldiers to him out of all partes, howebeit they were a rashe confused multitude of Omnigatherum together, hauing no reason nor pacience to abide time, but cried out in furie, to set apon their enemies. This troubled *Sertorius* much, seeking first to quiet them by reason and perswasion. But when he sawe they fell to mutinie, and would needes haue their wills, and both without reason and all good

Sertorius ouerthrew Aquinus.

Sertorius taught the Spanyards the maner of the Romanes.

The citie of Osca.

Sertorius subtill policie.

The Spanyards deuotion.

The Spanyards loue to Sertorius.

Perpenna ioyned with Sertorius.

Ebrus fl.

order would ſo goe ſet apon their enemies: he gaue them the head, and let them goe as they A
would, knowing well enough they would pay for their folly, but yet tooke ſuch order and di-
rection, as they ſhould not vtterly be caſt away, hoping after that to haue them the more o-
bedient vnto him. And in deede they had their payment as he coniectured: notwithſtanding
he went to reſcue them, & ſo brought thē ſafe into his campe. Now to take away the feare &
perplexitie from them, which this ouerthrow perhappes had ſtriken into them: immediatly
after he cauſed his whole armie to aſſemble, as purpoſing to vſe ſome ſpeeche vnto them. At
A fine deuiſe of Sertorius to teache men the benefit of time and perſeuerance. which time he cauſed two horſes to be brought and ſet in the middes among them, thone an
olde and feeble iade, and thother a goodly luſtie horſe, which beſides other things, had a mar-
uelous fayer thicke taile. Behinde the old leane iade, he ſet a luſty tall fellow: and behinde the
goodly horſe alſo, he placed a litle weariſh man, & ſeeming to ſight to haue but ſmall ſtrength. B
Now apon a ſigne geuen them which he had made them priuy to, the ſtrong man tooke the
leane horſe by the taile with all his might, as if he would haue plackt it of by the ſtumpe: and
the other weariſh man fell to plucking of heare by heare from the great horſe taile. So when
the ſtrong man had tugged and ſwet a great while in vaine at the leane horſe taile, thinking to
haue pulled it of, and in thende did nothing elſe but make the lookers on laugh: and that the
weariſh wretch on thother ſide in a ſhorte ſpace, (& at eaſe) had left the great horſe taile with
neuer a heare on it: *Sertorius* then riſing vp, ſpake in this ſorte to his ſouldiers. Doe ye not ſee
Sertorius wordes to his ſouldiers, declaring thintent of his deuiſe. (my frendes and companions) ſayd he, how time and perſeuerance exceedeth force? and that
thinges vnlikely at the firſt to be ouercome by force, are yet in time, by litle and litle obtained.
For continuance ouercommeth all thinges, and there is no force nor power, but proceſſe of C
time conſumeth and bringeth to nought, being a moſt certaine helpe to them, that can take
oportunity, and abide time: as in contrariwiſe haſt and raſhnes is as daungerous an enemy as
may be, to them that doe thinges of a head without regard. By theſe common deuiſes where-
with *Sertorius* daily acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the oportuni-
tie of time. But of all the ſtratageames he vſed in warre, that only exceeded al other, which he
The Characitanians what people they be. Tagus fl. ſhewed vnto a people called the CHARACITANIANS. The people doe dwell on the other ſide
of the riuer of Tagus, and haue neither cities nor villages for their common abode, but only a
great high hill, full of hollow caues and deepe holes among the rockes, looking towardes the
North. At the foote of this mountaine the valley is a great ſlimie ground and ſo rotten, that it
is not able to beare a man, but being troden on, crummeth like white lyme, & turneth to duſt D
vnder his feete. And therefore, by meanes of the ſame, when thoſe people were afrayed of any
enemies, or that they had conueyed the goodes they had robbed & ſtollen from their neigh-
bors into thoſe caues, they thought them ſelues ſafe, if they were once gotten into them: for
it was vnpoſſible to compell them to come out. Nowe it chaunced that *Sertorius* flying from
Metellus, came and encamped hard by this hill which theſe barbarous people inhabited, who
made no reckoning of him, imagining *Metellus* had ouerthrowen him. But *Sertorius* being in
a rage with them, and becauſe he would ſhew that he fled not: tooke his horſe backe the next
morning, and rode as neere to the hill as he coulde, to viewe the nature and ſcituacion of the
place: and when he ſaw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, and walked vp and
downe, vainely threatning them to no purpoſe. Yet going and comming to and fro, he per- E
ceiued the winde raiſed a great duſt, of that britle earth we haue ſpoken of, and caried it full
into the CHARACITANIANS holes, the mouthes whereof as we ſayd before, lay full apon the
North. This Northen winde, which ſome call Cæcias, is the only winde of all other that moſt
keepeth in that quarter, and riſeth from the moores and mountaines thereaboutes, which be
continually couered with ſnow, and then in the hart of ſommer is nouriſhed and inforced by
the melting of the ice and ſnow, and ſo bloweth a ioly coole winde, which refreſheth the bar-
Sertorius wonderfull deuiſe againſt the barbarous people, called the Characitanians. barous people and beaſtes all the day long. *Sertorius* marking this with him ſelfe, and vnder-
ſtanding by the inhabitants therabouts, that this winde blew commonly among them: com-
maunded his ſouldiers to gather a great quantitie of this light britle earth together, & to raiſe
a mount of it, right againſt the other hill. The barbarous people made a mockery of it at the F
firſt, thinking *Sertorius* would haue made a mount to haue fought with them apon it: howbeit
he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his ſouldiers backe againe into
his

A his campe. The next morning by breake of day there was a prety litle winde ſturring, that only blew of the toppe of his forced mount, & the higheſt parte of that maſſe of earth, as chaffe when they winnowe corne: and as the ſunne beganne to haue any power, the North winde alſo roſe, which foorthwith filled all the hill with duſt. And withall, came *Sertorius* ſouldiers who threw downe the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all thoſe drie clots of clay in peeces. The horſemen on thother ſide, they ſtill mannedged their horſes vp and downe in it, to raiſe vp the greater duſt, which the winde caried as ſoone as it roſe, and blew into the caues of theſe barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes and riftes of the rockes. So they hauing no other ventes nor ayer any way, but there where the winde blew in apon them: it did ſo blindefolde their eyes, and filled their caues with ſuch
B a hotte ſtuffing ayer, that they were almoſt choked withall, not able to take breath. For when they ſhould drawe their breathes, this ſtuffing ayer and duſt came in at their mouthes ſo faſt, that they had much a doe to hold out two dayes, and on the thirde yeelded them ſelues vnto *Sertorius* mercy: the which thing did not ſo much increaſe his power, as it wanne him honor, by policie to haue wonne ſuch an vnlikely conqueſt, which by force could neuer haue bene gotten, and where to fight was matter impoſſible. So longe therefore as he made warre with *Metellus* alone, he commonly had the aduantage of him, bicauſe *Metellus* was an olde man and heauy, & could not reſiſt *Sertorius* luſty youth, that led a light army, like rather to a company of theeues and robbers, than to an army of men of warre. But afterwardes when *Pompey* was come ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, and that both of them being encamped eche before
C other, and that *Pompey* had ſhewed him all the ſtratageames and policies of warre poſſible for a good Captaine to deuiſe, & he the like vnto *Pompey*: and found that *Sertorius* had the better of him, both in laying his ambuſhes, & alſo in foreſeeing to intrappe him: then grew the fame of *Sertorius* to be ſo great, that euen in ROME it ſelfe he was thought to be the nobleſt Captaine, & of beſt conduction of any man in his time. Yet was *Pompey* at that time of great fame and reputacion, which afterwardes alſo waxed greater, by the noble actes he did vnder *Sylla*, who gaue him the ſurname of *Pompey* the great, for that he had deſerued honor of triumphe, before his beard was growen. So, when he was comen thus into SPAYNE, diuers townes and cities ſubiect vnto *Sertorius*, were halfe in minde to yeelde vnto *Pompey*: but afterwardes they altered againe, apon the chaunce that happened vnto the citie of LAVRON, beyond all expe-
D ctation. For *Sertorius* being gone to lay ſiege to it, *Pompey* in haſt went thither with his armie to raiſe the ſiege. Neere vnto the city there was a litle hill very commodious to lodge a campe in, and alſo to diſtreſſe them of the citie: whereupon thone made haſt to get it, and thother to keepe him from it. Notwithſtanding, *Sertorius* was the firſt man, and got the hill: and *Pompey* came euen as he had taken it, who was very glad it had ſo fallen out, thinking to haue made *Sertorius* ſure at that time, being kept in on the one ſide with the citie of LAVRON, and with his army on the other. Thereupon he ſent vnto the citizens, and bad them care for nothing, more then to ſtand apon their walles at their pleaſure, to ſee *Sertorius* ſtraightly beſieged, who thought to haue beſieged them. This meſſage being brought to *Sertorius*, he ſmyled at it, and ſayd, that he would teache *Syllaes* younge ſcholler (for ſo in mockerie he called *Pompey*) that
E a wiſe Captaine ſhould rather ſee behinde then before him: and therewithall he ſhewed the LAVRONITANS ſixe thowſande footemen well armed, which he had left in his campe when he came to take the hill where he was, to thend that if *Pompey* came by chaunce to aſſaile him, they ſhould geue a charge apon his rereward. *Pompey* hauinge founde this too late, durſt not offer *Sertorius* battell, fearing to be compaſſed in behinde: and on thother ſide he was aſhamed to forſake the LAVRONITANS, whome he was driuen in thende to ſee vtterly ſpoyled and deſtroyed before his eyes, and durſt not once ſturre to helpe them. The barbarous people of the contrarie parte ſeeinge no hope of aide by him, yeelded ſtraight vnto *Sertorius*, who did not onely pardon them, but alſo ſuffered them to goe whether they would. Howbeit he burnt the citie, for no anger or crueltie (being a Captaine that neuer ſhewed crueltie in anger) but to
F ſhame *Pompey* withall, and to ſtoppe their mouthes that made ſuch accompt of him: and that this brute might runne among the barbarous people, that *Pompey* him ſelfe being preſent, and might in manner haue warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly city of his confederates,

Sertorius dedes againſt Pompey.

Sertorius goeth to lay ſiege to the citie of Lauron.

Sertorius worthy ſaying of a Captaine.

Sertorius burnt the city of Lauron in Pompeis ſight.

neither durſt nor could helpe them. In deede *Sertorius* in continuance of this warre ſuſteined much loſſe and great hurt, howbeit it was alwayes through the fault of his Lieutenaunts: for, as touching him ſelfe, he was neuer ouerthrowen, nor thoſe he led. And yet he euer wanne more honor in recouering of thoſe battels which his Captaines loſt, than his enemies did that had put them to the worſe. As in the battell he wanne againſt *Pompey*, by the city of SVCRON: and in an other he wanne againſt *Pompey* and *Metellus* both, by the citie of TVTTIA. And as for the ouerthrow of SVCRON, it is thought it came through *Pompeyes* ambition, making the more haſt for feare *Metellus* ſhould be partaker of the honor of his victorie: and that was the thing *Sertorius* looked for, to fight before *Metellus* came to ioyne with him, and therefore he fought the battell with *Pompey* towardes night, ſuppoſing the darkeneſſe of the night would trouble his enemies much, be a helpe to ſaue them ſelues if they were ouercome, and alſo to chaſe the enemies if ſo it happened they had the vpper hande, bicauſe they were ſtraungers, and knew not the contrie. When both battells came to geue charge, *Sertorius* at the firſt was not directly againſt *Pompey*, but againſt *Afranius*, who led the left wing of *Pompeyes* battell, and him ſelfe was in the right wing of his owne battell. Howebeit *Sertorius* being aduertiſed that the left wing of his owne army againſt the which *Pompey* fought, was in ſuch diſtreſſe as they gaue backe, and could abide no lenger, if they were not preſently aided: ſtraight left the leading of the right wing, which he aſſigned ouer to other of his Captaines, and ranne with all ſpeede poſſible vnto the left wing, which were then euen as good as flying. And firſt he gathered them together againe which had turned their backes, and after put thoſe alſo in good order that were yet a fighting: and ſo hauing encoraged them both with his wordes, and the preſence of his perſon, he gaue a new charge againe apon *Pompey*, more coragiouſly than before, (who thinking he had already wonne the field, was then a chaſing ſuch as fled) and came ſo fiercely apon him, that he put all the whole army of the ROMANES to flight: inſomuch as *Pompey* him ſelfe eſcaped killing in the field very hardly being ſore hurt, & ſaued by a ſtraunge meane. For the AFRIKANS of *Sertorius* hauing taken *Pompeis* horſe (which was richly trapped with harneſſe of gold and other precious furniture) falling out among them ſelues, and fighting for deuiſion of the ſame: in the meane time let *Pompey* goe, and neuer followed after him. *Afranius* againe on thother ſide, whileſt *Sertorius* was gone to helpe the other wing of his battel, made them flie all that ſtoode before him, & followed killing of thē euen into the trenches of their campe, entring in amongeſt them that fled, and ſpoiled the campe being darke night, knowing nothing of *Pompeis* ouerthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from ſpoyle. *Sertorius* alſo comming thither apon the inſtant, finding *Pompeis* men in diſorder, ſlue a number of them: and the next morning betimes armed his men againe, and brought them out into the field, to fight once more with *Pompey*. But receiuing intelligence that *Metellus* was at hand, he ſounded the retreate, and diſlodged from the place he encamped, ſaying: had not that old woman comen, I would haue whipped that young boy to ROME with roddes. Now was *Sertorius* very heauy, that no man could tell him what was become of his white hynde: for thereby all his ſutteltie and fineſſe to kepe the barbarous people in obedience was taken away, and then ſpecially, when they ſtoode in neede of moſt comforte. But by good happe, certaine of his ſouldiers that had loſt them ſelues in the night, met with the hynde in their way, and knowing her by her colour, tooke her, and brought her backe againe. *Sertorius* hearing of her, promiſed thē a good reward, ſo that they would tell no liuing creature that they brought her againe, and thereupon made her to be ſecretly kept. Then within a few dayes after, he came abroade among them, and with a pleaſaunt countenaunce tolde the noble men and chiefe Captaines of theſe barbarous people, how the goddes had reuealed it to him in his dreame, that he ſhould ſhortly haue a maruelous good thing happen to him: and with theſe wordes ſate downe in his chayer to geue audience. Whereuppon they that kept the hynde not farre from thence, did ſecretly let her goe. The hynde being loſe, when ſhe had ſpied *Sertorius*, ran ſtraight to his chayer with great ioy, and put her head betwext his legges, & layed her mouth in his right hande, as ſhe before was wont to doe. *Sertorius* alſo made very much of her, and of purpoſe appeared maruelous glad, ſhewinge ſuch tender affection to the hynde, as it ſeemed the water ſtoode in his eyes for ioy. The barbarous people that ſtoode there by & beheld the

Sertorius of him ſelfe inuincible.

Battell betwext Sertorius & Pompey.

Pompey fled Sertorius as Sucron.

Sertorius mocke to Pompey.

A the ſame, at the firſt were much amazed therewith: but afterwardes when they had better bethought them ſelues, for ioy they clapped their handes together, and waited vpon *Sertorius* to his lodging with great and ioyfull ſhowtes, ſaying, and ſtedfaſtly beleuing, that he was a heauenly creature, and beloued of the goddes: whereupon they were maruelouſly pleaſed in their mindes, and certainely hoped that their affayres ſhould proſper dayly better and better. An other time hauing ſtraighted his enemies with ſcarcety of vittells, in the territorie of the SAGVNTINES, he was by force compelled to fight againſt his will, for that they ſent great troupes of men to forrage the contrie, to get vittells. Apon thencounter it was valliantly fought of either ſide, where *Memmius* was ſlaine, (the valliantest Captaine *Pompey* had) coragiouſly fighting in the middeſt of the battell. *Sertorius* finding him ſelfe the ſtronger, followed B his firſt wing, making great ſlaughter of thoſe that withſtoode him, vntill he came vnto *Metellus* ſelfe, who taried his comming, defending him ſelfe more valliantly than was either hoped, or looked for, in a man of his yeares: inſomuch as he was at the laſt hurt with a partiſan. Which was ſuch a diſhonor to the ROMANES, not vnto them only that ſaw it, but vnto ſuch alſo as heard of it, that being all aſhamed to forſake their Captaine, and turning their ſhame into anger againſt their enemies: they couered *Metellus* rounde about with their ſhieldes and targets, & getting him out of the preſſe and furie of the fight, gaue ſuch a fierce onſet, as they draue the SPANYARDS to flie. Thus fortune chaunging the victory, *Sertorius* to geue his ſcattered men time to ſaue them ſelues, and leaſure alſo for a new ſupply (which he cauſed to be preſently leauied) to come at their pleaſure: fled of purpoſe into a citie of the mountaines of C ſtrong ſcituation, and there ſetting a good face of the matter repayred the rampers, and fortified the gates, thinking nothing leſſe then to abide there to be beſieged, but only to lay a baite for his enemies, comming to beſiege the citie, hoping they ſhould eaſily winne it, and in the meane time left purſuing of the barbarous people which had therby good leaſure giuen them to ſaue them ſelues. Furthermore, they tooke no order to ſuppreſſe the new ſupplie that was comming to *Sertorius*, who had ſent out his Captaines to the next cities & ſhieres adioyning, to leaſie men, with expreſſe commaundement, that when they had muſtered a conuenient number together, they ſhould ſende them vnto him, as they did. So when he vnderſtoode of their comming, he eaſily paſſed through his enemies to meete them, and with them ſodainly came backe againe, and harried his enemies worſe then before: ſomtime cutting their vitD tells from them by land, through his ambuſhes and continuall ſuttle policies, being quickely in euerie place whether they thought to go, with his light army: and on the ſea alſo with certaine pirats pinneſes, with the which he ſcoored all the coaſt apon the ſea ſide. By this meanes, both the Captaines his enemies were compelled to ſeuer thē ſelues farre one from the other, inſomuch as *Metellus* went to winter in GAVLE, *Pompey* remained in SPAYNE, (in great ſcarcetie of all thinges for lacke of money) to winter in the territories of the VACCEIANS, and wrote to the Senate at ROME, that he would returne with his armie into ITALIE, if they ſent him not money out of hande, for that he had ſpent all his owne dayly fighting for the defenſe of ITALIE. Thus it was certainly thought at ROME, that *Sertorius* would be in ITALIE before *Pompey*: bicauſe he had through his valliancy and great skill brought two of the moſt famous E Captaines of their time, to great extreamitie and diſtreſſe. Then did *Metellus* ſhowe howe much he feared *Sertorius*, and how he thought him a great and dreadfull enemie. For he proclaimed by ſounde of trompet, that if any ROMANE could kill him, he would geue him an hundred ſiluer talentes, and twentie thowſand Iugera of land: and if he were a baniſhed man, he promiſed he ſhould be reſtored to his contry and goodes againe, buying his death by treaſon, whome he could not ouercome by force. And furthermore, being his chaunce once to winne a battell of *Sertorius*, he was ſo ioconde and prowde for this victorie, that he would needes therefore be called Imperator, to ſay, Prince, or ſoueraine Captaine: and was contented the people ſhould ſette vp aulters and doe ſacrifices vnto him in euerie citie where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlandes of flowers on his head, F and would be bidden to diſſolute bankets, ſitting at the table in a triumphing robe: and they made images of victory goe vp and downe the hall, moued by certaine ſecret engines carying triumphes of golde, and crownes and garlandes of triumphe, and daunſers of goodly young

Sertorius ſlue Memmius, Pompeis Lieutenaunt.

Shame turned into anger.

Sertorius beſieged of Pompey.

Metellus feared Sertorius.

Metellus made himſelfe be called Imperator.

Metellus vanuis.

boyes and fayer girles following of them, with ſonges of triumphe in his praiſe. Wherein doubtleſſe he deſerued to be laughed at, ſhewing him ſelfe ſo much caried away with ioy and vaine glory, for one ouerthrowe geuen vnto him, whom him ſelfe was wont to call *Syllaes* fugitiue, and the remnant of the baniſhed men of *Carbo*. On thother ſide, *Sertorius* noble corage was eaſily diſcerned, firſt, for that he called the baniſhed men which were eſcaped frō Rome, and comen to him, Senators: and hauing them about him, called them the Senate, making ſome of them Treaſorers, others Pretors, directing and ordering all thinges according to the manner of his contrie. And in this alſo, that making warres with the ſouldiers of the cities of Spayne, and defraying the ſame at their owne charges, yet he neuer gaue them any authoritie, ſo much as in word, but ruled them alwayes with Romane officers and Captaines: ſaying ſtill, that he fought for the liberty of the people of Rome, and not to increaſe the glorie and power of the Spanyards, to the hurt and diſhonor of the Romanes. For to ſay truly of him, he euer loued his contrie well, and longed much to be ſent for home againe: and yet in his greateſt troubles, when thinges thwarted him moſt, then was his minde greateſt, yeelding no maner of ſhewe or appearance to his enemies, of any faint hart or diſcoragement in him. Againe, when he was in beſt proſperitie, and had moſt aduantage of his enemies, he ſent vnto *Metellus* and *Pompey* both, letting them vnderſtand that for his parte he was contented to lay armes aſide, and to liue at home like a priuate man, ſo that he might be lawfully reſtored and called home by edict: and that he had rather be counted the meaneſt citizen in Rome, then being a baniſhed man out of his contry, to be called Emperor of the world. And it is ſaid, that one of the chiefeſt cauſes which made him deſire ſo much to be called home againe, was the tender loue he bare vnto his mother (that had brought him vp from the time of his fathers death) vpon whom he caſt all his loue and delite: inſomuch as after that his frends in Spaine had ſent for him to come to be their Captaine, and that he had bene a while among them, receiuing newes that his mother was departed out of the world, it ſo ſtrake him to the hart, that he had almoſt dyed for ſorrowe. For he lay ſeuen dayes together continually on the grounde weeping, & neuer gaue his ſouldiers the watch word, nor would be ſeene of any of his frends: vntil that the other noble men and Captaines of his owne eſtate, came to him to his tent, and were ſo importunate of him by intreaty and perſwaſion, that they gotte him out of his tent to ſhew him ſelfe to his ſouldiers, to ſpeake to them, & to take order for his affayres which proſpered very well. By theſe ſignes many haue iudged, that he was of a curteous and pityfull nature, and that naturally he was geuen to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of neceſſity to take charge of men of warre, bicauſe he coulde not otherwiſe liue quietly nor ſafely, being purſued by his enemies, which would neuer let him reſt, and thereuppon entred into warre, for his owne gard and ſafety. The treaty ſelfe he made with king *Mithridates*, argued his noble minde. For when *Mithridates* whome *Sylla* had ouercomen, was recouerd againe (like a wreſtler that being ouerthrowen getteth vp on his feete to trye an other fall with his enemy) and tooke apon him to inuade Asia: *Sertorius* fame was then ſo great, that he was ſpoken of through the world, by marchauntes comming from the Weſt, who blew abroade the reporte therof al the Eaſt partes ouer, euen into the realme of Pont, like to marchandiſes which they went to ſeeke for in ſtraunge contries. Whereupon *Mithridates* being perſwaded by the vaine vauntes of his fauored courtiers, who compared *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, and him ſelfe vnto king *Pyrrus*, ſaying that the Romanes being ſet apon by them both, could not withſtand two ſuch excellent natures, & great powers together, when the nobleſt Captaine of the world ſhould be ioyned with the greateſt and moſt puiſant Prince that euer was: ſent thereupon his Ambaſſadors into Spayne vnto *Sertorius*, with full power and commiſſion to promiſe him money and ſhippes towards the maintenaunce and charge of this warre, in recompence whereof he deſired that *Sertorius* would redeliuer him the poſſeſſion of Asia againe, the which he had ſurrendred vp vnto the Romanes apon the peace made betwext him and *Sylla*. *Sertorius* hereupon called his counſell together (which he termed the Senate) to conſult apon this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he ſhould accept *Mithridates* offers, and were exceedingly glad of the ſame, conſidering that they asked them nothing but a title in the ayer, and a name of things which were not in their power, offring them therfore things preſent,

Sertorius noble minde.

Sertorius honorable reſpect vnto his contrie.

Sertorius minde greateſt in aduerſity.

Sertorius affection to his contrie.

Sertorius naturall loue to his mother.

Mithridates ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Sertorius in Spayne.

A preſent, whereof they had greater neede, yet would *Sertorius* neuer agree therunto. Notwithſtanding, thus much he grauhted *Mithridates*, that he ſhould enioy CAPPADOCIA & BITHYNIA, which had euer bene contries ſubiect vnto kings, & whereunto the ROMANES had neuer any right, excepting this ſpecially: that he would neuer ſuffer him to vſurpe any cõtry, vnto the which the ROMANES had any iuſt title, and the which he had loſt in warres by force of armes vnto *Fimbria*, & had afterwardes alſo willingly ſurrendred by agreement made betwext him and *Sylla*. For he ſayd he would enlarge the Empire of ROME through his victories, but not impayre or hurte it by his conqueſtes. For, a valliant man (ſayed he) ſhould couet to conquer with honor, but in no wiſe deſire life with diſhonor. His aunſwere being reported vnto kinge *Mithridates*, did much amaze him: and ſome haue wrytten, that he then ſayd vnto his familiars. What would *Sertorius* commaund vs then, if he ſate among thē in the Senate at ROME, who being an exile now, and remaining in the furtheſt parte of the world by the ſea Atlanticum, doth take apon him to bounde the certaine confines of our kingdome, threatning vs alſo with warres, if we attempt any thing againſt ASIA? All this notwithſtanding, they were agreed apon othes taken betwene them, that *Mithridates* ſhould enioy the contries of CAPPADOCIA and BITHYNIA, and that *Sertorius* ſhould ſend him one of his Captaines with aide of men of warre, and that apon performance thereof, the kinge ſhould geue him the ſumme of three thowſande talentes, and fortie ſhippes of warre. So *Sertorius* ſent thither one of his Captaines called *Marcus Marius*, a Senator of ROME, who fled to him for ſuccour: with whom *Mithridates* diſtreſſed certaine cities of ASIA. And when *Marius* entred into them, with his ſergeauntes carying the bundells of roddes and axes before him, as before a Proconſull of the ROMANES: *Mithridates* gaue him the vpper hande, as his better and followed after him. Furthermore, *Marius* did ſet certaine cities at libertie, and wrote vnto others, declaring vnto them, that *Sertorius* of his grace and goodneſſe did releaſe them of their taxe and cuſtomes they payed: ſo that poore ASIA which had bene oppreſſed by the couetouſnes of the Treaſorers and farmers of the ROMANES, and alſo by the pride and inſolencie of the ſouldiers which lay in garriſon among them, beganne to haue ſome hope of chaunge, & to deſire thalteration of gouernment, which *Sertorius* offered. But on thother ſide, the Senators of ROME that were in SPAYNE as baniſhed men in *Sertorius* armie, and of the like dignitie and eſtate that him ſelfe was of, they hearing ſay that all was well againe at ROME, and perſwading them ſelues that they ſhould be ſtronge enough for their enemies, hauinge no cauſe to feare any more daunger: beganne then to enuie *Sertorius* greatneſſe and authoritie, but *Perpenna* ſpecially amonge other, who by reaſon of his nobilitie being puft vp with a vaine preſumption and ambitious ſelfe will, practiſed to make him ſelfe chiefe of all the armie, and to that ende threwe foorth amongeſt his frendes and familiars ſuch kinde of ſeditious wordes. What curſed fortune (quod he) my frendes doth dayly haunt vs worſe then other, making vs that were vnwilling to obey *Sylla* (commaunding at this day both lande and ſea at his will) to chooſe rather to forſake our landes and contrie? And nowe being come hither in hope to liue at libertie, we willingly make our ſelues ſlaues, becomminge *Sertorius* garde for defence of his perſone in his exile: who to requite vs withall, payeth vs with fayer wordes, calling vs the Senate, whereat euerie man laugheth to heare vs ſo called, and in fine we muſt abide this diſhonor to be at his commaundement, and drudge and take as much paines, as the SPANYARDS and LVSITANIANS doe them ſelues. Hereuppon the more parte of them being caried away with theſe mutinous wordes, durſt not yet ſhew them ſelues in actuall rebellion againſt *Sertorius*, being afeard of his authoritie: howebeit ſecretly vnderhande they ouerthrewe his doinges, by ſhewing extreame crueltie vnto the barbarous people, by pretext of iuſtice, impoſing great paymentes apon them, geuing it out it was *Sertorius* cõmaundement. By which their lewde practiſes, many cities reuolted againſt him, and put them ſelues into his enemies handes: and they daily alſo raiſed new mutinies and rebellions apon him. Furthermore, thoſe whome he ſent to pacifie the tumultes did handle them ſelues in ſuch ſorte, that where they ſhoulde haue quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they ſet them farder out, and procured newe tumultes. Hereupon was *Sertorius* gentle nature and former goodnes ſo altered, that he committed a moſt cruell act apon all the noble mens children of that land, which

Sertorius noble and worthie anſwere to Mithridates requeſte.

Sertorius worthy ſaying.

Sertorius leagne with Mithridates.

M. Marius ſent vnto Mithridates.

King Mithridates gaue M. Marius Proconſull, the vpper hand.

The enuie of Perpenna vnto Sertorius.

The ſeditious words of Perpenna, againſt Sertorius.

Sertorius ſlew the Spanyards ſonnes.

he brought vp at ſchoole in the city of OSCA: for ſome of them he put to death, and others he ſolde as ſlaues. Thus *Perpenna* hauing many aſſociates in his wicked conſpiracie againſt *Sertorius*, brought into his confederacie alſo one called *Manlius*, who had chiefeſt charge in all the army. This *Manlius* loued a young boy exceedingly, & becauſe he would let him know he loued him well, he told him on a time the whole plat of this conſpiracy, willing him not to reckon any more of others loue but of his, and to loue him only: for he ſhould ſee him a great man before it were longe. The younge boy louinge an other better than him, called *Auſidius*, went & reuealed vnto him all that *Manlius* had told him. *Auſidius* marueled to heare the boy made priuie to it, ſeeing him ſelfe alſo was of the confederacie, and knew not yet that *Manlius* was one of them. And when the boy alſo named *Perpenna*, *Gracinus*, & ſome other whom *Auſidius* knew well to be of coũſell, he was worſe afrayed then before, but yet ſeemed to make litle of it, and tolde the boy: for that matter it was nothing, and counſelled him not to credit *Manlius* wordes, who was but a vaine man, and boaſted of that which was not true, and did it onely but to deceiue him. This notwithſtanding, departing thence, he went foorthwith vnto *Perpenna*, and tolde him how their practiſe was diſcouered, declaring further what daunger they were in, if it were not ſpeedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed it was true that he ſayd, & thereupon they deuiſed this treaſon. They had ſuborned a meſſenger to bring counterfeate letters to *Sertorius*, feyning in the ſame that one of his Lieutenauntes had won a great battell, in the which he had ſlaine a maruelous number of his enemies. *Sertorius* being very glad of the good newes, made ſacrifice vnto the goddes to geue them thankes. Whereupon, *Perpenna* taking the preſent oportunity inuited *Sertorius* to ſupper to him, and all other his frendes that were preſent (euery one of the conſpiracie with him) and was ſo importunate with *Sertorius*, that in the end he promiſed him to come. Now *Sertorius* did euer vſe great modeſtie at the bourde, and would ſuffer no diſſolute talke nor light partes at his meate, and had acquainted them alſo that vſed his table, to talke of graue and wiſe matters, and yet one to be honeſtly mery with an other, without any playing or vncomely talke. In the middeſt of ſupper, they that ſought occaſion of quarrell, beganne to ſpeake lewde wordes, counterfeating to be dronke, and to play many vile partes of purpoſe to anger *Sertorius*. Whereuppon *Sertorius*, whether it was that he coulde not abide to ſee thoſe villanous partes, or that he miſtruſted their ill will towardes him by fumbling of their wordes in their mouthes, and by their vnwonted irreuerent maner ſhewed vnto him: fell backewards apon the bed where he ſate at meate, ſeeming no more to marke what they did or ſayd. *Perpenna* at that inſtant tooke a cuppe full of wine, & making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpoſe. The cuppe falling downe made a noyſe, and that was the ſigne geuen among them. Therewithall *Antonius* that ſate aboue *Sertorius* at the table, ſtabbed him in with his dagger. *Sertorius* feeling the thruſt, ſtroue to riſe: but the traiterous murderer got vp on *Sertorius* breſt, & held both his handes. And thus was *Sertorius* cruelly murdered, not able to defend him ſelfe, all the conſpirators falling apon him. *Sertorius* death being blowen abroade, the moſt parte of the SPANYARDS ſent Ambaſſadors immediatly vnto *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and yeelded them ſelues vnto them: and *Perpenna* with thoſe that remained with him, attempted to doe ſome thing with *Sertorius* army and preparation. But all fell out to his vtter deſtruction and ruine, making the world know that he was a wicked man, who could neither commaund, nor knew how to obey. For he went to aſſaile *Pompey*, who had ouerthrowen him ſtraight, and was in the end taken priſoner. And yet in that inſtant of his calamitie, he did not vſe him ſelfe like a valliant minded man, and one worthy to rule: for, thinking to ſaue his life, hauing *Sertorius* letters and wrytinges, he offered *Pompey* to deliuer him all *Sertorius* letters ſent him from the chiefeſt Senators of ROME, wrytten with their owne handes, requeſtinge *Sertorius* to bring his armie into ITALIE, where he ſhould finde numbers of people deſirous of his comming, and that gaped ſtill for chaunge of gouernment. But here did *Pompey* ſhewe him ſelfe a graue and no younge man, deliueringe thereby the citie of ROME from great feare and daunger of chaunge and innouation. For he put all *Sertorius* letters and wrytinges on a heape together, and burnt them euery one, without readinge any of them, or ſufferinge them to be red. And moreouer, he preſently put *Perpenna* to death, fearing he ſhould name ſome, which if they were named, would breede

The treaſon of Perpenna & his accomplices againſt Sertorius.

The treaſon deuiſed againſt Sertorius.

Sertorius modeſty at his table.

The murder of Sertorius

Perpenna taken by Pompey.

Pompeis wiſedom in burning Sertorius letters.

Perpenna & his conſpiratours put to death by Pompey.

new

A new occasion of trouble & sedition. And as for the other conspirators, some of the afterwards were brought to *Pompey*, who put them all to death: and the rest of them fled into AFRICKE where they were all ouerthrowen by them of the contrie, and not a man of them scaped, but fell vnfortunately apon thedge of the sworde, *Ausidius* only except, *Manlius* companion in loue. Who, either bicause he was not reckened of, or else vnknowen, dyed an olde man in a pelting village of the barbarous people, poore, miserable, and hated of all the world.

THE LIFE OF *Eumenes.*

B

C

D *Eumenes* parentage.

VVris the Historiographer wryteth, that *Eumenes* was borne in the citie of CARDIA in THRACIA, being a cariers sonne of the same contrie, (who for pouertie earned his liuing by carying marchaundises to and fro) and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought vp, as well at schoole, as at other comely exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, *Philip* king of MACEDON chaunsing to come through the city of CARDIA, where hauing nothing to do he tooke great pleasure to see the young men of the citie handle their weapons, & boyes to wrestle: and among them, *Eumenes* shewed such actiuitie, and performed it with so good a grace withall, that *Philippe* liked the boye well, and tooke him away with him. But sure their reporte seemeth trueſt, which wryte that *Philippe* did aduaunce him for the loue he bare to his father, in whose house he had lodged. After the death of *Philippe*, *Eumenes* continued his seruice with king *Alexander* his sonne, where he was thought as wise a man, & as faithfull to his master, as any: and though he was called the Chauncellor or chiefe secretary, yet the king did honor him as much as he did any other of his chiefest frendes & familiars. For he was sent his Lieutenaunt generall of his whole army, against the INDIANS, and was *Perdiccas* successor in the gouernment of his prouince, *Perdiccas* being preferred vnto *Hephestions* charge after his death. Nowe bicause *Neoptolemus* (that was one of the chiefe Squiers for the body vnto the king) after the death of *Alexander* told the Lordes of the counsell of MACEDON, that he had serued the king with his shield and speare, and howe *Eumenes* had followed with his penne and paper: the Lordes laughed him to scorne, knowing that besides many great honors *Eumenes* had receiued, the king esteemed so well of him, that he did him the honor by mariage to make him his kinseman. For the first Lady that *Alexander* knew

How Eumenes came to preferrement by the kinges of Macedon.

E

F

in ASIA, was *Barsine Artabazus* daughter, by whom he had a sonne, & called his name *Hercules:* & of two of her sisters he maried the one of them called *Apama* vnto *Ptolomye*, & her other sister also called *Barsine*, he bestowed vpon *Eumenes*, when he distributed the PERSIAN Ladies among his Lordes and familiars to marrie them. Yet all this notwithstanding, he often fell in disgrace with king *Alexander*, & stoode in some daunger by meanes of *Hephæstion*. For *Hephæstion* following *Alexanders* courte on a time, hauing appointed *Euius* a phiphe player a lodging, which *Eumenes* seruauntes had taken vp for their maister: *Eumenes* being in a rage, went with one *Mentor* vnto *Alexander*, crying out that a mā were better be a phiphe & a common plaier of Tragedies, then a souldier, sithence such kinde of people were preferred before men of seruice that ventured their liues in the warres. *Alexander* at that present time was as angrie as *Eumenes*, & roundly tooke vp *Hephæstion* for it: howbeit immediatly after hauing chaunged his minde, he was much offended with *Eumenes*, bicause he thought him not to haue vsed that franke speech so much against *Hephæstion*, as of a certaine presumptuous boldenes towardes him selfe. And at an other time also, when *Alexander* was sending *Nearchus* with his army by sea to cleere the coastes of the Occean, it chaunsed the king was without money: whereupon he sent to all his frendes to take vp money in prest, and among others, vnto *Eumenes*, of whom he requested three hundred talentes. *Eumenes* lent him but a hundred, and sayd he had much a doe to get him so much of all his tenantes. *Alexander* sayd nothing to him, neither would he suffer them to take his hundred talentes: but commaunded his officers to set *Eumenes* tent a fire, bicause he would take him tardy with a lye, before he could geue order to cary away his gold and siluer. Thus was his tent burnt downe to the ground, before they could make shift to saue any thing: the which *Alexander* repented afterwardes, and was sorie it was burnt, bicause all his letters and wrytinges were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in niggots of gold and siluer mingled together, aboue a thowsand talentes, and yet *Alexander* tooke none of it away: but more then that, he sent vnto all his Lieutenauntes, Captaines, and Gouernors of contries, whersoeuer they were, that they should send him copies of all the letters which they before had sent vnto him, bicause all those which he had were burnt, and commaunded *Eumenes* to take them againe. After that, *Eumenes* and *Hephæstion* fell at variance againe, by reason of a gifte that was geuen him, insomuch as very fowle wordes passed betwext *Hephæstion* and him: yet did not the king geue *Eumenes* any ill countenaunce at that time. Notwithstanding, shortly after *Hephæstion* was dead, the king taking his death grieuously whom he loued so derely, gaue no good countenaunce (and was very briefe besides) vnto those whom he knew bare any grudge vnto *Hephæstion* whiles he liued, & that he thought were glad of his death, but specially vnto *Eumenes* of all other, whose malice towards *Hephæstion* was knowen to him well enough: insomuch as he would ofte twyt him withall, remembring him of the iniuries he had offred *Hephæstion*. But *Eumenes* being very wise, and one that could take his time, procured his helpe by the selfe same meane that did him hurte: and deuised (to further *Alexanders* desire, seeking to honor *Hephæstions* funerall with all pompe possible) newe inuentions to set forth the same, of more magnificence then had before bene seene, sparing for no cost, laying on money bountifully, to make him a rich and stately tombe. Againe, when *Alexander* was dead, there fell out great variance betwext the MACEDONIAN footemen, and the noble men that had bene neereste about him: and in that quarrell, *Eumenes* in good will stucke to the Lordes, but in wordes he seemed a newter and frend to both partes: saying, it was not for him being a straunger to thrust him selfe into the quarrells of the MACEDONIANS. And when the other Lordes were departed from BABYLON, *Eumenes* tarying behinde pacified the greateste parte of the souldiers, and made them more tractable and ready to agree with the Lordes. Whereupon, after the Lordes and Captaines had consulted together, and taken order for those contentions, they deuided the gouernment of the prouinces amonge them which they called Satrapaes: in which partition *Eumenes* had CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, and all that coast vpon Mare Ponticum, vnto the citie of TRAPEZVNTE, the which at that time was not subiect to Thempire of MACEDON, for *Ariarathes* kept it then as king. Howbeit it was sayd, that *Leonatus* and *Antigonus* would put him in possession of it, with a great and puisant armie, and make him Gouernor there. Yet afterwardes *Antigonus* made none

Barsine, the wife of Eumenes.

Eumenes made Gouernor of the contries of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.

A none accompt of *Perdiccas* letters vnto him, putting him in the heade of great imaginations to conquer all, deſpiſing all other. And *Leonatus* alſo came downe into PHRYGIA, and vndertooke the iorney of this conqueſt for *Eumenes* ſake. But when he was in iorney thitherwardes, *Hecataeus*, tyran of the CARDIANS, went to him to his army, & prayed him rather to goe helpe *Antipater* and the other MACEDONIANS, which were beſieged in the citie of LAMIA. So *Leonatus* being willing to take ſea, and go thither, went about to perſwade *Eumenes* alſo to like of it, and to reconcile him with *Hecataeus*: for they were not frendes one with an other, by reaſon of a quarrell that *Eumenes* father had with this *Hecataeus*, about the gouernment of their citie. Beſides that, *Eumenes* had many times complained of him openly vnto king *Alexander*, ſaying, that he was a tyranne, and beſought the kinge that it woulde pleaſe him to ſette the CAR-
B DIANS at libertie. And therefore *Eumenes* refuſing that iorney againſt the GRÆCIANS, alleaging that he was afrayed of *Antipater*, who had bene his enemy of long time, doubting that for the olde grudge he bare him, & alſo to gratifie *Hecataeus*, he would put him to death: *Leonatus* then reuealed him ſelfe and his purpoſe to him, and how he made as though he would paſſe ouer the ſea to ayde *Antipater*, where in deede his meaning was to take the kingdom of MACEDON. Thereupon he ſhewed him letters ſent him from *Cleopatra*, willing him to come to the citie of PELLA, and there ſhe would marry him. When *Eumenes* was made priuy to his purpoſe: either bicauſe he feared *Antipater*, or els for that he had no great good opinion of *Leonatus*, knowing him to be a fonde man, and very raſhe and vnconſtant in his doinges, he
C ſtale away from him by night, with thoſe fewe men he had (being about three hundred horſemen, and two hundred footemen well armed) taking all his gold with him, which amounted to the ſumme of fiue thowſand talentes, and fled with them vnto *Perdiccas*, vnto whom he bewrayed all *Leonatus* intent and minde: whereuppon he was immediatly of great credit about him, and called to counſell. Shortly after, *Perdiccas* brought him into CAPPADOCIA, with a great armie which he him ſelfe did leade. Where *Ariarathes* was taken priſoner, and *Eumenes* eſtabliſhed Gouernor of the contrie, who deliuered the charge of the great cities vnto his frendes, and left them there Captaines of garriſons which he appointed, placing euery where, Iudges, Receiuers, Gouernors, and all ſuch other officers neceſſarie as he thought meete, *Perdiccas* medling with nothing at all. Notwithſtanding, *Eumenes* went away with *Perdiccas* a-
D gaine, as well to wayte apon him, as alſo bicauſe he would euer be about the kinges. But *Perdiccas* thinking with him ſelfe that he alone could wel enough performe thenterpriſe he went about, and conſidering alſo that the realme he left behinde him ſtoode needefull of a wiſe and skilfull Gouernor, whom he might truſt with the ſafety of his ſtate: when they were in CILICIA, returned *Eumenes* backe againe, vnder colour to ſend him to his gouernment, but in dede to keepe the realme of ARMENIA in obedience, the which confined apon the fronters of his contrie whereof he was Gouernor, bicauſe *Neoptolemus* did vnder hand practiſe ſome alteration. Now though *Neoptolemus* was a prowde and inſolent perſon, yet *Eumenes* ſtill deuiſed to hold him in, and kept him from attemptes, by gentle and fayer wordes. Furthermore, perceiuing alſo that the regiment of the MACEDONIAN footemen were growen exceding ſtowt & inſolent: he for a ſtrength & defenſe againſt them, ſet vp a cõpany of horſemen, & to bring
E it to paſſe, releaſed all the contriemen from paying of tribute or taxe, being meete to ſerue a horſebacke, and bought a great number of horſe of ſeruice, which he gaue amongs them that were about him, in which he put his moſt truſt and affiance, making them coragious, by honors and giftes he gaue to them that ſerued well, and ſo by continuall exerciſe and often remouing them from place to place, made them very ready and ſeruiceable. Thus were the noble men of MACEDON, ſome much amazed, ſome others very glad when they ſawe howe by this diligence *Eumenes* had in ſo ſhorte a time gotten about him ſuch a number, as ſixe thowſand three hundred horſemen. About that time, *Craterus* and *Antigonus* hauing ſubdued the GRÆCIANS, came on with their army into ASIA to ouerthrow *Perdiccas* greatnes and power: and newes alſo, that ſhortly they would inuade CAPPADOCIA. Whereupon *Perdiccas* being
F otherwiſe occupied in warres, fighting againſt *Ptolomye*, made *Eumenes* his Lieutenaunt generall, and gaue him commiſſion and full authoritie ouer all his ſouldiers that were for him, either in CAPPADOCIA, or in ARMENIA: and wrote letters vnto *Neoptolemus* and *Alcetas*,

commaunding them by the ſame that they ſhould be obedient vnto *Eumenes*, and ſuffer him A
to order all matters according to his diſcretion. Now for *Alcetas*, he flatly aunſwered, that he
would not be at this warre: for the MACEDONIANS vnder his charge were aſhamed to take
armes againſt *Antipater*, and moreouer they would not fight againſt *Craterus*, but contrarily
were bent to receiue him for their Captaine, ſo much good will they bare him. *Neoptolemus*
on thother ſide, was as ready to play the traitor, and to doe *Eumenes* a ſhrewde turne, as *Al-*
cetas was. For being ſent for by *Eumenes* to come to him, where he ſhould haue obeyed him,
he ſet his men in battell ray to fight with him. There did *Eumenes* reape the firſt frute of his
wiſe foreſight of the horſemen, which he had ſet vp to make head againſt the footemen of the
MACEDONIANS. For when his owne footemen were broken and ouerthrowen, he ouercame
Neoptolemus, and put him to flight with his horſemen, and tooke all his cariage. Then he made B
them march in order of battell againſt the MACEDONIANS, who were diſperſed euery where,
following the chaſe of his footemen, whom they had ouerthrowen. Thus cõming apon them
in this diſorder, he draue them to throwe away their weapons, and to yeelde vnto him: and
moreouer, euerie man to take his othe to ſerue him faithfully in this warre, whereſoeuer he
would lead them. Now *Neoptolemus* gathering a few together that fled, went with them vnto
Craterus and *Antipater*: who ſent vnto *Eumenes* to pray him to take their parte, with condition
that he ſhould not onely enioy the contries and prouinces ſtill which he had in gouernment,
but furthermore that they would geue him others vnto them, and make him ſtronger then e-
uer he was: beſides that by thacceptation of thoffer, he ſhould be taken for *Antipaters* good
frend, where before he was euer reckoned his enemy. Whereunto *Eumenes* made aunſwere: C
that hauing alwayes bene *Antipaters* enemy, he could not of a ſodaine become his frend, ſpe-
cially ſeeing him vſe his frendes as enemies: howebeit otherwiſe that he was very willing to
make *Craterus* peace with *Perdiccas*, and to reſtore him againe to his fauor, apon reaſonable
& indifferent condicions. And furthermore, that if he ment to aſſaile him, that then he would
aide him ſo longe as he had any breath in his bodie, and would loſe his life before he woulde
breake his promiſe. This aunſwere being brought vnto *Antipater*, they fel to conſult at leaſure
what was to be done. In the meane ſpace, *Neoptolemus* that fled apon his ouerthrowe, was
come vnto them: who told them how the battell was fought, and beſought them both verie
inſtantly, (but *Craterus* chiefly) to geue him aide if it were poſſible. For the MACEDONIANS
were ſo farre in loue with him, that if they did but ſee his hatte, and heare him ſpeake, they D
would all arme them ſelues and follow him. For, to ſpeake a troth, *Craterus* was had in great
eſtimation amõg the MACEDONIANS: inſomuch as after *Alexanders* death, he was more de-
ſired of the common ſouldiers, than any other Captaine, remembring how often he had for
their ſakes incurred *Alexanders* diſgrace and diſpleaſure, bicauſe he went about to perſwade
him to leaue the king of PERSIAES maner, whereunto *Alexander* by litle and litle gaue him
ſelfe: and alſo for that he maintained and defended the cuſtomes of the contry of MACEDON,
the which euery man through pride and exceſſe beganne to forſake and contemne. At that
time therefore *Craterus* ſent *Antipater* into CILICIA, and he him ſelfe with *Neoptolemus*, went
againſt *Eumenes* with the beſt parte of his army, hoping to take him tardy and altogether vn-
prouided, ſuppoſing he would geue him ſelfe to pleaſure and paſtime, after ſo late a victorie. E
But *Eumenes* like a wiſe and vigilant Captaine had taken ſuch order, that he heard newes time
enough of his enemies comming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readines to reſiſt
Eumenes skill in warre. him. Yet was not this the chiefeſt point of his skill in warre. For he looked ſo preciſely to his
doings, that he did not only kepe his enemies frõ knowledge of any thing that he did, but ma-
king his men alſo to kill *Craterus* in battell, before they knew againſt whom they ſhould fight,
and to keepe alſo ſo dreadfull an enemie from their knowledge: that of all others ſhewed the
paſſing skill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his policie.
Firſt, he made a rumor to be ſpred in his hoſt, how *Neoptolemus* & *Pigres* were againe comen
againſt him, with certaine horſemen of all ſortes gathered together, CAPPADOCIANS and
PAPHLAGONIANS. And when he thought to haue remoued in the night, a great deſire of F
Eumenes dreame. ſleepe came apon him, in the which he had a maruelous ſtraunge dreame. For it ſeemed vnto
him that he ſaw two *Alexanders* preparing to fight one with an other, either of them leading a

battel

A battell of footemen, ranged after the MACEDONIAN facion: who comming to geue charge thone apon the other, came the goddesse *Minerua* to aide the one, and *Ceres* likewise to ayde the other. Then him thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom *Minerua* aided was ouerthrowen, and that *Ceres* had gathered eares of corne and made a crowne of them, to geue him that had wonne the field. Hereupon *Eumenes* perswaded him selfe that this dreame made for him, and promised him victorie, for that he fought for a fertile contrie of corne, where was great plenty of it. For all the fields were sowen with corne in euery place, that it was a pleasure to behold it, shewing the benefit of long peace, to see all the corne fields how greene they looked. But whē he vnderstoode that the enemies had giuen their souldiers for the signall of battell, *Minerua* and *Alexander*: then was his first imagination confirmed
B more then before. Whereuppon, he gaue *Ceres* and *Alexander* for signall of the battell to his souldiers, and commaunded euery man to make them a garlande of wheate eares to weare on their heades, and that they should wreath flowers and nosegayes about their pikes. He was in a minde many times to make his trustiest Captaines priuie against whome they should fight, and not alone to trust him selfe withall, to keepe so necessary a thing as that secret: yet in fine, he kept his first resolution, thinking it the safest way, not to commit this daunger, but to him selfe. Now when he came to geue battell, he would place neuer a MACEDONIAN directly against *Craterus*, but set two companies of men of armes that were straungers against him, the which *Pharnabazus* (*Artabazus* sonne) and *Phœnix Tenidian* did lead. Then he specially commaunded, that so soone as they saw the enemies before thē, they should straight geue charge,
C geuing them no leasure to speake nor retire, neither to hearken to any Heraulde or trompet that they should send vnto them: for he feared much that the MACEDONIANS would turne against him, if they once came to know *Craterus*. Now for him selfe, he led the right wing of his battell, with a troupe of three hundred men at armes, the chiefest men of all his armie, where he should meete full with *Neoptolemus* fronte. When they had passed a litle hill that stoode betwene both battells, *Eumenes* horsemen following his commaundement, ranne with full cariere to set apon their enemies. *Craterus* seeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and cursed *Neoptolemus* that had deceiued him in that sorte, informing him that the MACEDONIANS would turne of his side, if they might but once see him: notwithstanding, he prayed them that were about him, to shewe them selues like valliant men that day, and therewithall
D fiercely set spurres to his horse to meete with his enemies. The encounter was very cruell on either side, and their staues being broken, they fell straight to their swordes: but that day did not *Craterus* dishonor the memory of *Alexander*, for he slue many of his enemies round about him, valliantly repulsed them that did assaile him, and many times ouerthrewe them. Yet in fine, one of the men of armes of THRACIA gaue him such a blow on the side, that he turned him of his horse, and when he was downe, many passed ouer him. But *Gorgyas*, one of *Eumenes* Captaines knowing him, lighted from his horse, and appointed men about him to garde him: howebeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and euen in the very panges of death. *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus* on thother side, which had bene mortall enemies of long time, be-
E ing a fire with an old malice, they sought vp and downe thone for the other. So at the two first courses they could not one light apon thother, but at the third meeting, when they knew one an other, then they set spurres to their horses, their swordes drawen, and with great cries gaue charge apon eche other. And their horses met so fiercely together, as if two armed gallies had met with their prowes: and both the Captaines laying the bridells in their horse neckes, closed together, and with both handes striued to plucke of eche others headpeece, and to rent their polrons from their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing eche other, their horses ran from them, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other fast as if they had wrestled together. *Neoptolemus* got vp first: but as he rose, *Eumenes* cut the hamme of his legge, & raised him selfe vp withall. *Neoptolemus* staying him selfe apon one knee, his other legge being very sore hurt, defended him selfe on the ground the best he could, from *Eumenes* that was on
F his feete, but he could geue him no deadly wound: neuertheless him selfe had a blow on the necke, that layed him flat on the grounde. Then *Eumenes* inflamed with choller against him, went about to strippe him, and fell a reuiling of him, and being in that furious moode, remem-

Battell betwext Eumenes and Craterus.

Craterus death.

bred not that *Neoptolemus* had his ſword yet, who hurt him vnder his curaces, euen about his groyne, not farre from his priuie partes: howebeit the wounde made *Eumenes* worſe afrayed, then there was cauſe of hurt, for that *Neoptolemus* ſtrength was gone before the ſtroke came, dying preſently apon it. *Eumenes* hauing ſtripped him found him ſelf very ill, (by reaſon of his woundes) on his armes and legges, which had many a ſore gaſhe: notwithſtanding, he got vp on his horſe againe, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies had bene fighting ſtill. But there being told that *Craterus* had his deathes wound, he went ſtraight to the place where he lay, and found him yet aliue, not paſt knowledge. Then *Eumenes* lighted from his horſe, and wept, and taking him by the right hande, accurſed *Neoptolemus* that had brought him to that pitiefull ſtate, and had alſo forced him to be in battell againſt one of his deereſt frendes, to make him the inſtrument of his vtter vndoing. This ſecond battell *Eumenes* wanne tenne dayes after the firſt battell obtained, which got him great honor, for that he had diſcomfited one of his enemies through wiſedome, and the other by valliantnes. But yet this bred him much ill will, not onely of his enemies, but of his frendes alſo that tooke his parte, when they bethought them, that he being a ſtraunger, had with the weapons and power of the MACEDONIANS them ſelues, ſlaine the greateſt and moſt famous Captaine among them. Now if *Perdiccas* had bene ſo happie, as to haue liued and receiued thaduertiſement of *Craterus* death: no dout he had bene the greateſt perſon of all the MACEDONIANS. But as ill lucke would haue it, within two dayes after that *Perdiccas* was ſlaine in a mutinie of his men in EGYPT, newes came to his army of *Eumenes* victorie, and alſo of the death of *Craterus*. Whereupon the MACEDONIANS were ſo offended with *Eumenes*, that incontinently they condemned him to dye, & gaue *Antigonus* and *Antipater* commiſſion to execute the reuenge. When *Eumenes* paſſing by mount Ida (where the king kept a race and brede of horſes) had taken away with him as many horſes as he would, and had ſent letters of aduertiſement thereof to the kinges ryders: *Antipater*, as it is reported, ſmyled, and in mockerie ſayd, that he marueled to ſee *Eumenes* great care, to thinke that he ſhould either geue or receiue any account of the kinges goodes. So *Eumenes* thought good to fight in the great plaines of LYDIA, eſpecially neere vnto the chiefe citie of SARDIS, bicauſe he was the ſtronger in horſemen, and for that he would make *Cleopatra* ſee the power of his armie. Howebeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of *Antipater*) he went further into hie PHRYGIA, and wintered in the citie of CELÆNES. But there *Polemon*, *Alcetas*, and *Docimus*, fell in contention with him for leading of the army, ſaying, that they had as much right to leade the army as he. *Eumenes* aunſwered them, truely here is euen the cõmon ſaying vp and downe: deſperate men regard no daunger. Now *Eumenes* hauing promiſed his ſouldiers pay within three dayes, to keepe his promeſſe, ſolde them all the farmes & caſtells of that contrie, together with the men and beaſtes of the ſame, whereof the prouince was fully repleniſhed. Thereupon his Lieutenauntes of the bandes hauing bought certaine of them, went and tooke them perforce, through *Eumenes* engines of battery which he ſuffred them to carie with him: and hauing taken them, they went and deuided the ſpoyle, paying euery ſouldier ratably his wages due. This deuiſe brought him againe in fauor among his ſouldiers. For certaine papers being founde in his campe caſt abroade by his enemies, promiſing great offices, and a hundred talents beſides to any man that killed *Eumenes*: the MACEDONIANS that ſerued vnder him were ſo offended withall, that they preſently ſet downe an order, that from that time forward a thowſande of the beſt ſouldiers amonge them (which alſo had charge vnder them) ſhould alwayes garde his perſon, keeping watche euery night about him, as fell out by turnes one after an other. Whereunto they all agreed: & *Eumenes* gaue them thoſe honors and rewardes, which the kinges of MACEDON were wont to geue vnto their frendes, and which they gladly receiued. For through their graunt he had authoritie to geue purple clokes and hattes to whom he thought good, which was the honorableſt gift the kinge of MACEDON could geue. It is true that proſperitie maketh ſimple men high minded, whereby they ſeeme (though they be not) very honorable, but ſpecially when fortune hath raiſed them to honor & wealth. But in deede he that is of a noble minde & ſtowt corage is beſt diſcerned in aduerſitie: for he neuer yeeldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by *Eumenes*. For when he had loſt a battell among the ORCYNIANS, in the realme of CAPPADOCIA,

Neoptolemus ſlaine.

Eumenes victory of Craterus and Neoptolemus.

Sardis, the chiefe city of Lydia.

The conſtancy of Eumenes in aduerſity.

A CIA, through the treaſon of one of his ſouldiers: he being purſued, yet neuer gaue the traitor any leaſure to flie to his enemies for ſafety, but tooke him, & truſſed him vp. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his horſe head vpon a ſodaine, and leauing his enemies ſide hand of him that had him in chace, he cloſely ſtale by them without their knowledge, & held on iornying ſo long, vntill he came to the ſelfe ſame plaine, where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering vp the dead bodies, (the Captaines by them ſelues, and the ſouldiers aparte) he burnt them with the dores, gates, and windowes of all the villages & townes thereabouts that he could get together: and in ſteede of tombes for them, he raiſed vp great heapes of earth. Inſomuch as *Antigonus* comming thither immediatly after, he wondred much at his valliantnes & inuincible corage. Remouing thence, he met with *Antigonus* cariage, & might *Eumenes ſtratageme.*
B eaſily without daunger haue taken a number of priſoners, as well free as bond, & haue gotten all the riches & treaſure which they had ſpoyled in ſo many ſundrie warres, townes, and countries: howbeit he was afrayed that if his ſouldiers were loden with that ſpoyle, it would make them more heauy to march, and vnable to flie, but ſpecially more tender to abide to run from place to place a long time together, being the only meane wherein he truſted to come to end this warre. For he made account that *Antigonus* in the end would be weary of following him ſo long a time, & therefore that he would turne ſome other way. Moreouer he perceiued, that it was vnpoſſible for him by his authority to keepe the MACEDONIANS from taking ſo riche a pray, as offred it ſelfe vnto them: whereupon he commaunded them to ſtay a while, & baite their horſe firſt, and then that they ſhould go ſtraight to ſpoile the enemies cariage. But in the
C meane time he ſecretly ſent a meſſenger to *Menander* (who had the charge and conduct of all the cariage) to will him to flie with all ſpeede out of the plaine, and to get him to the hanging of a hill not farre from thence, and ſafe from horſemen, where they could not be enuironned, and there to fortifie him ſelfe: ſending him word alſo, that he ſent him this aduertiſement, for the old frendſhip & acquaintance that had bene betwene them afore. *Menander* hearing what daunger he was in, made his men truſſe vp their cariage ſtraight. Thereupon *Eumenes* openly ſent certaine light armed men to diſcouer, & to bring him newes: and therwithall commaunded them to arme, and bridle their horſes, as if he had ment to haue led them againſt the enemies. His skowtes were nowe returned, and told him that it was vnpoſſible either to diſtreſſe or take *Menander*, for that he was fled into a place of ſuch ſtrength, & therefore he was not to
D be come by. *Eumenes* ſeemed to be very ſory for it, howbeit he led his army from thence notwithſtanding. *Menander* afterwards reported this matter to *Antigonus*, & the MACEDONIANS that were in his army, who did greatly commend *Eumenes*, & after that loued him better then euer they did before: bicauſe that hauing their childrē in his hands whom he might haue made ſlaues, & their wiues alſo whom he might haue defiled, he ſpared them al. Howbeit *Antigonus* to put them out of this humor, told them, ye are deceiued, my frendes: for it was not for your ſakes, nor yet to pleaſure you, that *Eumenes* tooke not your wiues, your children, & your goods, but only for the feare he had to haue ſhackles on his heeles, to let him from ſpeedy flying. So *Eumenes* departing from thence, fled ſtill before *Antigonus*, & wandring vp & downe, did him ſelfe wiſh his ſouldiers to get them ſomewhere elſe, either in deede for that he was carefull of
E them, or for that he was vnwilling to haue ſuch a number about him, being too fewe to fight a battell, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a ſtrong place of ſcituacion called Nora, in the confines of LYCAONIA & CAPPADOCIA, with fiue hundred horſemen, and two hundred footemen well armed. And when he was comen thither alſo, he gaue euery one leaue to depart that asked him licence, bicauſe they could not haue abidden the diſcōmodity of the place, which was very ſtraight, & the lacke of neceſſary vittells which they muſt needes haue wanted, if the ſiege did continue long: & thus departed from them with very good words and louing countenaunce. Shortly after came *Antigonus* before the forte, but would not beſiege it, before he ſent for *Eumenes* to come to him apon his word. *Eumenes* aunſwered him, that *Antigonus* had many of his frendes about him, that after him might come to be the heades of his
F tribe, & that him ſelfe on thother ſide had not a noble man for whom he fought. And therfore if *Antigonus* would haue him come and ſpeake with him, that he ſhould ſende him one of his chiefeſt frendes in hoſtage. Againe *Antigonus* being earneſt with him, and telling him it was

reaſon he ſhould come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power: *Eumenes* aunſwered him, I will acknowledge none better then my ſelfe, ſo long as I can hold my ſword in my hand. In the end, *Antigonus* (according to *Eumenes* requeſt) ſent his owne neuew *Ptolomy* into the forte, and then came *Eumenes* out. At their meeting they both embraced and ſaluted eche other, as frendes of old acquaintance and familiaritie: and ſo fell in talke of diuers matters: but all this while *Eumenes* neuer once made requeſt to departe in ſafety, neither yet demaunded pardon, but only deſired the confirmation of his charge & gouernment, and that he might be reſtored to that which was geuen him. They that were preſent at their meeting marueled much at *Eumenes*, & greatly commended his ſtowtnes. Now whileſt they were thus in talke together, the MACEDONIANS came out of all partes of the campe, to ſee what maner of man *Eumenes* was: bicauſe that after the death of *Craterus* there was no talke among the MACEDONIAN ſouldiers, of any Captaine, but of *Eumenes*. Neuertheleſſe, *Antigonus* fearing they would do *Eumenes* ſome miſchiefe, commaunded them alowde to geue backe, and made ſtones to be throwen amonge them to keepe them of him. All this notwithſtandinge he was fayne in the end to put them of with his gard, and to take *Eumenes* in his armes, and had much a doe to deliuer him ſafely into his forte againe. After this imparlance, *Antigonus* compaſſed this forte of Nora round about with a wall, and left a ſufficient number of men to continewe the ſiege, and ſo went his way with the reſt of his army. In the meane time *Eumenes* remained beſieged within this forte, where there was plenty of wheate, water, and ſalt, but of no other thing that was good to eate, nor ſwete of taſt, to ſuſteine them with their bread. Yet with ſuch as he had, he kept them in good liking that were in houſe with him. For he made them euery one after an other ſit at his bourde with him, and withall did facion out that manner of dyet, with a certaine liſe and familiarity of pleaſaunt deuiſes to entertaine them at their meate. For beſides that he ſought to ſhewe them as pleaſaunt a countenaunce as he coulde, yet naturally he had a ſweete ſayer face, not looking like a man of warre, that all the dayes of his liſe had bene trained vp in it: but like a freſh youth, being of ſuch a conſtitution of bodie, that the excelleteſt workeman that euer was could not better ſet out all the partes and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be ſeene in him. His ſpeeche was not harſh nor churliſhe, but very mylde, and pleaſaunt, as appeareth by the letters he wrote. Now for the ſiege, there was nothing that more annoyed the beſieged, then the narrownes of the forte wherein they were, which was not aboue two furlonges compaſſe about, and their houſes ſo litle and narrowe, that they could ſcant turne them in them: and did eate and drinke without any manner of exerciſe for them ſelues, or their horſe. Now *Eumenes* to take away the ſluggiſhneſſe that groweth by idleneſſe, (a thing moſt hurtefull to them that are acquainted with trauell and paines) to keepe them in breth, and to make them the lighter to flie, if occaſion were offered: put his men into the longeſt & wideſt hall he had in his houſe, (being fourteene cubits long to walke vp and downe in) and taught them firſt of all to march fayer and ſoftly, and then by litle & litle to haſten their pace. For the horſes he had, them he made to be girt before, one after an other, & then did ſoftly triſe them vp with long pulleyes faſtned to the beames: their hindmoſt feete ſtanding on the ground, & their formoſt being aloft. The horſes being triſed vp in this maner, their riders came with lowde cries behinde them, & ſome with whippes in their hands to laſh them, that the horſe being mad withall, yerked out behind, & ſprang forward with his formeſt legges to touch the ground, that they did but euen raſe it a litle, ſo as euery vaine and ſinew of them were ſtrained by this meanes, that they blue, and were all of a ſome withall, ſo good an exerciſe to thē it was, as well to put them in breth, as to kepe their legges ſupple to run. After that, they had their otes very cleane pickt & dreſſed, that they might diſgeſt them the ſooner. *Antigonus* hauing long continued this ſiege, newes came vnto him that *Antipater* was dead in MACEDON, & that the realme was in a great broyle, through the factions of *Caſſander* & *Polyperchon*, *Antigonus*, whoſe head was ſtraight full of great imaginations, greedily coueting with him ſelfe the whole kingdom of MACEDON: thought good to make *Eumenes* his frende, that through his helpe he might attaine his deſired purpoſe. Thereupon he ſent *Hyeronymus* vnto him to treate of peace, and gaue him the forme of the othe which he would haue him ſweare vnto him. When *Eumenes* had ſeene it, he would not be ſworne in that maner, but corrected it, and

Eumenes talke with Antigonus, and magnanimity.

Eumenes beſieged in the forte of Nora.

Eumenes perſonage and pleaſantnes.

Eumenes induſtry in the ſiege for marſhall exerciſe.

A & ſayd: that he did referre him ſelfe to the iudgement of the MACEDONIANS which kept him beſieged, to iudge which of thoſe two formes were moſt meeteſt: that which *Antigonus* had ſent him, or the ſame which he had corrected. For in *Antigonus* forme of othe, there was a litle mencion only made at the beginning of the blood royall, but in all the reſt following, he bound *Eumenes* particularly to him ſelfe. But *Eumenes* in his forme of othe, did firſt of all put *Olympias* the mother of kinge *Alexander*, and the kinges his ſonnes afterwardes: and for the reſt, he ſware he would be frende of the frendes, and enemie of the enemies, not of *Antigonus* onely, but of the kinges, and of *Olympias*. The MACEDONIANS being at the ſiege before Nora, did better like the forme of *Eumenes* othe, than they did that of *Antigonus*. So hauing geuen *Eumenes* his othe, & made him ſweare according to that forme: they raiſed their ſiege, B and ſent alſo vnto *Antigonus* to take his othe. All this accompliſhed, *Eumenes* redelinered the CAPPADOCIANS their hoſtages, (which he had kept in Nora with him) and they that came for them, gaue him in their ſteade, horſe of warre, beaſtes of cariage, tentes and pauillions. Thus he beganne to gather his men againe together, which were diſperſed abroade after his ouerthrowe, ſo that in fewe dayes he was aboue a thowſande horſemen, with whom he fled, fearing yet *Antigonus*, and he did wiſely. For *Antigonus* had not onely commaunded them to ſhutte him vp againe ſtraighter then he was before: but beſides that wrote ſharpe letters and verie angrily vnto the MACEDONIANS, which had accepted the correction of the othe. Whileſt *Eumenes* wandered vp & downe flying ſtill, he receiued letters from certaine in MACEDONIA (fearing *Antigonus* greatneſſe) and ſpecially from *Olympias*: which ſent vnto him C to come into MACEDON, to take the charge and gouernment of her young ſonne *Alexander*, whome they ſought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewiſe receiued letters from *Polyperchon* and from king *Philippe*, who commaunded him to make warre with *Antigonus* with his armie he had in CAPPADOCIA, and to put in his purſe of the kinges, fiue hundred ſiluer talentes (which had bene taken from him before) which were in the citie of CYNDES, and beſides, to defraye the charges of the warres, as much as he thought meete. And therewithall alſo they wrote vnto *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, the two Captaines of the Argyraſpides: to wit, the ſouldiers with the ſiluer ſhieldes, or ſhieldes ſiluered, which were of the olde bandes of *Alexanders* armie. Theſe two Captaines hauinge receiued theſe letters, did vſe *Eumenes* with very good wordes, & ſhewed him great countenaunce: yet a man by their lookes might D eaſily coniecture that they enuied him, for either of them both thought them ſelues men ſufficient, and worthie to commaunde *Eumenes*, not to aide him. Howebeit *Eumenes* behaued him ſelfe very wiſely. For as touching their enuie, he pacified that, bicauſe he tooke not the money which he was cōmaunded to take for his owne vſe, for that he had no neede of it. And as for their ambition and preſumption, diſdaining to be commaunded by him, though they could neither tell howe to commaunde nor obey: he did reclaime them, by a ſuperſtition he layed before them, which was this. He made them beleue that *Alexander* did appeare to him in his ſleepe, and that he ſhewed him a pauillion ſumptuouſly ſette out in the ſtate and magnificence of a king, in the which was a royall throne: and tolde him, that if they would kepe their councell place in that pauillion, he would be preſent among them, and ayde them E in all their councells and conduct of their warres, ſo that they would alwayes beginne by him. He eaſily perſwaded *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* to beleue that which he ſpake, who would not goe to him to conſult of any matters: neither did he thinke it honorable for him ſelfe to be ſeene to go to other mens gates. Wherefore with all their conſents they incontinently ſet vp a goodly rich pauillion, which was called *Alexanders* pauillion: and there they kept their councells and aſſemblies for diſpatch of all their weightieſt cauſes. After this, they went towardes the hie contries and met with *Peuceſtas* on the way, (*Eumenes* very great frende) who ioyned with them, and other great pieres of the realme, with all their power beſides. This did greatly ſtrengthen the armie of the noble men of MACEDONIA, as touching the number of men, and their braue armors and furniture: but for their owne perſones, bicauſe they had no man F to commaunde them ſince the death of *Alexander*, they were growen ſelfe willed by diſſolute libertie, and effeminate in their maner of life: and moreouer they had gotten a tyrannicall fierceneſſe, nouriſhed & increaſed by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many

This was Aridæus, the ſonne of Philippe, father of Alexander, whom they had ſurnamed Philippe.

Eumenes, made king Philippes Lieutenaunt of his armie.

Argyraſpides Alexanders ſouldiers, ſo called, for their ſiuered ſhielder.

Eumenes temperance.

Eumenes fained deuiſe.

of them being then together, could not be quiet one with an other, but ſhamefully flattered the old bandes of the MACEDONIAN ſouldiers, geuing them money, and making them bankets and feaſtes of ſacrifices. And thus in ſhorte time, of a campe they brought it to be a diſſolute tauerne, where the noble men got the ſouldiers fauor that they might be choſen chieftaines of all the armie: like as the common peoples voyces are bought in free cities (where the people doe rule) to be preferred to honorable ſtates and offices of the common wealth. Now *Eumenes* found ſtraight that theſe pieres of the realme diſdained one an other, howebeit that they all feared and miſtruſted him, and ſought but for oportunity to kill him. Wherefore to preuent this, he made as though he had occaſion to occupie money, and ſo borrowed a great ſumme of the eſpecially, whom he knew moſt hated him: to the end that from thenceforth they ſhould no more diſtruſt, but truſt him, ſtanding in feare to loſe the money they had lent him. And thereof followed a ſtraunge thing: for other mens money and goodes, was the ſafetie of his life. For where others geue money to ſaue their liues, he by taking of money ſaued his owne life. Now for the ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, whileſt they ſawe they were without daunger of enemies to make them afraied, they ſtil hong apon theim that gaue them, being deſirous to be made Generalles: and came euery morning to their vpriſing to waite apon them, and follow them whereſoeuer they went. But when *Antigonus* was come to campe hard by them with a great and puiſant army, and that their caſe required then a valliant Captaine and skilfull leader: not the ſouldiers alone, but all the pieres and ſtates beſides, (which in peace did braue it out) did then willingly (without motion made) ſubmit them ſelues vnto *Eumenes*, to be at his commaundement. For when *Antigonus* aſſaied all the wayes he could to paſſe ouer the riuer of Paſitigris, the pieres which were layed in diuers places to let him from paſſing ouer, heard nothing of it, ſo that there was none but *Eumenes* onely that reſiſted him, and fought with him: where he ſlewe ſuch a number of his men, that he filled the riuer with them, and tooke foure thowſande of them priſoners. Againe, when *Eumenes* was ſicke, theſe olde bandes did more plainly ſhew, what opinion they had of him, and of others: to wit, that they could banket them, and make them good cheere at their houſes, yet that *Eumenes* onely of all other was worthieſt to be their Captaine, and to commaunde them. For *Peuceſtas* hauing feaſted them in the kingdom of PERSIA, and geuen euery ſouldier a mutton to ſacrifice, thought he had wonne great fauor & credit among them. But ſhortly after, as the army marched againſt their enemies, *Eumenes* by misfortune fell daungerouſly ſicke, & therfore would needes be caried in a litter farre from the campe, to be out of the noyſe, bicauſe he could take no reſt. But they had not gone farre, before they ſaw their enemies, which hauing paſſed ouer certaine litle hills betwene them, were comming downe into the valley. When the ſouldiers ſawe the gliſtering of the gilt armors of their enemies, that glared in the ſunne, and the good order they marched withall in battell ray, the Elephantes with the towers apon their backes, and the men at armes with their purple coates apon their armors: (which was the apparell they wore when they went to fight with their enemies) then the formeſt ſtayed apon it, and cried out, willing them to ſend for *Eumenes* to lead them, for they would els goe no further if they had not him for their Generall. And therewithall they raiſed their pykes, & layed downe their ſhieldes at their feete, calling from one to an other to ſtay, & to their priuate Captaines alſo: and told them plainly, that they would not ſturre a foote from thence, nor fight at all, vnleſſe *Eumenes* were among them to lead them. *Eumenes* hearing of it, came to them with great ſpeede, haſtening his ſlaues and littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his litter on euery ſide, he held out his right hand to the ſouldiers, and tolde them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The ſouldiers alſo ſo ſoone as they ſawe him, ſaluted him in the MACEDONIAN tongue, and tooke vp their ſhieldes, clapping them againſt their pykes with a great ſhowte, bidding their enemies come when they would, they ſhoulde be fought withall, now that their Captaine was among them. *Antigonus* on thother ſide, being informed by certaine priſoners which his ſouldiers had taken in skermiſh, that *Eumenes* was fallen very ſore ſicke, and by reaſon thereof was caried in a litter: thought nowe he ſhould haue no great a doe to diſcomfit the reſt of the army, and therefore made all poſſible ſpeede he could to fight. But when he came ſo neere, that he might eaſily ſee the order and countenaunce of his

Eumenes wiſeneſſe to winde him ſelfe out of daunger.

Paſitigris fl.

Eumenes battell with Antigonus, and victorie.

Antigonus ſouldiers armed with gilt armors.

A his enemies, who were ſet in ſuch good order of battell, that it could not any wayes be amended: he was much amaſed withall, and pawſed a great while, and in the meane time ſpied *Eumenes* litter a farre of, caried from one end of the battell to the other, whereat he laughed out alowed, as his maner was, and turning him ſelfe to his frendes, ſayd. See, ſayd he, I beleue it is that litter that maketh warre with vs, and doth offer vs battell. But with thoſe wordes, he ſounded the retreate, & brought his men backe againe into his campe. When this feare was a litle paſſed ouer, the MACEDONIANS fell to their olde trade againe, the pieres to flatter the ſouldiers, and the ſouldiers to waxe braue and ſtowte againſt their Captaines: ſo that when they came to take their garriſons for the winter time, they deuided in maner among them the whole contrie of the GABENIANS, the firſt from the laſt being lodged almoſt a thowſand furB longe of. Which *Antigonus* vnderſtanding, determined to ſet apon them, they miſtruſting nothing. And ſo went ſodainly towards them, by a ſhorter way then that he had already commen, but the worſer way a great deale, and where no water was to be had: in hope that if he met them thus diſperſed aſunder, their Captaines could not readily aſſemble them all togeC ther. But while he was in this his iorney, in the deſert crooked way, he was ſo ouertaken, and with ſuch boyſterous windes and extreame bitter cold, that his ſouldiers could go no further, but were forced to tary ſtil, to prouide them preſent remedy againſt the fury of the time. Now the onely remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their enemies knewe of their comming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountaines towardes the deſert, being amaſed to ſee ſuch a number of fires in the valley, ſent preſently with ſpeede apon two camells light loden, to aduertiſe *Peuceſtas*, who being neereſt vnto the mountaine was ſo ſcared with theſe newes, that he was at his wittes end, not knowing what to doe. For, ſeeing his other companions as much afrayed as him ſelfe, he fled apon it, and caried all them with him which he met in his way. But *Eumenes* quieted this great feare, aſſuring them that he would ſtay the ſodaine attempt of their enemies, and that they ſhould come three dayes later than they looked for: which they beleued. Then did *Eumenes* ſende meſſengers into euery quarter to all the Captaines, commaunding them ſpeedily to put their men in readineſſe, and to meete him at a certaine place which he appointed. Him ſelfe in the meane time went with other Captaines to chooſe a fit grounde to lodge a campe, the which might eaſily be ſeene from the toppe of the mountaines, which they muſt paſſe that come from the deſert: & there D fortified the ſame with trenches, and deuided it out into quarters, making fire in euery place, ſuch a diſtance of one from an other, as they vſe commonly to make in a campe. It was no ſooner done, but *Antigonus* came to the toppe of the mountaines, and ſawe theſe fires a farre of, which grieued him much: for he thought that his enemies had longe before knowen of his comming, and that they came againſt him. Being afrayed therfore leaſt his enemies would compell him to fight, comming freſhe apon him, his owne men being weary and done with the paines they had abidden, comminge through that deſert contrie: he tooke his way to lead backe his armie, not the neereſt way by the which he came, but through the contry richlyinhabited and repleniſhed with great cities and good townes, to refreſhe his ouerwearied people. Yet ſeeing he had none alaroms geuen, nor any skermiſhes offered him, (as they vſe E commonly when both armies are neere together) and that the valley men told him that they had ſeene none other armie but his, ſauing that round about there was ſtore of fires: then he ſtraight miſtruſted that it was one of *Eumenes* ſtratageames of warre, wherewith he had deceiued him. And therewithall he was in ſuch a rage, that he went ſtraight to the place where he thought to finde him, determining no more to ſteale apon him, but to put all to the haſard of a battell. But in the meane time, the moſt parte of the hoaſt was gathered about *Eumenes*, for the great eſtimacion euery man had of his wiſdom and ſufficiency: inſomuch that they agreed and ordained, that he only as their Lieutenaunt generall ſhould commaund the whole army. This ſpited the two Captaines of the *Argyraſpides*, *Antigenes* & *Teutamus*, who bare him ſuch an inward grudge, that from that time forth, they practiſed his death: & aſſembling together F with many of the ſtates & particular Captaines, they ſat in councell to know when, & in what ſorte they ſhould kill him. Howbeit the moſt voices aſſembled in this councell, were whole of opinio, that they ſhould take the benefit of his ſeruice in leading the battel, & that immediatly

Antigonus mocke to Eumenes.

Eumenes ſtratageame againſt Atigonus.

Enuy the cõpanion of vertue.

Eumenes death conſpired.

after they ſhould put him to death. This being thus reſolued apon, *Eudamus* Captaine of the Elephants, and an other called *Phædimus*, went ſecretly and told *Eumenes* what they had concluded apon in the aſſembly againſt him, not for any good will that they bare him, or for that they ſought to pleaſure him, but only bicauſe they were afrayed to looſe the money they had lent him. *Eumenes* gaue them great thankes, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it vnto his beſt frendes, and tolde them: you ſee howe I am enuironned with a troupe of wilde and brutiſhe beaſtes. That done, he made his will, and tare all the letters and wrytinges that had bene ſent him, bicauſe he would not haue them ſuffer for him after his death, that had ſent him ſecret aduertiſementes. Afterwardes when he had diſpoſed of all his priuate matters in this ſorte, he ſtoode in a doute whether he ſhoulde loſe the battell geuing his enemies the victorie, or whether it were better for him to flie into CAPPADOCIA, through MEDIA and ARMENIA. Howebeit he reſolued of nothing before his frendes. But when the miſchiefe he was in had put diuers thoughtes into his head, in fine he determined to fight, and did ſet his army in battell ray, perſwading the GRÆCIANS as well as the barbarous people to ſtand to it like men. And as for the olde ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, they ſo litle needed exhortation, that they them ſelues did exhorte *Eumenes* to be of good corage, ſaying: that their enemies would neuer abide them, bicauſe they were all the oldeſt ſouldiers, and of greateſt experience, that had bene in all the conqueſtes of kinge *Philippe*, and of his ſonne *Alexander*, and that it was neuer heard that they had bene ouerthrowen in any ſette battell, the moſt of them being three ſcore and tenne yeares olde, and the youngeſt no leſſe then three ſcore. Whereupon, when they ranne with great furie to geue charge apon their enemies, they cried out alowde ſpeaking to the ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS that were vnder *Antigonus*: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your fathers? And ſo aſſailing them with a luſtie corage, and in a rage withall, in a ſhorte ſpace ouerthrew the ſquadron of their enemies, & ſlue the moſt parte of them in the fielde. Thus was *Antigonus* armie cleane ouerthrowen on that ſide: but on thother ſide where his men of armes were, through *Peuceſtas* cowardlineſſe (that handeled him ſelfe very ill at that battell) he had the vpper hande, and wanne all their cariage, through his foreſight in the greateſt furie of the battell, and the ſtrength of the place where the battell was fought. For it was a maruelous great plaine of length, neither too depe, nor yet to hard vnderfoote, but couered ouer with a ſmall fine ſand, much like to the drie ſand the ſea caſteth vp, & leaueth apon the ſhore. This ſand being ſcattered abroade by riding and going to & fro of ſo many thowſandes of men and horſes during the time of the battell foughten, had raiſed ſuch a mightie duſt and white ſmoke in the element, as if they had ſturred or tempered white lime together, which troubled their ſight ſo ſore, as they could ſee nothing before them: in reſpect whereof *Antigonus* might eaſily ſeaſe all their cariage, them ſelues being neuer a whit the wiſer. The battell being come to this paſſe you haue heard, *Teutamus* ſent preſently vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to redeliuer them their cariage againe, which he had taken & caried into his campe. *Antigonus* made him aunſwere, that he would not only redeliuer the goodes vnto the ARGYRASPIDES, but would moreouer vſe them with all the fauor he could, ſo farre foorth as they deliuered *Eumenes* into his handes. Whereupon the ARGYRASPIDES tooke preſently a wicked reſolution, to deliuer him aliue into the handes of his enemies. And with that determination they came neere vnto him, not makinge any countenaunce as though they would lay handes on him, but rather ſeeming to garde and defend his perſone as their manner was: ſome of them lamenting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had wonne the battell: and others accuſing the noble men of cowardlines, ſaying, that the fault was in them that they had not the whole victorie. But in fine, one of thē hauing ſpied his time, flew to him, and tooke his ſword out of his hande: the others ſtraight layed hold of him, and bound both his handes behinde him with his owne girdle. *Antigonus* vnderſtanding it, ſent *Nicanor* thither to take him out of their handes, and to bring him to him. Then *Eumenes* hauing made requeſt vnto them to ſuffer him to ſpeake, as they brought him through the bandes of theſe olde MACEDONIAN ſouldiers: it was graunted him with condicion, that he ſhould make no motion vnto them to turne from that they were determinated to doe, but to tell them of thinges, which (as he ſayd) tended greatly to their benefite. Whereuppon ſilence being

Eumenes tare all his frendes letters to kepe them out of trouble.

The old band of the Macedonians, were euery man 60 yeare old and moſt about.

Eumenes conflict with Antigonus.

Eumenes betrayed by the Argyraſpides.

being made, he got vp apon a litle hillocke, and there ſpake vnto them, putting forth his hands being bound. O wretched and faithleſſe men, the wickedeſt that euer MACEDON bred. What ſo great triumphe, or victorie, hath euer *Antigonus* wonne of you, hauing ſought it ſuch infinite wayes: and you your ſelues doe now put into his handes, deliuering him your Captaine bound and manacled? Will not this be to your great ſhame, that being maſters of the fielde, you will graunt the honor of the victory vnto your enemy, only for a litle couetouſnes of money and paltry ſtuffe which you haue loſt? And yet is not this all, but the worſt behinde: to ſend your Captaine as you do to pay the ranſome of your baggage. For my ſelfe, though now they lead me bound, yet doe I remaine free vnouercome, vanquiſher of mine enemies, & ſold by them that ſhould be my frendes. Well, yet this requeſt I onely make vnto you, in the name of *Iupiter*, protector of armes, and for the honor of the goddes, (vnto whom all vowed othes ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and coniure you, to kill me your ſelues in this place. For all commeth to one end. To be ſlaine in *Antigonus* campe by the hands of mine owne enemies, will euer be counted your deede: and you may be aſſured he will not be angrie withall, for he only deſireth *Eumenes* death, and not his life. If you will needes hold your hands from this attempt, vnloſe yet one of mine only: that ſhall ſuffice to doe the feate. And if for feare ye will not put a ſword in my hande, throw me bound yet hands and feete vnto wilde beaſtes; which if ye performe, then doe I diſcharge you of your othe taken betwene both my handes, which ye haue ſworne vnto your Captaine, as holily and perfectly performed. Apon this ſpeeche of *Eumenes*, all the reſt of the army had cõpaſſion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But the ARGYRASPIDES cried out to cary him away, and not to geue eare to his preaching: and that it was a good deede to puniſhe this wicked CHERRONESIAN, according to his deſertes, conſidering that he had turmoyled the MACEDONIANS with endleſſe warre and battell. And moreouer, that it were too much ſhame that the worthieſt ſouldiers that euer ſerued kinge *Philippe* & *Alexander*, ſo painfully in all their warres, ſhould for recompence of their ſeruice in their olde age be turned a begging, their wiues hauing now lyen three nightes with their enemies. With thoſe wordes, they violently draue him on towardes *Antigonus* campe, who fearing leaſt the multitude of people that ranne to ſee him, would ſmother him in the preaſe, bicauſe euery man ranne out of the campe: he ſent thither tenne of the ſtrongeſt Elephantes he had, and a good number of men of armes of the MEDES and PARTHIANS, to make way for him in the preaſe. When *Eumenes* was now come into *Antigonus* campe, his hart would not ſerue him to ſee him in that miſerable ſtate, for that they had once bene familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, ſuch as had him in their cuſtodie, came to *Antigonus* to aske him, how he would haue him kept. Who aunſwered them: like a Lyon, or an Elephant. Yet within a while after he tooke pitie of him, and diſcharged him of his weightieſt irons, and ſent one of his houſehold ſeruaunts to him to ſee him well vſed, and ſuffered his frendes to come & bring him any thing he lacked. Thus did *Antigonus* deferre many dayes, before he would determine ought of *Eumenes*, hearing euery man ſpeake, and pondering their purpoſes and ſeuerall opinions. *Nearchus* CRETAN, and his owne ſonne *Demetrius* ſpake for *Eumenes*, and made ſute to ſaue his life, contrarie to all the other Lordes and Captaines that were about *Antigonus*, who would in any caſe haue him dye. *Eumenes* ſtanding in theſe termes, asked his keeper *Onomarchus* one day, what *Antigonus* ment, that hauing his enemy in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of his paine, or noblely deliuer him? *Onomarchus* churliſhly aunſwered him againe, that the time was paſt nowe to ſhewe his corage, as though he feared not death: and that he ſhould haue ſhewed it in the field at the battell. So helpe me *Iupiter* (quod he) ſo haue I done, and if thou beleueſt not me, aske them that ſet apon me: for I neuer met with man yet more ſtrong then my ſelfe. *Onomarchus* replied againe: ſith now therefore thou haſt found a ſtronger than thy ſelfe, why then canſt thou not abide his pleaſure? In fine, when *Antigonus* had reſolued of his death, he commaunded them to geue him no more meate: and thus taking his ſuſtenaunce from him, *Eumenes* was three dayes a dying. In the meane time came ſuch newes, that ſodainely the campe remoued: and therefore before their departure, a man was ſent to *Eumenes* to diſpatche him out of his paine. *Antigonus* licenſed his frends to take his body and burne it, and then to gather his aſhes and bones to ſend them to his wife & children. *Eumenes*

The oration of Eumenes to the traitors Argyraſpides his ſouldiers.

Antigonus aunſwer for the keping of Eumenes being priſoner.

The noble minde of Eumenes.

The death of Eumenes.

The iust reward of treason.

being slaine in this manner, the gods appointed none other iudges to reuenge the disloyaltie and treason of the ARGYRASPIDES and their Captaines, for betraying of *Eumenes*, but *Antigonus* selfe: who detestinge them as cruell murderers, and periured persones to the goddes, appointed *Ibyrtius* Gouernor of the prouince of ARACHOSIA, to kill them euerie mothers sonne what way he coulde, that none of them might euer see MACEDON againe, nor the Greekishe sea.

THE COMPARISON OF *Eumenes with Sertorius.*

HEre haue we set downe the thinges worthie memorie of *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. Nowe to compare them together, in this they were both alike: that they being straungers in a straunge contrie, and banished out of their owne, had alwayes bene Captaines of diuers nations, and chiefetaines of great and warlicke armies. But this was proper to *Sertorius*, that all those of his faction gaue him the chiefest place of authoritie, as the most sufficientest man among them, and worthiest to commaund: where *Eumenes* hauing many that contended against him for the chiefe rule and conduction of the armie, through his noble deedes, obtained the chiefe place and authoritie in the same. So that they obeyed the one, desiring to be gouerned by a good Captaine: & for their owne safety gaue place to the other, seeing them selues vnable to commaund. For *Sertorius* being a ROMANE, gouerned the SPANYARDS and LVSITANIANS: and *Eumenes* a CHERRONESIAN, the MACEDONIANS. Of the which, the SPANYARDS of long time had bene subiect to the Empire of ROME: and the MACEDONIANS at that time had subdued all the worlde. Furthermore, *Sertorius* beinge then of great estimation for that he was a Senatour of ROME, and had had charge of men of warre before, came to the dignity & estate to be chiefetaine of a great army. Where *Eumenes* came with small reputacion, disdained for that he was but a secretarie: and when he began to come forwardes, had not only lesse meanes to preferre him then *Sertorius* had, but greater lets & impedimentes also, to hinder his rising and estimation. For many openly stoode against him, and secretly conspired his death: and not as *Sertorius*, whom no man contraried from the beginning, vntill his latter ende, when certaine of his companions secretly conspired against him. Therefore *Sertorius* ende of all his daungers, was to ouercome his enemies: where *Eumenes* greatest daungers came through his victories, which he wanne of his owne men, through the malice of them that enuied his honor. Nowe for their deedes of armes, they are both in maner alike: but on thother side for their conditions, *Eumenes* naturally loued warre and contention: and *Sertorius* imbraced peace & quietnes. For, *Eumenes* that might haue liued in safety with honor, if he would but haue geuen place to his betters, and forsaken the warres: liked better

The gouernmens of Eumenes and Sertorius.

The deedes & conditions of Eumenes and Sertorius cõpared.

better with the daunger of his life to followe martiall feates, with the greateſt perſonages of MACEDON, and in the end ſo came to his death. *Sertorius* contrarily being vnwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the ſafetie of his perſon to take armes againſt them, that would not let him liue in peace. For had not *Eumenes* bene ſo ambitious and ſtowte to ſtriue againſt *Antigonus* for the chiefeſt place of authoritie, but could haue bene contented with the ſeconde, *Antigonus* would haue bene right glad thereof: where *Pompey* would neuer ſo much as ſuffer *Sertorius* to liue in reſt. So, the one made voluntary warre onely to rule, and the other againſt his wil was compelled to rule, bicauſe they made warres with him. Wherby it appeareth that *Eumenes* naturally loued warre, preferringe the couetous deſire of a better eſtate, aboue the ſafety of his life: and the other as a right ſouldier, vſed the warres only for a meane to ſaue his life by valiãt defence of armes. Furthermore, the one was ſlaine, miſtruſting no treaſon againſt him: and the other, looking euery hower for preſent death threatned him. Whereof the one argued a noble minde, not to miſtruſt them whom he thought his frendes: and the other ſhewed a faint hart, being taken when he ment to flie. So *Sertorius* death diſhonored not his life, ſuffering that of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could neuer make him ſuffer. The other hauing no power to auoide his deſtinie before he was taken, and hauing ſought meanes to liue being in priſon and captiuitie: could neither paciently nor manfully abide his death. For, begging life at his enemies handes, he gaue him his hart with his body, who before had but his body in his power.

Sertorius death more honeſt, then the death of Eumenes.

THE LIFE OF *Ageſilaus.*

Archidamus the ſonne of *Zeuxidamus*, hauing honorably raigned in LACEDÆMON, left two ſonnes behind him: *Agis* which he begate of that noble Lady *Lampridо*, & *Ageſilaus* a great deale younger, which he had by *Eupolia*, *Meliſippidas* daughter. So the kingdom falling by ſucceſſion vnto *Agis* the elder, the younger ſonne *Ageſilaus* remaining a priuate perſon, was brought vp after the LACONIAN manner, which was a ſtraight kind of life: but withal it taught children how to obey. Wherof it is thought the Poet *Simonides* calleth SPARTÃ, *Damaſimbrotos*: to wit, making men ciuil: for that by continuance of cuſtome, it frameth the citizens to be obedient to the lawes, as much, or more, than any other city that euer was in

The parentage of Ageſilaus.

The inſtruction of Ageſilaus.

the world, taming them from their childhoode, as they doe young coltes. The law diſpenſeth with the heires apparant to the crowne, from that ſtraight ſubiection & hard life: but *Ageſilaus* had that excellencie in him aboue all others of his eſtate, that he came to the dignity and honor to commaund, hauing from his youth learned to obey. The which vndoutedly was the cauſe, that he knewe better than any other king, howe to pleaſe and beare with his ſubiectes, helping his royall eſtate & princely behauior, grafted in him by nature, with that curteſie and familiarity which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the boyes which were brought vp together, *Lyſander* fell in loue with him, wondering at the modeſty of his wit. For hauing better ſpirite, and being more conſtant in his opinion, then any of the other children, ſtriuing euer to excell in all things, with ſuch a vehemency he tooke all trauells in hande, that it was vnpoſſible to ouercome him, much leſſe to compell him. He was on thother ſide ſo milde & gentle, that euery curteous word wrought in him better obedience, than any feare could doe: bicauſe it grieued him more to be reproued, then to take vpon him any paine or labor. And for the deformitie of his legge, the one being ſhorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleaſaunt wit, he vſed the matter ſo pleaſauntly and paciently, that he would merily mocke him ſelfe: which maner of mery behauior did greatly hide the blame of the bleamiſh. Yea further, his liſe & corage was the more commendable in him, for that men ſawe that notwithſtanding his lamenes, he refuſed no paines nor labor. Of his perſon we haue drawen no counterfeate, bicauſe he woulde not in any wiſe haue it drawen, and did expreſſely commaund by his will, that they ſhould neither draw his picture, nor make any mowld or image of his body. How beit we finde that he was of ſmall ſtature, wherby his preſence promiſed no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was euer mery and pleaſaunt, and neuer penſiue nor troubleſome in word nor looke, euen to the laſt ende of his life he was better loued, then the moſt fayer creature that liued. Notwithſtanding, the Ephori (as *Theophraſtus* writeth) did condemne king *Archidamus* in a ſumme of money bicauſe he maried a litle woman: ſaying that he would beget them demy kings, no kinges in deede. In the time that his eldeſt ſonne *Agis* raigned king, *Alcibiades* being baniſhed ATHENS, fled out of SICILE into LACEDÆMON, and had not long remained in SPARTA before they ſuſpected him, that he kept king *Agis* wife, called *Timæa*: for which cauſe *Agis* would not acknowledge the childe ſhe brought to be his ſonne, ſaying that *Alcibiades* had begotten him. But *Timæa* cared not much for it, as *Duris* wryteth: for otherwhile as ſhe ſate amongeſt her women, ſoftly ſhe called him *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. On thother ſide they reporte, that *Alcibiades* him ſelfe ſayd, it was for no hurt he ment to any man, that he lay with Queene *Timæa*, but only for the deſire he had that ſome of the kinges of LACEDÆMON ſhould be begotten of his ſeede. Neuertheles at the length he was driuen to forſake LACEDÆMON, miſtruſting king *Agis*, who euer after douted of the childe, & thought him a baſtard: vntill ſuch time as being on his death bed, *Leotychides* falling on his knees, wept, and ſo behaued him ſelfe, that *Agis* before many witneſſes, ſaid he did acknowledge him for his ſonne. This notwithſtanding, when king *Agis* was dead, *Lyſander* that had then ouercomen the ATHENIANS by ſea, & was more in credit & authority in the city of SPARTA, than any other: practiſed to put the crowne apon *Ageſilaus* head, ſaying, that *Leotychides* had no intereſt vnto it, bicauſe he was a baſtard. The like did diuers other citizens ſay of him, which loued *Ageſilaus* vertue, and liked him paſſingly, for that he had bene brought vp from his childhood among them. But on the contrary parte alſo, there was a Soothſayer or wiſard in SPARTA, called *Diopithes*, that had a number of old prophecies without booke, & was accounted a very skilfull man touching prophecies and diuinations. He maintained that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be king of SPARTA: and for proofe thereof he told this auncient oracle before the counſell.

Ageſilaus learned to obey, before he came to commaund.

The modeſtie of Ageſilaus.

Ageſilaus lamenes.

Alcibiades committeth adultery with kinge Agis wife.

Ageſilaus created king, through Lyſanders meanes.

A lame king.

As ſtately as thy ſtomake is ô Sparta take good heede,
And ſtand vpon thy gard, and looke about thee I thee reede.
For halting one day downe vvill caſt thine Empire to the ground,
By meane of vvarres and troubles great that ſhall incloſe thee round.

Lyſander replied againſt it, ſaying, that if the SPARTANS were afrayed of this oracle, they ſhould rather beware of *Leotychides*. For the goddes cared not, if any man lame of a foote aſpired

A spired to be king: but rather if he were a bastard, and not lineally descended of the race of *Hercules*. For that, sayd he, were to make the kingdom halte. *Agesilaus* furthermore alleaged, that the god *Neptune* him selfe had witnessed, that *Leotychides* was a bastard: for he draue *Agis* by an earthquake, to runne out of his wiues chamber, and that tenne monethes after that, and more, *Leotychides* was borne. So was *Agesilaus* apon these allegacions not onely proclaimed king of SPARTA, but he had geuen him moreouer, as lawful heire, all his brother *Agis* goods, and *Leotychides* reiected as a bastard. Notwithstanding, considering that his parentes by his mothers side were very poore, (yet honest men) he left them the moyty of all the goodes: by which act, *Agesilaus* wanne all their good willes, where else they had enuied him for his succession in the kingdom. And (as *Xenophon* sayth) by obeying his contrie, he grew to such po-
B wer that he might doe whatsoeuer he would. The Ephori and Senatours at that time bare all the sway and gouernment of the common wealth, the Ephores office chaunging yearely, the other being for life: the which Ephori were only ordained to bridle the insolency of the kings, for that they should not (as we haue more amply wrytten in *Lycurgus* life) haue absolute power in their handes. Vppon this occasion, the kinges that succeeded in the gouernment, had (as it were) by inheritaunce, a present grudge and malice against them. This notwithstanding, *Agesilaus* tooke a contrary course to all his predecessors. For where others presently quarelled with the Ephori and Senatours, *Agesilaus* did honor and reuerence them, and would neuer dispatche any matter without their priuity, but was alwayes ready to goe when they did send him. When he was set in his chaier of state to geue audience, if any of the Ephori chaunsed to
C come in, he would rise vp vnto them: and at the election of any new Senatour, he would for honors sake present him a gowne, and an oxe. And thus cunningly seeming to honor and increase the dignity of the Senatours, winning their good wills, he made his power great, & the realme much greater. Furthermore, his behauior towards the rest of his contrymen was such, as his enmity was lesse faulty thē his frendship. For he did neuer hurt his enemies without iust cause, but he aided his frends euen in vniust causes. And wheras he thought it a shame not to honor enemies, when they had done well: he could not finde in his hart to rebuke his frendes when they did amisse, but rather gloried in succoring & helping of them in their euill doings. For he thought it no shame to serue his frendes turne, howsoeuer it were. Againe, when any of his aduersaries offended, he was as sory for it as any man, and as readie to beare with it if he
D were intreated: whereby he allured and wanne the hartes of all men. The Ephori seeing that, and fearing his power, punished him in mony for that he made the common loue of his contrie priuate to him selfe. For, as naturall Philosophers holde opinion, that if contention and strife were taken out of nature, it would come to passe that the heauenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all thinges should be at a stay, by reason of the mutuall agreement betwene the worlde and them: euen so, the lawemaker of LACEDÆMON seemeth to haue allowed ambition & strife in the common wealth, as a spurre to vertue, by procuring alwayes some contencion and emulacion amonge great persones. And his reason was that this base and effeminate fauor, in winking one at an other, when men are to be rebuked, ought not of right to be called by the name of concorde. And sure some thinke that *Homer* also saw
E the same, for he would neuer else haue made *Agamemnon* to haue reioyced to see *Vlysses* and *Achilles* at great wordes together, if he had not bene of opinion, that enuy and contencion among great men, were very auailable for the common wealth. Yet is not this thus simply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to cities, where they are violent: and doe bring great daungers with them. Nowe when *Agesilaus* was entred into his kingdome of LACEDÆMON, newes were brought him out of ASIA, that the king of PERSIA prepared a great nauy to conquer the LACEDÆMONIANS signory by sea. *Lysander* being glad of this occasion, longing to be sent againe into ASIA to succour his frends whom he had left there as Gouernors & Lieutenants of cities & prouinces (of the which, some of them were driuen away by their citizens, others also put to death for abusing of their authority & ruling ouercruelly:) perswaded *Age-*
F *silaus* to goe into ASIA, to make warre apon this barbarous king, farre from GRÆCE, before his army were gathered together. And to cōpasse this the easilier, he wrote vnto his frends in ASIA that they should send vnto SPARTA, to require *Agesilaus* for their Captaine, and so they

Agesilaus proclaimed king, & Leotychides a bastard.

Ephori were certaine officers authorised to controwle the kinges insolency and iniustice if any were by them vsed.

Agesilaus, an vprighter enemy, than a frend.

VVhether cōtention among the nobility be profitable in a common wealth.

did. Thereupon *Ageſilaus* going to the aſſembly of the people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would geue him thirtie Captaines of the SPARTANS to be counſellers & aſſiſtants to him in theſe warres, two thowſand free ILOTES, & ſix thowſand of the confederates of LACEDÆMON. All this was immediatly graunted through *Lyſanders* frendſhippe towards him, and he was ſent away ſtraight with the thirty Captaines which he had requeſted: of the which *Lyſander* was the chiefeſt, not only for his riches and authoritie, but alſo for the good will he bare vnto *Ageſilaus*: who thought him ſelfe more beholding to him for procuring him this charge, than for his frendſhip he ſhewed him in bringing him to be king. Now *Ageſilaus* army being aſſembled at the hauen of Geræſte, him ſelfe with certaine of his frends went vnto the citie of AVLIDE, where in his ſleepe he dreampt that one ſayd vnto him: O king of the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou knoweſt that neuer none but *Agamemnon*, & now thy ſelfe, was choſen Generall of all GREECE, conſidering therefore that thou commaundeſt the ſame people he did, that thou makeſt warres with the ſelfe ſame enemies, departing from the ſelfe ſame place to goe thither, it is reaſon that thou make the ſelfe ſame ſacrifice vnto the goddeſſe, the which he made at his like departure. *Ageſilaus* ſtraight apon this viſion, remembred that *Agamemnon* through the perſwaſion of the Soothſayers did ſacrifice his owne daughter in the ſame place. Yet this made him not afrayed, but the next day he told it to his frendes, and ſaid he would ſacrifice that vnto the goddeſſe, which he thought woulde pleaſe her well enough, and that he would not followe that cruell deuotion of this auncient Captaine *Agamemnon*. And with that, he brought a hynde crowned with a garland of flowers, and commaunded his Soothſayer to ſacrifice her: and would not ſuffer him to haue the honor to doe the ſacrifice, that was appointed for the ſame purpoſe by the Gouernors of BOEOTIA, according to the cuſtome of that place. The Gouernors of BOEOTIA vnderſtanding it, were much offended, and ſent their officers to will *Ageſilaus* not to doe any ſacrifice there, contrarie to the law and cuſtome of their contrie. The officers that were ſent, performed their commiſſion: and finding that the beaſt was ſlaine, & the quarters of it apon the aulter, they tooke and flong them of the aulter euery way. This vexed *Ageſilaus* being readie to imbarke, and departed thence in choller againſt the THEBANS, and miſtruſted much his good ſucceſſe by this vnluckie prediction, which ſeemed to prognoſticate vnto him, that he ſhould not preuaile according to his deſire. Furthermore, when he was arriued at EPHESVS, he preſently miſliked the honor he ſaw done vnto *Lyſander*, and the great traine that waited on him. For all the contriemen there repaired continually to his houſe, that when he came abroade, they all followed him whertſoeuer he went: as though *Lyſander* had in deede bene in authority to doe what he would, and that *Ageſilaus* only had but the name to be general, ſo appointed by the law of LACEDÆMON. For in troth there was neuer GRÆCIAN Captaine in thoſe partes that had won him ſuch eſtimation, nor that was more feared than he: nor there was neuer man that was more beneficial to his frends, neither alſo that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All theſe thinges being freſh in memorie, the contriemen of that contrie perceiuing the ſimplicity of *Ageſilaus*, and howe he was geuen to pleaſe the people, and caried no great maieſtie nor countenaunce with him, and obſeruing in *Lyſander* that wonted roughnes and ſharpe ſpeech wherewith they had bene acquainted before: euery man obeied him, and nothing was done but what he commaunded. This firſt of all made the other SPARTANS angrie, for that it appeared they were come as it were to ſerue *Lyſander*, and not as to counſell the king: but after that, *Ageſilaus* him ſelfe alſo grew miſcontented, although of his owne nature he was not enuious nor ſorie to ſee others honored beſides him ſelfe. Yet being a man ambitiouſly geuen, and of a noble corage, fearing if he ſhould doe any noble exployt in this warre, that they would impute it vnto *Lyſander*, for the great eſtimation he was of: he firſt beganne to deale in this ſorte with him. Firſt he contraried all his counſells: and what matters ſoeuer he preferred, which he was deſirous ſhould haue taken effect, *Ageſilaus* would none of that, but tooke ſome other in hand. Furthermore, if any of *Lyſanders* followers came to make ſute to him for his fauor, perceiuing that they did leane vnto *Lyſander*: he ſent them away without any thing done for them. In like caſe alſo in matters of iudgements, if *Lyſander* were againſt any, they were ſure to haue the matter paſſe on their ſide. On the contrarie parte alſo, if *Lyſander* bare good will to the partie, and fauored the

Ageſilaus ſayleth into Aſia.

Ageſilaus dreame in Aulide.

Lyſanders glory diminiſhed.

Ageſilaus grudge vnto Lyſander.

A the cauſe to gratifie him: they hardly eſcaped from ſetting a fine of their heades. *Ageſilaus* continuing theſe ſhewes ordinarily of purpoſe, not by chaunce to one or two, but indifferently to all: *Lyſander* looking into the cauſe, diſſembled not with his frendes, but told them plainly that it was for his ſake they had thoſe repulſes and wronges, and therefore did counſell them to waite apon the king, and thoſe that had more credit then him ſelfe. Now *Ageſilaus* ſuppoſed he gaue that aduiſe to make euery man to malice him: wherfore, to deſpite him the more, he made him diſtributer of his vittells, (& hauing done ſo) ſome ſay that he ſpake theſe words in open preſence of many: nowe let them goe and honor my fleſh diſtributer. *Lyſander* being grieued withall, ſayd vnto the king: my Lord, you know how to oppreſſe your frendes. And ſo doe I, ſayd *Ageſilaus*, how to keepe them vnder, that would be greater than my ſelfe. It may B be yet, replied *Lyſander*, I haue not done as your grace doth ſay: yet if you ſo conceiue of me, put me I beſeeche you in ſome place of charge or office, where I may doe you good ſeruice without offence. After this talke betwene the, *Ageſilaus* ſent him into HELLESPONT, where by practiſe he tooke priſoner a noble man a PERSIAN, called *Spithridates*, out of *Pharnabazus* prouince whereof he was Gouernor, and brought him to *Ageſilaus* with a great ſumme of golde and ſiluer, and neere aboût two hundred horſemen with him. All this notwithſtanding, he forgate not his grudge to *Ageſilaus*, but being offended ſtil, ſought oportunitie and meanes to defeate the two houſes of the priuilege of the kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houſes of SPARTA: and ſurely he had made great broyle (in my opinion) in the city of SPARTA, had he not bene preuẽted by death, in a iorney he made into BOEOTIA. Thus we C ſee, that ambitious mindes obſeruing no meane, are in a common weale ofttimes more hurtfull, than beneficiall. For though *Lyſander* was in deede intollerable, to ſhew him ſelfe ſo ambitious, and out of time: yet was not *Ageſilaus* ignoraunt neither, that there were diuers other meanes leſſe reprochful to puniſh ſuch a noble man, that offended only by gredines of honor. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one ſelfe paſſion: the one not to know his Princes power, & the other not to beare with his frendes imperfection. Now *Tiſaphernes* at the firſt being afrayed of *Ageſilaus*, made league with him, colourably letting him vnderſtand that the king would be content to ſet the cities of GRÆCE in ASIA at liberty. Notwithſtanding, when he thought he had gathered force ſufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed D warre. *Ageſilaus* was very well content withall: for the expectation was great of him through all GRÆCE, that he would doe ſome noble exployt in this iorney. Moreouer he thought him ſelfe diſhonored for euer, that the tenne thowſande GRÆCIANS which were returned backe from the furtheſt parte of ASIA, euen vnto the ſea Maior (vnder the conduct and leading of *Xenophon* their Captaine) had ouercome the king of PERSIAES army as oft as they liſted thẽ ſelues: and that he which was the Lieutenaunt generall of the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at that time commaunded both ſea and lande) ſhould not doe ſome deede worthie memorie among the GRÆCIANS. Preſently therefore to reuenge *Tiſaphernes* periurie by iuſt deceit, he made a countenaunce as though he would firſt inuade the contrie of CARIA. Whereuppon, this barbarous perſon *Tiſaphernes*, gathered all his power together. But *Ageſilaus* on a ſodaine returned backe againe, and entred into PHRYGIA, tooke there many cities, and wanne great E ſpoyle, making his men ſee by experience, that to infringe & breake a league made & auowed by othe, was a ſacriledge, and contemning of the goddes. On thother ſide alſo, that to beguile his enemies, it was not only iuſt and honorable: but alſo profitable and pleaſant. Now *Ageſilaus* being weaker in horſemen than his enemy, and finding the liuers of the beaſtes which he had ſacrificed, without heades, returned into the citie of EPHESVS, and there gathered horſemen together, letting the richmen vnderſtand (which would not them ſelues ſerue in perſon) that he did diſpenſe with their perſons, ſo that they did ſet out a horſe and man furniſhed for ſeruice in their place. Many of them tooke that courſe, & by this meanes *Ageſilaus* within few dayes had leauied a great number of men of armes, in ſteade of footemen that could doe ſmall ſeruice. For they that were vnwilling to goe to the warres, did hier them that were willing to F ſerue in their place: and ſuch alſo as would not ſerue a horſebacke, did geue them pay that were deſirous to ſerue in their ſteades. In this he wiſely followed king *Agamemnons* example, who did diſpenſe with the perſon of a riche coward for going to the warres, by taking a good

See the life of Lyſander.

Ambitious heades are very daungerous in a common wealth.

Ageſilaus dedes in Aſia, and the falſehood of Tiſaphernes.

Ageſilaus craft.

mare of him. Then *Ageſilaus* had commaunded them that ſold the priſoners by the dromme A
taken in the warres, that they ſhould ſtripp them naked, & ſo ſell them: which they did. And
ſundry perſons willingly bought their ſpoyles and rayment, but they ſcorned their bodies, bi-
cauſe they ſawe them white skinned, ſoft, and delicate: ſo that fewe men would out bid the
price for them, for that they thought thoſe men vnprofitable and good for nothing. *Ageſilaus*
alſo being preſent at this ſale of purpoſe, ſayd thus vnto his men. See, my frendes, quod he:
theſe be the men againſt whom ye are to fight, and here be the ſpoyles for the which ye ſhall
fight. Time being come now to put him ſelfe into the field, and to inuade his enemies contry
againe, he gaue it out that he would enter LYDIA, not meaning to deceiue *Tiſaphernes* againe,
but *Tiſaphernes* deceiued him ſelfe. For he being deceiued before by *Ageſilaus*, gaue no credit
to this ſecond rumor, but perſwaded him ſelfe that doutleſſe *Ageſilaus* ment then to enter in- B
to CARIA, & the rather for that it was a woddie contrie, very ill for horſemen, in the which he
was the weaker. This notwithſtanding, *Ageſilaus* inuading (as he had geuen it out) the cham-
pion contry, in the which ſtoode SARDIS, the capitall city of LYDIA: *Tiſaphernes* was compel-
led to come to reskue it in haſt, and being come thither with great ſpeede with his horſemen,
he ſtale apon many of his enemies whom he found ſtraggling out of order, ſpoyling the con-
trie, & put the moſt of them to the ſword. *Ageſilaus* hauing intelligence of this, imagined with
him ſelfe that the footemen of his enemy could not yet be arriued, & conſidering alſo that he
had his army whole about him: thought it beſt forthwith to bid him battel, rather thē to delay
time any lenger. Thereupon he thruſt in among the horſemen his light armed footemen, and
commaunded them ſtraight to charge the enemy, whileſt he cauſed the heauier armed mē to C
follow at their heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled apon it immediatly: and the
GRÆCIANS luſtely following the chaſe, tooke their campe, & made great ſlaughter of them
that fled. After this field foughten, they had leaſure enough not only to ſpoyle & ouerrun the
kinges contry at their pleaſure, but alſo to ſee the reuenge taken of *Tiſaphernes*, that was a vile
man, and a cruell enemie to the GRÆCIANS. For the king of PERSIA made an other his Lieu-
tenaunt immediatly in his roome, called *Tithrauſtes*: who ſtrake of *Tiſaphernes* head, and ſent
vnto *Ageſilaus* to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him ſtore of golde and ſiluer
to departe out of his contrie. Thereto *Ageſilaus* aunſwered, that for peace, it was not in him
to make it, but in the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that for his owne parte, it was an eaſier matter
to enriche his ſouldiers, than him ſelfe. And furthermore, that the GRÆCIANS thought it D
diſhonor to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then ſpoyles. This notwithſtanding,
to gratifie *Tithrauſtes* ſomewhat, for that he had taken reuenge of a common enemy of all the
GRÆCIANS: for the ſumme of thirtie talentes geuen him to defray his charges, he withdrue
his army out of LYDIA, and went into PHRYGIA. In his iorney he receiued from the counſell
of LACEDÆMON, the Scytala, or ſcrolle of parchement wreathed about, aduertiſing him that
the citizens had made him alſo their Generall by ſea, as he was by lande. *Ageſilaus* onely of all
men obtained this honor, who without cōpariſon was of all other the worthieſt man of fame
in his time, as *Theopompus* witneſſeth: and yet gloried rather to be commended for his ver-
tue, than for the greatnes of his authority. In this notwithſtanding he was to be blamed, when
he made choyſe of one *Piſander* his wiues brother, to be Lieutenaunt of the nauy, & forſooke E
other Captaines of better experience and elder yeares: ſeeking rather to pleaſe his wife, and
to aduaunce one of his kinne, than to regarde the weale and ſafety of his contrie. Afterwardes
he led his army into *Pharnabazus* contrie which he had in charge, where he founde not onely
plenty of all ſortes of vittells, but gathered together alſo a wonderfull maſſe of money. From
thence he went into the realme of PAPHLAGONIA, and made league there with kinge *Cotys*:
who for his vertue and conſtant fidelity, was very deſirous of his frendſhip. The like did *Spi-
thridates*, forſaking *Pharnabazus*, and came vnto *Ageſilaus*: and after he was come to him, he
neuer went from him, but alwayes followed him whereſoeuer he went. *Spithridates* had a
young ſonne that was paſſing faier, called *Megabetes*, (of whom *Ageſilaus* had great liking) and
likewiſe a fayer young woman to his daughter, of age to be maried, whom *Ageſilaus* cauſed F
king *Cotys* to marry. So, taking of king *Cotys* a thowſand horſemen and two thowſand foote-
men light armed, he returned backe into PHRYGIA, and there deſtroyed *Pharnabazus* contrie

Sardis, the chiefe city of Lydia.

Ageſilaus victory of Tiſaphernes.

Ageſilaus made Generall of all the Lacedæmonians nauy.

Cotys king of Paphlagonia, became Ageſilaus frend.

which

A which he had in gouernment, who durſt not meete him in the fielde, nor truſt to his holdes, but ſtill fled from him, carying all his chiefeſt thinges with him, flitting from place to place: vntill that *Spithridates*, accompanied with *Erippidas* the SPARTAN, followed him ſo neere, that he tooke his campe, and all his treaſure in it. But there did *Erippidas* ſhewe him ſelfe ſo hard and cruell, ouerſtraightly ſearching out parte of the ſpoyle that had bene imbeaceled, compelling the barbarous people to deliuer it againe, ranſacking euery corner for it: that *Spithridates* was ſo offended withall, that on a ſodaine he tooke the PAPHLAGONIANS with him, and went backe vnto the citie of SARDIS. This more grieued *Ageſilaus*, than any thing that happened to him in all his iorney: for that he had loſt ſo valliant a man as *Spithridates*, and ſuch a number of good ſouldiers as he caried away with him. Moreouer, he was afrayed leaſt B they would detect him of miſerable couetouſnes, a thing which he euer was carefull to auoid, not onely in his owne perſone, but alſo to keepe all his contriemen from it. But beſides theſe knowen cauſes, the loue he bare to *Spithridates* ſonne pinched him neerely: though when the boy was with him, he ſtriued with his owne nature to ſubdue that naughty affection and deſire he had of him. For when *Megabates* on a time came to make much of him, & to kiſſe him: *Ageſilaus* turned his face from the boy. The boy being aſhamed of the repulſe, durſt no more come ſo familiarly, but ſaluted him aloofe of. *Ageſilaus* then repenting him that he had not ſuffered *Megabates* to kiſſe him, made as though he marueled why he did not kiſſe him as he was wont to doe. Then aunſwered ſome of his familliars about him: your ſelfe, O king, is in faulte, bicauſe you durſt not tarie, but were afrayed to kiſſe ſo fayer a boy. For if he knewe C your minde, he would come againe, ſo that you turned your face no more away. When *Ageſilaus* had heard them, he pawſed a while, and ſaid neuer a word, but in fine aunſwered them: It ſhall not neede you ſay any thing to him, for it would doe me more good I could refuſe ſuch an other kiſſe againe, then if all that I ſee before me were golde. Thus was *Ageſilaus* diſpoſed whē *Megabates* was with him: but in his abſence he did ſo loue him, that I dare ſcantly ſay, that if the boy had come againe into his preſence, he would haue refuſed a kiſſe at his hands. After that, *Pharnabazus* ſought to ſpeake with him, and one *Apollophanes* a CYZICENIAN brought them together, that was a frende vnto them both. *Ageſilaus* was the firſt that met at the place appointed with his frends, and tarying for *Pharnabazus* comming, he layed him downe vpon the depe graſſe in the ſhadow, vnder a fayer great tree. *Pharnabazus* alſo came thither, & they D ſpred ſoft skinnes long heared, and tapeſtry excellently wrought of diuers colours, for him to ſit on apon the grounde. But being aſhamed to ſee *Ageſilaus* laied on the bare grounde in that ſorte, he alſo lay downe by him, though he had vppon him a maruelous riche gowne, of excellent tiſſue & paſſing colour. Now when they had embraced one an other, *Pharnabazus* began firſt to ſpeake, and lacked no good perſwaſions & iuſt complaints, for that he hauing bene (as he was) a frende vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in the warre againſt the ATHENIANS, was then ſpoyled and ſacked by them. *Ageſilaus* then finding that the SPARTANS that were about him at that meting, hong downe their heades for ſhame, not knowing how to aunſwere him, conſidering that *Pharnabazus* had iniury offered him: began to ſpeake in this maner. Heretofore when we were frendes with the king (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) we haue vſed his goodes like E frends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we vſe them: and ſence we ſee that thou wilt needes be a ſlaue of his, maruell not though we hurt thee for his ſake. But when thou ſhalt like rather to be a frend of the GRÆCIANS, then a ſlaue to the king of PERSIA: then make account, that all theſe ſouldiers, this armor, our ſhippes, and all we are to defend thy goodes and liberty againſt him, without which, nothing that is honeſt can be looked for of mortall men. Thereupon *Pharnabazus* told him his minde plainly: ſurely, ſayd he, if the king doe ſende hither any other Captaine to be his Lieutenaunt, be ſure I will then take your parte ſtraight. But on thother ſide, if he make me his Lieutenaunt in this warre, truſt to it, I will do him the beſt ſeruice I can againſt you. This aunſwere paſſingly pleaſed *Ageſilaus*, who taking him by the hand, and riſing vp with him, ſayd vnto him. I would with (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) hauing F ſo noble a minde as thou haſt, that thou were rather our frend, then an enemy. So *Pharnabazus* departing from thence with his men, his ſonne being left behinde, ranne to *Ageſilaus*, and ſmiling told him. King *Ageſilaus*, I will make thee my frend: and therewith gaue him a dart he

Ageſilaus drake Pharnabazus out of his tentes.

The meeting of Ageſilaus and Pharnabazus.

Ageſilaus wordes vnto Pharnabazus.

had in his hande. *Ageſilaus* tooke it of him, and liking well the beawtie of the young youth, A
and the curteſie he had offred him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might beſtow on him. At the laſt he ſpied his ſecretarie *Adæus* horſe, which had a rich capariſſon on: he ſtraight tooke it from him, and gaue the horſe & furniture to this liuely youth *Pharnabazus* ſonne, who neuer after forgate it. For it chaunſed afterwardes that being driuen out of his contrie by his brethren, and flying into PELOPONNESVS, *Ageſilaus* made very much of him, and did not ſticke to further him in his loue abroade. For he had a great fancie and liking to a boy of ATHENS, whome they brought vp in wreſtling, one day to play for the beſt games. But when he was growen a bigge man and ſtrong, and that he came to offer him ſelfe to be billed with them that ſhould wraſtle at the games Olympicall, being in ſome perill to be vtterly refuſed: this PERSIAN that loued him, went vnto *Ageſilaus*, and be- B
ſought his helpe, that this wraſtler might not receiue the foyle to be reiected. *Ageſilaus* being deſirous to pleaſure him, performed his requeſt with ſome difficultie. Thus *Ageſilaus* in all thinges elſe was a ſtraight obſeruer of the law: but in his frendes cauſes to be ſtraight laced in matters of iuſtice, he ſayd that was but an excuſe for them that would do nothing for their frendes. To this effect, they finde a letter of his wrytten vnto *Idrian*, Prince of CARIA, for the deliuerie of his frende. If *Nicias* haue not offended, lette him goe: if he haue offended, then pardon him for my ſake. But howeſoeuer it be, let him goe. This was *Ageſilaus* manner in the moſt parte of his frends cauſes. Notwithſtanding, occaſions fell out oftentimes, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the common wealth. As appeared one day when he was driuen C
to remoue in haſte on a ſodaine, and to leaue one ſicke behinde him whome he loued deerelie: the ſicke man callinge him by his name as he was going his way, beſought him that he would not forſake him. *Ageſilaus* (as *Hieronymus* the Philoſopher reporteth) turned backe againe, and ſayed: O howe hard is it both to loue, and to be wiſe. Nowe had *Ageſilaus* ſpent two yeares in this warre, and was ſpoken of throughout ASIA, beinge maruelouſly commended to the kinge him ſelfe, for his great honeſtie, his continencie, his curteſie and plaine dealing. For when he rode out into the contrie with his owne trayne onely, he would euer lye in the holyeſt temples of the goddes: bicauſe he woulde the goddes them ſelues ſhoulde be witneſſes of his priuate doinges, whereas commonly we are lothe that men ſhoulde ſee what we doe. Furthermore, amongeſt ſo many thowſande ſouldiers as were in D
his campe, there coulde hardlie be founde a worſe mattriſſe, then that him ſelfe did lye apon euerie night. And as for heate and colde, he coulde as eaſilie awaie with either of both, as if by conſtitution of bodie he had bene borne to abide anie weather and ſeaſon. But aboue all, it was a pleaſaunt ſight to the GRÆCIANS that dwelt in ASIA, when they ſawe the great Lordes, the kinges Lieutenauntes of PERSIA, (which before were prowde, cruell, riche, and geuen to all luſt and pleaſure) to honor and feare a man that went vp and downe in a poore cape, beinge affrayed of euerie ſhorte worde that he ſpake like a LACONIAN: inſomuch as many of them called to minde *Timotheus* the Poetes verſes, who ſayd,

Ageſilaus to his frendes, was without reſpect a frend.

Ageſilaus letter in the behalfe of his frend.

Other read to haue pity, and to be wiſe. Ageſilaus ſaying.

Ageſilaus verſines.

As Mars hath no mercie, ſo Greece ſkorneth gold.

Now all ASIA being vp and in garboile, they willingly yelding to him in euery place, after E
he had taken order with the cities, & had ſtabliſhed the liberty of their cõmon weale, without any bloodſhed, or baniſhment of any perſon: he determined to goe further, into the land, and tranſporting the warres from the ſea coaſtes of GRÆCE, to fight with the king of PERSIA in proper perſon, and with the wealth & happines of the ECBATANIANS and the SVSIANIANS, and by that meanes to take his leaſure from him, who ſitting ſtil before, made the GRÆCIANS make warre one with an other, by force of money, corrupting the Gouernours of euery citie. In the meane time came *Epycidas* LACONIAN vnto him, and brought him newes how SPARTA was grieuouſly troubled with warres, enforced on them by the other GRÆCIANS: & that therefore the Ephori did ſend for him home, and commaunded him to returne to defend his contrie. F

Ageſilaus ſent for out of Aſia.

Ah vvretched Greece, howv cruell ſlaughters haſt
Thou brought vpon thee, for to lay thee vvaſt?

For

A For how ſhould a man otherwiſe call this enuie, treaſon, and ciuill conſpiracie among the GRÆCIANS? Who ouerthrew their good fortune that made them happy before, turning their warres againſt the barbarous people, out of GRÆCE, and now to bring it againſt them ſelues. I am not of *Demaratus* opinion the CORINTHIAN, that ſayd the GRÆCIANS delight was taken from them, which ſawe not *Alexander* the great ſitting in *Darius* royall throne: but rather I would thinke they ſhould haue wept, to haue left this honor vnto *Alexander* and the MACEDONIANS, fondly loſing ſo many famous Captaines of GRÆCE, at the battells of LEVCTRES, of CORONEA, of CORINTHE, and of ARCADIA. Neuertheleſſe, *Ageſilaus* neuer did better acte in his life, nor euer ſhewed better example of obedience and iuſtice due to his contrie, than he did in his returne home. For ſithe *Hannibal* that beganne to haue ill ſucceſſe in his B warres, being in manner driuen out of ITALIE, thought neuer (but compelled) to returne againe into his contrie, to obey his contriemen, which called him home to defend the warre the ROMANES made at their owne dores: and that *Alexander* the great alſo being ſent for home vppon the like occaſion did not onely refuſe to returne into MACEDON, but made a ieaſt at it, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenaunt *Antipater* had fought with kinge *Agis*, ſaying, me thinkes when I heare theſe newes, whileſt we are ouercomming of kinge *Darius* here, there hath bene a battell of rattes fought in ARCADIA. Sith then (I ſay) theſe two famous Captaines haue made ſo litle account of their contrie, may we not thinke the citie of SPARTA bleſſed to haue had ſuch a kinge, that ſo much reuerenced his contrie and obeyed the lawe as receiuing onely a litle ſcrolle of parchement C commaunding him to returne, he forſooke a worlde of goodes and wealth that he quietly enioyed (with aſſured hope and certaintie of more) and imbarked foorthwith, leauing all the alies and confederates of his contrie verie ſorowefull, for that he had geuen ouer ſo noble an enterpriſe, which he had ſo happely begonne? Yes ſure. Nay furthermore, he paſſed not for the ſaying of *Demoſtratus* PHÆACIAN, who ſayd, that the LACEDÆMONIANS in publicke matters were the worthieſt men, and the ATHENIANS in priuate cauſes. For as he had ſhewed him ſelfe a good king and an excellent Captaine to the common wealth: ſo was he alwayes curteous priuately to his familiar frendes. And bicauſe the PERSIAN coyne was ſtamped on the one ſide, with the print of an archer: *Ageſilaus* being readie to departe, ſayd, that tenne thouſand archers draue him out of ASIA. For ſo much was brought vnto THEBES and D ATHENS, and diſtributed among the Orators and Gouernours there, who through their Orations made both thoſe great cities to riſe, and make warre againſt the SPARTANS. In his returne, *Ageſilaus* hauing paſſed the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, tooke his way through the contrie of THRACIA, and neuer intreated barbarous kinge nor people to ſuffer him to paſſe, but only ſent vnto them to know whether they would he ſhould paſſe through their contries as a frende, or an enemie. All contries and nacions elſe receiued him very honorably to their power, ſaue the people called the TROCHALIANS, vnto whom king *Xerxes* him ſelfe gaue preſentes that he might paſſe frendly through their contry: who ſent vnto *Ageſilaus* to demaund a hundred ſiluer talentes, and a hundred women to ſuffer him to paſſe through their contrie. But *Ageſilaus* laughing them to ſcorne, aunſwered againe: why, how chaunceth it that they E came not them ſelues to receiue them? So therewithall he marched forwarde againſt theſe barbarous people who were ranged in battell raye to ſtoppe his paſſage: howebeit he ouerthrewe them, and ſlue a great number of them in the fielde. The like demaund he made vnto the kinge of MACEDON, whether he ſhould paſſe through his contrie as a frende, or an enemie. The king made him aunſwere, he would conſider of it. Well, let him thinke of it, quod *Ageſilaus*: we will goe on in the meane time. The king then wondering at his great boldenes, and fearing leaſt he would doe him ſome hurte as he went: ſent to pray him that he woulde paſſe through his contrie as a frend. Now it chaunced ſo that the THESSALIANS at that time were in league with the enemies of the LACEDÆMONIANS: therefore as he paſſed through their contrie, he did ſpoyle and forage it as his enemies contrie, and ſent *Xenocles* and *Scytha* F to the citie of LARISSE, hopinge to perſwade them to take parte with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Theſe two Ambaſſadours were retained there as priſoners. The SPARTANS were maruelouſly offended withall: and thought good that *Ageſilaus* ſhould beſiege LARISSE with his

Ageſilaus obedience to his contrie.

Ageſilaus darke ſpeeches.

Ageſilaus deſpoſing & deceiuing the barbarous people, returned home through their contries.

army. But he aunſwered them, he would not loſe one of thoſe men, to winne all THESSALIE: A
and therefore found meanes that he redeemed them againe by compoſition. Peraduenture
this is not to be marueled at in *Ageſilaus*, that newes being brought him on a time, that in a
great battell fought by the citie of CORINTHE, where were many worthie and valliant Cap-
taines ſlaine of the enemies, and but few of the SPARTANS: he ſeemed not to reioice at it, but
rather to fetche a grieuous ſigh, ſaying. O poore GRÆCE, how vnfortunate art thou to haue
ſlaine with thine owne handes ſo many valliant Captaines of thine owne people, as ioyning
Ageſilaus ouercame the Phæſalians. together, might at one field haue ouercome all the barbarous people. The PHARSALIANS ha-
rying and troubling the rereward of *Ageſilaus* armie, he put foorth fiue hundred horſemen
which gaue them ſo luſtie a charge, that he ouerthrew them by force. For this victorie, he ſet
Narthacium mons. vp tokens of triumphe apon the mountaine called Narthacium, and this victory pleaſed him B
aboue all the reſt, bicauſe with the ſmall number of horſemen which he had gotten together
of him ſelfe, he had ouerthrowen the glory & pride of the enemies horſemen in battell, wher-
of they had vaunted many yeares before. Thither came *Diphridas* one of the Ephores vnto
him, ſent of purpoſe from SPARTA, to commaund him immediatly to inuade BOEOTIA with
his armie. Nowe though *Ageſilaus* intended ſome other time with a greater power to enter
BOEOTIA, yet bicauſe he would not diſobey the counſells commaundement of SPARTA: he
told his men ſtraight, that the battell for the which they returned out of ASIA, was at hande,
and therefore he ſent for two companies of them which lay in campe by CORINTHE. The
LACEDÆMONIANS that were at SPARTA, to honor *Ageſilaus* for that he had obeyed their
commaundement ſo readily: proclaimed in the citie, that as many young men as were deſi- C
rous to goe aide the king, ſhould come and enter their names. Notwithſtanding, they onely
choſe but fiftie of the valliantest among them, and ſent them vnto him. In the meane time, *A-*
geſilaus paſſed through the contrie of THERMOPYLES, and coaſting ouer the lande of PHO-
CYDE, confederates to the LACEDÆMONIANS, he entred into BOEOTIA, and camped by the
The eclipſe of the ſunne. citie of CHÆRONEA: where immediatly after his arriuall, he ſodainly ſaw the ſunne eclipſed,
Piſander, Generall of the nauie ſlaine in battell. and darkened in the facion of a new moone. Euen withall, came the newes of the death of *Pi-*
ſander vnto him, who was ſlaine in a battell which he loſt by ſea, fighting againſt *Pharnabazus*
The Ilande of Gnidos. and *Conon*, hard by the Ile of GNIDOS. Theſe newes were very heauie vnto him, both for re-
ſpect of the perſon his kinſeman whom he loſt, as alſo for the great loſſe that happened to the
common wealth. Neuertheleſſe, fearing his ſouldiers would be diſcoraged with the newes, D
and become faint harted, being ready to ioyne battell: he commaunded them that came from
the ſea, to brute abroade a contrarie tale to that they tolde him, and he himſelfe to make
good their ſpeache, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and did ſa-
crifice to the goddes, as thanking them for the good newes, ſending to euery one of his frends
a peece of fleſh ſacrificed, as he commonly vſed to doe, in any publike cauſe of ioy. Then mar-
Ageſilaus battell with the Thebans. ching forward, he ſtraight diſcouered his enemies farre of, and they likewiſe him: & therupon
put his men in battell ray, and gaue the left wing vnto the ORCHOMENIANS, leading him ſelfe
the right wing. The THEBANS on thother ſide, placed them ſelues in the right wing of their
armie, and gaue the left vnto the ARGIVES. *Xenophon* being at that battell on *Ageſilaus* ſide,
wryteth that he neuer knewe of the like fielde fought. At the firſt onſet, the conflict was not E
great betwene both, neither helde long, bicauſe the THEBANS brake the ORCHOMENIANS
ſtraight, and *Ageſilaus* the ARGIVES. But when either ſide vnderſtoode that the left winges of
their battells were in great diſtreſſe, and that they turned their backes: they returned ſodainly
againe. And where *Ageſilaus* might eaſily haue had the victory without any daunger, if he had
ſuffred the ſquadron of the enemies to paſſe by him, and afterwards to haue charged them in
the rereward: of a noble corage to ſhew his valliantnes, he gaue charge apon the voward, to
haue honor in ouercōming them. The THEBANS on the other ſide no leſſe valliantly receiued
him, & fought luſtely on all hands: but the cruelleſt fight was about *Ageſilaus* perſon, with the
fifty young men that were ſent to gard him, who ſhewed thē ſelues very valliant. *Ageſilaus* was
ſore hurt, notwithſtanding their valliant reſiſtance, his armor being paſſed thorow with their F
pikes & ſwords in ſundry places: whereupon they enuironned him round amongſt thē, & kept
him from the enemies, killing a great number of thē, & many of them ſelues alſo being killed.

In

A In fine, finding the THEBANS too ſtrōg in the vōward they were forced to do that which they refuſed at the firſt: and opening them ſelues, gaue them paſſage thorow them. So when they were paſſed them, the SPARTANS perceiuing howe loſely and diſorderly they marched, as thinking them ſelues out of all daunger, followed them, and gaue charge apon their flancke. But all this could not make the THEBANS flie: for they reioycing for their victorie at this battell, retired fayer and ſoftely vnto the mountaine Helicon. But *Ageſilaus*, notwithſtanding he was very ſore hurt, with many a grieuous wound, would not go into his pauillion to be dreſſed before he had bene firſt at the place where the battell was fought, and had ſeene his men that were ſlaine brought away in their armors. As many of his enemies as were fled into the tēple of *Minerua Itonian*, which was not farre from thence: (where alſo were ſette vp tokens of tri-
B umphe offred vnto her long time before by the THEBANS, when they had ouercomen the armie of the ATHENIANS, vnder the conduct of *Sparton* their Captaine, and had ſlaine alſo *Tolmides* their Captaine in the fielde) he commaunded his men they ſhould lette them goe where they would. The next morning by breake of day, *Ageſilaus* deſirous to ſee if the THEBANS had any corage to come downe to fight againe: commaunded his ſouldiers to put garlandes apon their heades, and his muſitians to ſounde their ſhalmes or pipes, whileſt he did ſette vp a token of triumphe as victorious. Moreouer, his enemies ſendinge to him to aske leaue to take away their dead men, he graunted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victorie. After that, being caried to the citie of DELPHES, where the Pythian games were played, he made a ſolemne proceſſion and common ſacrifice vnto *Apollo*, and
C offered him the tenth parte of all his ſpoyles which he had brought out of ASIA, which amounted to the ſumme of an hundred talentes. This thing done, he returned into his contrie, where he was greatly honored and eſteemed of all his citizens and contrie men, for his orderly life and noble behauiour: for he was no chaungeling, but the ſelfe ſame man in ſtate & condicion that he was before he tooke his iorney. He transformed not him ſelfe into ſtrāngers manners, as commonly other Captaines doe, that returne out of a farre contrie where they haue made warres: neitheir did he ſcorne his contrie facions, or ſhewed him ſelfe diſobedient to the lawes thereof, but alwayes kept and obſerued them, without any manner of alteration in his meate or drinke, in waſhing or bathing, in his wiues apparell, in his armory, or any way elſe in his houſeholde ſtuffe, as if he had neuer paſſed ouer the riuer of Eurotas.
D Yet further, he left his olde gates ſtanding that were of ſo great continuaunce, that they were thought to be thoſe which *Ariſtodemus* had ſet vp. *Xenophon* alſo ſayeth, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more ſumptuous than any others were. A Canathrum in LACEDÆMON, is a kinde of coche or charret after the likeneſſe of griffins, hartes, or goates: apon the which they caried younge wenches in ſolemne proceſſions in the citie. *Xenophon* wrote not what was the name of this daughter of *Ageſilaus*: and *Dicæarchus* alſo was much offended, that they neither knewe *Ageſilaus* daughters name, nor yet the mother of *Epaminondas*. Yet we finde in the LACONIAN Chronicles, that *Ageſilaus* wiues name was *Cleora*, one of his daughters called *Apolia*, and the other *Prolyta*. Moreouer, *Ageſilaus* ſpeare is ſeene to this day in the citie of SPARTA, euen like vntō others, and no maner of difference.
E Now *Ageſilaus* perceiuing certaine citizens of SPARTA to ſtand vpon their reputacion, and eſteeming them ſelues aboue others, bicauſe they kept horſe in their ſtable: perſwaded his ſiſter *Cyniſca* to ſend her coche and coche horſes to the Olympian games to runne for the beſt priſe, only to let the GRÆCIANS ſee that it was no act of any vertue, but ſimply of riches and coſt. Furthermore hauing *Xenophon* the Philoſopher about him, whome he loued and made great account of, he perſwaded him to ſend for his ſonnes to LACEDÆMON, that they might be brought vp there, where they ſhould learne the nobleſt ſcience that men coulde poſſiblie learne, to witte: to obey, and to commaunde. When *Lyſander* was dead, *Ageſilaus* at his returne out of ASIA, founde a great faction and conſpiracie raiſed by his meanes againſt him in SPARTA: and bicauſe it might appeare what manner of citizen *Lyſander* was when he
F liued, he was likely to haue openly ſhewed and declared an Oration which he founde among his wrytinges (the which the Orator *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus* had wrytten for him, and *Lyſander* ſhould haue cunned without booke, to haue ſpoken in open aſſembly) that was to ſtirre inno-

Helicon mons. The worthines of Ageſilaus.

The temple of Minerua Itonian.

The conſtancy of Ageſilaus.

Canathrum, what it is.

Cleora, the wife of king Ageſilaus. Apolia, and Prolyta Ageſilaus daughters.

Xenophon, great about Ageſilaus.

The practiſe of Lyſander about alteratiō of gouernemens.

uation, and in maner haue made a chaunge of the whole gouernment of the common wealth of LACEDÆMON. Howebeit there was a graue counſeller that hauing red the oration, and douting the apparant reaſons and perſwaſions alleaged, tolde him, that he would wiſhe him not to plucke vp the dead againe out of his graue, but rather to burie this oration together with his bodie. *Ageſilaus* liked the counſell, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had bene his enemies, he did the no hurt openly: but found the meanes to make ſome of them to be ſent as Lieutenaunt of army, or otherwiſe to haue charge in the warres. In fine, he made it openly knowen, what couetous and wicked men they had bene in their charges: ſo that when they were accuſed of it before the counſell, he would than helpe & intreate for them. By this meanes he made them againe his frendes, where they had bene his enemies: inſomuch as in the ende, he had not one enemie at all. For the other king *Ageſipolis* his colleague, whoſe father had bene baniſhed: he being a very young man, and of gentle nature, medled not greatly with gouernment of the common wealth. Neuertheleſſe, he ſo behaued him ſelfe vnto *Ageſilaus*, that he made him his verie good frende: for both the kinges when they were in the citie, did eate together in one halle. Then *Ageſilaus* knowing that *Ageſipolis* (as him ſelfe) was geuen to loue, would euer miniſter talke to him of the goodly young boyes of the citie, intiſing him to loue ſome one of them, which he him ſelfe did loue: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in theſe LACONIAN loues there was no manner of diſhoneſtie offered, but a true affection and honeſt regarde to frame the boy beloued vnto vertue and honeſt condicions: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lycurgus*. *Ageſilaus* by this meanes hauinge the whole authoritie (aboue all men in the citie) in his handes: made his halfe brother *Teleutias* Generall by ſea, and him ſelfe with the armie by land went to beſiege the citie of CORINTHE, where with his brothers helpe by ſea he tooke the long walls of the ſame. The ARGIVES which kept CORINTHE at that time, at *Ageſilaus* arriuall there were ſolemniſinge the feaſt of the Iſthmian games: who made them flie, euen as they came from ſacrificing vnto the god *Neptune*, driuing them to leaue all their preparation and ſolemnity. Then diuers baniſhed men of CORINTHE that were in his armie, beſought him that he woulde keepe theſe Iſthmian games. But he denyed them, yet was contented they ſhoulde them ſelues ſolemnize them, and ſo him ſelfe remained there, during the time of the feaſt, for their ſafetie. Afterwardes when *Ageſilaus* was gone thence, the ARGIVES returned, and did celebrate the Iſthmian games: and there were ſome of them which hauing wonne the game at the firſt, did alſo winne it at the ſecond time: and others that were victours before, were this ſecond time ouercome. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* ſayd, that the ARGIVES ſhewed them ſelues rancke cowardes, that eſteeming ſo much (as they did) theſe playes and ſacrifices, they durſt not once offer to fight with him for defence of the ſame. For him ſelfe, touchinge ſuch like ſportes and games, he euer thought it good to keepe a meane, & not to be too curious. For he was contented to honor ſuch ſolemne aſſemblies and common feaſtes with his preſence, as were commonly vſed in SPARTA, & tooke great pleaſure to ſee the ſportes betwene the yong boyes and girles of SPARTA: howbeit touching the games, he ſeemed not to be acquainted with ſome of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that *Callipides* an excellent ſtage player (wonderfully eſteemed of among the GRÆCIANS for a ſingular man in that arte) meeting *Ageſilaus* on a time, at the firſt did his duetie to him, and then arrogantly thruſt him ſelfe amonge them that walked with him, thinking the king would haue made much of him: but perceiuing he made no countenaunce to him, in the end he asked him: O king *Ageſilaus*, doe you not know me? *Ageſilaus* looking apon him, aunſwered: what, art not thou *Callipides* the ſtage player? And ſo made no further account of him. An other time beinge deſired to heare a man that naturally counterfeated the nightingalls voyce: he would not heare him, ſaying, I haue oftentimes heard the nightingall it ſelfe. An other time alſo when *Menecrates* the Phiſitian (hauing by good fortune cured a deſperate diſeaſe) called him ſelfe *Iupiter*, and arrogantly vſurped that name, preſuminge in a letter he wrote vnto *Ageſilaus*, to ſubſcribe it in this manner, *Menecrates Iupiter*, vnto king *Ageſilaus*, greeting: *Ageſilaus* wrote againe vnto him, *Ageſilaus* vnto *Menecrates* * health. So, whileſt *Ageſilaus* was in the territorie of CORINTHE (where he had taken the temple of *Iuno*) beholding his ſouldiers forraging & ſpoiling the

The wiſe counſell of a Senatour at Sparta.

The policie of Ageſilaus to win his enemies.

Ageſilaus, & Ageſipolis, kinges of Lacedæmon.

Teleutias, Ageſilaus halfe brother, made Generall of the army by ſea.

Certaine Apothegmes of Ageſilaus.

**Meaning that he was not well in his wittes to be ſo preſumptuous.*

A the contrie rounde about: Ambaſſadors came to him from THEBES, to pray him to make peace with the THEBANS. But he that alwayes hated the THEBANS, and beſides that thought it then very requiſite for the good ſucceſſe of his doinges, to make light of it: ſeemed as he neither heard nor ſaw them that ſpake vnto him. But euen at that very inſtant, as by diuine reuenge to crie quittance, there fell a great miſhappe vpon him. For before the Ambaſſadors were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bandes called the mothers, were ſlaine euery man by *Iphicrates:* which was the greateſt loſſe that they in long time before had ſuſtened. For they loſt a great number of valliant ſouldiers, all naturall LACEDÆMONIANS: who being well armed euery man, were ſlaine by naked or light armed hierlinges. Thereupon *Ageſilaus* went ſtraight into the field with hope to ſaue them, or at the leaſt to be reuenged. But
B receiuing certaine intelligence by the way that they were all ſlaine, he returned againe to the temple of *Iuno* from whence he came, and then ſent for the Ambaſſadors of the BOEOTIANS, to geue them audience. But they, to requite his former diſdaine vnto them, made no manner of ſpeache of peace, but onely requeſted him to ſuffer them to enter into CORINTHE. *Ageſilaus* being offended, aunſwered them: if it be to ſee your frendes triumphe of their victorie, ye may ſafely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambaſſadors with him, he deſtroyed the CORINTHIANS contrie, euen to the walles of their citie. And when he had made the Ambaſſadors ſee, that the citizens of CORINTHE durſt not come out into the field to defend their contrie: he gaue them leaue to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was ouerthrowen, which by flight had eſcaped: he brought them into LACEDÆMON a-
C gaine, alwayes remouing his campe before day, and neuer encamped till darke night, bicauſe the ARCADIANS (their mortall enemies) ſhould not reioyce at their loſſe. After this voyage, to gratefie the ACHAIANS, he entred in with them into the contry of ACARNANIA, & brought great ſpoyles from thence, after he had ouercome them in battel. Moreouer, when the ACHAIANS beſought him to remaine with them all the winter, to keepe their enemies from ſowing of their grownd: he made them aunſwere he would not. For, ſayde he, they will be afraide of warre the next yeare, when all their fieldes ſhall be ſowen with corne: and ſo in deede it came to paſſe. For the army returning againe, they made peace incontinently with the ACHAIANS. About that time, *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, with the king of PERSIAES armye, being Lordes of the ſea without let of any, deſtroyed and ſpoyled all the coaſt of LACONIA. Moreouer, the city
D of ATHENS did reare vp her walls againe by helpe of *Pharnabazus* money, wherewith he had furniſhed them. Thereuppon the LACEDÆMONIANS thought good to make peace with the king of PERSIA, and to that ende ſent *Antalcidas* Ambaſſadour vnto *Tiribazus*, moſt ſhamely and cruelly betraying to the king, the GRÆCIANS inhabiting in ASIA, for whoſe libertie *Ageſilaus* had made warres with him before. So, it was *Ageſilaus* happe not to be foyled with any part of his ſhame: for *Antalcidas* that was his enemie, ſought all the meanes he could to conclude this peace, for that he ſaw warre did daily increaſe the authoritie, honor, and fame of *Ageſilaus*. Notwithſtanding, he aunſwered one then, that reproued him for that the LACEDÆMONIANS did fauor the MEDES: no, ſayd he, they do not ſo, but the MEDES doe play the LACEDÆMONIANS. Neuertheles, threatning warre to all the GRÆCIANS, which would not agre
E to the conditions of this peace: he compelled them to yeld vnto that the king of PERSIA liked. But ſurely he did this chiefly for reſpect of the THEBANS, to thende that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to ſet the contry of BOEOTIA at libertie againe, ſhould be ſo much the weaker. This plainly appeared ſoone after by that that followed. For *Phœbidas* hauing committed a fowle acte, in open peace to take the caſtell of the citie of THEBES, called *Cadmea*, offending thereby all the other GRÆCIANS (and the SPARTANS them ſelues alſo not being very well pleaſed withall, and thoſe ſpecially which were *Ageſilaus* enemies) *Phœbidas* being aſked in great anger, at whoſe commaundement he had done that ſodaine enterpriſe: to lay all the ſuſpition of the facte apon him: *Ageſilaus* for *Phœbidas* diſcharge, letted not openly to ſay, that the qualitie of the facte was to be conſidered of, whether it were profitable for
F the common wealth or not: and that it was well done of him, the thing fallinge out profitable for his contry to do it of his owne head without commaundement. All this notwithſtanding, he was wont to ſay in priuate talke, that iuſtice was the chiefeſt of all vertues, and therefore

Ageſilaus ouercame the Acarnanians.

Antalcidas peace.

Phœbidas poſſeſſeth the caſtel of Cadmea

Ageſilaus praiſe of iuſtice.

that valiantnes without iuſtice was of no validity, and that if all men were iuſt, valiantnes were of no eſtimation. And to them that tolde him, the great king will haue it ſo: Why, ſayd he, and wherein is he better then my ſelfe, if he be not iuſter? Iudging very wiſely therein, that they ſhould eſteeme a king (whether he were of great or ſmall power) by his iuſtice, as by the beame of princely ballance. When peace was concluded, the king of PERSIA hauing ſent him a priuate letter deſiring his frendſhippe, *Ageſilaus* refuſed it, ſaying: that common frendſhippe was enough betwext them, and that they ſhould neede none other, ſo long as that was kept. But this notwithſtanding, when it came to the poynt of performaunce, he went from his firſt good opinion, and gaue place to his will & ambition, ſpecially againſt the THEBANS, at that time when he did not only ſaue *Phœbidas*, but alſo procured the citie of SPARTA to take the faule apon them which he had committed, and to iuſtifie it, by keeping the caſtle of Cadmea ſtill, and making *Archias* and *Leontidas* Gouernours of the citie of THEBES, by whom *Phœbidas* came by the caſtell of Cadmea, and poſſeſſed it. Thereupon euery man thought ſtraight, that *Phœbidas* was he that had put the matter in execution, & that *Ageſilaus* gaue the counſell to do it: as thinges falling out afterwardes, did manifeſtly proue the ſuſpicion true. For, after that the THEBANS had driuen the garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of the caſtell of Cadmea, and reſtored their citie againe to libertie, burdening them that they had traiterouſly ſlaine *Archias* and *Leontidas* (who in deede were tyrannes, though in name Gouernors) he made warre with them: and *Cleombrotus*, faigning then king with him after *Ageſipolis* death, was ſent before into BOEOTIA with an armie, *Ageſilaus* was diſpenſed with by lawe for going any more to the warres, by reaſon of his age, for that he was fortie yeare olde from the firſt growth of heare on his face, & therefore went not that iorney: being aſhamed that the THEBANS ſhould now ſee him fight to reuēge the tyrans deathes, who had but a litle before taken armes for the baniſhed men, againſt the PHLIASIANS. At that time there was a LACONIAN called *Sphodrias*, of the contrarie faction vnto *Ageſilaus*, and was then Gouernour in the citie of THESPIES, a valliant and ſtowt man of his handes, but euer fuller of vaine hope, than of good iudgement. He deſiring fame, and ſuppoſing that *Phœbidas* came to dignitie and great eſtimation through his valliant enterpriſe at THEBES: perſwaded him ſelfe that he ſhoulde winne much more honor, if of him ſelfe he tooke the hauen of Piræa ſodainly ſtealing apon the ATHENIANS by land, cutting them of by that meanes from al trade by ſea. It was thought commonly that this was a practiſe deuiſed by *Pelopidas* and *Gelon*, Gouernours of BOEOTIA, who had allured certaine men to faine them ſelues very deuout and frendly to the LACEDÆMONIANS. Theſe men praiſing and extollinge *Sphodrias* to his face, put him in the head that they knew none ſo worthie as him ſelfe alone, to take in hand ſo noble an enterpriſe. Thus by their perſwaſions they trained him on to this attempt, which for vilenes was nothing inferior vnto that tretcherous winning of the caſtell Cadmea at THEBES: although it was attempted with leſſe hardines and diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plaine of Thriaſium, where he made account to haue bene at the walles of Piræa by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him ſeeing certaine fires from the temples of the city of ELEVSIN, were all afrayed and amazed: yea he him ſelfe alſo fainted perceiuing he was diſcouered, and ſo returned backe with ſhame and diſhonor to the citie of THESPIES, without any exployt done, ſauing only a litle ſpoyle taken. Thereupon accuſers were ſtraight ſent from ATHENS vnto SPARTA, who apon their arriuall found that they needed not to accuſe him, for that the counſell and Gouernours of the citie had already ſent for him to come vnto them, to condemne him of hie treaſon. But he durſt not returne to SPARTA, fearing the furie of his contriemen, thinking in deede that they would ſeeme as though the wronge had bene done to them, bicauſe it ſhould not be thought that they had cauſed it to be done. This *Sphodrias* had a ſonne called *Cleonymus*, a very fayer boy, with whome *Archidamus* (*Ageſilaus* ſonne) was farre in loue: who then was maruelous ſorie to ſee this boy he loued, in ſo great daunger to loſe his father, & yet durſt not be ſeene to helpe him, bicauſe *Sphodrias* was one of *Ageſilaus* aduerſaries. Notwithſtanding, *Cleonymus* making his mone to him with the teares in his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his father *Ageſilaus* (whome they feared aboue all men elſe) *Archidamus* followed his father three or foure dayes together, and durſt not breake the matter

Sphodrias practiſe to take the hauen of Piræa at Athens.

Sphodrias accuſed of treaſon.

matter to him: in fine, the day of the next ſeſſion being at hand, when iudgement ſhould be geuen of *Sphodrias*, he boldly ventered to tell him, howe that *Cleonymus* had prayed him to be an humbler ſuter to him touching his fathers fact. *Ageſilaus* vnderſtanding that his ſonne loued *Cleonymus*, would not withdrawe him from louing of him, bicauſe the boy euen from his childehoode gaue alwayes good hope that one day he would ſure make as honeſt a man as any other whatſoeuer: neither made he any countenaunce to his ſonne, as though he would doe any thing at his ſute, but onely aunſwered him, for that, he would doe as became him in ſuch a caſe. Whereupon, *Archidamus* being baſhefull, left comming any more to *Cleonymus*, where before he would ſee him oftentimes in a day. This made *Sphodrias* frendes diſpaire of his life more then before, vntill *Etymocles*, one of *Ageſilaus* familiars talking with them, tolde them that for the facte it ſelfe, *Ageſilaus* thought it a ſhamefull deede, and as much miſliked it as might be: but for *Sphodrias* ſelfe, that he tooke him for a valliant man, & ſaw that the common wealth had neede of men of ſuch ſeruice. This was *Ageſilaus* common talke to pleaſe his ſonne, when any man came to ſpeake to him of *Sphodrias* accuſation. Inſomuch that *Cleonymus* found ſtraight that *Archidamus* had delt as faithfully and frendly for him as might be, and then *Sphodrias* frendes alſo tooke hart againe vnto them, to ſolicite his cauſe, and to be earneſt ſuters for him. *Ageſilaus* among other had this ſpeciall propertie, that he loued his children deerely: and a tale goeth on him, that he would play with them in his houſe when they were litle ones, and ride apon a litle cocke horſe, or a reede, as a horſebacke. Inſomuch as a frende of his taking him one day with the maner, playing among his children: he prayed him to ſay nothing, till he had litle children him ſelfe. In fine, *Sphodrias* was quit by his iudges. The ATHENIANS vnderſtanding it, ſent to proclaime warre with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* was much reproued, bicauſe that to pleaſe the fonde affection of his ſonne, he had hindered iuſtice, & brought his citie to be accuſed among the GRÆCIANS for ſuch grieuous crimes. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that king *Cleombrotus* his companion went with no verie good will to make warre with the THEBANS, he breaking the order ſet downe for leading of the army, which was kept before, went to the warres him ſelfe in perſon, & ſo inuading BOEOTIA he both receiued and did great hurt. Wherupon *Antalcidas* ſeeing him hurt one day, now truely (ſayd he) the THEBANS haue paide you your deſerued hier, for teaching them againſt their wills to be ſouldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For in dede they ſay the THEBANS became better ſouldiers and warriours than they were before, being dayly trained and exerciſed in armes, through the continuall inuaſions of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Loe, this was the reaſon, why the olde father *Lycurgus* in his lawes called Rhetra, did forbid them to make warre too oft with one ſelfe people, bicauſe that by compulſion they ſhould not be made expert ſouldiers. For this cauſe did the confederats of LACEDÆMON hate *Ageſilaus*, ſaying, that it was not for any knowen offence to the ſtate, but for very ſpite & priuate malice of his owne, that he ſought to vndoe the THEBANS in this maner: and that to follow his humor, they conſumed them ſelues going yearely to the warres one while this way, an other while that way, without any neceſſitie at all, following a few LACEDÆMONIANS, them ſelues being alwayes the greater number. Then it was, that *Ageſilaus* deſiring to make thē ſee what number of men of warre they were, vſed this deuiſe. On a time he commaunded all the allies to ſit downe together one with an other by them ſelues, & the LACEDÆMONIANS alſo by them ſelues. Then he made a herauld proclaime that all pottemakers ſhould ſtand vp on their feete. When they were vp, he made him crie to the braſiers to riſe alſo. After them in like maner, the carpinters: then the maſons, & ſo conſequently all occupations one after an other. So that at the length the confederates obeying the proclamacion, were all in maner on their feete. The LACEDÆMONIANS, not one of them roſe: bicauſe all baſe mechanicall craftes were forbidden them to occupie. Then *Ageſilaus* laughing at them, loe, my frendes ſayd he: doe ye not ſee now that we bring moe ſouldiers to the field, than ye doe? At his returne from this iorney of THEBES, paſſing by the city of MEGARA, as he went vp into the counſell houſe within the caſtell, there ſodainly tooke him a great crampe in his left legge, that ſwelled extreamely, and put him to great paine, men thinking that it was but blood which had filled the vaine: a Phiſitian of SYRACVSA in SICILE being there, ſtraight opened a vaine vnder the ankle of his foote, which

Howe Sphodrias was ſaued frō death.

Ageſilaus cocherying his children too much.

Ageſilaus iorney into Boeotia.

Antalcidas ſaying.

Rhetra, of Lycurgus.

Ageſilaus ſtrayll deuiſe to ſhewe the weakenes of the allies.

Ageſilaus fell ſodainly ſicke of a daungerous diſeaſe.

made the paine to ceaſe: notwithſtanding there came ſuch aboundance of blood, that they could not ſtanche it, ſo that he ſounded oft, & was in great daunger of preſent death. In fine, a way was found to ſtoppe it, and they caried him to LACEDÆMON, where he lay ſicke a long time, ſo that he was paſt going to the warres any more. The SPARTANS in the meane time receiued great ouerthrowes both by ſea and land, and among other, their greateſt ouerthrow was at the battell of LEVCTRES, where the THEBANS ouercame and ſlue them in plaine battell. Then the GRÆCIANS were all of one minde to make a generall peace, and thereuppon came Ambaſſadors and the Deputies from all the cities of GRÆCE, & met at LACEDÆMON to that ende. One of theſe Deputies was *Epaminondas*, a notable learned man, and a famous Philoſopher, but as yet vnskilfull in warres. He ſeeing how the other Ambaſſadors curried fauor with *Ageſilaus*, only he of the reſt kept his grauety to ſpeake freely, and made an Oration, not for the THEBANS alone, but for all GRÆCE in generall, declaring to them all, how warres did only increaſe the greatnes & power of the citie of SPARTA, and contrarily did miniſh and decay all other cities and townes of GRÆCE: and for this cauſe, that he did counſell them all to conclude a good and perfit peace indifferently for all, to the ende it might continewe the lenger, when they were all alike. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing then that all the GRÆCIANS preſent at the aſſemblie gaue him good eare, and were glad to heare him ſpeake thus boldely of peace, asked him openly, if he thought it mete and reaſonable, that all BOEOTIA ſhould be ſet clere at libertie againe? *Epaminondas* preſently & boldly againe asked him: if he thought it iuſt and requiſite to ſet all LACONIA clere againe at liberty? *Ageſilaus* being offended therwith, ſtoode vpon his feete, and commaunded him to aunſwere plainly, whether they would ſet all BOEOTIA at libertie or not? *Epaminondas* replied vnto him with the ſelfe ſpeache againe, and asked him whether they would ſet all LACONIA at liberty or not. That nettled *Ageſilaus* ſo, that (beſides he was glad of ſuch a cloke, for the old grudge he euer bare vnto the THEBANS) he preſently put the name of the THEBANS out of the bill of thoſe, which ſhould haue bene compriſed within the league, and cried open warres apon them in the market place. For the reſt, he licenſed the other Deputies and Ambaſſadors of the people of GRÆCE to departe, with this concluſion: that they ſhould louingly take order among thē ſelues for the controuerſies betwext them, if they could peaceably agree together, and they that could not fall to ſuch agreement, that then they ſhould trie it by warres, for that it was a hard thing to take vp all quarells among them. King *Cleombrotus* by chaunce was at that time in the contrie of PHOCIDE with his armie, vnto whom the Ephori wrote that he ſhould forthwith ſpoyle the THEBANS contrie: and therewith alſo they ſent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fanſie to the iorney, and were loth to make warre with them, but yet durſt not refuſe to goe, nor diſobey the LACEDÆMONIANS. And notwithſtanding that there were many ſignes preſaging ill lucke, as we haue wrytten in the life of *Epaminondas*, and that *Prothous* LACONIAN was againſt the enterpriſe of this warre all that he could: *Ageſilaus* would needes forward, hoping he had nowe found oportunity to be reuenged of the THEBANS, ſith all GRÆCE beſides was in peace and at libertie, them ſelues onely exempted from treatie of peace. If there had bene no other thing in it but the very ſhortnes of time, that made it manifeſt enough that this warre was begonne in a geere, without any manner of reaſon. For the generall peace amongeſt the GRÆCIANS was concluded at SPARTA the fourteenth of May, and the LACEDÆMONIANS were ouercome at the battell of LEVCTRES the fifteene of Iune: ſo as there was but twentie dayes betwene them. There were ſlaine a thowſand LACEDÆMONIANS with their king *Cleombrotus*, and the choiceſt of the valliānteſt SPARTANS about him. Amongeſt them was alſo ſlaine that goodly young man *Cleonymus*, *Sphodrias* ſonne, of whom we ſpake before: who hauing bene beaten downe thriſe at the kings foote, three times got vp againe, but at the length was ſlaine, valliantly fighting againſt the THEBANS. This great ouerthrowe chaunſing to the LACEDÆMONIANS vnlooked for, and withall ſo glorious a victorie vnto the THEBANS, as GRÆCIANS fighting with GRÆCIANS had neuer the like: the vanquiſhed citie of SPARTA notwithſtanding deſerued no leſſe honor and commendacion for her fortitude and worthineſſe, than did the victorious citie of THEBES. For as *Xenophon* wryteth, that as amongeſt good men euen in table talke, and in their ſportes & mirth there falleth out

Epaminondas the Theban, ſent Ambaſſador vnto Lacedæmon.

The ſtrife betwext Ageſilaus and Epaminondas for the libertie of Beotia.

The Lacedæmonians ſlaine at the battell of Leuctres.
Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians ſlaine.
Cleonymus, the ſonne of Sphodrias, ſlaine at king Cleombrotus foote.
Xenophons ſaying.

euer

A euer ſome thing of wit worth the noting and bearing away: euen ſo in like caſe, no leſſe, but rather more, ought noble mens wordes to be weyed, and their countenances marked as well in aduerſitie as in proſperitie. At that time by chaunſe there was a common feaſt day in the citie of SPARTA, which was full of ſtraungers that came to ſee the daunſes & ſportes of them that ſhewed naked in the Theater, when as the meſſengers arriued that brought the newes of the battell loſt at LEVCTRES. The Ephori knowing then that the rumor ſtraight ranne all about, that they were all vndone, and how they had loſt the ſignorie and commaundement ouer all GRÆCE: would not ſuffer them for all this to breake of their daunſe in the Theater, nor the citie in any thing to chaunge the forme of their feaſt, but ſent vnto the parentes to euerie mans houſe, to let them vnderſtande the names of them that were ſlaine at the battell, they B them ſelues remaining ſtill in the Theater to ſee the daunſes and ſportes continued, to iudge who caried the beſt games away. The next morning when euerie man knewe the number of them that were ſlaine, and of thoſe alſo that were eſcaped: the parentes and frendes of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking cheerefully of the matter, and one of them embraced an other. On thother ſide, the parentes of them that ſcaped, kept their houſes with their wiues, as folke that mourned. If any of them alſo had occaſion to go abroad out of their houſes, for any matter of neceſſitie: ye ſhould ſee him looke ſo heauily and ſad, that he durſt not talke with you, lift vp his head, nor looke ye in the face. Beſides all this, euen amongeſt the women there was greater difference. For the mothers of thē that kept their ſonnes which came from the battell, were ſad and ſorowfull, and ſpake not a word. Contrarily, the mothers C of them that were ſlaine, went frendly to viſite one an other, to reioyce together. Now when the people ſaw that their confederates beganne to forſake them, and did dayly looke that *Epaminondas* glorying in his victorie, would inuade PELOPONNESVS: then they beganne to be pricked in conſcience about the oracles of the goddes, thinking that this misfortune came to their citie, for that they had thruſt out of the kingdome a man perfect in limmes, to place an impotent perſon, being ſpecially warned by the goddes to beware of that aboue all thinges. This notwithſtanding, they had him in ſuch veneration for his valliantnes, and his authoritie was ſuch thereby, that they did not onely vſe him in warre, as their king and ſoueraine Captaine: but in ciuill cauſes alſo wherein there roſe any queſtion, they euer vſed his counſell and aduiſe. As they did, when they durſt not puniſh them (according to the penall lawes) that fled D from the battell, whom they call at SPARTA Treſantas, (being a great number of them, and men of the nobleſt houſes and of greateſt power within the citie) leaſt they ſhould moue ſome ſturre or commotion among them. (For by lawe, they can beare no office in the common wealth. It is ſhame and reproche to geue them any wiues, and alſo to marrie any of theirs. Whoſoeuer meeteth them may lawefully ſtrike them, and they muſt abide it, and not geue them a word againe. They are compelled to weare poore tattered cloth gownes patched with cloth of diuers colours: and worſt of all, to ſhaue the one ſide of their beardes, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the daunger great to deale with them, to execute the lawe according to the infamie they deſerued, ſpecially then ſtanding in neede of a great number of men of warre: they referred them ſelues altogether vnto *Ageſilaus*, to take ſuch order in it as he E thought good. But *Ageſilaus* then, without chaunging or altering any thing of the lawe, ſayd in open aſſemblie at LACEDÆMON: that for that day they ſhould let the law alone, notwithſtanding, that afterwardes it ſhould ſtand in force. By this policie he kept the lawe inuiolate, and ſaued alſo the honor of thoſe poore men: and withall, to put theſe youthes againe in hart, being amazed with this feare, he led the armie into the contrie of ARCADIA, and would geue no battell, but onely tooke a ſmall citie of the MANTINIANS, and foraged the contrie. This againe did a litle reuiue the citie of SPARTA with ſome hope, to make that it ſhould not vtterly diſpaire. But ſhortly after, *Epaminondas* inuaded the contrie of LACONIA, with fortie thowſand footemen well armed, beſides an infinite number of others light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the ſpoyle: ſo that in all, there were about three ſcore and F tenne thowſande fighting men that came in with him to inuade LACONIA. It was well neere ſixe hundred yeares ſith the DORIANS poſſeſſed LACEDÆMON, and in all that time till then they neuer ſawe enemies in their contrie that durſt inuade them: but then they ſacked & burnt

The conſtancy and fortunde of the Spartans.

The fortitude of the Spartan women.

Treſantas be cowardes, or faint harted men.

Puniſhments at Sparta, for cowardly ſouldiers.

Epaminondas inuadeth Laconia with three ſcore & ten thowſande men.

all that came in their way, euen vnto the riuer of Eurotas, and hard adioyning vnto SPARTA, A
and no man durſt come out to reſiſt them. For *Ageſilaus* (as *Theopompus* wryteth) would not
ſuffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to goe out to fight againſt ſuch a tempeſt and furie of warre, but
hauing fortified the middeſt of the citie, and garded euery end of the ſtreetes with ſouldiers,
he paciently bare all the bragges and threates of the THEBANS, which challenged him out to
fight, and bad him come into the fielde to defende his contrie, that onely was the cauſe of all
theſe their calamities, hauing him ſelfe procured this warre. If this went to *Ageſilaus* hart, no
leſſe grieuous were theſe troubles to him that roſe within the citie. As the cries and running
toe and froe of the old men, which were mad to ſee that they did before their eyes: and of ſely
women alſo, which no grounde nor place could hold, but ranne vp and downe, as ſtraught of
their wittes, to heare the noiſe the enemies made, and to ſee the fire which they raiſed all the B
fieldes ouer. Much more ſorowefull alſo did this make him, when as he bethought him ſelfe,
that entring into his kingdom at ſuch time as the citie of SPARTA was in the greateſt proſpe-
ritie that euer it was, he now ſaw his honor eclipſed, and the glorie of his kingdom ouerthro-
wen: and the rather, for that him ſelfe had often auaunted, that LACONIAN women had ne-
Certaine witty aunſwers. uer ſeene the ſmoke of any enemies campe. And as they ſay of *Antalcidas* one day, that he an-
ſwered an ATHENIAN that contended with him about the valliantneſſe of one an others na-
tion, alleaging for him ſelfe, that the ATHENIANS had often driuen the LACEDÆMONIANS
from the riuer of Cepheſus. It is true, ſaid the LACONIAN: but we did neuer driue you from
the riuer of Eurotas. The like aunſwere made a meane man of SPARTA, to one of the AR-
GIVES that caſt him in the teeth, there are diuers of your LACONIANS buried in the contrie C
of ARGOLIDE: ſo are there none of yours, ſayd he, buried in LACONIA. It is reported, that
Antalcidas being one of the Ephori at that time, did ſecretly ſende his children into the Ile of
CITHÆRA, fearing leaſt the citie of SPARTA ſhould be taken. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that the e-
nemies forced to paſſe ouer the riuer, to enter the citie: he ſtoode to defend the middle parte
of the citie, being the hieſt place of the ſame, and there had his men ſette in order of battell.
Now at that time, by chaunce the riuer of Eurotas was ſwelled greater then of ordinarie, by
reaſon of the ſnowe waters that fell aboundantly: which troubled more the THEBANS with
the coldnes, then roughnes of the ſame, in paſſing it ouer. Some ſhewing *Ageſilaus* how *Epa-
minondas* marched formoſt before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was ne-
uer of him, ſaying neuer a word but this onely: O, what a noble fellowe is that? *Epaminondas* D
hauing done all that he could poſſible to geue the LACEDÆMONIANS battell, euen within the
citie ſelfe of SPARTA, that he might there haue ſet vp ſome tokens of triumphe, he could ne-
uer intiſe *Ageſilaus* to come out of his forte: wherefore he was driuen in the ende to departe
thence, and ſo went to deſtroy all the reſt of the contrie. There fell out a conſpiracie of two
Conſpiracies at Lacedæmon vnder Ageſilaus. Iſſorium the temple of Diana. hundred men in SPARTA, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and tooke that
quarter of the citie where the temple of *Diana* ſtoode, called Iſſorium, a place of ſtrong ſci-
tuacion, and ill to diſtreſſe. Hereuppon the LACEDÆMONIANS in furie would ſtraight haue
ſet apon them. But *Ageſilaus* fearing great mutinie and ſturre apon it: commaunded that no
man ſhould ſturre: and him ſelfe vnarmed, in a poore gowne went thither, crying out to them
A fine deuiſe to apprehende the traitors. that had taken that ſtrength: Sirs, ye haue not obeyed my commaundement. This is not the E
place I appointed you to aſſemble in, neither all of you in one place: for I willed you to di-
ſperſe your ſelues, ſome one way, ſome an other way, ſhewing them the quarters of the citie.
The traitors hearing theſe wordes, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewraied:
and ſo leauing that ſtrength, went into thoſe partes of the citie that he had ſhewed them. *A-
geſilaus* then bringinge others thether, poſſeſſed the forte of Iſſorium, and tooke fifteene of
thoſe conſpiratours, and put them to death the next night followinge. Howebeit then there
brake out an other conſpiracie farre greater than the firſt, of the SPARTANS them ſelues
which were ſecretly gotten together into a houſe, to make ſome ſodaine ſturre and garboyle,
and to puniſh them in ſo great a trouble, it was hard: on thother ſide to neglect it, the conſpi-
racie was ouer daungerous. *Ageſilaus* hauing conſulted with the Ephori, did put them all to F
death, without any iudgement of lawe, neuer SPARTANS before them ſuffering death, with-
out due order of law. Againe, whereas diuers of their neighbours, & of the *Ilotes* them ſelues,

(whom

(whom they had billed in their bandes for ſouldiers) ſtale away, and ranne to their enemies, which did much diſcorage them that remained: he warned his men that they ſhould euerie day goe to their couches where they lay, and that they ſhoulde take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, bicauſe they ſhould not knowe the names of them that were fled in this ſorte. Now for the departure of the THEBANS, ſome ſay that they went out of LACONIA by reaſon of the winter that came on, whereuppon the ARCADIANS diſcharged their bandes, and euerie one departed his way in diſorder. Others alſo holde opinion, that they continued there three monethes together, during which time they deſtroyed the moſt parte of the contrie. *Theopompus* wryteth notwithſtanding, that the Captaines of the THEBANS hauing determined to departe, there came one *Phrixus* a SPARTAN vnto them, ſent from *Ageſilaus*, who brought them tenne talents that they ſhould departe out of their contrie. Thus had they money geuen them to defraye their charges homewardes, to doe that, which they them ſelues had long before determined to haue done. And yet doe I wonder, howe it is poſſible that all other hiſtoriographers knewe nothing of this, and that *Theopompus* onely could tell of it. All doe acknowledge truely, that *Ageſilaus* onely was the cauſe that the citie of SPARTA was ſaued: who leauing his ambition and ſelfe will, being paſſions borne with him, did wiſely foreſee their ſafetie. Neuertheleſſe, after this great ouerthrowe, he could neuer raiſe SPARTA againe to her former greatneſſe. For like as a whole bodie, which hauing acquainted it ſelfe continually with a moderate diet, with the leaſt diſorder doth ſurfet preſently, and ſo putteth all in daunger: euen ſo *Lycurgus* hauing framed a perfect ſtate of gouernment in the common wealth of SPARTA, to make her citizens liue in peace and amitie together: when they did enlarge it by great kingdomes and realmes, the which the good lawemaker thought vnmeete to continue happie life: they were ſtraight ouerthrowen and all went to wracke. By this time *Ageſilaus* was growen olde, and could no more goe to the warres for verie age: but his ſonne *Archidamus*, with the aide which *Dionyſius* the tyranne of SYRACVSA ſent vnto them, wanne a battell againſt the ARCADIANS, called the teareleſſe battell: for there dyed not one of his men, and they ſlue a great number of their enemies. This victorie plainely ſhewed the great weakeneſſe and decaie of the citie of SPARTA. For in former times it was ſo common a thing vnto them to ouercome their enemies in battell, that they did ſacrifice nothinge elſe to the goddes in token of thankes, within the citie, but a poore cocke: and they that had fought the battell made no boaſt of it: neither did they that hard the newes reioice greatly at it. For when they had wonne that great battell at the citie of MANTINEA, which *Thucydides* deſcribeth: the Ephori only ſent the meſſenger that brought the newes for reward, a peece of powdered meate, and no other thing. But then, when newes was brought of this victorie, and that they vnderſtoode *Archidamus* came home victorious: neither man nor woman could keepe the citie, but the father him ſelfe went firſt of all to meete him, with the teares in his eyes for ioy, and after him all the other Magiſtrates and officers of the citie, and a ſwarme of old folke both men & women came downe to the riuers ſide, holding vp their hands to heauen, & thanking the goddes, as if their citie had redeemed and recouered her ſhame and loſt honor, and beganne nowe to riſe againe, as before it did. For vntill that time, ſome ſay, that the husbandes durſt not boldly looke their wiues in the faces, they were ſo aſhamed of their great loſſes and miſerable eſtate. Now the citie of MESSINA being by *Epaminondas* reedified and repleniſhed with people, he called home againe out of all partes, the naturall inhabitants of the ſame. The SPARTANS durſt not fight with him (not to hinder his purpoſe) though it ſpighted them to the hartes, and were angrie with *Ageſilaus*, for that in his raigne they had loſt all that territory, which was as great as all LACONIA ſelfe, and that for goodneſſe and fertilitie compared with the beſt partes of all GRÆCE, the which they had quietly poſſeſſed many yeares before. And this was the cauſe why *Ageſilaus* would not agree to the peace, which the THEBANS ſent to offer him: and all bicauſe he would not relinquiſh that in wordes, which the enemies kept in deedes. Therfore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not only without recouering the thing he looked for, but had in maner alſo loſt the citie of SPARTA by a warlike ſtratageame, in the which he was deceiued. For the MANTINIANS being newly reuolted againe from the alliance of the THEBANS, and hauing ſent for the LACEDÆMONIANS: *Epa-*

The departure of the Thebans out of Laconia.

Ageſilaus ſaued the citie of Sparta.

The teareleſſe battell of Archidamus, ouercomming the Arcadians.

The Lacedæmonians were not wont to reioyce much at any victory.

Meſſina reſtored againe by Epaminondas.

Epaminondas second iorney vnto Sparta.

minondas receiuing intelligence that *Ageſilaus* was departed from SPARTA with all his power to aide the MANTINIANS, marched away ſecretly by night from TEGEA, without the priuitie of the MANTINIANS, and went ſtraight to SPARTA, the which he had almoſt ſurpriſed on the ſodaine (going an other way then *Ageſilaus* came,) being in manner without men to defende it. Howebeit a THESPIAN called *Euthynus*, as *Calliſthenes* ſayth, (or as *Xenophon* wryteth, a CRETAN,) brought *Ageſilaus* newes of it: who diſpatched a horſeman ſtraight to aduertiſe them of the citie of SPARTA, and marching forward him ſelfe to returne, ſtayed not longe after before he arriued. He was no ſooner come, but incontinently alſo came the THEBANS, who paſſing ouer the riuer of Eurotas, gaue aſſault to the city. Then *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that there was no more place nor time of ſecuritie as before, but rather of deſperation and courage: he valliantlie defended it more then an olde mans yeares coulde beare. Thus, through corage and deſperate minde, whereto he was neuer brought before, neither did euer vſe it, he put by the daunger, and ſaued the citie of SPARTA from *Epaminondas* handes, ſetting vp markes of triumphe for repulſing of the enemies, and making the women and children of SPARTA to ſee the LACEDÆMONIANS how honorablie they rewarded their nurſe and contrie for their good education: but *Archidamus* chiefely of all other, fought wonderfully that day, running into euerie parte of the citie, with a fewe about him, to repulſe the enemies whereſoeuer the daunger was greateſt. It is ſayd alſo that at that time there was one *Iſadas* the ſonne of *Phœbidas*, that did maruelous ſtraunge thinges to beholde, both in the face of his enemies, as alſo in the ſight of his frendes. He was of goodly perſonage, and at that time in the prime of his youth: and being ſtarke naked, and vnarmed, his bodie noynted with oyle, hauing in one hande a boreſtaffe, and in the other a ſworde, in this maner he went out of his houſe, and ranne amongeſt them that fought, killinge and ouerthrowing his enemies that withſtoode him, and was not once hurt, either for that the goddes preſerued him for his manhoodes ſake, or elſe bicauſe men thought him more then a man. The Ephori immediatly gaue him a crowne, in honor and reward of his valliantneſſe: but withall they ſet a fine on his head to pay a thowſand ſiluer Drachmas for his raſhe attempt, to haſard him ſelfe in battell, vnarmed for defenſe. Shortly after they fought an other great battell before the citie of MANTINEA. There *Epaminondas* hauing ouerthrowen the firſt rankes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and coragiouſly diſtreſſing the reſt, valliantly following the chaſe: there was one *Anticrates* a LACONIAN, who receiuing him (as *Dioſcorides* writeth) ſlue him with his boreſpeare. The LACEDÆMONIANS to this day notwithſtanding, doe call the offſpring of this *Anticrates*, *Macheriones*: as much to ſay, as ſwordmen, as though he had ſlaine him with a ſword. The LACEDÆMONIANS did eſteeme this *Anticrates* ſo much, for that deadly ſtroke he gaue (bicauſe they were afrayed of *Epaminondas* while he liued) that they gaue him that ſlue him, great honors & dignities, and diſcharged all his offſpring & kinred from payment of ſubſidie and common contribucions, which priuiledge one *Callicrates*, a kinſeman of this *Anticrates*, enioyed euen in our time. After this battell and death of *Epaminondas*, the GRÆCIANS hauing taken peace generally amongeſt them, *Ageſilaus* would needes exclude the MESSENIANS from being ſworne to this peace, ſaying: that they neede not ſweare, bicauſe they had no city. Now, foraſmuch as all the GRÆCIANS els did receiue them as amongeſt the number, & tooke their othe vnto this peace: the LACEDÆMONIANS brake of from this general peace, and none but they onely made warre, in hope to recouer the MESSENIANS contrie, and all through the allurement of *Ageſilaus*, who for this cauſe was thought of the GRÆCIANS a cruell and vnſatiable man for warres, to deale ſo craftily, and all to breake this generall league. Againe, he brought him ſelfe in diſcredit with all men, beinge compelled to make his citie bare of money, borowing of them ſtill, and raiſing ſundrie contribucions amongeſt them: whereas in deede it had bene his beſt way to haue ended all thoſe miſeries, hauing ſo happie an occaſion offred at that time, & not to haue loſt ſo great an Empire of ſo many townes and cities, both by ſea and lande, and all to plague his contrie, to winne the lande and riches of the MESSENIANS. But yet was this moſt ſhame vnto him of all other, when he gaue him ſelfe vnto one *Tachos*, a Captaine of the EGIPTIANS, euerie man thinking it a ſhamefull parte of him, that ſuch a perſonage as he (reputed the chiefeſt man of all the GRÆCIANS, and the which

Ageſilaus repulſed Epaminondas from Lacedæmon.

The fortitude of Archidamus.

The valliantnes of Iſadas a Spartan.

Iſadas rewarded & amerced.

The death of Epaminondas.

Macheriones, why ſo called.

Ageſilaus greedy of warres.

A which had filled the worlde with reporte of his fame and glorie) ſhould for money let out his perſon to hyre, and the glorie of his name, vnto a barbarous perſon, a traitor and rebell to his kinge and maiſter, to become a mercenarie Captaine and ſouldier to doe him ſeruice. And moreouer, he being now foure ſcore yeares of age and vpwardes, his bodie all mangled with woundes, though he had vndertaken this honorable charge for the recouerie of the libertie of the GRÆCIANS, yet had his ambition deſerued ſome blame: for noble actes haue their time, yea rather the good and ill doe nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocritie. But *Ageſilaus* had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of ſhame in ſeruice, ſpecially for benefitte of the common wealth, but perſwaded him ſelfe that it was a diſhonor to him to liue idlely in a citie and doe nothing, till death ſhould come and make his ſummones:
B thereupon therefore he leuied men of warre through all GRÆCE with the money *Tachos* ſent vnto him, and with them tooke ſea, hauing thirtie SPARTANS counſellers and aſſiſtantes to him, as he had in his firſt iorney. Now *Ageſilaus* being arriued in EGIPT, all the chiefe Captaines and Gouernours of king *Tachos* came to the ſea ſhore, and honorablie receiued him: and not they only, but infinite numbers of EGIPTIANS of all ſortes (that were maruelous deſirous of him, for the great fame that went abroade of *Ageſilaus*) came thither from all partes to ſee what manner of man he was. But when they ſawe no ſtately trayne about him, but an olde graybeard layed on the graſſe by the ſea ſide, a litle man that looked ſimplie of the matter, and but meanely apparrelled in an ill fauored threed bare gowne: they fell a laughing at him, remembring the merie tale, that the mountaines ſhould bring forth, and was deliuered
C of a mouſe. Beſides all this, they wondered when they ſawe men bring him preſentes to welcome him, that he tooke meale, calues, and geeſe, and ſuch groſſe thinges: and refuſed all confections, perfumes and other delicacies, praying them that offered thoſe dainty things to him, to geue them to the ILOTES his ſlaues. *Theophraſtus* wryteth, that he delighted maruelouſly in the ruſhe Papyrus, and liked the garlandes they made of them, for their fineneſſe and the handſomneſſe, the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Hauing ſpoken at that time with *Tachos*, who was aſſembling his armie to goe on his iorney: he was not made chiefetaine generall, as he looked he ſhould haue bene, but was appointed only Colonell of all the ſtraungers, *Chabrias* Generalll of all the armie by ſea, and the chiefe of all the reſt was *Tachos* him ſelfe in perſon. This at the firſt grieued *Ageſilaus* to the hart, be-
D ing driuen whether he would or not, to beare with the vanitie and pride of this EGIPTIAN. So he ſayled with him into PHENICE, againſt the PHENICIANS, imbaſing him ſelfe againſt his noble diſpoſition and minde, and gaue him place, vntill he ſaw time of reuenge. It chaunced that one *Nectanebos* a nephewe of this *Tachos*, hauing the leading of parte of this armie, rebelled againſt him, and being choſen king by the EGIPTIANS, he ſent vnto *Ageſilaus*, and prayed him to come and take his parte. The like he did alſo vnto *Chabrias*, and prayed him to ioyne with him, promiſing great rewardes vnto them both. *Tachos* vnderſtanding that, beſought them both that they would not forſake him. *Chabrias* for his parte alſo did likewiſe intreate *Ageſilaus*, and perſwade him what he coulde, to continewe frendſhippe with *Tachos*. *Ageſilaus* aunſwered him, for thee, *Chabrias*, thou cameſt of thine owne good will, and there-
E fore mayeſt doe what thou thinkeſt good: but ſo is it not with me. For I am ſent hither a Captaine by my contrie, to ſerue the EGYPTIANS, and therefore it were no honeſtie for me to make warre with them, whome I am ſent to ſerue and aide: were it not that they them ſelues which ſent me, doe nowe commaunde me the contrarie. This aunſwere being made, he ſent certaine of his men to SPARTA to accuſe *Tachos*, and to commende *Nectanebos*. Both they alſo for their partes ſent to intreate the counſell of LACEDÆMON: the one as being alwayes their frende and confederate, and the other promiſing to be their faithfull frende thencefoorth. The LACEDÆMONIANS hauing heard the requeſtes of both, aunſwered them openly, that *Ageſilaus* ſhoulde conſider of this matter: and wrote ſecretlie to him, that he ſhould doe what he thought beſt for the common wealth of SPARTA. So *Ageſilaus* taking
F with him the mercenarie ſouldiers which he had brought out of GRÆCE, went vnto *Nectanebos*, cloking his departure, that it was for the benefitte of his contrie, to bewray a wicked thing: but in deede taking away the viſard to benefit his contrie, they might by a better name

Ageſilaus derided of the Egiptians.

Ageſilaus deſpiſed al dainty thinges.

Ageſilaus forſaketh Tachos, & goeth vnto Nectanebos.

rightly haue tearmed it treaſon. Howebeit the LACEDÆMONANS placing the chiefeſt poynt A
of honor, to conſiſt in the benefit of their contrie: did acknowledge nothing to be iuſtice,
but that which they thought might ſerue for the aduauncement of the glorie of SPAR-
TA. *Tachos* ſeeinge him ſelfe forſaken thus by his mercenarie ſtraungers, fled. But nowe on
the other ſide, there roſe an other Kinge in the citie of MENDES, againſt this *Nectanebos*,
who hauinge leauied to the number of a hundred thowſande fightinge men, came to fight
with *Nectanebos*. But he thinking to encorage *Ageſilaus*, tolde him, that in deede they were
a great number of men of all ſortes together, and ſpeciallie men of handie craft, and there-
fore that they were not to be feared, bicauſe they knewe not what warre ment. But *Ageſi-*
laus aunſwered him againe: it is not their number that I feare, but their rudeneſſe and vn-
In whom ſtra- skillfullneſſe, which is hardeſt of all to deceiue. For warlike ſtratageames doe moſt preuaile B
tageames take againſt men that haue greateſt feare and experience: and therefore they foreſee one thing
moſt effect. rather then an other. But men of no iudgement nor experience, neither feare daunger, nor
haue forecaſt, and therefore doe geue him no more aduantage that ſeeketh to deceiue them,
then the wraſtler by ſlight is able to ouerthrowe him, whome he can not ſturre nor remoue.
Afterwardes the MENDESIAN king him ſelfe ſent vnto *Ageſilaus*, to winne him if he could.
Nectanebos then beganne to be affrayed. For when *Ageſilaus* counſelled him to trye it by
battell as ſoone as he could, and not to prolonge this warre againſt ignoraunt men that had
no skill to fight, but yet for their ouermultitude, might intrenche him rounde about, and
preuent him in diuers thinges: then he beganne to feare and ſuſpect him more, and there-
uppon retyred into a great citie well walled about, and of great ſtrength. *Ageſilaus* beinge C
offended that he miſtruſted him thus, tooke it inwardlie: but being aſhamed to turne againe
vnto the third, and alſo to departe without any exployte done, he followed him, and enclo-
ſed him ſelfe within thoſe walles. The enemies purſuinge him hard, came vnto the citie,
and beganne to entrenche it rounde, to keepe him in. Then the EGYPTIAN *Nectanebos* fea-
ring a longe ſiege, determined to geue them battell. Thereto the hyered GRÆCIANS gaue
conſent, as deſirinqe no better matche, and the rather alſo for that there was but ſmall ſtore
of corne within the citie. But *Ageſilaus* perſwadinge the contrarie, would in no wiſe con-
ſent to it: whereuppon the EGYPTIANS thought worſe of him then before, and plainely
called him traytor to their kinge. Howebeit he did pacientlie beare all their accuſations, ex-
The ſtrata- pectinge time to performe an exployte he entended, which was this. The enemies had caſt D
geame of A- a deepe trenche without, to compaſſe them in. When this trenche drewe neere to ende,
geſilaus a- and that both endes lacked not much of meetinge, tarryinge till night came on, he com-
gainſt the E- maunded the GRÆCIANS to arme, and to put them ſelues in readineſſe: then he came vn-
gyptians. to the EGYPTIAN, and ſayed vnto him. Loe here is an excellent occaſion preſented to ſaue
thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall till I ſaw it brought to the perfection I looked
for, fearing leaſt otherwiſe we ſhoulde haue loſt it. Nowe ſith the enemies them ſelues haue
with their owne handes geuen vs the way to ſaue our ſelues by this trenche they haue caſt,
the which as muche as is finiſhed thereof dothe hinder their great multitude to helpe them
ſelues, and that which is yet left vnfiniſhed dothe geue vs oportunitie to fight with them of
euen hande: determine to ſhewe thy valure, and followinge vs, ſaue thy ſelfe and thy peo- E
ple. For the enemies which we ſhall aſſayle before vs, ſhall neuer be able to abide vs: and
the other by meanes of the trenche which defendeth vs on our ſide, can no way hurte vs.
Nectanebos hearinge his wordes, wondered at his great wiſedome, and ſo thruſtinge in a-
monge the GRÆCIANS, did aſſayle the enemies: the which were ſoone ouerthrowen
and put to flight, as many as durſt reſiſt, and make heade againſt them. *Ageſilaus* ha-
uinge wonne *Nectanebos* againe to truſt him, he once againe deceiued his enemies with
the like ſubtiltie wherewith he had firſt beguiled them, and which they knewe not howe to
auoyde. For one while he made as though he fled, and intiſed them to followe him: ſo-
dainely againe he woulde turne this waye and that waye. In fine, he brought all this great
multitude into a ſtraight ſluce, walled about of either ſide, with great broade ditches full F
of runninge water: ſo that when they were euen in the middeſt of it, he ſodainely ſtop-
ped their paſſage with the fronte of his battell, which he caſt to the breadthe of the ſluce,

and

A and thus made his number of fighting men equall with the multitude of his enemies, which could neither compasse him in behinde, nor flanke him on the sides. They hauing in this sorte made some small resistaunce, in the ende turned their backes and fled, and left a great number slaine in the fielde: the residue after that last ouerthrowe forsooke their Captaines, and fled straglingly here and there. Thus the affaires of this EGYPTIAN king after that time had good successe, and was quietly stablished in his kingdom, making much of *Agesilaus*: and doing him all honor possible, prayed him to tarie with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needes hasten home to his contrie, which was in warre with others, knowing that his citie of SPARTA was without money, bicause they were driuen to geue pay vnto straungers. Thereuppon *Nectanebos* in thende tooke his leaue of him very honorably, presenting him a gift (besides all o-
B ther honors he did him) of two hundred and thirtie siluer tallentes in readie money, to defray the charges of the warre in his contrie. Howbeit the sea being rough in the winter quarter, he died by the way, hauing notwithstanding recouered land with his shippes in a desert place of the coast of LYBIA, which was called the hauen of *Menelaus*, after he was foure score & foure yeare old: of the which he had raigned one and fortie yeares king of SPARTA, and thirty yeares thereof and more he was alwayes taken and reputed for the greatest person, and in manner Chiefetaine generall of all GRÆCE, vntill the battell of LEVCTRES. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing a custome to burie the dead bodies of their citizens that died out of their contrie, in the same place where they departed: (the bodies of their kinges excepted) the SPARTANS which were at that time about *Agesilaus*, annoynted his bodie with waxe for
C lacke of honny, and caried him home to SPARTA in this maner. His sonne *Archidamus* succeded him in the kingdom, whose issue successiuely raigned continually after him, vnto the time of *Agis* (who was the fift king in succession after *Agesilaus*) whom in deede *Leonidas* put to death, bicause he fought to restore the LACEDÆMONIANS auncient discipline and forme of life.

The liberality of king Nectanebos vnto Agesilaus.

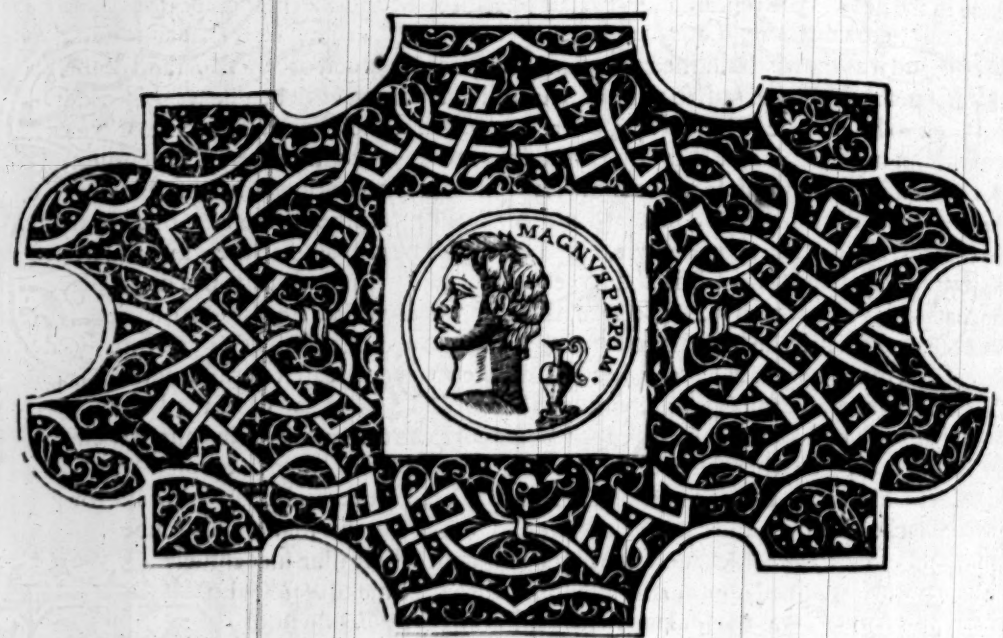
The death of Agesilaus.

The raigne of Agesilaus.

Agesilaus body noynted with waxe for lacke of honnie.

The end of the life of Agesilaus.

THE LIFE OF *Pompey.*



The father of Pompey hated in Rome.

THE ROMANES seeme to haue loued *Pompey* from his childhoode, with the ſelfe affection that *Prometheus* in the tragedie of *AEſchylus* appeareth to haue borne vnto *Hercules*, after that he was deliuered by him: when he ſayd,

So great a hate I bare not to the father,
But that I loue the ſonne of him much rather.

Strabo, the father of Pompey.

For the ROMANES neuer ſhewed more bitter hate againſt any other Captaine, than they did vnto *Strabo Pompeys* father. Truely ſo long as he liued, they feared his greatneſſe obtained by armes, for in deede he was a noble Captaine: but being ſtriken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from the beare whereon his bodie lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villannie.

The Loue of the Romanes vnto Pompey.

Contrariewiſe, neuer any other ROMANE (but *Pompey*) had the peoples earneſt goodwilles ſo ſoone, nor that in proſperitie and aduerſity continued lenger conſtant, then vnto *Pompey*. One only cauſe procured the fathers hate, and that was: an vnſatiable and greedy deſire of money. But *Pompey* his ſonne, was for many occaſions beloued. As, for temperance of life, aptneſſe to armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnes of word, and curteſie in conuerſation: ſo that there was neuer man that requeſted any thing with leſſe ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleaſure any man when he was requeſted. For he gaue without diſdaine, and tooke with great honor. Furthermore, being but a childe, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan mens good willes before he ſpake: for his countenaunce was ſweete, mixed with grauetie, & being come to mans ſtate, there appeared in his ieſture and behauiour, a graue & princely maieſtie. His heare alſo ſtoode a litle vpright, and the caſt and ſoft mouing of his eyes, had a certaine reſemblaunce (as they ſayd) of the ſtatues and images of king *Alexander*. And bicauſe euerie man gaue him that name, he did not refuſe it him ſelfe: inſomuch as there were ſome which ſportingwiſe did openly call him *Alexander*. Whereupon *Lucius Philippus* a Conſull, was not aſhamed to ſay openly in an oration he made in *Pompeys* fauor, that it was no maruell if he being *Philip*, did loue *Alexander*. It is reported alſo, that when *Flora* the curtiſan waxed old, ſhe much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which ſhe had with *Pompey* beinge a younge man: telling

The fauour of Pompey.

Flora the curtiſan loued Pompey.

telling that after ſhe had layen with him, ſhe could not poſſiblie riſe from him, but ſhe muſt needes geue him ſome ſweete quippe or pleaſaunt taunte. She woulde tell alſo howe one of *Pompeys* familiars and companions called *Geminius*, fell in loue with her, and was a maruelous earneſt ſuter to obtaine her good will: and that ſhe aunſwered him flatly, ſhe would not, for the loue ſhe bare to *Pompey*. *Geminius* thereuppon brake the matter to *Pompey* him ſelfe. *Pompey* deſirous to pleaſure him, graunted the requeſt: howbeit *Geminius* after that, would not come neere *Flora*, nor ſpeake vnto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loued her. But *Flora* tooke this not curtiſan like, for ſhe was ſicke a long time for very griefe of minde, and the thought ſhe tooke vppon it. All this notwithſtanding, it is ſayd that this *Flora* had then ſuch fame for her paſſing grace and beautie, that *Cæcilius Metellus* ſeting foorth and beautifying, the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, with goodly tables and pictures: among the reſt, he cauſed her picture to be liuely drawen for her excellent beawtie. Furthermore *Pompey*, againſt his nature, delt very hardly and vncurteouſly with the wife of *Demetrius*, his franchiſed bondeman (who while he liued was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth foure thowſand tallentes) fearing to be taken with her beautie which was verie ſingularlie fayer, leaſt he ſhould be thought in loue with her. Now, though herein he ſeemed to be very circumſpect, and to caſt the worſt, yet could he not thus ſcape the detracting tongues of his ill willers: for they did accuſe him, that to pleaſe and content his wiues, he would let paſſe and winke at many thinges, that was againſt the profit of the common wealth? To proue his ſober and temperate diet, and howe he was contented with common meates: a word (they ſay) he ſpake when he was verie ſicke, and could taſt no meate, is ſpecially noted. For, to bring his ſtomake to him againe, his Phiſitian willed him to eate a thruſhe. So ſeeking all about to get him one, there was no thruſhe to be bought for money, for they were out of ſeaſon. Notwithſtanding, one told him that he ſhould not miſſe of them at *Lucullus* houſe, for he kept them vp all the yeare through. Why, what then, ſayd he: if *Lucullus* ryot were not, ſhould not *Pompey* liue? Therewithall, letting his Phiſitians counſell alone, he made them dreſſe ſuch meate as was euery where common. But of that we will ſpeake more hereafter. Now *Pompey* being a young man, and in the fielde with his father, that was in armes againſt *Cinna*: there lay with him in his tent a companion of his, called *Lucius Terentius*, who being bribed with money, had promiſed *Cinna* to kill him, and other confederators alſo had promiſed to ſet their Captaines tent a fire. This conſpiracy was reuealed vnto *Pompey* as he ſate at ſupper, which nothing amated him at all, but he dranke freely, and was merrier with *Terentius* then of cuſtome. So when it was bed time, he ſtale out of his owne tent, and went vnto his father to prouide for his ſafetie. *Terentius* thinkinge the hower come to attempt his enterpriſe, roſe with his ſword in his hande, and went to *Pompeys* bed where he was wont to lye, and gaue many a thruſt into the matteresſe. After he had done that, all the campe ſtraight was in an vprore for the malice they bare vnto their Captaine, and the ſouldiers in all haſt would needes haue gone and yeelded to their enemie, beginning alreadie to ouerthrowe their tentes, and to truſſe away bagge and baggage. The Captaine for feare of this tumult, durſt not come out of his tent: notwithſtanding *Pompey* his ſonne ranne amongeſt the mutinous ſouldiers, and humbly beſought them with the teares in his eyes, not to doe their Captaine this villanie, and in fine threwe him ſelfe flatling to the grounde ouerthwart the gate of the campe, bidding them marche ouer him, if they had ſuch a deſire to be gone. The ſouldiers being aſhamed of their follie, returned againe to their lodginge, and chaunging minde, reconciled them ſelues with their Captaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediatly after that *Strabo*, *Pompeys* father, was departed out of the worlde, *Pompey* beinge his heire, was accuſed for the father, to robbe the common treaſure. Howbeit he confeſſed, and auowed, that it was *Alexander* one of his fathers infranchiſed bondemen that had ſtollen the moſt parte of it, and brought him in before the Iudges. Notwithſtanding, he was accuſed him ſelfe, for taking away the toyles and arming cordes of hunters nettes, and bookes, that were taken at Aſculum. He confeſſed the hauing of them, and that his father gaue him them when the citie was taken: howbeit that he had loſt them ſence, when *Cinna* returned vnto ROME with his ſouldiers, who breaking into his houſe by force, ſpoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before definitiue ſen-

Flora the curtiſan, was paſſing fayer.

The temperaunce of Pompey in diet.

The treaſon of Lucius Terentius againſt Pompey.

Pompey accuſed for robbing the common treaſure.

tence, in which time *Pompey* shewed him selfe of good spirite and vnderstanding, more then A
was looked for in one of his yeares: insomuch he wanne such fame and fauor by it, that *Antistius* being Prætor at that time, and iudge of his matter, fell into such a liking with him, that secretly he offered him his daughter in mariage. Then that matter being by frends broken to *Pompey*, he liked of the match, & the parties were secretly assured. This was not so closely conueyed, but the people perceiued it, by the care and paines *Antistius* tooke to fauor his matter. Insomuch, when the Iudges gaue iudgement, and cleered him: all the people together, as if they had bene agreed, cried out with one voyce, Talassio, Talassio, being the vsuall and common crie they vsed of olde time at mariages in ROME. This custome by reporte of auncient folke came vp in this manner. At what time the chiefest peeres and Lordes of ROME did rauishe the SABINES daughters, which came to ROME to see common sportes played: there B
chaunsed a fewe rascalls (as hoggeherdes or neatherdes) to carie away a goodly fayer woman. They fearing she should be taken from them, cried out in the streetes as they went, Talassio, as if they would haue sayd, she is for *Talasius*. This *Talasius* was a young gentleman well knowen, and beloued of most men: so that such as heard him but named only, did clappe their hands for ioy, & cried out with them, Talassio, commending the choyce they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custome, that euer since they haue cried this word Talassio vnto them that are newly maried, bicause the mariage of that fayer young maid proued fortunate, and happy vnto *Talasius*. And this me thinkes soundeth neerest to the troth of that they reporte of this wedding crie of Talassio. Shortly after this iudgement geuen, *Pompey* married *Antistia*. After that, going vnto *Cinnaes* campe, they wrongfully accused him for some- C
what, whereupon he being afrayed, secretly stale away. Now when they could not finde him in *Cinnaes* campe, there ran straight a rumor abroade, that *Cinna* had put him to death. Theruppon, they that of long time had maliced *Cinna*, did set vppon him for this occasion. But he thinking to saue him selfe by flying, was straight ouertaken by a priuate Captaine that followed him with his sworde drawen in his hande. *Cinna* seeing him, fell downe on his knees before him, and tooke his seale from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tushe, sayd the Captaine, I come not to seale any couenaunt, but to chastice a villaine and cruell tyranne: and therewithall thrust his sword thorowe him, and slue him presently. *Cinna* being slaine in this sorte, *Carbo* succeeded him, and tooke the gouernment in hande, being a more cruell tyranne than the first. Shortly after came in *Sylla*, D
being wished for, and desired of the most parte of the ROMANES, for the grieuous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought them selues happy to chaunge Gouernor: for their citie was brought into such miserie, as hoping no more to see ROME recouer her lost libertie, they desired yet a more tollerable bondage. Now *Pompey* at that time was in a place of ITALIE called PICENVM (nowe the marches of ANCONA) where he had certaine inheritaunce, but much more, great loue and good will of the cities for his fathers sake. He seeing that the noblest men of ROME forsooke their houses and goodes, to flie from all partes vnto *Syllaes* campe, as vnto a place of safetie: would not goe to him as a fugitiue and cast away to saue him selfe, without bringing him some power to increase his armie, but would honorably goe thither with an armie, as he that ment first to doe him selfe pleasure. So he felt the good E
will of the PICENTINES, who willingly tooke his parte, and reiected them that were sent by *Carbo*. Among them there was one *Vindius*, that stepping forth, said: that *Pompey* which came from schoole the last day, must now in hast be a Captaine. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hande. After that time, *Pompey* being but three and twentie yeare olde, tarying to receiue no authoritie from any man, tooke it apon him himself, & causing a tribunal to be set vp in the middest of the market place of AVXIMVM, a great populous city: he commaunded the two brethren called the *Ventidians* (being the chiefest men of the citie, and they that for *Carboes* sake withstoode his doinges) without delay foorthwith to auoide the citie, and so beganne to leauie men, and to appoint Captaines, sergeaunts of bandes, Centeniers, and such other officers as appertaine to mar- F
shall discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the same marches, and did the like. They that tooke parte with *Carbo*, fled euery man, and all the rest willingly yeelded vnto him: whereby

The cause of the crie of Talassio at mariages in Rome.

Pompey maried Antistia.

The death of Cinna.

Pompeyes first Captainshippe vnder Sylla.

Pompey was Chiefetaine of an army at 23. yeares of age.

The citie of Auximum.

whereby in ſhorte ſpace he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertaine them, cartes, and all maner of beaſtes for cariage. In this ſorte he tooke his iorney towardes *Sylla*, not in haſt, as a man affrayed to be met with by the way, but by ſmall iorneyes, ſtaying ſtill where he might hurt his enemy, cauſing the cities euery where as he came to reuolt from *Carbo*. Neuertheleſſe, three Captaines of the contrarie parte, *Carinna*, *Calius*, and *Brutus*, all three did ſette apon *Pompey* together, not all in a fronte, nor of one ſide, but in three ſeuerall places they compaſſed him with their armies, thinking to haue made him ſure at the firſt onſet. This nothing amazed *Pompey*, but putting his force together in one place, he firſt marched againſt *Brutus*, hauing placed his horſemen (among the which he was him ſelfe in perſon) before the battell of his footemen. Now the men of armes of the enemie which were GAVLES, comming to geue charge apon him, he ranne one of the chiefeſt among them through with his launce, and ſlue him. The other GAVLES ſeeing him ſlaine, turned their backes, and brake their owne footemen: ſo that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Captaines fell out among them ſelues, and ſome fled one way, ſome an other way, the beſt they could. Then the townes round about, thinking that they were diſperſed for feare: came all in to *Pompey*, and yeelded them ſelues. Afterwardes *Scipio* the Conſull comming againſt *Pompey* to fight with him, when both battels were in maner ready to ioyne: before they came to throwing of their dartes, *Scipioes* ſouldiers ſaluted *Pompeys* men, and went on their ſide. So *Scipio* was driuen to flie. And in fine, *Carbo* him ſelfe hauing ſent after him diuers troupes of horſemen by the riuer of Arſis: *Pompey* made towards them, and did ſo fiercely aſſaile them, that he draue them into ſuch places, as was almoſt impoſſible for horſemen to come into. Whereupon, they ſeeing no way to ſcape, yeelded them ſelues, horſe and armor, all to his mercie. *Sylla* all this while heard no newes of theſe ouerthrowes: wherefore, as ſoone as he vnderſtoode of it, fearing leaſt *Pompey* ſhould miſcarie, being enuironned with ſo many Captaines of his enemies, he made haſt to marche towardes him for to aide him. *Pompey* vnderſtanding of his approache, commaunded his Captaines to arme their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their Generall might ſee them brauely appointed when he ſhould preſent thē vnto him: for he looked that *Sylla* would doe him great honor, & in deede he did him more honor, then *Pompey* looked for. For, when *Sylla* ſaw him a farre of comming towardes him, and his armie marſhalled in ſo good order of battell, and ſuch goodly men, that ſo brauely aduaunced them ſelues, beeing coragious for the victorie they had obtained of their enemies: he lighted a foote. When *Pompey* alſo came to doe his duety to him, and called him Imperator: (as much as Emperour, or ſoueraine Prince) *Sylla* reſaluted him with the ſelfe name, beyonde all mens expectacion preſent, litle thinking that he would haue geuen ſo honorable a name, vnto ſo young a man as *Pompey*, who had not yet bene Senator: conſidering that he him ſelfe did contende for that title and dignitie, with the faction of *Marius* and *Scipio*. Furthermore, the entertainment that *Sylla* gaue him euery way, was aunſwerable to his firſt kindnes offered him. For when *Pompey* came before him, he would riſe and put of his cappe to him, which he did not vnto many other noble men about him. All this notwithſtanding, *Pompey* gloried nothing the more in him ſelfe. Wherefore when *Sylla* would ſtraight haue ſent him into GAVLE, bicauſe *Metellus* that was there, was thought to haue done no exployte worthie of ſo great an armie as he had with him: *Pompey* anſwered him againe, that he thought it no reaſon to diſplace an auncient Captaine that was of greater fame and experience than him ſelfe. Yet if *Metellus* of him ſelfe were contented, and would intreate him: that he would willingly goe and helpe him to ende this warre. *Metellus* was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then *Pompey* entring GAVLE, did of him ſelfe wonderfull exploytes, and did ſo reuiue *Metellus* olde corage and valliantnes to fight, which now beganne to faint, like boyling copper that being poored vpon the colde and hard copper, doth melt and diſſolue it, as faſt or faſter, then fire it ſelfe. For like as of a wreſtler, who hath bene counted very ſtrong, and the chiefeſt in all games, hauing euer borne the price away where he hath wreſtled, they neuer recorde among them his childiſhe victories and wreſtlinges, as thinges of no account: euen ſo I am affrayed to ſpeake of the wonderfull deedes that *Pompey* did in his childhoode, bicauſe they are obſcured, in reſpect of the infinite great warres and battells which he had wonne afterwardes. For I am affrayed that whi-

Pompey goeth vnto Sylla.

Pompeys victories of the Marians.

Pompey ioyned with Sylla.

Pompey called Imperator of Sylla.

The honor Sylla did vnto Pompey.

Pompey went to aide Metellus in Gaule.

Wonderfull victories of Pompey.

leſt I ſhould go about particularly to acquaint you with his firſt beginnings, I ſhould too lightly paſſe ouer his chiefeſt actes and moſt notable enterpriſes, which do beſt declare his naturall diſpoſition and ſingular wit. Now when *Sylla* had ouercome all Italie, and was proclaimed Dictator: he did reward all his Lieutenaunts and Captaines that had taken his parte, and did aduance them to honorable place & dignity in the common wealth, frankely graunting them all that they requeſted of him. But for *Pompey*, reuerencing him for his valliantnes, & thinking that he would be a great ſtay to him in all his warres: he ſought by ſome meanes to allie him to him. *Metella* his wife being of his opinion, they both perſwaded *Pompey* to put away his firſt wife *Antiſtia*, and to marrie *AEmylia* the daughter of *Metella*, and of her firſt husband, the which alſo was an other mans wife, and with childe by her husbande. Theſe mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for *Syllaes* time, rather then agreable to *Pompeys* nature and condicion: to ſee *AEmylia*, this new maried wife taken from her lawfull husbande, to marrie her great with childe, and ſhamefully to forſake *Antiſtia*, who not long before had loſt her father, and for reſpect of her husbande that did put her away. For *Antiſtius* was murdered within the very Senate houſe, being ſuſpected to take parte with *Sylla* for his ſonne in lawe *Pompeys* ſake: and her mother voluntarily put her ſelfe to death, ſeeinge her daughter receiued ſuch open wrong. By theſe apparant cauſes, theſe vnfortunate mariages fell out into a miſerable tragedie, by meanes of the death of *AEmylia*, who ſhortly after miſerably dyed with childe in *Pompeys* houſe. Then came newes to *Sylla*, that *Perpenna* was gotten into Sicile, and that he had made all that Ilande at his deuotion, as a ſafe place to receiue all *Syllaes* enemies: that *Carbo* alſo kept the ſea thereaboutes with a certaine number of ſhippes: that *Domitius* alſo was gone into Africke: and diuers other noble men that were baniſhed, that had ſcaped his proſcriptions and outlawryes, were all in thoſe partes. Againſt them was *Pompey* ſent with a great armie. Howebeit he no ſooner arriued in Sicile, but *Perpenna* left him the whole Ilande, and went his way. There he fauorably delt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and miſerie, and ſet them againe at libertie, the Mamertines only excepted, which dwelt in the citie of Meſſina. They deſpiſing his tribunall and iuriſdiction, alleaged the auncient order & priuiledge of the Romanes, ſet downe in times paſt amongeſt them. But *Pompey* aunſwered them in choller: what doe ye prattle to vs of your law, that haue our ſwords by our ſides? It ſeemeth alſo that *Pompey* delt too cruellie with *Carbo* in his miſerie. For ſith he muſt needes dye, as there was no remedie but he ſhould: then it had bene better they had killed him when he was taken. For then they would haue imputed it to his malice, that ſo had commaunded it. But *Pompey* after he was taken, made him to be brought before him that had bene thriſe Conſull at Rome to be openly examined, and he ſitting in his chaire of ſtate or tribunall condemned him to dye in preſence of them all: to the great offence and miſliking of euery one that was preſent. So *Pompey* bad them take him away, and carie him to execution. When *Carbo* came to the ſcaffold where he ſhould be executed, and ſeeing the ſword drawen that ſhould ſtrike of his head: he prayed the executioners to geue him a litle reſpit and place to vntruſſe a poynt, for he had a paine in his bellie. *Caius Oppius* alſo (one of *Iulius Cæſars* frends) wryteth, that he delt verie cruelly in like maner with *Quintus Valerius*. For *Pompey*, ſayd he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and fewe like vnto him: when he was brought vnto him, he tooke him a ſide, and walked a fewe turnes about: then when he had queſtioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commaunded his gard to carie him away, and to diſpatche him. Howbeit we may not geue too light credit to all that *Oppius* writeth, ſpeaking of *Iulius Cæſars* frendes or foes. For *Pompey* in deede was compelled to make away the greateſt perſonages of *Syllaes* enemies that fell into his handes, being notoriouſly taken: but for the reſt, all thoſe that he could ſecretly ſuffer to ſteale away, he was contented to winke at it, and would not vnderſtand it: and moreouer did helpe ſome beſides to ſaue them ſelues. Nowe *Pompey* was determined to haue taken ſharpe reuenge of the citie of the Himerians, which had ſtowtly taken the enemies parte. But *Sthenis*, one of the Gouernours of the citie, craning audience of *Pompey*, tolde him he ſhould doe them wrong and iniuſtice, if he ſhould pardon him that committed all the fault, and ſhould deſtroy them that had not offended. *Pompey* then asking him, what he was that durſt take vppon him to father the

Pompey put away his wife Antiſtia, and maried AEmylia, the daughter of Metella, Syllaes wife.

The death of Antiſtius.

Pompey ſent from Sylla into Sicile.

Lawe muſt geue place to armes.

The death of Carbo.

The death of Q. Valerius.

A the offence of them all. *Sthenis* aunſwered ſtraight, that it was him ſelfe that had perſwaded his frendes, and compelled his enemies to doe that which they did. *Pompey* being pleaſed to heare the franke ſpeech & boldnes of this man, firſt forgaue him the fault he had committed, and conſequently all the other HIMERIANS. *Pompey* vnderſtanding that his ſouldiers did kill diuers men in the high wayes, he ſealed vp all their ſwordes, & whoſe ſeale ſoeuer was broken, he was well fauoredly puniſhed. *Pompey* being buſie about theſe matters in SICILE, receiued letters & commiſſion from *Sylla* and the Senate, to departe thence immediatly into AFRICKE, to make warre vpon *Domitius*, with all his power, who had leauied already more men of warre, than *Marius* had, not long before, when he came out of AFRICKE into ITALIE: and had there ouerthrowen all the ROMANES doinges, being become of a fugitiue outlaw, a cruell tyranne.

The bolde ſpeache of Sthenis.

Pompey ſealed vp his ſouldiers ſwordes.

B *Pompey* thereupon hauing ſpeedily put him ſelfe in readines to take the ſeaes, left *Memmius* his ſiſters husband Gouernor of SICILE: and ſo him ſelfe imbarked, & hoyſed ſaile with ſix ſcore gallies, and eight hundred other ſhippes or bottomes, to tranſport their vittells, munition, money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage whatſoeuer. After he was landed with all his fleete, parte at VTICA, and parte at CARTHAGE: there ſtraight came to him ſeuen thowſand ſouldiers from the enemies, & yelded thē ſelues, beſides ſeuen whole legions that he brought with him. They ſay moreouer, that at his arriuall, he had a pleaſaunt chaunce happened vnto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his ſouldiers ſtumbled on a treaſure by chaunce, and got thereby a great maſſe of money. The reſidue of the armie hearing that, thought ſure that the field where this treaſure was found, was full of golde and ſiluer, which

Pompeis iorney into Africke vnder Sylla, againſt Domitius.

C the CARTHAGINIANS had hidden there long before in time of their calamitie. *Pompey* hereuppon, for many dayes after, coulde haue no rule of his ſouldiers, neither coulde he chooſe but laugh, to ſee ſo many thowſande men digging the grounde, and turning vp the fielde: vntill in the ende they wearied them ſelues, and came and prayed him then to lead them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their follie. *Domitius* came to *Pompey* with his army ſet in battel ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quamyre before him that ran with a ſwift running ſtreame, verie ill to get ouer: beſides that, from the verie breake of day it had poored downe and rained ſo faſt, and was ſo great a winde withall, that *Domitius* thinking all that day they ſhoud not fight, commaunded his people to truſſe away, and remoue. *Pompey* on thother ſide, finding this an excellent fit occaſion for him, ſodainly made his men to march, and

Domitius camped by Pompey with his army.

D paſſed ouer the valley. The enemies perceiuing that, being altogether out of order: were marueloſly amazed, and in that hurly burly would haue made reſiſtaunce. But they were neither all together, nor yet euenly ſet in battell ray, and had beſides the winde beating the raine full in their faces. So did the ſtorme much hurt vnto the ROMANES alſo, for they coulde not one ſee an other: inſomuch as *Pompey* him ſelfe was in great daunger of being killed by one of his owne ſouldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the battell, and he was ſomewhat long before he anſwered him. In fine, when he had ouerthrowen his enemies with great ſlaughter: (for they ſay, that of twenty thowſand of them, there were but three thowſand ſaued) *Pompeis* ſouldiers ſaluted him by the name of Imperator. But he aunſwered them, that he would not accept the honor of that name, ſo long as he ſaw his enemies campe yet ſtanding:

Pompeis victory of Domitius.

E and therefore, if it were ſo they thought him worthie of that name, that firſt they ſhould ouerthrow the trenche and forte of the enemies, wherein they had intrenched their campe. The ſouldiers when they heard him ſay ſo, went preſently to aſſault it. There *Pompey* fought bare headed, to auoide the like daunger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the campe by force, and in it ſlewe *Domitius*. After that ouerthrowe, the cities in that contrie came and yeelded them ſelues, ſome willingly, and others taken by force: as alſo they tooke king *Iarbas*, that had fought for *Domitius*, and his realme was geuen to *Hiempſall*. But *Pompey*, being deſirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his armie, went many dayes iorney into the maine lande, and ſtill conquered all where he came, making the power of the

Domitius ſlaine. Pompey tooke king Iarbas.

ROMANES dreadfull vnto all the barbarous people of that contrie, the which made but ſmall F account of them at that time. He ſayd moreouer, that the wilde beaſtes of AFRICKE alſo ſhould feele the force and good ſucceſſe of the ROMANES: and thereupon he beſtowed a few dayes in hunting of Lyons and Elephantes. For it is reported, that in fortie dayes ſpace at the

Pompeis conqueſtes at 24. yeares of age.

vttermoſt, he had ouercome his enemies, ſubdued AFRICKE, and had ſtabliſhed the affaires of the kinges and kingdomes of all that contry, being then but foure and twenty yeare old. So when he returned vnto the citie of VTICA, letters were brought from *Sylla*, willing him to diſcharge all his army, and to remaine there with one legion only, tarying the comming of another Captaine that ſhould be ſent to ſucceede him in the gouernment of that contrie. This commaundement, grieued him not a litle, though he made no ſhewe of it at all: but his ſouldiers ſhewed plainly that they were offended. For when *Pompey* prayed them to departe, they began to geue out broade ſpeeches againſt *Sylla*, and told directly that they were not determined (whatſoeuer became of them) to forſake him, and they would not that he ſhould truſt vnto a tyran. *Pompey* ſeeing that he could not perſwade them, by any reaſon to be quiet, roſe out of his chayer, and retyred into his tent weeping. But the ſouldiers followed him, and brought him againe to his chayer of ſtate, where he ſpent a great parte of the day, they intreating him to remaine there & commaund them, and he deſiring them to obey *Sylla*, and leaue their mutinies. But in fine, ſeeing thē importunate to preſſe him to it, he ſware he would kill him ſelfe, rather then they ſhould compell him: yet they ſcant left him thus. Hereupon it was reported vnto *Sylla*, that *Pompey* was rebelled againſt him. *Sylla* when he heard that, ſayd to his frendes: well, then I ſee it is my deſtiny, in mine olde dayes to fight with children. He ment ſo, bicauſe of *Marius* the younger, who had done him much miſchiefe, and had beſides put him in great daunger. But afterwards vnderſtanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in ROME were determined to goe and meete *Pompey*, and to receiue him with all the honor they coulde: bicauſe he would goe beyond them all in ſhew of good will, he went out of his houſe to meete him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to ſay great, and commaunded all them that were preſent to geue him that name alſo. This notwithſtanding, ſome ſay, that it was in AFRICKE this name was firſt geuen him by a common crie of all his whole army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by *Sylla*. In dede it is true that *Pompey* him ſelfe being ſent Proconſul into SPAYNE long time after that, was the laſt that ſubſcribed all his letters and commiſſions with the name of *Pompey* the great: for this name then was ſo commonly knowen and accepted, as no man did enuy it. And therefore rightly is the wiſedom of the auncient ROMANES, to be both commended & had in admiration: which did not only reward ſeruice in the field with ſuch honorable names & titles, but ciuill ſeruice and good gouernment alſo in peace at home. For there were two whom the people at ROME called Maximi, to ſay, very great: of the which *Valerius* was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwext the people and Senate. The other was *Fabius Rullus*, for that he put from the Senate certaine bondmen infranchiſed, who through their riches and fauor had obtained that place. After that, *Pompey* required the honor of triumphe, but *Sylla* denied it, alleaging that none could enter in triumphe into ROME, but Conſulls or Prætors. For ſith *Scipio* the firſt who in SPAYNE had ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, neuer deſired this honor of triumphe, being neither Conſull nor Prætor: much leſſe ſhould he ſtande apon demaund of triumphe into ROME, when that through his young yeares he was not yet a Senator: and beſides, it would purchaſe him enuy of his honor and greatnes. Theſe reaſons did *Sylla* alleage againſt *Pompey*, and told him plainly that if he were bent to ſtand in it, he would reſiſt him. All this blanked not *Pompey*, who told him frankely againe, how men did honor the riſing, not the ſetting of the ſunne: meaning thereby, how his owne honor encreaſed, and *Syllaes* diminiſhed. *Sylla* heard him not very perfectly what he ſayd, but perceiuing by their countenaunces that ſtoode by, that they wondred at it, he asked what it was he ſayd. When it was tolde him, he maruelled at the boldnes of ſo young a man, and then cried out twiſe together, let him then triumphe a Gods name. Many being offended therewith, *Pompey* (as it is reported) to anger them more, would needes be brought in in triumphant charriot drawen with foure Elephants: for he had taken many of them from thoſe kings and Princes which he had ſubdued. Howbeit the gate of the city being too narrowe, he was driuen to leaue the Elephantes, and was contented to be drawen in with horſes. Now his ſouldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promiſed them, going about to trouble and hinder his triumphe: he ſayd he paſſed not for it, & that he would rather let alone all his preparation of triumphe, then

The loue of the ſouldiers vnto Pompey.

Pompey called Magnus, by Sylla.

The wiſedom of the Romanes: commended for rewardinge foreine and home ſeruice. Valerius and Rullus called Maximi, in Rome.

Pompeis ſtout aunſwere vnto Sylla.

Pompey not being Senator, triumpheth againſt the law.

A then once to yeeld to flatter them. Whereuppon, there was a famous man at that time called *Seruilius*, who at the firſt was one of the chiefeſt againſt *Pompeys* triumphe, who ſayd openly: now I know that *Pompey* in deede is great, & deſerueth triumphe. Being euident enough, that if he would, he might then haue eaſily bene made Senator: he ſued not for that, but as they ſay, ſought honor by a ſtraunger meane leſſe honorable. For if he had bene made Senator ſo young, it had not bene ſo great a matter: but to haue ſuch honor before he was Senator, that was maruelouſly to be noted. But this wanne him the more fauor and good will ſtill amongeſt the common people: for they were glad when after his triumphe they ſaw him in compani amongeſt the ROMANE Knights. On thother ſide it ſpighted *Sylla* to ſee him come ſo faſt forward, and to riſe to ſo great credit: notwithſtanding, being aſhamed to hinder him, he was
B contented to kepe it to him ſelfe, vntill that *Pompey* by force & againſt *Syllaes* will, had brought *Lepidus* to be Conſull, by the helpe and good will of the people that furdered his deſire. Ther- *Marcus Lepidus created Conſull.*
upon *Sylla* ſeeing *Pompey* returning ouerthwart the market place from the election, with a great traine of followers to honor him, he ſayd vnto him: O young man, I ſee thou art glad of this victory, and ſo haſt thou cauſe, for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to haue had ſuch fauor of the people, as for thy ſake to haue made *Lepidus* Conſull (the vileſt perſon of all men) before *Catulus* the honeſteſt man of the citie. But I will tell thee one thing, ſee that thou ſleepe not, and looke well to thy buſines, for thou haſt aduaunced a daungerous enemy to thy ſelfe. Now the chiefeſt thing wherein *Sylla* diſcouered moſt his ill will vnto *Pompey*, was in his laſt *Sylla fallen from the loue of Pompey.*
will and teſtament: for he gaue legacies vnto euery one of his frendes, and ſome of them he
C made tutors & ouerſeers of his ſonne, but he made no mencion of *Pompey* at all. This notwithſtanding, *Pompey* tooke it well enough. And where *Lepidus* and ſome other would haue kept *Syllaes* body from buriall in the field of *Mars*, and that his funeralls ſhould not be openly ſolemniſed: he contrarywiſe brought him very honorably and ſafely to the ground. Shortly after *Syllaes* death, his wordes of prophecie vnto *Pompey* concerning *Lepidus*, proued true. For *Lepidus* vſurping the authoritie which *Sylla* had before, not colourablie, but openly entred *Lepidus moueth ciuill warre.*
ſtraight in armes, ſtirring vp againe thoſe of *Marius* faction, whom *Sylla* could not be reuenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, ſpying for occaſion to riſe againe. True it is that his colleague, and fellow Conſull *Catulus* (whom the beſt and ſoundeſt parte of the people followed) was thought a maruelous honeſt man, both iuſt and modeſt: howbeit, a better Gouer-
D nor in peace, then a good man of warre, inſomuch as time required *Pompeys* skill and experience. So *Pompey* ſtoode not doubtfull which way he would diſpoſe him ſelfe, but tooke parte ſtraight with the nobility and honeſteſt men, & was preſently choſen Captaine of their armie againſt *Lepidus*: who had already wonne the greateſt parte of ITALIE, and with an army vnder the conduct of *Brutus*, kept GAVLE on this ſide the mountaines, called GALLIA CISALPINA. And for the reſt, *Pompey* eaſily ouercame it: howbeit he lay a long time before MODONA, beſieging of *Brutus*. In the meane ſeaſon *Lepidus* came to ROME, & being hard at the walls demaunding the ſecond Conſulſhip, made them affrayed in the city with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all ſortes. Howebeit this feare was cooled ſtraight, by a letter which *Pompey* wrote to ROME, aduertiſing how he had ended this warre
E without any bloodſhed: for *Brutus*, either betraying his army, or being betrayed of it, yeelded him ſelfe vnto *Pompey*, who gaue him a certaine number of horſemen that conducted him to a litle towne apon the riuer of Poe: where the next day after, *Geminius* being ſent by *Pompey*, ſlue him. But hereof *Pompey* was greatly blamed, for that he had wrytten letters to the Senate from the beginning of the chaunge, how *Brutus* had put him ſelfe into his handes: and after- *Brutus the father, ſlaine by Pompey.*
wardes wrote letters to the contrary, which burdened him for putting of him to death. This *Brutus* was father of that *Brutus*, which afterwardes with the helpe of *Caſſius* ſlue *Iulius Caſar*: howbeit he ſhewed not him ſelfe ſo like a coward, neither in warres nor in his death, as his father did. As we haue declared more at large in his life. Furthermore, *Lepidus* being driuen to forſake ITALIE, fled into SARDINIA, where he dyed (as it is reported) of a ſickeneſſe that he *The death of Lepidus.*
F had, not for any ſorowe or griefe of his owne affayers, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his hart, knowing thereby that his wife had played the harlot. There remained at that time *Sertorius* in SPAYNE, who was an other maner of warrier then *Lepidus*, & that kept

the ROMANES in great awe: for that all the fugitiues of the late ciuill warres were fled to him, as from the laſt diſeaſe of the warres. He had already ouerthrowen many inferior Captaines, & was now wreſtling with *Metellus Pius*, that in his youth had bene a noble ſouldier, but now being old, made warres but ſlowly, and would not coragiouſly take preſent occaſions offered him, which *Sertorius* by his nimblenes and dexterity tooke out of his hands. For he would euer houer about him, when he thought leaſt of him, like a Captaine rather of theeues then of ſouldiers, and would ſtill lay ambuſhes in euery corner, and round about him: where the good old man *Metellus* had learned to fight in battell ray, his men being heauy armed. Hereuppon *Pompey* keping his army alway together, practiſed at ROME, that he might be ſent into SPAYNE to aide *Metellus*. But *Catulus*, notwithſtanding that he commaunded him to diſperſe his army, *Pompey* ſtill kept them together by colour of new deuiſes, and was continually about ROME in armes, vntill that by *Lucius Philippus* meanes he had obtained the gouernment of that contry. They ſay that one of the Senators marueling to heare *Philip* propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: how now *Philip*, doſt thou then thinke it meete to ſend *Pompey* Proconſull (to ſay, for a Conſull) into SPAYNE? No truely ſayd *Philip*, not Proconſull only, but pro Conſulibus: (to ſay, for both the Conſulls) meaning, that both the Conſulls for that yeare were men of no value. Now when *Pompey* was arriued in SPAYNE, men began ſtraight to be caried away, (as the maner is commonly where new Gouernors be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereuppon *Sertorius* gaue out prowde and bitter words againſt *Pompey*, ſaying in mockery, he would haue no other weapon but roddes to whippe this young boy, if he were not affrayed of this old woman: meaning *Metellus* the old man. But notwithſtanding theſe gallant bragges, he ſtoode better vpon his gard, and went ſtronger to fight then he did before, being affrayed of *Pompey*. For *Metellus* was very diſſolute of life (which no man would haue iudged in him) and was geuen ouer too much to riot and pleaſure: howbeit they ſaw in him a marueloſ ſodaine chaunge both of his pompe & glory which he vſed before, as alſo the cuttinge of of his ſuperfluous expence. That thinge, beſides that he did honor *Pompey* greatly by it, wan him alſo much more the good will of the people, when they ſaw that he drew him ſelfe downe to a ſtraighter life. And this was no great paine to him, for of his owne diſpoſition he was a graue man, & temperatly geuen for his deſires. In this warre fortune chaunged diuerſly, as it is commonly ſeene in warres: but nothing grieued *Pompey* more then *Sertorius* winning of the city of LAVRON. For he thinking to haue ſhut him in, & had geuen out ſome glorious wordes of the matter: wondred when he ſaw him ſelfe ſtraight compaſſed in, that he could not ſturre out of the campe where he lay, and was driuen beſides to ſee the citie burnt before his face. This notwithſtanding, afterwardes at a ſet battell by the citie of VALENTIA, he ſlue *Herennius* and *Perpenna*, both notable ſouldiers and *Sertorius* Lieutenauntes, and with them ten thowſand men. This victory ſo encoraged *Pompey*, that he made haſt to fight with *Sertorius* alone, bicauſe *Metellus* ſhould haue no parte of the honor of the victory. So they both met by the riuer of Sucron, about ſunne ſet, both fearing *Metellus* comming: the one that he might fight alone, and the other with one alone. In fine, the victory fell out doutfull in the end of the battell: for either of their winges had the vpper hand. Betwene the two Captaines, *Sertorius* had the greater honor: for he alone ouercame all them that ſtoode before him. And as for *Pompey*, there was a great man of armes that being a foote, came and ſet vpon him, and hauing both their ſwordes in their handes, they both lighted apon their handes, but not both in one ſorte: for *Pompeys* hand was but a litle hurt, and the man of armes had his hand cleane cut of. Then *Pompeys* men fell apon him, all his owne fellowes on that ſide being fled from him: notwithſtanding, beyond all hope, he ſaued him ſelfe after a ſtraunge ſorte, by caſting vp his horſe among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harnes, hauing a capariſon of great value: and in the meane time, while they were buſie deuiding this booty among them, and fighting for it: he ſcaped their handes. The next morning by breake of day, both of them againe brought their bandes into the fielde, to confirme the victory, which either of them ſuppoſed they had gotten. But *Metellus* came to *Pompey* at that preſent time, whereupon *Sertorius* went his way, and diſperſed his army: for his campe was eaſily broken, & ſodainly gathered againe together. For *Sertorius* would ſomtime wander the fieldes alone, and at an other time againe he

The valliantnes of Sertorius in Spayne.

Pompeys iorney into Spayne againſt Sertorius.

Metellus geuen to ryot & pleaſure.

Sertorius wan the city of Lauron in the ſight of Pompey.

Pompey ſlue Herennius & Perpenna.

Battell betwext Pompey and Sertorius.

Sucron ſt.

A he would haue a hundred and fifty thowſande fighting men together in the fielde, like a vehement ſtreame that ſomtime is dried vp, and that ſodainly againe is all of a flood. *Pompey* after this battell going to welcome *Metellus*, when they came neere one an other, he commaunded his ſergeauntes and officers to put downe their bundell of roddes and axes which they caried before him, to honor *Metellus* withall, who was a better man than him ſelfe. But *Metellus* would not ſuffer them, but ſhewed him ſelfe equall with him in that, and in all thinges elſe, not reſpecting his ſeniority, nor that he had bene Conſull, & *Pompey* not, ſauing when they camped together, *Metellus* gaue the watch word to all the campe. Notwithſtanding, commonly they camped a ſunder, for their enemy that was ſo flitting from place to place, and was ſeene in ſo ſundry places in ſo ſhort time, compelled them to be a ſunder to foreſee the worſt, drawB ing them ſodainly from one purpoſe to an other: ſo that in fine, cutting them off from vittells euery way, ſpoyling their contry, and keeping the ſea ſide, he draue them both out of the prouinces of their charge which they had in SPAYNE, and did compell them to goe ſome other where, for lacke of vittels. *Pompey* in the meane time hauing ſpent the moſt parte of his goods in this warre, ſent to ROME for money to pay his ſouldiers, threatning the Senate, that if they ſent him no money, he woulde returne with his armie into ITALIE. *Lucullus* then beinge Conſull, though *Pompeys* enemy, procured they ſhould ſend him money: for he practiſed to be ſent Captaine againſt king *Mithridates*, and therefore was affrayed to geue *Pompey* any occaſion to returne, who deſired nothing more then to leaue *Sertorius*, to bend his force againſt *Mithridates*, whoſe ouerthrow ſhould be more honorable to him, and alſo leſſe daungerous.

The modeſty of Pompey & Metellus.

C In the meane ſpace, *Sertorius* dyed, being betrayed by thoſe whom he thought his frendes, among the which *Perpenna* was the chiefe man, that after *Sertorius* death would needes counterfeate his doinges, hauing the ſame meanes, the ſame furniture, and the ſame power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit, and skill to employ them. *Pompey* therefore marching directly towardes him, and finding how ignorant *Perpenna* was in his affayers: he layed a bayte for him of ten cohorts which he ſent to praye in the fields, commaunding them to diſperſe them ſelues abroad as farre as they could, one from an other. *Perpenna* ſtraight tooke the occaſion, and gaue them charge, and had them in chaſe. But *Pompey* tarying him at the ford, was ready for him with all his army ſet in order: he gaue him battell, obtained the victory, and ended all this warre, bicauſe the moſt of the Captaines were ſlaine in the field, and *Perpenna* the chiefe

Pompey ouercame Perpenna, and ſlue him.

D of all taken priſoner, whom he preſently put to death. But herein *Pompey* was not to be condemned of ingratitude nor obliuion (as ſome do burden him) of *Perpennaes* frendſhip ſhewed him in SICILE, but rather deſerued praiſe to haue determined ſo wiſely for benefit of the common wealth. For *Perpenna* hauing in his cuſtody all *Sertorius* wrytings, he ſhewed letters of the greateſt noble men of ROME, (whieh were deſirous of chaunge of gouernment) willing him to returne into ITALIE. *Pompey* vpon ſight of theſe letters, fearing leaſt they would breede greater ſedition & ſturre in ROME, then that which was already pacified: put *Perpenna* to death as ſoone as he could, and burnt all his papers and wrytinges, not reading any letter of them. Then *Pompey* remaining in SPAYNE a certaine time, till he had pacified all commocions and tumultes, maruelouſly out of order: he brought his army backe againe into ITALIE, and arriE ued there when the warre of the bondmen and fenſers led by *Spartacus*, was in greateſt furie. Vpon his comming therefore, *Craſſus* being ſent Captaine againſt theſe bondmen, made haſt to geue them battell, which he wan, and ſlue twelue thowſand, three hundred of theſe fugitiue ſlaues. Notwithſtāding, fortune meaning to geue *Pompey* ſome parte of this honor, fiue thowſand of theſe bondmen eſcaping from the battell, fell into his hands. Whereupon, he hauing ouercome them, wrote vnto the Senate that *Craſſus* had ouercome the fenſers in battell, and that he had pluckt vp this warre by the rootes. The ROMANES receiuing *Pompeys* letters, were very glad of this newes for the loue they bare him. But as for the winning of SPAYNE againe, and the ouerthrow of *Sertorius*, there was no man, although it were in ſporte, that euer gaue any man elſe the honor, but vnto *Pompey* only. For all this great honor and loue they bare vnF to *Pompey*, yet they did ſuſpect him, and were affrayed of him, bicauſe he did not diſperſe his army, that he would follow *Syllaes* ſteppes, to rule alone by plaine force. Hereuppon, as many went to meete him for feare, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after

Pompey burnt Sertorius letters: the like alſo did Iulius Ceſar whe he ouercame Pompey.

Pompey ouercame the reſt of the bondemen.

he had put this ſuſpicion quite out of their heades, telling them that he would diſcharge his armie after he had triumphed: then his illwillers could blame him for nothing elſe, but that he was more enclined to the people then to the nobilitie, and that he had a deſire to reſtore the Tribuneſhippe of the people, which *Sylla* had put downe, only to gratifie the common people in all he could: the which in deede was true. For the common people at Rome neuer longed for thing more, than they did to ſee the office of the Tribune ſette vp againe. Yea, *Pompey* him ſelfe thought it the happieſt turne that euer came to him, to light in ſuch a time, to doe ſuch an acte. For, had any other man preuented him of that, he coulde neuer haue founde the like occaſion poſſiblie to haue requited the peoples good willes vnto him, ſo much as in that. Nowe therefore, his ſeconde triumphe and firſt Conſullſhippe being decreed by the Senate: that made him nothinge the greater, or better man. And yet was it a ſhewe and ſignification of his greatneſſe, the which *Craſſus* (the richeſt man, the eloquenteſt and greateſt perſon of all them that at that time delt in matters of ſtate, and made more eſtimacion of him ſelfe then of *Pompey* and all the reſt) neuer durſt once demaunde: before he had craued *Pompeys* goodwill. *Pompey* was very glad of his requeſt, and had ſought occaſion of long time to pleaſure him: and thereupon made earneſt ſute vnto the people for him, aſſuringe them he would as much thanke them for making *Craſſus* his colleague and fellowe Conſull, as he would, for making him ſelfe Conſull. All this notwithſtandinge, when they were created Conſulls, they were in all thinges contrarie one to an other, and neuer agreed in any one thing while they were Conſulls together. *Craſſus* had more authority with the Senate, but *Pompey* had more credit with the people. For he reſtored them the office of the Tribune, and paſſed by edict, that the Knightes of Rome ſhould haue full power againe to iudge cauſes ciuill and criminall. It was a pleaſaunt ſight alſo to the people, when he came vnto the Cenſors in perſon, to pray that he might be diſpenſt with for goinge to the warres. For it was an auncient cuſtome in Rome, that the Knightes of Rome hauinge ſerued a certaine time in the warres appointed by their order, ſhould bring their horſe in the middeſt of the market place before the two Cenſors, declaring euery Captaine vnder whome they had ſerued, in what iorneys and contries they had bene, and hauinge alſo deliuered accompt of their good behauior and ſeruice, they then prayed to be diſmiſſed from the warres. Nowe if it appeared that they had done good ſeruice, there were they honorablie rewarded: or otherwiſe openly ſhamed and puniſhed. At that time, *Gellius* and *Lentulus* the two Cenſors, being honorablie ſette in their tribunall or iudgement ſeate, taking viewe of all the Romane Knightes that muſtered before them, to be ſeene and examined: they marueled when they ſawe *Pompey* comminge at the further ende of the market place, hauinge all the markes of a Conſull borne before him, and him ſelfe leading his horſe in his hande by the bridle. When *Pompey* came neerer, and that they ſawe it was he, he commaunded his ſergeauntes that caried the axes before him, to make roome for him to paſſe by the barres with his horſe, where the Cenſors ſate. Then the people flocked about him, wondering and reioycing, being verie ſilent. The Cenſors them ſelues alſo were maruelous glad to ſee him ſo obedient to the lawe, and did him great reuerence. In fine, the elder of the Cenſors, did examine him in this ſorte. *Pompey* the great, I pray thee tell me if thou haſt ſerued ſo long time in the warres, as the lawe doth appoint? Then aunſwered *Pompey* alowde: yes verily that I haue, and vnder no other Captaine then my ſelfe. The people hearing that aunſwere, made an open ſhowte for ioy, they were ſo glad to heare it: and the Cenſors them ſelues came from their iudgement ſeate, and went to accompanie *Pompey* home to his houſe, to pleaſe the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their handes, with great ſignes of ioy. At the ende of their Conſulſhippe, when miſlikinge increaſed further betwext *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, there was one *Gaius Aurelius*, of the order of Knighthoode, who till that time neuer ſpake in open aſſembly, but then got vp into the pulpit for orations, and tolde the people openly: how *Iupiter* had appeared to him in the night, and had commaunded him to tell both the Conſulls from him, that they ſhould not leaue their charge and office, before they were reconciled together. For all theſe wordes *Pompey* ſturred not. But *Craſſus* firſt tooke him by the hand, and ſpake openly to him before the people. My Lordes, I thinke not my ſelfe diſhonored to geue place

Pompey and Craſſus firſt Conſullſhippe.

The cuſtome of the Knights in Rome.

Pompey as a Knight of Rome, ſueth to be diſcharged from the warres.

Pompey ſubmitteth him ſelfe to the Cenſors.

A place to *Pompey*, ſith you your ſelues haue thought him worthie to be called, the great, before he had any heare of his face, and vnto whom you graunted the honor of two triumphes before he came to be Senator. When he had ſayd his minde, they were made frendes together, and ſo ſurrendred vp their office. Now for *Craſſus*, he held on his former maner of life which he had begon. *Pompey* as neere as he could gaue ouer to plead mens cauſes any more, & began litle and litle to withdraw him ſelfe from frequenting the market place, and matters of iudgement, comming ſeldome abroad, & when he did, he had alwaies a great traine following him. It was a rare thing alſo to ſee him any more come out of his houſe, or talke with any man, but he was euer accompanied with a great number, & he reioyced to him ſelfe, to ſee that he had alwaies ſuch a traine with him: for that made him to be honored the more, & gaue him greater B countenaunce to ſee him thus courted, thinking it diſhonor to him to be familiar with meane perſons. For men that riſe by armes, are eaſily deſpiſed, when they come to liue like priuate citizens: bicauſe they can not facion them ſelues to be cõpanions with the common people, (who citizen like vſe a common familiaritie together) but looke to be their betters in the city, as they are in the field. Yea and cõtrarily, they that do acknowledge themſelues to be their inferiors in warres: will thinke fowle ſcorne if they be not their ſuperiors in peace. And by this meanes when they haue a noble warrier amonge them that followeth publike cauſes (which hath triumphed for many victories and battells he hath obtained) they obſcure his glory, and make him an vnderling vnto them: whereas they doe not otherwiſe enuy any ſouldiers, that are contented equally to geue them place and authority, as plainly appeared ſhortly after by C *Pompey* him ſelfe. By ſuch an occaſion, the power of pirates on the ſea tooke beginning in the contry of CILICIA, which was not reckoned of at the firſt, bicauſe it was not perceiued, vntill they grew bold & venturous in king *Mithridates* warres, being hyered to do him ſeruice. And afterwards the ROMANES being troubled with ciuill warres, one fighting with an other euen at ROME gates, the ſea not being looked to all this while: it ſet them a gogge, and made them go further then euer they did before. For they did not only rob & ſpoile all marchãt venterers by ſea, but rifled alſo all the Ilandes & townes vpon the ſea coaſt: inſomuch as then there ioyned with them, men of great wealth and nobility, & of great wiſedom alſo, & entred into their fellowſhippe, as into a commendable faculty. Now they had ſet vp arſenalls or ſtore houſes in ſundry places, they had ſundry hauens and beacons on the land, to geue warning by fire all a- D longeſt the ſea coaſt, & thoſe well kept & watcht: moreouer, they had great fleetes of ſhippes, ready furniſht with excellent good galliots of ores, skilfull pilots & mariners, their ſhippes of ſwift ſaile, & pinnaſes for diſcouery, but withall ſo glorioufly ſet out, that men leſſe hated their exceſſe, then feared their force. For the poopes of their galliots were all guilt, the coueringes of the ſame all of purple ſilke, delighting only to make a glorious ſhow of their pillage. All the ſea coaſt ouer, there was no ſight of any thinge but muſicke, ſinging, banketing, and rioting, priſes of Captaines, and men of great quality, & raunſomes of a thowſand priſoners: & all this was to the ſhame & diſhonor of the ROMANES. Their ſhips were about a thowſand in nũber, & they had takẽ aboue foure hũdred townes. They had ſpoiled & deſtroyed many holy tẽples that had neuer bene touched before. As the temple of the twynnes in the Ile of CLAROS, the E temple of *Samothracia*, the temple of Earth in the city of HERMION, & the tẽple of *Æſculapius* in EPIDAVRVM: the temples of *Neptune* in ISTHMOS, TÆNARIA, & CALABRIA: & the temples of *Apollo* in ACTIVM, in the Ile of LEVCADES: the temples of *Iuno* in SAMOS, in ARGOS, & in LVCANIA. They had alſo many ſtraunge ſacrifices & certen ceremonies of religion amongeſt thẽ ſelues, in the mount Olympus, & among other, the miſtery of *Mithres*, which is the ſunne: & remaineth yet in being vnto this day, being firſt ſhewed by them. But beſides all theſe inſolent partes and iniuries they did the ROMANES vpon the ſea, they went a land, and where they found any houſes of pleaſure vpon the ſea coaſt, they ſpoiled & deſtroyed them: & on a time they tooke two ROMANE Prætors, *Sextilius*, & *Bellinus*, being in their purple robes, with their ſergeaũts & officers attending on thẽ, & caried them quite away. An other time alſo they ſtale F away the daughter of *Antonius* (a man that had receiued honor of triumphe) as ſhe went a walking abroad in the fields, & ſhe was redemed for a great ſumme of money. But yet the greateſt ſpight & mockery they vſed to the ROMANES, was this. That when they had takẽ any of them

Pompey and Craſſus made frendes.

Pompeys pride and glory.

The beginning of the pirates warre.

The power & inſolency of the pirates in Cilicia.

The pirates nauy, a thowſand ſhippes.

The pirates scorning of the Romanes, when they were taken.

and that he cried he was a citizen of ROME, and named his name: then they made as though they had bene amazed, and affrayed of that they had done. For they clapped their handes on their thighes, and fell downe on their knees before him, praying him to forgeue them. The poore prisoner thought they had done it in good earnest, seeing they humbled them selues as though they seemed fearefull. For some of them came vnto him, & put shooes on his feete: others clapt a gowne on the backe of him after the ROMANE facion, for feare, (sayd they) least he should be mistaken an other time. When they had played all this pageant, & mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their shippe ladders, and put him on it, & bad him go his way, he should haue no hurt: and if he would not goe of him selfe, then they cast him ouer the bord by force, and sent him packing. These rouers and sea pirates had all the sea Mediterraneum at commaundement: insomuch there durst not a marchant looke out, nor once traffique that sea. And this was the only cause that moued the ROMANES, (fearing scarsity of vittells, and a great dearth) to send *Pompey* to recouer the signory againe of the sea from these pirates. The first man that moued it might be decreed, that *Pompey* should not be only Admirall, or Generall by sea, but should haue absolute power to commaunde all manner of persons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doinges in his charge: was *Gabinius*, *Pompeys* frend. The summe of this decree gaue him full power and absolute authority of all the sea from *Hercules* pillers, and of the maine land, the space of foure hundred furlong from the sea. (For the ROMANES dominions at that time in few places went further then that: notwithstanding, within that compasse were many great nations & mighty kings.) Furthermore, it gaue him power to choose of the Senate fifteene Lieutenauntes, to geue vnto euery one of them, seuerall prouinces in charge, according to his discretion: and also to take money out of the treasure, of the Generall receiuers of the state, to defray the charges of a fleete of two hundred saile, with full power besides to leauy what men of warre he thought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he listed. This law when it had bene read once ouer among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the noble men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this authority did not only exceede all enuy, but also that it gaue them apparant cause of feare, to geue such absolute power vnto a priuate person. Whereupon, they were all against it but *Cæsar*, who fauored the decree, not so much to pleasure *Pompey*, as the people, whose fauor he sought. The noble men fell maruelously out with *Pompey*: and at the length one of the Consulls was very hotte with him, and told him he looked to follow *Romulus* steppes, but peraduenture he would come shorte of that end he made. Thereupon the people thought to haue killed him. After that, *Catulus* stoode vp to speake against this edict. The people at the first heard him quietly, bicause he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of enuy, to speake many goodly thinges in the praise of *Pompey*, and in fine, aduised the people to spare him, and not to venter in such daungerous warres (one after an other) a man of so great accompt, as they ought to make of him. If ye chaunce to loose him, sayd he: whom haue you then to put in his place? The people then cried out: your selfe. Then perceiuing that he lost his labor, seeking to turne the people from their determination: he left it there, and sayd no more. *Roscius* rose next after him to speake, but he could haue no audience. When he saw that he coulde not be heard, he made a signe with his fingers, that they shoulde not geue *Pompey* alone this authority, but ioyne an other with him. The people being offended withall made such an outcrie vppon it, that a crow flying ouer the market place at that instant, was striken blinde, & fell downe amongest the people. Whereby it appeareth, that fowle falling out of the ayer to the ground, do not fall for that the ayer is broken or pearced with any force or fury: but bicause the very breath of the voice (when it commeth with such a violence, as it maketh a very tempest in the ayer) doth strike & ouercome them. Thus for that day, the assembly brake vp, and nothing past: and at the day appointed when this decree should passe by voyces of the people, *Pompey* went abroad into the contry. There being aduertised that the decree was past for the cõfirmation of his charge, he returned againe that night into the citie, bicause he would auoyde the enuie they would haue borne him to haue seene them run out of all partes of the city vnto him, to haue waited on him home. The next morning he came abroad, and sacrificed to the goddes: and audience being geuen him at an

Gabinius law for Pompeys authority against the pirates.

At the voyce of the people, a crow flying fell downe.

open

A open assembly, he handled the matter so, that they gaue him many thinges besides to enlarge his power, almost doubling the preparation set downe and appointed at the first decree. For he ordained that the common wealth should arme him fiue hundred shippes, & they leauied for him sixe score thowsand footemen, and fiue thowsand horsemen, and chose besides foure and twenty Senators, which had euery one of them bene Generalls of armies, and two generall Treasorers also. While thinges were thus a preparing, the price of vittels fell by chaunce: which reioyced the people so much, that they stucke not to say, that the name of *Pompey* only had already ended this warre. This notwithstanding, he deuided all the sea betwene the lands into thirteene regions, and in euery of them he appointed a certaine number of his shippes, and moreouer, one of his Lieutenauntes ouer them. Thus hauing dispersed his power all a- B broade, he brought all the pirates shippes that were in a fleete together, within his daunger: and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a docke. Now for them that had dispersed them selues betimes, or that otherwise could scape his generall chase: they fled all into CILICIA, as bees into the beehiue, against whom he would needes go him selfe in person with three score of his best shippes. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had scoored all the THVSCANE sea, the coastes of LYBIA, SARDINIA, SICILE, and of CORSICA, of all these theeues which are wont to keepe thereabouts: and this he did within forty dayes space, taking infinite paines, both him selfe and his Lieutenaunts. Now when one of the Consulls called *Piso* did all the best he could to hinder *Pompeys* preparation, and had discharged his ower men, for that he enuied *Pompeys* prosperity: *Pompey* sent his shippes before to make to- C wardes ITALIE to arriue at the city of BRVNDVSIVM. He in the meane time, went through THVSCANE to ROME, where, so soone as his comming was knowen, all the people ran out to meete him, as if he had bene absent a long time: and that which made the people more ioyfull to see him, was the sodaine chaunge of victals vnlooked for, that dayly came to the towne out of all partes. But *Piso* went neere to be depriued of his Consulshippe: for *Gabinius* had the decree wrytten, and ready to present to the people. But *Pompey* would not suffer it. So, hauing gently brought all to passe as he desired, he went vnto the city of BRVNDVSIVM, and there tooke sea, and hoysed sayle. Now though his hasty voyage, and shortnesse of time made him passe by many good cities without comming into them: notwithstanding, he would not so passe by the city of ATHENS, but landed there, and after he had sacrificed to the goddes, retur- D ned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the city, he red two wrytinges that were made in his praise, the one within the gate which sayd thus.

Pompeys preparation against the pirates.

The curtesie of Pompey vnto Piso.

The humblier that thou dooſt thy ſelfe as man behaue,
The more thou dooſt deſerue the name of god to haue.

And the other wryting was without the gate, which sayd:

VVe vvisht for thee, vve vvayt for thee,
VVe vvorship thee, vve vvayt on thee.

Nowe bicause *Pompey* hauing taken certaine of these rouers by sea that kept together, did vse them gently when they required pardon, and hauing their shippes and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercy, fled E from his other Captaines and Lieutenauntes, and went and yeelded them selues, their wiues and children into his handes. *Pompey* pardoned all them that came in of them selues, and by that meanes he came to haue knowledge of the rest, and to followe them where they went, whome he tooke in the ende: but knowinge that they deserued no pardon, they hid them selues. Yet the most parte, and the richest of them, had conueyed their wiues, children and goodes, and all other their family vnmeete for warres, into strong castells and litle townes apon mount Taurus: and such men as were able to cary weapon, imbarked, and lay before a city of CORACESIVM, where they taried *Pompey*, and gaue him battell, first by sea, and there were ouercome, and afterwardes they were besieged by lande. Howebeit shortly after, they prayed they might be receiued to mercie, and thereuppon yeelded their bodies, townes, and F llandes which they had fortified, and were hard to haue taken and worse to haue approached. Thus was this warre ended, and all the pirates in lesse then three monthes driuen from the sea wheresoeuer they were. He wanne also a great number of other shippes, besides foure

The victory of Pompey vpon the pirates.

ſcore and tenne gallies armed with copper ſpurres. And touching the men whom they had taken, (who were in number aboue twenty thowſand perſones) he did not only conſider whether he ſhould put them to death, but alſo thought it no wiſe parte on thother ſide to let them goe at liberty, to gather force againe, being ſo great a number of them as in deede they were, and all poore men and ſouldiers. Therefore, weying with him ſelfe, that man by nature is not borne a wild or ſauage beaſt, but contrarily becommeth a brute beaſt chaunging nature, whē he falleth to vice: and againe is made tame and ciuill in time, chaunging place and maner of life: (as brute beaſtes that being wilde by nature doe alſo become gentle and tractable, with gentler vſage by continuance) he determined to draw theſe pirats from the ſea into thupland, and to make them feele the true and innocent life, by dwelling in townes, and manuring the ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine ſmall townes of the CILICIANS, that were ſcant inhabited, & were very glad of thē, geuing them land to keepe them with. The city of the SOLIANS alſo, that not long before had bene deſtroyed by *Tigranes* the king of ARMENIA, being deſirous to repleniſh that againe, he placed many of them there. He beſtowed diuers alſo in the city of DYMA in the contry of ACHAIA, which at that time lacked inhabitants, and had great ſtore of very good land. Now therefore his enemies reproued him greatly: and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his beſt and greateſt frendes miſliked him. For *Metellus* that gentle perſon, (a coſen to that *Metellus* which was his colleague, and made warres in SPAYNE with him againſt *Sertorius*) was ſent Prætor into CRETA, before *Pompey* was choſen Generall againſt the pirates. This CRETA, next vnto CILICIA, was euen a ſeconde denne of pirates. *Metellus* finding there a great number of theſe theeues, tooke many of them, and put them to death, euen all that came to his handes. Then, ſuch as had ſcaped from him, being ſtraightly beſieged, ſent vnto *Pompey* to pray him of pardon, and to take them to mercie: declaringe vnto him, that the Ile of CRETA was within the precinct of his charge, bicauſe all partes of that region from the ſea came iuſt within the cōpaſſe limited him on the land. *Pompey* pardoning them apon their ſubmiſſion, wrote vnto *Metellus*, & commaunded him to leaue of his warre, and therewithall charged all the cities, that they ſhould not obey *Metellus* commaundementes. After that he ſent *Lucius Octauius*, one of his Lieutenauntes, who entred into the townes *Metellus* beſieged, and fought for the pirates. This made *Pompey* not only hated & enuied, but derided alſo: for that vnder his name he had protected ſuch vile theeues, that had neither God nor law, and geuen them his authority to ſaue their liues, for a litle enuie and emulacion he bare vnto *Metellus*. And therefore they rightly reproue *Achilles*, and ſay that he ſhewed not the parte of a wiſe man, but of a young fooſe beſides him ſelfe, for deſire of glory, making a ſigne to the GRÆCIANS, forbidding them to ſtrike at *Hector*, to thend that as *Homer* ſayd:

How men are tamed.

Pompeys lewd fact againſt Metellus.

Achilles diſhoneſt fact.

Leaſt he too late should to the battell runne,
When others had the honor of it vvonne.

But *Pompeys* fact was worſe then this. For he fought for the cōmon enemies of the world, and only to depriue a ROMANE Prætor of triumphe, who had done great good ſeruice to haue deſtroyed them. This notwithſtanding, *Metellus* left not of his warre for *Pompeys* letters, but hauing taken the pirates by aſſault, he put them to death: and afterwardes hauing done *Octauius* open ſhame through his campe, he let him goe. When newes came to ROME, that the pirates warre was brought to good end, & that *Pompey* hauing no other ſeruice in hand, went viſiting the cities vp & downe: one *Manilius* a Tribune of the people, put forth an other decree vnto them of this effect. That *Pompey* taking all the army *Lucullus* had, & the prouinces vnder his gouernment, with al BITHYNIA, which *Glabrio* kept: ſhould go make warre vpon the kings *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, keping in his handes notwithſtanding all his iuriſdiction and army by ſea, in as royall maner as he had it before. In fine, this was euen to make one man Monarke and abſolute Prince, of all the ROMANE Empire. For by this ſecond decree, he had all theſe contries not named in his former commiſſion, added to amplifie his authority, as PHRYGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA and ARMENIA, with all the armies and forces with the which he had ouercomen thoſe two mighty kinges. Then the Senate ſtucke not ſo much at the iniurie that was offered vnto *Lucullus*, depriuing him of the honor

Pompey appointed Lucullus ſucceſſor.

A honor of his doinges, to geue it to an other, that ſhould rather ſucceede him in honor of triumphe, then in daunger of warres, knowing that they did him too manifeſt iniury, & ſhewed themſelues too vnthankefull: but that which moſt grieued them, was to ſee *Pompeys* power eſtabliſhed in a plaine tyranny. Hereuppon therefore, one of them perſwaded and encoraged an other, ſtowtly to withſtand this edict, and not to ſuffer their liberty to be loſt in this ſorte. Notwithſtanding, when the day came that the decree ſhould paſſe, they were ſo afrayed to anger the people, that their hartes failed them, & none durſt ſpeake againſt it but *Catulus* only: that earneſtly inueyed againſt the paſſing of it a long time together, & greatly blamed the people. At the length, perceiuing he had wonne neuer a man to take his parte, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they ſhould looke to ſeeke out ſome mountaine or high rocke to B retyre ſafely vnto, to defend their liberty, as their anceſters had done in old time before them. All this preuailed not, for the decree paſſed by the voices of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was *Pompey* in his abſence made Lorde almoſt of all that, which *Sylla* by force of armes and great effuſion of blood (hauing made him ſelfe Lord of ROME) had before in his power. When *Pompey* had receiued letters from ROME, aduertiſing him what the people had paſt in his behalfe: ſome ſay that at the receite of them (in the preſence of his familiar frendes that were about him, and reioyced with him for congratulacion) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieued him maruelouſly to haue ſuch great offices & charge layed vpon him, one in the necke of an other, and burſt forth in theſe wordes. O goddes, ſhall I neuer ſee an ende of ſuch a worlde of troubles as I haue? Had it not bene better for me to haue C bene a meane man borne and vnknowen, then thus continually to be in warre with armor on my backe? What, ſhall I neuer ſee the time, that breaking the neckes of ſpight and enuy againſt me, I may yet once in my life liue quietly at home in my contrie, with my wife & children? When *Pompey* ſpake thoſe wordes, his familiar frendes could not abide to ſee his deepe diſſimulation, knowing that beſides his naturall ambition and couetous deſire to rule, he was glad in his hart that he had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and *Lucullus*: which his deedes forthwith bewrayed. For he preſently ſent out precepts into euery quarter, commaunding all ſortes of ſouldiers to come to him immediatly, & made alſo all the Princes and kinges within precinct of his charge to come vnto him, and going through the contries, altered and chaunged all that *Lucullus* had eſtabliſhed before. Furthermore, he did releaſe the D penalties enioyned them, and tooke from them alſo the giftes that *Lucullus* beſtowed of them. In fine, this was all his purpoſe and deſire: to make them that honored *Lucullus* know, that he had no further power & authority to doe any thing. *Lucullus* finding him ſelfe hardly handled by *Pompey*, the frends of either ſide thought good they ſhould meete & talke together: which came ſo to paſſe, for they met in the contry of GALATIA. And bicauſe they both were great Captaines of the ROMANE armies, and had done many famous acts, they had their ſergeaunts & officers that caried the bundells of roddes before thē, wreathed about with laurell boughs. When they met, *Lucullus* came out of a cloſe & woddy contry, all couered with greene trees, and *Pompey* on thother ſide had paſſed through a great ſandy plaine, where no tree was growing. Thereupon *Lucullus* ſergeaunts ſeeing the laurell boughes drie and withered away, which E *Pompeys* ſergeaunts caried, they gaue them of their greene and freſh boughes to beawtifie the roddes and axes. This was a plaine token that *Pompey* came to take *Lucullus* honor from him. In troth *Lucullus* had bene Conſull before *Pompey*, & ſo was he alſo older man then he: yet the dignity of *Pompey* was greater, bicauſe he had triumphed twiſe. At their firſt meting, their entertainment & diſcourſe was with great ceremony and curteſie as might be, one highly praiſing the others deedes, reioycing at eche others good ſucceſſe: but at parting, they fell to hot wordes together, *Pompey* vpbrayding *Lucullus* auarice, and *Lucullus Pompeys* ambition, ſo that their frendes had much a doe to parte them. *Lucullus* departing thence, deuided the landes in GALATIA, which he had conquered, and beſtowed them & other gifts, on ſuch as he thought good. *Pompey* on thother ſide camping hard by him, ſpecially commaunded the people in e- F uery parte to obey him in nothing whatſoeuer he did: and beſides, he tooke all his ſouldiers from him, leauing him only ſixteene hundred, which he ſuppoſed were ſuch, as for diſdaine and ill will they bare him, would do him but ſmall ſeruice. Furthermore, to bleamiſh the glory

The boldnes of Catulus in diſſwading Manilius law.

Pompeys great diſſimulation.

Quarrell betwixt Pompey and Lucullus.

Pompey and Lucullus meeting in Galatia.

of his doings, he told euery body *Lucullus* had fought with the pompe & ſhadow only of theſe A
two kinges, and that he had left him to fight with all their whole force and power, *Mithridates* being then prepared for warres, with ſhieldes, ſwordes, and horſes. *Lucullus* for reuenge on the other ſide ſayd, that *Pompey* went to fight but with a ſhadow of warre, like a cowardly buſſard that prayeth vpon dead bodies, which others haue ſlaine: & to cut a ſunder the remaine of this warre ended by an other, as he had done before, attributing the honor of the ouerthrow of *Sertorius*, *Lepidus*, and *Spartacus*, to him ſelfe, where in deede *Metellus*, *Craſſus*, and *Catulus* did ouercome them. And therfore it was no maruell, that he ſought the glory and honor to triumphe for the kingdomes of PONTVS and ARMENIA: ſith that through his ſubtill practiſes he had obtained triumphe for a fewe ſlaues and fugitiues. *Lucullus* being nowe gone his way, *Pompey* ſent good garriſons vnto all the coaſtes apon the ſea, from the prouince of B
Pompeys iorney againſt Mithridates. PHOENICIA, vnto the realme of BOSPHORVS. That done, he tooke his iorney by lande towardes *Mithridates*, who had in his campe thirtie thowſande footemen, and two thowſande horſemen, and yet durſt not offer battel, but camped firſt apon a mountaine of great ſtrength, and hard to get vp on: notwithſtanding ſhortly after, he forſooke it for lacke of water. He was no ſooner gone thence, but forthwith *Pompey* tooke it. Who, coniecturing by the nature of the plantes and trees in that place which were very greene, and alſo by diuers holes he found, that for reaſon thereabouts ſhould be ſome ſpringes: he commaunded them to digge welles in euery corner, ſo that in a very ſhort time all his campe had water enough, and he wondred at *Mithridates*, that he could not finde that out in all the time he lay there. In thend, he went and camped rounde about *Mithridates*, and intrenched him with a wall within his owne C
campe: who after he had abidden the ſiege fiue and forty dayes, fled away with all the choice of his army, vnknowing to *Pompey*, hauing firſt ſlaine all the ſicke and impotent perſons within his campe. After that, *Pompey* found him an other time by the riuer of Euphrates, & went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that *Mithridates* would paſſe ouer the riuer before he could preuent him in time, he raiſed his campe againe, & marched away at midnight. About
Mithridates dreame. that time, they ſay, that *Mithridates* ſawe that in a dreame, which did prognoſticate what ſhould happen. He thought, that hauing the winde in the poope of his ſhippe, he was vnder ſaile, in the middeſt of the ſea of Mare Boſphorum, and that he was maruelous glad of it, and reioyced with them that ſailed with him, thinking him ſelfe certainly paſt all daunger: yet ſodainly againe, that all this ioy left him, and that he floted vp and downe the waues of the ſea, D
apon a litle peece of the ſhippe that was broken, truſting to the mercy of the windes. As he was troubled with this ill fauored dreame, certaine of his familiars came to him and told him, that *Pompey* was come ſo neere, that there was no ſhift, but they muſt needes fight to defend their campe. Thereuppon, his Captaines ſtraight beganne to put his men in battell ray, ready to fight. *Pompey* vnderſtanding they prepared to make defence, was in dout to venter his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compaſſe them in to keepe them from flying, & then in the morning to ſet vpon them more eaſily, his men being the better ſouldiers. But *Pompeys* olde Captaines were ſo earneſtly in hand with him to perſwade him they might fight, that in the ende he was contented they ſhould geue charge. Now it was not ſo darke but they could ſomewhat ſee, for the moone that was very low and vppon her ſetting, gaue light enough to E
diſcerne the body of a man: yet bicauſe the moone was very low, the ſhadow which gaue out further farre then their bodies, came almoſt euen to their very enemies, which did let thē that they could not certainly iudge what ſpace of ground was betwene them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they caſt their dartes at the ROMANES, but they hurte neuer a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The ROMANES perceiuing that, ran apon them with great cries. But the barbarous people durſt not abide their charge they were ſo affrayed,
Pompey ouerthrew Mithridates. but turned their backes, and ranne away for life, ſo that they were ſlaine downe right. Thus were there tenne thowſand of the barbarous people ſlaine and more, and their campe alſo taken. As for *Mithridates* him ſelfe, at the beginning of thonſet, he made a lane among the ROMANES with eight hundred horſemen, and paſſed cleane through them. But incontinently his F
Hypſicratea, Mithridates, concubine, &c. men diſperſed apon it, ſome one way, ſome an other way, ſo that he was left alone but with three perſons only, whereof *Hypſicratea* was one of the number, which had euer bene valliant

and

A and had a mans hart: whereuppon, for that cause *Mithridates* called her *Hypsicrates*. She at that time being arrayed like a man of armes of PERSIA, and mounted also on a horse after the PERSIAN maner, was neuer weary with any long iorney the king made, nor neuer left to waite vpon his person, and to looke to his horse: vntill such time as the king came to a strong castell called Inora, where was great store of gold & siluer, and the kinges chiefest treasure. Then *Mithridates* tooke of his richest apparell he had there, & gaue it amongest them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poyson besides to euery one of his frendes to carie about them, bicause they should not (vnlesse they would them selues) fall into their enemies handes aliue. From thence he thought to take his iorney into ARMENIA, vnto king *Tigranes*. Howbeit *Tigranes* sent to let him, and further proclaimed by tromper, that he would geue a hundred ta-
B lentes to him that could kill him. Thereuppon, passing by the head of the riuer of Euphrates, he fled through the contry of CHOLCHIDE. In the meane time, *Pompey* inuaded the contry of ARMENIA, at the request of *Tigranes* the younger, who was reuolted against his father, and went to meete with *Pompey* at the riuer of Araxes, which hath his beginning almost about the head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the East, and falleth into Mare Caspium. So they both together marched on further into the contrie, receiuinge such townes as yeelded vnto them. But king *Tigranes* (that not long before had bene consumed and destroyed by *Lucullus*) vnderstanding that *Pompey* was of a mylde and gentle nature, he receiued his garrisons into his strongest fortes and royall houses, and went him selfe with his frendes and kinsemen to meete *Pompey*, & to yeeld him selfe vnto him. Whē he came hard to his campe, being a horse backe,
C there came out two sergeaunts of *Pompeys*, & commaunded him to light and go in a foote, for there was neuer man seene a horse backe within the ROMANES campe. *Tigranes* did not only obey them, but further plucked of his sword and gaue it them: and in fine, when he came almost to *Pompey*, taking of his royall hatte frō his head, he would haue layed it at *Pompeys* feete, & falling downe most shamefully on the ground, imbased him selfe to imbrase *Pompeys* knees. But *Pompey* him selfe preuented him, and taking him by the hande, made him to sit downe by him on the one side of him, and his sonne on the other. Then he sayd vnto them both: as for the other losses you haue susteined heretofore, you must thanke *Lucullus* for them, who hath taken from you, SYRIA, PHOENICIA, CILICIA, GALATIA, and SOPHENA: but for that you haue left you till my comming, I will let you enioy it, paying to the ROMANES a fine of sixe
D thowsand talentes for the iniurie you had done them, prouided also, that your sonne haue the kingdome of SOPHENA for his parte. *Tigranes* accepted the condicions of peace. The ROMANES then saluted him king. He was so glad thereof, that he promised to geue euery souldier halfe a Mina, euery Centener tenne Minas, and to euery Colonell of a thowsand men a talent. His sonne was very angry withall: insomuch as *Pompey* sending for him to come to supper to him, he aunswered againe, that was not the frendshippe hē looked for at *Pompeys* handes, for he should finde many other ROMANES that would offer him that curtesie. *Pompey* for his aunswere, clapped him vp as a prisoner, and kept him to be led in triumphe at ROME. Shortly after, *Phraates* king of PARTHIA sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* to demaunde this young Prince,
that was his sonne in law: and to tell him that the riuer of Euphrates must be the vttermost
E confines of his conquestes. *Pompey* aunswered againe, that *Tigranes* had more right to his sonne, then the father in law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would doe it with iustice. So, leauing *Afranius* in ARMENIA to keepe the contrie, *Pompey* passed by other nations which inhabite about mount Caucasus, hauing *Mithridates* in chace: of which nations, two of the chiefest and of greatest power, are the ALBANIANS and IBERIANS. The IBERIANS do stretch out vnto mount Moschiū, & to the realme of PONTVS. The ALBANIANS lye towards the East, and Mare Caspium. These men first suffered *Pompey* to passe through their contrie, apon his sending to thē. But winter hauing stolen apon the ROMANES while they were there, & they busily occupied about *Saturnes* feasts: the barbarous people hauing leauied aboue forty thowsand fighting mē in one campe together, came & passed ouer the riuer of Cyrnus. (This
F riuer commeth from the mountaines of the IBERIANS, and receiuing the riuer of Araxes into it, which passeth through ARMENIA, disperseth it selfe into twelue seuerall mouthes, and so falleth into Mare Caspium. Some notwithstanding holde opinion, that Cyrnus receiueth

otherwise called Hypsicrates, for her valliantnes like a man.

Araxes fl.

Tigranes yeldeth him selfe vnto Pompey.

Tigranes laied his diadeame at Pompeys feete.

Tigranes sonne a prisoner.

Ambassadors sent from the king of Parthia vnto Pompey.

Caucasus mons.

Albani, and Iberes: what maner of people.

Cyrnus fl.

not the riuer of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it ſelfe, & falleth into the ſame ſea, nere vnto the mouthes of the other.) *Pompey* might if he had would haue kept them for comming ouer the riuer, yet did he ſuffer them quietly to paſſe ouer. When they were all ouer, he went againſt them, ouercame them in battell, and ſlue a great number of them in the field. Afterwardes he pardoned their kinge, ſubmittinge him ſelfe vnto *Pompey* by his Ambaſſadors, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went againſt the IBERIANS: who were no leſſe in number, then the ALBANIANS were at the firſt, and alſo better ſouldiers, and were reſolutely bent to doe good ſeruice vnto *Mithridates*, and to driue out *Pompey*. Theſe IBERIANS were neuer ſubiect to the Empire of the PERSIANS, nor of the MEDES, and ſcaped alſo from being ſubiect to the MACEDONIANS, for that *Alexander* neuer ſtayed in the contry of HYRCANIA: whom alſo *Pompey* ouercame in a great & bloodie battell, hauing ſlaine nine thowſand in the field, and taken tenne thowſand priſoners. From thence he went into the contry of COLCHIDA. There *Seruilius* met him by the riuer of Phaſis, with the fleete of ſhippes with the which he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to followe *Mithridates* further, who had hidde him ſelfe amongeſt a people that were neighbours vnto the ſtraightes of BOSPHORVS, and the mariſſes Mæotides, he found it a hard peece of worke. Furthermore alſo, he had newes that the ALBANIANS were rebelled againe, which drew him backe to be reuenged of them. Thereuppon he paſſed againe ouer the riuer of Cyrnus, with great paine and daunger, bicauſe the barbarous people had made a ſtrong defence a great way alongeſt the riuer ſide, with a maruelous number of great trees, feld and layed a croſſe one ouer an other. Furthermore, when he had with great difficulty paſſed thorow them, he fell into an euill fauored contry, where he ſhould trauell a great way before he could come to any water. Thereuppon he cauſed ten thowſand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and ſo went forward to meete with his enemies, whom he found by the riuer of Abas, being ſixe ſcore thowſande footemen, and twelue thowſande horſemen, but all (or the moſt of them) ill armed with wilde beaſtes skinnes. Their Chiefetaine was *Coſis*, the kinges owne brother. He, when the battell was begonne, flew apon *Pompey*, and threwe a dart at him, and hurt him in the flancke. *Pompey* on thother ſide, ranne him through with his launce on both ſides, & ſlue him ſtarke dead. Some ſay alſo, that there were certaine AMAZONES at this battel, which fought of the barbarous peoples ſide, cõming from the mountaines that runne alongeſt the riuer of Thermodon. For, after the ouerthrow geuen, the ROMANES ſpoyling the dead, found targets, and buskinnes of the AMAZONES, but not a body of a woman among them. They alſo doe inhabite on the ſide of the mountaine Caucaſus, that looketh towardes Mare Hyrcanium, and doe not border vpon the ALBANIANS: but the GELE, and the LELEGES are betwene them, with whom they company two monethes only euery yeare meeting together, by the riuer of Thermodon, and all the reſt of the yeare, they liue a parte by them ſelues. After this laſt battell, *Pompey* going to inuade the contrie of HYRCANIA, as farre as Mare Caſpium, he was compelled to go backe againe for the infinite number of deadly venemous ſerpents which he met with, being come within three dayes iorney of it. So he returned backe againe into ARMENIA the leſſe, and there receiued preſentes which were ſent vnto him from the kings of the ELYMIANS and the MEDES, and wrote very curteouſly vnto them againe: howbeit he ſent *Afranius* with parte of his armie againſt the king of the PARTHIANS, who had inuaded the contry of GORDIENA, and harried and ſpoiled the king of *Tigranes* ſubiects. Notwithſtanding, he draue him out, and followed him vnto ARBELITIDE. Furthermore, all the lemmans and concubines of king *Mithridates* being brought vnto *Pompey*, he would touche none of them, but ſent them all home againe, to their parents and frendes, bicauſe the moſt of them were either the daughters of Princes, of noble men, or of Captaines. Notwithſtanding, *Stratonice* that of all the reſt of his lemmans, had moſt credit about *Mithridates*, vnto whom he had left all the charge of his caſtel, where the greateſt parte of his treaſure of gold and ſiluer lay, was a ſingers daughter, who as they ſayd, was not riche, but an old man. She hauing ſong one night before *Mithridates*, being at ſupper, he fell in ſuch fancy with her, that he would needes haue her lye with him the ſame night, and the old man her father went home offended, bicauſe the king would not ſo much as geue him one gentle word. But the next morning when he roſe, he marueled to ſee the tables in his houſe full of

Pompey ouerthrew the Albanians.

Pompey ouercame the Iberians.

Phaſis fl.

The Albaniãs rebell againſt Pompey.

Abas fl.

Pompey ſlue Coſis, the kinges brother of the Albanians.

The Amazones.

Gele and Leleges, people that do company with the Amazones.

Thermodon fl.

Stratonice, Mithridates chiefe harlot.

place

A plate of gold and siluer, and a great company of seruing men, groomes of chamber & pages, and that they had brought him maruelous riche apparell, & a horse ready at the gates brauely furnished, as the kings familiars did vse when they went abroade into the city: he thought it was done in mockery, to haue made sporte with him, and therefore would haue runne his way, had not the seruing men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that dyed of late, which the king had bestowed on him, and that all this he saw, was but a litle porcion in respect of the other goods and lands he gaue him. So the old man beleuing them, at the length did put on this purple gowne they brought him, and got vp a horse backe, & riding through the streetes, cried, all this is mine, all this is mine. Certaine laughing him to scorne for it, he told them: masters, ye may not wonder to heare me thus crie out, but rather, B that I throw not stones at them I meete, I am so madde for ioy. Such was *Stratonices* birth and parentage, as we haue told you. She did then deliuer this castell into *Pompeys* hands, and offered him many goodly riche presents: but he would take none of them, other then such as serued to adorne the temples of the goddes, and to beawtifie his triumphe, and left all the rest with *Stratonice* her selfe, to dispose as she thought good. In like manner also, the king of the Lydrians, hauing sent him a bedstead, a table, and a chayer of cleane golde, praying him to take it as a remembraunce from him: he deliuered it ouer vnto the Treasorers custody, to be accountable for it vnto the state. In an other castell called Cœnon, he founde certaine secret letters sent from *Mithridates*, which pleased him maruelously to reade, bicause thereby he plainly vnderstoode the kinges nature and inclination. For in them were mencioned that he C had poysoned (besides many other) *Ariarathes* his owne sonne, and *Alcæus* the Sardianian, bicause he had wonne the bell, at the horse race before him. There was also interpretinge of dreames, that either him selfe or his wiues had dreamed, and also loue letters betwext *Monimé* and him. *Theophanes* wryteth also, that there was found an oration of *Rutilius*, in the which he intised and perswaded *Mithridates* to put all the Romanes to death that were in Asia. Howbeit in reason men thinke, that this was a shamefull lye, maliciously deuised by *Theophanes*, who hated *Rutilius*, bicause he was but a counterfeate to him: or peraduenture to gratifie *Pompey*, whose father *Rutilius* in his histories describeth to be as wicked a man as euer liued. Thence *Pompey* departed towardes the city of Amisvs. There his ambition brought him to commit such factes, as he him selfe did condemne before in *Lucullus*: for that his enemy being D yet aliue, he tooke vpon him to establish lawes, to geue giftes, and distribute such honors, as Captaines that had obtained victory were wont to doe, when they had ended all warre and trouble. For he him selfe (*Mithridates* being yet the stronger in the realme of Bosphorvs, and hauing a great puissant army about him) did all that which he reproued an other for, appointing prouinces, and geuing out giftes to euery man according as he deserued: to gratifie twelue barbarous kinges, with diuers other Princes, Lordes and Captaines, that came to him thither. Wryting also to the king of Parthia, he disdained to geue him that title, which others were wont to doe in the direction of their letters, calling him king of kinges. Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great desire to winne Syria, and to goe through the contry of Arabia, euen vnto the redde sea, bicause he might enlarge his conquestes and victories euery E way, euen vnto the great sea Oceanum, that compasseth all the whole earth. For in Libya, he was the first Romane that conquered all to the great sea. On thother side, in Spayne he enlarged thEmpire of Rome, and brought the confines thereof vnto Mare Atlanticum. And thirdly, hauing lately the Albanians in chase, he came almost vnto Mare Hyrcanium. Thus he put him selfe in iorney, intending his circuite vnto the redde sea, specially bicause he sawe *Mithridates* so ill to follow, & worse to ouercome by force when he fled, then when he fought any battell: and that made him say, that he would leaue a sharper enemy behinde him, then him selfe: and that he ment, famine. For he appointed souldiers with sufficient number of shippes, to lye in waite for the marchauntes that sailed to the contrie of Bosphorvs, to cary them any vittells or other marchaundises, prohibiting them vpon paine of death that should F attempt it. Then he went forward with the best parte of his army, and in his way, founde the bodies of dead Romanes which *Mithridates* had ouerthrowen vnder the leading of *Triarius* their Captaine, and were yet vnburied. So he caused them all to be taken vp, and honorably

Pompeys abstinence from taking of gifts.

Mithridates remembraūces.

Rutilius, an historiographer.

Pompeis faut.

Pompeys iorney into Syria.

buried. *Lucullus* hauing forgotten, or otherwise neglected to doe it, in my conscience that was the chiefest cause why his men did hate him. *Pompey* now hauing by *Afranius* subdued the ARABIANS, dwelling about mount Amanus, went him selfe in person into SYRIA, and made a gouernment and prouince of it, being won to the ROMANE Empire, for that it lacked a lawfull king: and conquered all IVRIE also, where he tooke king *Aristobulus*, and builded certaine cities there, and deliuered others also from bondage, which by tyrannes were forcibly kept, whom he chasticed well enough. Howbeit he spent the most parte of his time there, deciding of controuersies, pacifying of contencions and quarrells by arbitrement, which fell out betwext the free cities, Princes and kinges, and sent of his frends into those places where he could not come him selfe. For on a time when he was chosen arbitrator betwext the PARTHIANS and the ARMENIANS, touching the title of a contrie which both parties claimed: he sent three commissioners thither to iudge definitiuely betwext them both. If *Pompeys* fame and renowne were great, no lesse was his vertue, iustice, and liberality, which in deede did hide many faultes, his frendes and familiars about him did commit. For truely he was of so gentle a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet punishe them when they had offended. Notwithstanding, he did vse them so well that complained vnto him, or that had to deale with him in any matter: that he made them contented, paciently to beare their couetousnes & straight dealing. One of his chiefest familiars about him whom he loued best, was called *Demetrius*, a bondman infranchised, who otherwise was very discrete in his doings, but being somewhat too bolde of his good fortune: of him they make this mencion. *Cato* the Philosopher being at that time a young man, yet of good iudgement and of a noble minde, in *Pompeys* absence went to see the city of ANTIOCH. Now for him selfe, his maner was alwayes to goe a foote, & all his frendes besides that did accompany him to honor him, were a horseback. He perceiuing a farre of, a great sorte of people comming towardes him all in white, and of one side of the streete litle children, and on the other boyes, round about them as in a ring: at the first he was angry withall, thinking they had done it for his sake to honor him, that they made this procession, which he in no wise would haue had done. Thereuppon he commaunded his frendes to light from their horses, and to goe a foote with him. But when they came neere to the gate of the city, the maister of the ceremonies that led this procession, hauing a garland on his head, and a rodde in his hand, came vnto them, and asked them: where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come? *Catoes* frendes laughed to heare this question: then sayd *Cato*, alas poore city, and so passed by it. Notwithstanding, *Pompey* him selfe was cause that *Demetrius* had the lesse ill will borne him, then otherwise he should haue had: bicause they sawe howe boldly he would vse *Pompey*, and howe well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when *Pompey* oftentimes had bidden some to dinner or supper, while he was entertaining and welcomming of them, and would tary till they were all come: *Demetrius* would be set at the bord, and presumptuously haue his head couered euen to the very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into ITALIE out of this iorney, he had already purchaced the goodliest houses of pleasure and fayrest walkes that were about ROME, and had sumptuous gardens also, the which the people commonly called *Demetrius* gardens: though his master *Pompey* was but meanly housed till his third Consullshippe. Howbeit afterwardes, he built that famous stately Theater, called *Pompeys* Theater, and ioyned vnto that also an other house, as a penthouse to his Theater, farre more sumptuous and stately then the first, and yet no more then needed. Insomuch as he that was owner of it after him, when he came into it, he marueled, and asked where abouts it was, that *Pompey* dyned & supped. These thinges are reported thus. Now, the king of the ARABIANS, that dwelt about the castell called Petra, hauing neuer vntill that time made any accompt of the ROMANES army, was then greatly affrayed of them, and wrote vnto *Pompey*, that he was at his deuotion, to doe what he would commaunde him. *Pompey* thereuppon to proue him, whether he ment as he spake: brought his army before this castell of Petra. Howebeit this voyage was not liked of many men, bicause they iudged it was an occasion found out to leaue following of *Mithridates*, against whom they would haue had him rather haue bent his force, being an auncient enemy to ROME, and that beganne to gather strength againe, and prepared (as they heard say) to lead

Pompey brought Syria into the forme and gouernment of a prouince.

Pompeys vertues.

The power & insolency of Demetrius, Pompeys infranchised bondman.

Catoes exclamation against Demetrius, Pompeys infranchised bondman.

Pompeys Theater.

The king of Arabia Petrea, submitted him selfe to Pompey.

A a great army through SCYTHIA and PANNONIA into ITALIE. But *Pompey* thinking he ſhould ſooner miniſhe his power by ſuffering him to goe on with warres, then that he ſhould otherwiſe be able to take him flying: would not toyle to follow him in vaine. And for theſe cauſes he would needes make warres in other places, and linger time ſo long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not farre from the caſtell of Petra, & had lodged his campe for that day: as he was riding and managing his horſe vp and downe the campe, poſtes came flinging to him from the realme of PONTVS, and brought him good newes, as was eaſily to be diſcerned a farre of by the heades of their rauelings, which were wreathed about with laurell boughes. The ſouldiers perceiuing that, flocked ſtraight about him: but *Pompey* would make an ende of his riding firſt, before he red theſe letters. Howbeit they crying to him, and
B being importunate with him, he lighted from his horſe, and returned into his campe, where there was no ſtone high enough for him to ſtand vppon to ſpeake vnto them, and againe, the ſouldiers would not tary the making of one after the manner of their campe, which men of warre doe make them ſelues, with great turues of earth, laying one of them vppon an other: but for haſt & earneſt deſire they had to heare what newes there was in the letters, they layed together a heape of ſaddells one apon an other, and *Pompey* getting vp of them, tolde howe *Mithridates* was dead, and had killed him ſelfe with his owne handes, bicauſe his ſonne *Pharnaces* did rebell againſt him, and had wonne all that which his father poſſeſſed: wryting vnto him, that he kept it for him ſelfe and the ROMANES. Vpon theſe newes, all the campe ye may imagine, made wonderfull ioy, and did ſacrifice to the goddes, geuing them thankes, & were
C as mery, as if in *Mithridates* perſon alone, there had dyed an infinite number of their enemies. *Pompey* by this occaſion, hauing brought this warre more eaſily to paſſe then he hoped for, departed preſently out of ARABIA, and hauing ſpeedily in few dayes paſſed through the contries lying by the way, he came at length to the city of AMISVS. There he founde great preſents that were brought vnto him from *Pharnaces*, and many dead bodies of the kinges blood, and amongeſt the reſt, *Mithridates* corſe, which could not well be diſcerned by his face, bicauſe they that had the carying of his body had forgotten to drie vp the braine: neuertheleſſe, ſuch as deſired to ſee him, knew him by certaine skarres he had in his face. For *Pompey* would in no wiſe ſee him: but to auoide enuy, ſent him away vnto the city of SINOPE. He wondred much at the maruelous ſumptuons riche apparell and weapons that he ware. The ſcaberd of
D his ſword (which coſt foure hundred talents) was ſtolen by *Publius*, and ſold to *Ariarathes*. Alſo a hatte of *Mithridates* of wonderfull workemanſhippe, being begged of *Carus* his ſoſterbrother, was ſecretly geuen to *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla*, without *Pompeys* priuity. But afterwards when *Pharnaces* vnderſtoode of it, he puniſhed the parties that had imbezelled them. *Pompey* hauing ordered all things and eſtabliſhed that prouince, went on his iorney homewards with great pompe and glory. So, comming vnto MITYLENE, he releaſed the city of all taxes and paymentes for *Theophanes* ſake, & was preſent at a certaine play they yearely make for games, where the Poets report their workes, contending one with an other, hauing at that time no other matter in hande, but *Pompeys* actes and ieaſtes. *Pompey* liked exceeding well the Theater where theſe playes were made, and drew a modell or platforme of it to make a ſtatelyer then
E that in ROME. As he paſſed by the city of RHODES, he would nedes heare all the Rethoritians diſpute, and gaue euery one of them a talent. *Poſidonius* hath written the diſputation he made before *Pompey*, againſt *Hermagoras* the Rethoritian, vpon the theame and propoſition *Pompey* ſelfe did geue them, touching the generall queſtion. *Pompey* did the like at ATHENS vnto the Philoſophers there. For he gaue towards the reedifying of the city againe, fifty talents. So he thought at his returne home into ITALIE, to haue bene very honorably receiued, and longed to be at home, to ſee his wife and children, thinking alſo that they long looked for him: but the god that hath the charge geuen him to mingle fortunes proſperity, with ſome bitter ſoppe of aduerſity, layed a blocke in his way at home in his owne houſe, to make his returne more ſorowfull. For *Mutia* his wife had in his abſcence played falſe at tables. But *Pompey* being then
F farre of, made no account of the reportes nor tales that were tolde him. Howebeit, when he drewe neerer into ITALIE, and that he was more attentiue to geue eare to the ill reportes he heard: then he ſent vnto her to tell her, that he refuſed her for his wife, wryting nothing to

Mithridates death.

The value of Mithridates ſcaberd of his ſword.

Pompeys returne out of Aſia.

Mutia, the wife of Pompey.

Pompey forſooke his wife Mutia.

her at that time, neither euer after told the cauſe why he had forſaken her. Notwithſtanding, A
in *Ciceroes* Epiſtles the cauſe appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumors ranne abroade in
ROME which troubled them ſore, being geuen out that he would bring his armie ſtraight to
ROME, and make him ſelfe abſolute Lord of all the ROMANE Empire. *Craſſus* thereuppon, ei-
ther for that he beleued it in deede to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the accuſation
true, and the enuy towardes *Pompey* the greater: conueyed him ſelfe, his family, and goodes,
Pompey at his returne out of Aſia, diſcharged his ſouldiers. ſodainely out of ROME. So *Pompey* when he came into ITALIE, called all his ſouldiers toge-
ther, and after he had made an oration vnto them, as time & occaſion required: he comman-
ded them to ſeuer them ſelues, & euery man to repaire home to apply his buſines, remẽbring
to mete at ROME together, at the day of his triũphe. His army being thus diſperſed, & ſtraight
reported abroad for newes: a maruelous thing happened vnto him. The cities ſeeing *Pompey* B
the great without ſouldiers, hauing but a ſmall traine about him of his familliar frendes onely:
went all of thẽ to meete him, not as though he were returned home from his great conqueſts,
Pompeis honorable returne to Rome out of Aſia. but from ſome iorney takẽ for his pleaſure. Such was the loue of the people to him, that they
accompanied him to ROME, whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had
brought into ITALIE: ſo that if he had bene diſpoſed to haue made any innouation in the com-
mon wealth, he had not needed his army. In thoſe dayes there was a law, that no man ſhould
A law for triumphe. enter into ROME before his triumphe: whereupon *Pompey* ſent to the Senate, to pray them to
deferre the choſing of Conſuls for a few daies, bicauſe he might be preſent to further *Piſo*, who
ſued for the Conſulſhip that yere. They denied him his requeſt, by *Catoes* meanes that hindred
it. *Pompey* marueling to heare of his boldnes & plaine ſpeech, which he only vſed of all other to C
defend his iuſt cauſes: had a maruelous deſire to win him, & to make him his frend. So *Cato* ha-
uing two neces, *Pompey* deſired to marry the one him ſelfe, & the other for his ſonne. But *Cato*
Cato refuſeth Pompeis alliance. miſtruſting this deſire of *Pompeys*, that it was a colour only to win & corrupt him: denied him
flatly. His wife & ſiſter on thother ſide, they were angry with him for refuſing to make alliance
with *Pompey* the great. About that time it chaũced, that *Pompey* being very deſirous to preferre
Afranius to be Conſul, he cauſed certaine money to be geuen amongeſt the tribes of the peo-
ples, & the ſame was deliuered out to ſome, euen in his owne gardens. This thing being repor-
ted abroad in the city, euery man ſpake ill of *Pompey*: that he put the Conſulſhip to ſale for mo-
ney, vnto thoſe that could not deſerue it by vertue, ſith him ſelfe only had obtained it by pur-
chaſe, of many a noble & worthy deede. Then ſayd *Cato* to his wife and ſiſter: loe now, we had D
bene partakers of this fault to, had we matched with *Pompey*. When they heard it, they confeſ-
ſed he had reaſon to refuſe the match, for equity and his honor. But now to his triumphe. For
Pompeis third triumphe. the ſtatelines & magnificẽce therof, although he had two dayes ſpace to ſhew it, yet he lacked
time: for there were many things prepared for the ſhewe, that were not ſeene, which would
haue ſerued to haue ſet out an other triũphe. Firſt there were tables caried, wheron were writ-
ten the names & titles of all the people and nacions for the which he triumphed, as theſe that
The contries conquered by Pompey. follow. The kingdom of PONTVS, ARMENIA, CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, MEDIA, COL-
CHIS, IBERIA, ALBANIA, SYRIA, CILICIA, & MESOPOTAMIA: & furthermore, the people that
dwell about PHOENICIA & PALÆSTINE, IVDÆA, & ARABIA: & all the pirats which he had o-
uercomen both by ſea & by land, in all parts of the world. In all theſe contries, he tooke about E
a thowſand caſtels, few leſſe then nine hundred townes & cities: of pirats ſhips eight hundred,
& nine & thirtie deſolate townes left without inhabitants, repleniſhed againe with people by
him. Moreouer, theſe tables declared, that the reuenue of the cõmon wealth of ROME before
theſe conqueſts he made, amounted yerely but to fiue thowſand Miriades: & that from thence
forth with the ſummes he had added vnto the former reuenue, they ſhould now receiue eight
thowſand & fiue hundred Miriades: & that he brought preſently in ready gold & ſiluer, & in
plate & iuells, to put into the common treaſory, the value of twenty thowſand talents, beſides
that which had bene diſtributed alredy amongſt the ſouldiers: of the which, he that had leſt for
Captiues led in Pompeis third triuphe. his ſhare, had fifteene hundred Drachmas. The priſoners that were led in the ſhew of this tri-
umphe, beſides the Captaines of the pirats, were theſe that follow. The ſonne of *Tigranes* king F
of ARMENIA, with his wife & daughter: the wife of king *Tigranes* himſelfe, called *Zoſime*: *Ari-*
ſtobulus king of IVRIE: *Mithridates* ſiſter with fiue ſonnes of hers, & ſome Ladies of SCYTHIA.

The

A The oſtages alſo of the IBERIANS and the ALBANIANS, and alſo of the kings of the COMMAGENIANS: ouer & beſides a great number of other markes of triumphes which him ſelfe or his Lieutenauntes had wonne at ſundry battells in diuers places. But the greateſt honor that euer he wanne, and which neuer other Conſull of the ROMANES but him ſelfe obtained, was this: that he made his third triumphe of the three partes of the world. Diuers other ROMANES had triumphed thriſe before him, howbeit he firſt triumphed of AFRICKE: the ſeconde time of EVROPE: the third time of ASIA. So that it appeared by theſe three triumphes, that he had triumphed in maner of all the lande that is inhabited, being at that time, (as it is reported by them which compare his doinges vnto *Alexander* the great) vnder foure and thirty yeares of age, though in troth at that time he was neere forty. O, happy had it bene for him, if he had B dyed when he had *Alexanders* fortune: for all his life afterwardes, made his proſperitie hatefull, or his aduerſity miſerable. Imploying the honor and authority he had gotten by his valiantnes, fauoring mens vniuſt cauſes: the more he furthered them, the more he leſſened his honor, and vnwares brought his greatnes to nothing. For like as when the ſtrongeſt places of a citie, which receiuinge their enemies into them, doe geue them the benefit of their owne ſtrength: euen ſo, through *Pompeys* power, *Cæſar* growing to be great, ouerthrew him in the end with the ſelfe ſame meanes he imployed, to the ouerthrowe of others. And thus it fortuned. *Lucullus* at his returne out of ASIA (where *Pompey* had vncurteouſly vſed him) was then very well taken of the Senate, and much more when *Pompey* was alſo come to ROME. For the Senate did counſell and incorage him to deale in thaffaires of the ſtate, ſeeing him waxe very C ſlow, and geuen too much to his eaſe & pleaſure, by reaſon of his great wealth he had gotten. So when *Pompey* was come, he beganne to ſpeake againſt him, and through the frendſhippe and aſſiſtance of *Cato*, confirmed all his doinges in ASIA, which *Pompey* had broken and reiected. *Pompey* finding he had ſuch a repulſe of the Senate, was driuen to haue recourſe vnto the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in frendſhip with light young men. Of the Tribunes, the moſt impudent & vileſt perſon was *Clodius*: who receiued him, & made him a praye vnto the people. For he had *Pompey* euer at his elbow, & againſt his honor caried him vp & downe the market place after him, to ſpeake as occaſion ſerued to confirme any matter or deuiſe which he preferred vnto him to flatter the common people. And further, for recompence of his goodwill, he craued of *Pompey* (not as a thing diſhonorable, but beneficiall for him) that he D would forſake *Cicero*, who was his frend, and had done much for him in matters of common wealth. *Pompey* graunted his requeſt. Thereupon *Cicero* being brought in daunger of law, and requiring *Pompeys* frendſhip to helpe him, he ſhut his dore againſt them that came to ſpeake in his behalfe, and went out him ſelfe at an other backe dore. *Cicero* thereuppon fearing thextreamity of law, willingly forſooke ROME. At that time, *Iulius Cæſar* returning home from his Prætorſhippe out of SPAYNE, beganne to lay ſuch a platte, that preſently brought him into great fauor, and afterwardes much increaſed his power, but otherwiſe vtterly vndid *Pompey* and the common wealth. Now he was to ſue for his firſt Conſullſhippe, and conſidering the enmitie betwext *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, if he ioyned with the one, he made thother his enemie: he deuiſed to make them frendes, a thing ſeeming of great honeſtie at the firſt ſight, but yet a E peſtilent deuiſe, and as ſubtill a practiſe as could be. For the power of the city being before deuided into two partes, (as a ſhippe euenly balleſt of eche ſide) and maintained the common wealth vpright: being now brought into one mãs power, there was no poſſibility to withſtand it, ſo that all fell to wracke in the end. Whereuppon, *Cato* wiſely told them afterwardes, that ſayd the ciuill warres betwext *Pompey* and *Cæſar* was cauſe of the deſtruction of the common wealth: that their enmity and diſcord was not the chiefe originall cauſe of this miſery, but rather their frendſhippe and agreement. For by their frendſhippe, *Cæſar* was choſen Conſull, who ſtraight fell to flatter the people and poore men, and made a law for reſtoring of the colonies belonging to ROME, and for diſtributing of lands to them that had none, imbaſing the maieſty and dignity of the chiefe Magiſtrate, and making the Conſullſhippe in maner no bet- F ter then he Tribuneſhip of the people. *Bibulus* his colleague and fellowe Conſull, did what he could to reſiſt him, and *Cato* alſo did aide him to his power: vntill *Cæſar* openly brought *Pompey* into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if

Pompey conquered three partes of the world: Africke. Europe. Aſia.

Pompey triumphed thriſe before the age of forty yeres.

The chaunge of Pompeys fortune and honor.

Lucullus beloued of the Senate at his returne out of Aſia.

Lucullus inueyed againſt Pompey, by Catoes aſſiſtance.

Pompey ioyned with Clodius, Tribune of the people.

Pompey forſaketh his frend Cicero.

Cæſar reconciled Pompey and Craſſus.

Cæſars law for deuiding of landes. Lex Agraria.

Pompey gaue his consent with Cæsar, for passing his law Agraria.

he did geue his consent to the decrees which he did set forth. *Pompey* aunswered him, he did. Why then, sayd *Cæsar*, if any man will by force let the passing of this law by voyces of the people: wilt thou not then come to helpe them? Yes that I will in deede, sayd *Pompey*. Against them that threaten with the sword, I will bring both sword and target. *Pompey* in all his life neuer did nor spake thinge that men more misliked, then that which he sayd at that time. His frendes excused him, and sayd it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware: but his deedes afterwardes shewed, that he was altogether at *Cæsars* commaundement. For not many dayes after, he maried *Iulia* the daughter of *Cæsar*, which was affianced, or made sure before, vnto *Seruilius Cæpio* when no man thought of it: and to pacifie *Cæpioes* anger, he gaue him his owne daughter in mariage, whome he had also promised before vnto *Faustus* the sonne of *Sylla*: and *Cæsar* also maried *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piso*. After this, *Pompey* filling all Rome with souldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Consull *Bibulus* came into the market place accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they sodainly set vpon him, and brake the bundels of rods which his officers caried before him: and some one, whatsoeuer he was, cast a basket of horse dong apon his head. Moreouer, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were also very sore hurt. By this meanes, hauing cleered the market place of all their enemies, they passed the law for diuision of lands, as they would them selues. The people being fleshed with this baite, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would neuer sticke at any matter that they would haue passed. So were all *Pompeys* matters confirmed, which *Lucullus* was against: and they appointed vnto *Cæsar* also, the gouernment of the Gavles on this side and beyond the Alpes: and Illyria for fiue yeres space, with foure whole legions. The next yeare following were appointed Consulls, *Piso Cæsars* father in law, and *Gabinius* the greatest flatterer *Pompey* had about him. But now while things stoode in these tearmes, *Bibulus* though he were Consull, kept him selfe close in his house for eight monethes space, and only sent out billes, and set them vp on euery post in open places, accusing *Pompey* and *Cæsar*. *Cato* on thother side, as if he had bene inspired with the spirite of prophecie, tolde openly in the Senate house, what would become of the common wealth and *Pompey*. *Lucullus* growing old, lay still and tooke his pleasure, & would no more meddle in the common wealth. At that time it was that *Pompey* sayd: it was more vnseasonable for an old man to followe his pleasure, then to attend matters of the cõmon wealth. Yet him selfe shortly after was so doted of his young wife, that he would follow her vp and downe in the contry, and in his gardens, and leaue all affaires of waight aside. Whereupon *Clodius* being then Tribune of the people, despised *Pompey*, and beganne to enter into seditious attemptes. For when he had driuen *Cicero* out of Rome, and had sent away *Cato* to make warres in Cyprvs, and that *Cæsar* also was occupied in Gavle, & finding that the people in like case were at his commaundement, bicause to flatter them he did what they would haue him: he attempted incontinently to vndo some things that *Pompey* had established. Amongest other things, he tooke *Tigranes* out of prison, and euer caried him vp and downe with him wheresoeuer he went, and continually pict quarrells vnto *Pompeys* frends, to trye what credit he had. In the end *Pompey* comming abroad one day into the common assembly, to here how a matter of his was handled: this *Clodius* hauing a company of vacabondes and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he sitting in a place where he might be seene from the rest, beganne to aske these questions out alowde. Who is the licentiousest Captaine in all this city? What man is he that seekes for a man? What is he that scratcheth his head with one finger? They, like a companie of daunsers or singers, when he spake and clapped his handes on his gowne, aunswered him straight alowde to euery question, that it was *Pompey*. This went to *Pompeys* harte, that was not wont to heare him selfe so ill spoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any such kinde of fight: but yet it made him byte the lippe more, when he saw the Senate glad to see him thus shamed and reproued, as a iust reuenge & punishment for his vile betraying and forsaking of *Cicero*. So, great sturre and vprore being made vpon this in the market place, and many men sore hurt, and one of *Clodius* bondmen being taken also in the prease of the people with a sword in his hand, very neere vnto *Pompey*: making this his colour (but otherwise fearing *Clodius* insolency & prowde words) he would neuer after come into the market place, as long as *Clodius* was Tribune, but kept at home

Pompey maried Iulia, the daughter of Cæsar.

Bibulus the Consull driuen out of the market place, by Pompey.

The law Agraria confirmed by the people.

Gaule and Illyria appointed vnto Cæsar.

Piso, and Gabinius, Consulls.

Cato foresheweth the ruine of the common wealth, & of Pompey.

Clodius the Tribune, setteth vppon Pompey.

Pompey was grieuously scorned of Clodius.

home ſtill, conſulting with his frendes what way he ſhould take, to appeaſe the anger of the Senate againſt him. Thereuppon, one of his frendes called *Culeo*, perſwaded him to put away his wife *Iulia*, and vtterly to refuſe *Cæſars* frendſhippe, and to ſticke againe to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithſtanding he was contented to hearken vnto them that gaue him counſell to call *Cicero* home againe, who was *Clodius* mortall enemie, and in great fauor with the Senate. Thereuppon, he brought *Ciceroes* brother into the market place, to moue the matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and diuers were ſlaine of either ſide: notwithſtanding, he ouercame *Clodius*. Thus *Cicero* being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought *Pompey* againe in fauor with the Senate, and ſtanding with the lawe propounded to geue *Pompey* authoritie to cauſe corne to be brought to Rome, he once againe made him haue power both by land and ſea ouer all the territories of the Romanes. For all the hauens, martes & fayres, & all ſtore houſes for corne, yea moreouer all the trade of marchandiſe and tillage, came vnder *Pompeys* hands. Then *Clodius* accuſing him, ſayd: that the Senate had not made this law for the dearth of vittells, but that they made a dearth of vittells, bicauſe the lawe ſhould paſſe, to reuiue *Pompeys* power and authority againe, that was almoſt vnder foote. Other ſay, that this was a deuiſe of *Lentulus Spinther* the Conſull, who gaue *Pompey* the greater authoritie, bicauſe he might be ſent to put king *Ptolomy* againe into his kingdom. This notwithſtanding, *Canidius* the Tribune preferred an other law to ſend *Pompey* without an army, with two ſergeaunts only to cary the axes before him, to bring *Ptolomy* in fauor againe with the Alexandrians. This law ſeemed not to miſlike *Pompey*: but the Senate with honeſt colour put by this lawe, as being affrayed leaſt *Pompeys* perſon ſhould miſcary in ſo doing. Neuertheleſſe, litle papers were found throwen about the market place, and the Senate houſe, declaringe that *Ptolomy* deſired *Pompey* might come to aide him in *Spinthres* ſtead. *Timagenes* wryteth notwithſtanding, that *Ptolomy* went vnto Rome, & left Ægypt without any occaſion geuen him, at the perſwaſion of *Theophanes*, who perſwaded him to doe ſo, bicauſe he would geue *Pompey* occaſion to make newe warres. But *Theophanes* craft and ſuttilty made not this matter ſo credible, as *Pompeys* wit and good nature made it altogether vntrue: for his ambitiō was nothing ſo vile nor ill, as that was. So, *Pompey* hauing now full authority to cauſe corne to be brought to Rome, he ſent then his Lieutenauntes and frendes abroade, and him ſelfe in perſon went into Sicile. Nowe being ready to returne againe, there roſe ſuch a ſtorme of winde in the ſea, that the mariners were in dout to way their anckers. But him ſelfe firſt imbarked, and commaunded them ſtraight to hoyſe ſayle, crying out alowde, it is of neceſſitie I muſt goe, but not to liue. So, through his boldnes and good ſpirite, vſing the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of marte, and markets with corne, and all the ſea beſides with ſhippes: inſomuch, the plenty he brought did not only furniſhe the city of Rome, but all their neighbours alſo about them, and came like a liuely ſpring that diſperſed it ſelfe through all Italie. About that time, the great conqueſtes that *Cæſar* made in Gavle, did ſet him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in warres farre from Rome, with the Belgeans, Swisses, and Engliſhmen: he by ſecret practiſe, was in the middeſt among the people at Rome, & moſt againſt *Pompey* in the waightieſt affayres of the common wealth. For he had the power of an armie about his perſon, which he did harden with paines and continuall practiſes, not with intent to fight onely againſt the barbarous people: for the battells he had with them, were in maner but as a hunting ſporte, by the which he made him ſelfe inuincible, and dreadfull to the worlde. But furthermore, by the infinite gold & ſiluer, and the incredible ſpoiles and treaſure which he wan apon the enemies whom he had ouercome: and by ſending great preſentes alſo to Rome, to the Ædiles, Prætors, Conſulls, and their wiues, he purchaſed him many frendes. Therefore, after he had paſſed ouer the Alpes againe, and was come to winter in the city of Lvca: a world of people (both men and women) and of the Senate them ſelues almoſt two hundred perſons (and amongeſt them, *Craſſus* and *Pompey* by name) went out of Rome vnto him. Furthermore, there were ſeene at *Cæſars* gate, ſixe ſcore ſergeauntes carying axes before Prætors, or Proconſulls. So *Cæſar* ſent euery one backe againe, either full of money, or good wordes: but with *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, he made a matche, that they two together ſhould ſue to be Conſulls, and that he

Commiſſion geuē to Pompey for bringing of corne into Rome.

The reſtoring againe of Ptolomy king of AEgypt to his realme.

Great repaire vnto Cæſar, wintring at Luca.

him selfe would send them good aide to Rome, at the daye of election, to geue their voyces. A
And if they were thosen, that they should then practise by decree of the people, to haue the
gouernmentes of some newe prouinces and armies assigned them: and withall, that they
should adiorne the gouernment of those prouinces he had, for fiue yeares more. This packe
being bewrayed and spred abroad through Rome, the honestest sorte misliked much thereof.
Wherupon *Marcellinus* at an open assembly of the people, did aske them both, if they would
sue for the Consulship at the next election. So, they being vrged by the people to make aun-
swere, *Pompey* spake first, and said: peraduenture he would, peraduenture not. *Crassus* aun-
swered more gently, that he would doe that which should be best for the common wealth.
Then *Marcellinus* sharpely inueying against *Pompey*, he angrily againe cast him in the teeth, &
said, that *Marcellinus* was the rankest churle, and the vnthankefullest beast in the world: for B
that of a dumme man he had made him eloquent, and being in maner starued and famished,
many a time he had filled his bellie. This notwithstanding, diuers that before were determi-
ned to sue for the Consulship, went no further in it, sauing *Lucius Domitius*, whom *Cato* coun-
selled and incoraged not to geue it ouer: for, said he, thou doest not contend for the Consul-
ship, but to defend the common libertie of thy contry against two tyrannes. *Pompey* therefore
fearing *Catoes* faction, least that hauing all the Senates good willes, he should drawe also the
best parte of the people after him: thought it not good to suffer *Domitius* to come into the
market place. To this ende therefore, he sent men armed against him, who at the first onset,
slue the torche bearer that caryed the torche before him, and made all the rest flie: amongest
whom also *Cato* was the last man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of *Domi-* C
tius. *Pompey* and *Crassus* being become Consuls after this sorte, they ordered them selues no-
thing the more temperately, nor honestly. For first of all, the people being about to choose
Cato Prætor, *Pompey* being at thassembly of the election, perceyuing that they would choose
him, brake vp the assembly, falsely alleaging that he had noted certaine ill signes, and after-
wardes, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they chose *Antias*
and *Vatinius* Prætors. After that, by *Trebonius* tribune of the people, they published edicts,
authorising *Cæsars* charge for fiue yeares lenger, according to the appointment they had
made with *Cæsar*. Vnto *Crassus* also they had appointed Syria, and the warre against the Par-
thians. Vnto *Pompey* in like case, all Africke, and both Spaynes, with foure Legions be-
sides: of the which, at *Cæsars* desire, he lent him two legions to help him in his warre in Gavle. D
These thinges done, *Crassus* departed to his Prouince, at the going out of his Consulship: and
Pompey remayned at Rome about the dedicating of his Theater, where he caused many good-
ly playes to be made, both for exercise of person, as also for learning and musicke, and caused
wilde beastes also to be baited and hunted, and killed a fiue hundred lions. But of all thinges,
there was no such fearefull sight and terrible fight, as was betwene the elephantes. This great
charge and bountifull expence, defrayed by *Pompey*, to shew the people pastime and pleasure:
made him againe to be very much esteemed of, and beloued amongest the people. But on
thother side, he wanne him selfe as much ill will and enuy, in committing the gouernment of
his Prouinces and Legions into the handes of his Lieutenants, whilest he him selfe romed vp
and downe the pleasaunt places of Italy, with his wife at his pleasure: either bycause he was E
farre in loue with her, or els for that she loued him so dearely, that he could not finde in his
harte to leaue her companie. It was reported of her, (being knowen of many) that this young
lady *Iulia* loued her housband more dearely, not for *Pompeys* florishing age, but for his assured
continencie, knowing no other woman but her: besides also, he was no solemne man, but
pleasaunt of conuersation, which made women loue him maruelously, vnles we will reproue
the curtisan *Floraes* false testimonie. It is certaine, that at an election of the Ædiles, men rising
sodainely in hurly burly, drew their swordes, and many were slaine about *Pompey*: insomuch
as his clothes being bloudyed, he sent his men home in haste to fetche him other to chaunge
him. His young wife that was great with child, seeing his clothes bloudie, tooke such a flight
vpon it, that she fell downe in a swounde before them, and they had much a doe to recouer F
her, and yet she fell straight in labor apon it, and was deliuered. So that they themselues, which
blamed him most for his good will he bare vnto *Cæsar*: could not reproue the loue he bare

vnto

The violence of Pompey obtayning the second Consulship.

Pompey and Crassus secõd Consulships.

Prouinces deuided vnto Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus.

A vnto his wife. An other time after that, ſhe was great with child againe, whereof ſhe died, and the childe liued not many dayes after the mother. As *Pompey* was about to carie her into the contrie to be buried, to a houſe he had there neere vnto the citie of ALBA: the people by force tooke her corſe, & caried it into the field of *Mars*, more for the pitie they tooke of the young Ladie, then to pleaſure either *Cæſar* or *Pompey*: and yet what the people did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for *Cæſars* ſake being abſent, then for *Pompey* that was preſent. But ſtraight when this alliãce was broken, which rather couered, then bridled their ambitious deſire to rule: there roſe a new ſturre in ROME immediatly, and euery mans mouth was full of prittle prattle and ſeditious wordes. Not longe after that alſo came newes, that *Craſſus* was ouerthrowen, and ſlaine in PARTHIA: who was a manifeſt ſtaye and let to kepe them two from B ciuill warres, for that they both feared him, & therefore kept them ſelues in a reaſonable ſorte together. But when fortune had taken awaie this third champion, who could haue withſtood the better of them both that had ouercome the other: then might haue bene ſaid of theſe two which remained, as the comycall Poet ſaid:

The death of Iulia the daughter of Cæſar.

The beginning of the diſſension betwext Pompey & Cæſar.

See how theſe Champions purpoſing eche others force to trie,
With nointed skin and duſty hands ſtand vaunting valliantly.

So litle can fortune preuaile againſt nature, hauing no power to ſtoppe couetouſnes: ſith ſo large and great an Empire, and ſuch a wide contrie beſides, could not containe the couetous deſire of theſe two men. But though they had often both heard and read,

Among the gods them ſelues all things by lot diuided are,
C *And none of them intrudes him ſelfe within his neigbours share.*

Yet they thought not that the Empire of ROME was enough for them, which were but two. But *Pompey* ſpake openly in an oration he made vnto the people, that he euer came to office before he looked for it, and alſo left it ſooner then they thought he would haue done: & that he witneſſed by diſcharging his armie ſo ſoone. Then thinking that *Cæſar* would not diſcharge his armie, he ſought to make him ſelfe ſtrong againſt him, by procuring offices of the citie, without any other alteracion. Neither would he ſeeme to miſtruſt him, but he plainely ſhewed that he did deſpiſe and contemne him. But when he ſawe that he could not obtaine the offices of the citie as he would, bicauſe the citizens that made the elections were bribed with money: he then left it without a magiſtrate, ſo that there was none either to commaund, D or that the people ſhould obey. Hereupon there ranne a brute ſtraight, that there muſt nedes be a Dictator made, and the firſt man that propounded it, was *Lucilius* tribune of the people, who perſwaded them to chooſe *Pompey*. But *Cato* ſtucke ſo ſtowtely againſt it, that the Tribune had like to haue loſt his office, euen in the market place. But then many of *Pompeys* frendes ſtepped vp, and excuſed him, ſaying: that he neither ſought, nor would haue the Dictatorſhip. Then *Cato* commended him much, and praying him to ſee good order kept in the common wealth: *Pompey* being aſhamed to denie ſo reaſonable a requeſt, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Conſuls were choſen, *Domitius*, and *Meſſala*: but afterwardes when the ſtate beganne to chaunge againe, by the death of one of the Conſuls, and that diuers were more earneſtly bent to haue a Dictator than before, *Cato* fearing it would breake out with furie, determined E to geue *Pompey* ſome office of reaſonable authoritie, to kepe him from the other more tyrannicall. Inſomuch, *Bibulus* him ſelfe being chiefe of the Senate, and *Pompeys* ennemie, was the firſt that moued, *Pompey* might be choſen Conſul alone: for, ſaid he, by this meanes, either the common wealth ſhalbe ridde of the preſent trouble, or els it ſhalbe in bondage to an honeſt man. This opinion was maruelled at, in reſpect of him that ſpake it. Whereupon, *Cato* ſtãding vp, it was thought ſtraight he would haue ſpoken againſt him. But ſilence being made him, he plainely tolde them, that for his owne parte he would not haue bene the firſt man to haue propounded that was ſpoken: but ſithence it was ſpoken by another, that he thought it reaſonable and meete to be followed. And therefore, ſaid he, it is better to haue an office to commaund, whatſoeuer he be, rather then none: & that he ſaw no man fitter to commaund, F then *Pompey*, in ſo troubleſome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that *Pompey* ſhould be choſen ſole Conſul: and that if he ſawe in his diſcretion he ſhould neede the aſſiſtance of an other companion, he might name any whome he thought good, but not

Variance among the Senate for Pompeys honor.

Cato ſpake in Pompeys fauor.

Pompey chosen Consull.

till two monethes were past. Thus was *Pompey* made Consul alone by *Sulpitius*, regent for that daie. Then *Pompey* made very frendly countenance vnto *Cato*, and thanked him for the honor he had done him, praying him priuately to assist him with his counsell in the Consulshippe. *Cato* aunswered him, that there was no cause why he should thanke him, for he had spoken nothing for his sake, but for respect of the common wealth only: and for his counsell, if he would aske it, he should priuately haue it, if not, yet that he would openly saie that which he thought. Such a man was *Cato* in all his doinges. Now *Pompey* retorning into the citie, maried *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, not a maiden, but late the widow of *Publius Crassus* the sonne, that was slaine in PARTHIA, to whom she was maried a maiden. This Ladie had excellent giftes to be beloued besides her beautie. For she was properly learned, could play well on the harpe, was skilfull in musicke and geometrie, and tooke great pleasure also in philosophie, and not vainely without some profit. For she was very modest and sober of behauiour, without brawling & fooliſh curiositie, which commonly young women haue, that are indued with such singular giftes. Her father also, was a noble man, both in bloud, and life. Notwithstanding, these vnlike mariages did nothing please some: for *Cornelia* was young enough to haue bene his sonnes wife. Now the best cirizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the common wealth, being in such a troublesome time, which had chosen him onely, as her remedie to redresse the same: and that he in the meane time gaue him selfe ouer to marying and feasting, where rather he should haue bene carefull of his Consulshippe, which was disposed apon him against the lawe, for common calamities sake, that otherwise he had not come by, if all had bene quiet. Furthermore, he sharpely proceeded against them, which by briberie and vnlawfull meanes came to office: and hauing made lawes and ordinaunces for the administration of Iustice otherwise, he delt iustly and vprightly in all thinges, geuing safetie, order, silence and grauitie, to matters of Iudgement, with force of armes, himselfe being present: sauing that when his father in lawe was also accused among other, he sent for the three hundred & three score Iudges home to his house, praying them to helpe him. Whereupon, when the accuser saw *Scipio* accompanied by the Iudges them selues, retorning into the market place: he let fall his sute. This made *Pompey* againe be condemned, and blamed also more then before, for that he hauing made a lawe, that no man should praise the offendors, whilest their matter was a hearing: came him selfe and openly praised *Plancus* being accused. Thereupon *Cato* being one of the Iudges, stopped his eares with both his handes, saying: that he might not heare an offendor praised, seeing it was forbidden by lawe. But therefore he was refused for a Iudge, before they gaue sentence. Notwithstanding, *Plancus* was condemned by all the rest of the Iudges, to *Pompeys* great shame and reproache. Shortly after, *Hypseus*, one that had bene Consul, being likewise accused, watching *Pompey* on a time as he came out of his bathe to goe to supper: vpon his knees he besought *Pompeys* fauor and helpe. But he stately passed by him, and gaue him no other aunswere, but told him, he marred his supper, and said nothing els to him. This inconstancy was much reproued in *Pompey*. Howbeit otherwise he set all thinges in good order, and chose his father in lawe *Scipio*, for his colleague and fellow in the Consulshippe, for the fiue last monethes. After that, he caused the gouernment of his prouinces to be appointed him for foure yeares more, with commission to take yearely out of the treasure a thowsand talentes to defraye the charges of this warre. *Cæsars* frend seeing that, stepped vp for him, and prayed that there might also be had some consideracion of him, that had likewise great wartes for the Empire of ROME: saying, that his good seruice deserued, either that they should make him Consul againe, or els that they should prolonge his charge and gouernment, so as he might yet peacibly enioye the honor to commaund that which he had conquered, to thend that no other successor might reape the frute of his labor. Much sturre and contention being about this matter at ROME, *Pompey* as though for goodwill he ment to excuse the enuie they might haue borne *Cæsar*, said: that he had receyued lettres from him, by the which he requested a successor, and to be discharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they should graunt him priuiledge to demaund the second Consulshippe, although he were absent. Which *Cato* stowtely withstoode, saying, that he must retorne home as a priuate man, and leauing his armie, should come in person to craue recom-

Pompey married Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio.

The vertues of Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio.

Pompeys prouinces assigned him foure yeares further.

A recompence of his contrie. But bycauſe *Pompey* made no replie nor aunſwere to the contrarie, men ſuſpected ſtraight that he had no great good liking of *Cæſar*, and the rather, bycauſe he had ſent vnto him for the two legions which he had lent him, vnder culler of his warre againſt the PARTHIANS. But *Cæſar* though he ſmelt him wherefore he ſent for his ſouldiers, retorned them home with liberall reward. About that time, *Pompey* fell ſicke at NAPLES of a daungerous diſeaſe, whereof notwithſtanding he recouered againe. The NEAPOLITANS thereupon, by perſwaſion of *Praxagoras*, one of the chiefeſt men of their citie: did ſacrifice to the goddes for his recouerie. The like did alſo their neighbours round about: and in fine, it ranne ſo generally through all ITALY, that there was no citie or towne (great or ſmall) but made open feaſt and reioycing for many dayes together. Beſides, the infinite nomber of peo-

Pompey fell ſicke at Naples.

Great reioycing for the recouery of Pōpeis health.

B ple was ſuch, that went to meete him out of all partes: that there was not place enough for them all, but the high wayes, cities, townes and ports of the ſea, were all full of people, feaſting and ſacrificing to the gods, reioycing for his recouerie. Diuers alſo went to meete him, crowned with garlandes, and ſo did attend on him, caſting noſegayes and flowers apon him. Thus was his Iorney the nobleſt ſight that euer was, all the way as he came: howbeit men thought alſo, that this was the chiefeſt cauſe of the beginning of the ciuil warres. For he fell into ſuch a pride, and glorious conceit of him ſelfe, with the exceeding ioye he tooke to ſee him ſelfe thus honored: that forgetting his orderly gouernment, which made all his former doings to proſper, he grew to bolde in deſpiſing of *Cæſars* power, as though he ſtoode in no neede of other power or care to withſtand him, but that he could ouercome him as he would, farre

Pride, and foole conceit, made Pompey deſpiſe Cæſar.

C more eaſely, then he could haue done before. Furthermore, *Appius* thereupon retorned from GAVLE, that brought him his two legions backe againe which he had lent vnto *Cæſar*, reproaching much his doinges which he had done there, and geuing out many fowle words againſt *Cæſar*. For he ſaid, that *Pompey* knew not his owne ſtrength and authoritie, that would ſeeke to make him ſelfe ſtronge, by other power againſt him: conſidering that he might ouercome him with his owne legions he ſhould bring with him, ſo ſoone as they ſawe but *Pompey* in the face, ſuch ill will did *Cæſars* owne ſouldiers beare him, and were maruelous deſirous beſides to ſee him ſelfe. Theſe flattering tales ſo puffed vp *Pompey*, and brought him into ſuch a ſecuritie and truſt of him ſelfe, that he mocked them to ſcorne which were affrayed of warres. And to

Appius ſoothed Pompey, and fed his humor.

thoſe alſo which ſaid, that if *Cæſar* came to ROME, they ſaw not how they could reſiſt his

D power: he ſmilingly aunſwered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that: for as oft ſaid he as I doe but ſtampe with my foote apon the ground of ITALY, I ſhal bring men enough out of euery corner, both footemen and horſemen. In the meane time, *Cæſar* gathered force ſtill vnto him, and thenceforth drew neerer vnto ITALY, and ſent of his ſouldiers daily to ROME to be preſent at the election of the magiſtrates, and many of them that were in office, he wanne with money: amongeſt whom, was *Paule*, one of the Conſuls, whom he wanne of his ſide, by meanes of a thowſand fiue hundred talents. And *Curio* the Tribune of the people, whom he diſcharged of an infinite debt he ought: and *Marke Antony* alſo, who for *Curioes* ſake, was diſcharged likewiſe for parte of the debt which *Curio* ought, being alſo bound as him ſelfe. Furthermore, it was found that a captaine or Centurion ſent from *Cæſar*,

Pōpeys proud wordes.

Paule the Cōſul bribed by Cæſar.

Curio & Antonius, Tribunes of the people, bribed by Cæſar.

E being neere vnto the Senate, vnderſtanding that the counſell would not prolong *Cæſars* gouernment which he required, clapping his hand vpon the pummell of his ſword: well ſaid he, this ſhall geue it him. So, to be ſhorte, all that was done and ſaid, tended to this end. Notwithſtanding, the peticions and requeſtes that *Curio* made in *Cæſars* behalfe, ſeemed ſomewhat more reaſonable for the people: for he requeſted one of the two, either to make *Pompey* to put downe his armie, or els to licence *Cæſar* to haue his armie aſwell as he. For, either being both made priuate men, they would fall to agreement of them ſelues: or els being both of like ſtrength, neither of both would ſeeke any alteration, fearing one an other, but would content them ſelues either of them with their owne. Or otherwiſe, he that ſhould weaken the one, and ſtrengthen the other: ſhould double his power whom he feared. Thereto very whotly replyed

F the Conſul *Marcellus*, calling *Cæſar*, theefe, and ſaid that he ſhould be proclaimed an apon enemie to ROME, if he did not deſperſe his armie. This notwithſtanding, in fine *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Piſo*, procured that the Senate ſhould decide the matter. For, ſaid he, all thoſe that would

haue *Cæsar* leaue his army, and *Pompey* to keepe his: let them stand on thone side. Thereupon the most parte of them stoode at one side. Then he bad them againe come away from them, that would haue them both leaue their armies. Then there remained only but two and twentie that stoode for *Pompey*: and all the rest went of *Curioes* side. Then *Curio* looking aloft for ioy of the victorie, went into the market place, and there was receiued of his Tribune faction, with showtes of ioy and clapping of handes, and infinite nosegayes and garlandes of flowers throwen vppon him. *Pompey* was not then present to see the Senators good will towardes him: bicause by the law, such as haue commaundement ouer souldiers, can not enter into Rome. Notwithstanding, *Marcellus* standing vp, sayd: that he would not stande trifling hearing of orations and argumentes, when he knew that tenne legions were already passed ouer the Alpes, intending to come in armes against them: and that he would send a man vnto them, that should defende their contrie well enough. Straight they chaunged apparell at Rome, as their manner was in a common calamitie. *Marcellus* then comminge through the market place vnto *Pompey*, beinge followed of all the Senate, went to him, and tolde him openly: *Pompey*, I commaund thee to helpe thy contry with that army thou hast already and also to leauy more to aide thee. The like speeche did *Lentulus* vse vnto him, who was appointed one of the Consulls the yeare following. Now, when *Pompey* thought to leauy souldiers in Rome and to bill them, some would not obey him, a few others went vnwillingly to him with heauie hartes, and the most of them cried, peace, peace. *Antony* also, against the Senates minde, red a letter vnto the people sent from *Cæsar* containing certaine offers and reasonable requestes, to draw the common peoples affection towardes him. For his request was, that *Pompey* and he should both of them resigne their gouernments, and should dismisse their armies to make all well, referring them selues wholly to the iudgement of the people, and to deliuer vp accompt vnto them of their doinges. *Lentulus* being nowe entred into his Consulshippe, did not assemble the Senate. But *Cicero* lately returned out of Cilicia, practised to bring them to agreement, propounding that *Cæsar* should leaue Gavle, and all the rest of his armie, reseruing onely two legions and the gouernment of Illyria, attending his seconde Consulshippe. *Pompey* liked not this motion. Then *Cæsars* frendes were contented to graunt that he should haue but one of his legions. But *Lentulus* spake against it, and *Cato* cried out on thother side also, that *Pompey* was deceiued, and they both. So all treatie of peace was cutte of. In the meane time, newes came to Rome, that *Cæsar* had wonne Arimi-nvm, a fayer great citie of Italie, and that he came directly to Rome with a great pow r. But that was not true. For he came but with three hundred horse, and fiue thowsand footemen, and would not tarie for the rest of his armie that was yet on thother side of the mountaines in Gavle, but made hast rather to surprise his enemies apon the sodaine, being affrayd and in garboyle, not looking for him so soone: rather then to geue them time to be prouided, and to fight with him when they were ready. For when he was come to the riuers side of Rubicon, (which was the vtmost confine of the prouince he had in charge towardes Italie) he stayed sodainely, weying with him selfe the great enterprise he tooke in hand. At the last, as men that being of a maruelous height from the ground do hedlong throw themselues downe, closing of their eyes, and withdrawing their mindes from the thought of the daunger: crying out these wordes only vnto them that were by, in the greeke tongue, ἀνερρίφθω κύβος: in english, let the dye be cast (meaning hereby to put all in hasard, and according to our prouerbe, to set all on six and seuen) he passed ouer with his armie. Now, the newes of his comming being caried to Rome, they were in such a maruelous feare, as the like was neuer seene. For all the Senate ranne immediatly vnto *Pompey*, and all the other magistrates of the citie fled vnto him also. *Tullus* asking *Pompey* what power he had to resist them, he aunswered him, faltring somewhat in his speach: that he had the two legions ready which *Cæsar* sent him backe againe, and that he thought with the number of them which he had leauied, in hast, he should make vp the nomber of thirtie thowsand fighting men. Then *Tullus* cryed out openly: ah, thou hast mocked vs *Pompey*: & thereupon gaue order they should send ambassadors vnto *Cæsar*. There was one *Phaonius* in the companie, who otherwise was no ill man, sauing that he was somewhat to bolde, thinking to counterfeate *Catoes* plaine maner of speach: he bad *Pompey* then

Pompey chosen to goe against Cæsar.

Cicero moueth reconciliation betwext Cæsar and Pompey.

Rubicon fl. Cæsar passed ouer the riuer of Rubicon.

Cæsars saying: let the dye be cast.

Phaonius ouerbold words vnto Pōpey.

stampe

A ſtampe his foote apon the ground,& make thoſe ſouldiers come which he had promiſed thē. *Pompey* gently bare with *Phaonius* mocke. But whē *Cato* told him alſo,what he had prophecied before hand of *Cæſar*,he aunſwered him againe:in deed thou haſt prophecied more truly then I, but I haue delte more frendly then he. Then *Cato* thought good that they ſhould make him lieutenant generall of ROME with full and abſolute power to commaund all, ſaying: that the ſelfe ſame men which doe the greateſt miſchiefe,know beſt alſo how to remedie the ſame. So he immediatly departed into SICILE, hauing the charge and gouernment of that contrie:and alſo euery one of the other Senators went vnto the charge they were appointed. Thus all ITALY being in armes, no man knew what was beſt to be done. For they that were out of ROME, came flying thither from all partes: and thoſe on thother ſide that were within ROME, went B out as faſt, and forſooke the citie in this trouble and diſorder. That which might ſerue being willing to obeye, was found very weake: and that on thother ſide which by diſobedience did hurte, was to ſtronge and ill to be gouerned by the magiſtrates, hauing lawe to commaund. For there was no poſſibilitie to pacifie their feare, neither would they ſuffer *Pompey* to offer thinges as he would:but euery man followed his owne fancie,euen as he found him ſelfe greiued, affraid, or in doubt,and in one daie they were in diuers mindes. *Pompey* could heare nothing of certaintie of his enemies. For ſome,one while would bring him newes one way, and then againe another way: and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with him. At the length, when he ſaw the tumult & confuſion ſo great at ROME, as there was no meane to pacifie it: he commaunded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained C behinde,that he would take them for *Cæſars* frendes, and ſo at night departed out of the citie. Then the two Conſuls fled alſo, without doing any ſacrifice to the goddes,as they were wont to do before they went to make any warres. So *Pompey*, euen in his greateſt trouble and moſt daunger, might thinke him ſelfe happy to haue euery mans goodwill as he had. For, though diuers miſliked the cauſe of this warre, yet no man hated the captaine: but there were moe found that could not forſake *Pompey* for the loue they bare him,then there were that followed him to fight for their libertie. Shortly after *Pompey* was gone out of ROME,*Cæſar* was come to ROME, who poſſeſſing the citie, ſpake very gently vnto all them he found there, and pacified their feare: ſauing that he threatned *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the people, to put him to death, bycauſe he would not ſuffer him to take any of the treaſure of the common wealth. D Vnto that cruell threate, he added a more bitter ſpeach alſo, ſaying: that it was not ſo hard a thing for him to doe it, as to ſpeake it. Thus hauing put downe *Metellus*, and taken that he needed to ſerue his turne, he tooke apon him to follow *Pompey*, thinking to driue him out of ITALY, before that his armie he had in SPAYNE ſhould come to him. *Pompey* in the meane time,hauing taken the citie of BRVNDVSIVM,and gotten ſome ſhippes together:he made the two Conſuls preſently imbarke with thirtie enſeignes of footemen,which he ſent beyond the ſea before vnto DYRRACHIVM. And incontinently after that,he ſent his father in lawe *Scipio*, and *Cneus Pompey* his ſonne, into SYRIA, to prouide him ſhippes. Him ſelfe on thother ſide, fortified the rampers of the citie,and placed the lighteſt ſouldiers he had vpon the walles,and cōmaunded the BRVNDVSINIANS not to ſturre out of their houſes:& further,he caſt trenches E within the citie, at the ende of the ſtreetes in diuers places, and filled thoſe trenches with ſharpe pointed ſtakes, ſauing two ſtreetes onely, which went vnto the hauen. Then the third day after, hauing imbarked all the reſt of his ſouldiers at his pleaſure, he ſodainly lifting vp a ſigne into the ayer, to geue them warning which he had left to gard the rampers: they ſtraight ranne to him with ſpeede,and quickly receyuing them into his ſhippes,he wayed ancker, and hoyſed ſaile. *Cæſar* perceyuing the walles naked without ward, he ſtraight miſtruſted that *Pompey* was fled: who haſting after him, had almoſt ronne vpō the ſharpe ſtakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the BRVNDVSINIANS geuen him warning of them. So he ſtayed,and ranne not ouerthwart the citie, but fetched a compaſſe about to goe to the hauen: where he found that all the ſhippes were vnder ſaile, two ſhippes onely excepted, vpon the which were left a F few ſouldiers. Some thinke that this departure of *Pompey*, was one of the beſt ſtratageames of warre that euer he vſed. Notwithſtanding, *Cæſar* maruelled much, that he being in a ſtrong citie,and looking for his armie to come out of SPAYNE,and being maſter of the ſea beſides,that

Tumult at Rome apon Cæſars comming.

Pompey forſooke Rome.

Cæſar entred Rome when Pompey fled.

Cæſar followeth Pompey.

Pompeis ſtratageame at Brundiſium, for his flying thence from Cæſar.

Pompey forſaketh Italy.

Cicero reproued Pompey.

he would euer forſake ITALY. *Cicero* alſo reproued him, for that he rather followed *Themiſtocles* coũſell, thẽ *Pericles*: conſidering that the troubleſome time was rather to be likened vnto *Pericles*, thẽ *Themiſtocles* time. Yea *Cæſar* him ſelfe ſhewed, that he was affraid of the time. For when he had taken *Numerius* one of *Pompeys* frends, he ſent him vnto *Pompey* at BRVNDVSIVM, to offer him reaſonable cõdiciõs of peace: But *Numerius* followed *Pompey*, & failed away with him. By this meanes, *Cæſar* in three ſcore dayes being lord of all ITALIE without any bloodſhed: he was very deſirous to follow with ſpede after *Põpey*. But by cauſe he had no ſhips ready,

Cæſar leaueth Pompey, and goeth into Spayne.

he let him go, & haſted towardes SPAYNE, to ioyne *Pompeys* army there vnto his. Now *Pompey* in the meane ſpace, had gotten a maruelous great power together both by ſea & by land. His armie by ſea was wonderfull. For he had fiue hundred good ſhippes of warre, & of galliottes,

Põpeys power in Greece.

foyſtes, & pinnaſes, an infinite nomber. By land, he had all the flower of the horſemẽ of ROME, and of all ITALIE, to the nomber of ſeuen thouſand horſe, all riche men, of great houſes, and valliant minds. But his footemen, they were men of all ſorts, & raw ſouldiers vntrained, whom

Pompey lying at Berrœe, traineth his ſouldiers.

Pompey continually exerciſed, lying at the citie of BERROEE, not ſitting idely, but taking paines, as if he had bene in the prime of his youth. Which was to great purpoſe to incorage others, ſeeing *Pompey* being eight and fifty yeare old, fight a foote armed at all peeces, & then a horſebacke, quickly to draw out his ſword while his horſe was in his full careere, and eaſely to put it vp againe, and to throw his dart from him, not onely with ſuch agillitie to hyt pointe blancke, but alſo with ſtrength to caſt it ſuch a way from him, that fewe young men could doe the like. Thither came diuers kinges, princes, and great lordes of contries, and yeelded them ſelues vnto him: and of ROMANE captaines that had borne office, he had of them about him, the nomber of a whole Senate. Amongſt them came vnto him *Labienus* alſo, who before was *Cæſars*

Labienus forſaketh Cæſar, and goeth to Pompey.

frend, & had alwayes bene with him in his warres in GAVLE. There came vnto him alſo, *Brutus*, the ſonne of that *Brutus* which was ſlaine in GAVLE, a valliant man, and which had neuer ſpoken vnto *Pompey* vntil that day, by cauſe he tooke him for a murderer of his father: but then willingly followed him as defendor of the libertie of ROME. *Cicero* him ſelfe alſo, though he had both written and geuen counſell to the contrarie, thought it a ſhame to him not to be amongeſt the nomber of them that would hazard their liues for defence of their contry. There

Cicero followeth Pompey.

came vnto him alſo *Tidius Sextius* euen into MACEDON, notwithſtanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legges: whom others laughing to ſcorne to ſee him come, when *Pompey* ſaw him, he roſe & went to meete him, iudging it a good tokẽ of their goodwills vnto him, when ſuch olde men as he, choſe rather to be with him in daunger, then at home with ſafety. Hereupon they ſate in counſell, and following *Catoes* opinion, decreed that they ſhould put no citizen of ROME to death but in battel, and ſhould ſacke no citie that was ſubiect to the Empire of ROME: the which made *Pompeys* part the better liked. For they that had nothing to doe with the warres, either by cauſe they dwelt farre of, or els for that they were ſo poore, as otherwiſe they were not regarded: did yet both in deede and word fauor *Pompeys* parte, thinking him an enemie both to the goddes and men, that wiſhed not *Pompey* victorie. *Cæſar* alſo

The clemency of Cæſar.

ſhewed him ſelfe very mercifull & curteous, where he ouercame. For when he had wonne all *Pompeys* armie that was in SPAYNE, he ſuffred the captaines that were taken to go at liberte, & onely reſerued the ſouldiers. Then comming ouer the ALPES againe, he paſſed through all

Cæſar cõming out of Spayne, retorned to Brundiſium.

ITALY, & came to the citie of BRVNDVSIVM in the winter quarter: and there paſſing ouer the ſea, he went vnto the citie of ORICVM, & lãded there. Now *Cæſar* hauing *Vibius*, one of *Pompeys* familler frends with him, whom he had takẽ priſoner: he ſent him vnto *Pompey* to pray againe that they might meete, & both of them deſperſe their armies within three dayes, and being recõciled (geuing their faith one to an other) ſo to retorne into ITALY like good frends together *Pompey* thought againe, that theſe were new deuiſes to intrappe him. Thereupon he ſodainely wẽt downe to the ſea, & tooke all the places of ſtrẽgth by the ſea ſide, ſafly to lodge his campe in, & all the ports, creekes & harbars for ſhips to lie in rode: ſo that what wind ſo euer blew on the skie, it ſerued his turne, to bring him either men, vittells, or money. *Cæſar* on thother ſide was ſo diſtreſſed both by ſea & by land, that he was driuẽ to procuer battel, & to aſſaile *Pompey* euen in his owne forts, to make him come out to fight with him: of whom moſt times he euer had the better in all skirmiſhes, ſauing once, when he was in daunger to haue loſt all his army.

For

A For *Pompey* had valiantly repulſed his men, and made them flie, and had ſlaine two thowſand of them in the field: but he durſt not enter pel mel with them into their campe as they fled. Whereupon *Cæſar* ſaide to his frendes, that his enemie had wonne the victorie that day, if he had knowen how to ouercome. This victorie put *Pompeys* men in ſuch courage, that they would needes haſard battell. And *Pompey* him ſelfe alſo though he wrote letters vnto ſtraunge kinges, captaines, and cities of his confederacie, as if he had already wonne all: was yet afrayed to fight an other battell, thinking it better by tracte of time, and diſtreſſe of vittells, to ouercome him. For *Cæſars* men being olde and expert ſouldiers, and wont euer to haue the victorie when they fought together: he knew they would be lothe to be brought to fight any other kinde of way, to be driuen to often remouing of their campe from place to place, and ſtill to B fortifie and intrench them ſelues, and therefore that they would rather put it to aduenture out of hande, and fight it out. But notwithſtanding that *Pompey* had before perſwaded his men to be quiet, and not to ſturre, perceyuing that after this laſt bickering *Cæſar* being ſcanted with vittells raiſed his campe, and departed thence to goe into THESSALY, through the contrie of the ATHAMANIANS: then he could no more bridle their glorie and corage, which cried, *Cæſar* is fled, let vs follow him. And others, let vs retorne home againe into ITALY. And others alſo ſent their frendes and ſeruantes before to ROME, to hier them houſes neere the market place: intending when they came thether to ſue for offices in the common welth. Some there were alſo that in a iollitie would needes take ſhippe, and ſaile into the Ile of LESBOS, vnto *Cornelia* (whom *Pompey* had ſent thether) to cary her that good newes, that the warre was en-C ded. Thereupon aſſembling the counſell, *Afranius* thought it beſt to winne ITALY, for that was the chiefeſt marke to be ſhot at in this warre: for whoſoeuer obteyned that, had ſtraight all SICILE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, SPAYNE, and GAVLE at commaundement. Furthermore, that it was a diſhonor to *Pompey* (which in reaſon ſhould touche him aboue all thinges) to ſuffer their contrie to be in ſuch cruell bondage and ſubiection vnto ſlaues and flatterers of tyrantes, offering it ſelfe as it were into their handes. But *Pompey* neither thought it honorable for him, once againe to flie from *Cæſar*, and to make him follow him, ſithe fortune had geuen him oportunitie to haue *Cæſar* in chaſe: nor lawfull alſo before the gods, to forſake his father in lawe *Scipio*, and many other alſo that had bene Conſuls, deſperſed abrode in GRÆCE and THESSALY, which ſhould immediatly fall into *Cæſars* handes, with all their riches and armies D they had. Furthermore, he ſaid, that they had care enough for the citie of ROME, which drew the warres fardeſt of from them: ſo as, they remaining ſafe & quiet at home, (neither hearing nor feeling the miſery of warres) might in thend peaceably receiue and welcome him home, that remained conqueror. With this determinacion, he marched forward to follow *Cæſar*, being determined not to geue him battell, but to beſeege him, & only to compaſſe him in ſtill being neere vnto him, and ſo to cut him of from vittells. There was alſo an other reaſon that made him to follow that determinacion. For it was reported to him, that there was a ſpeech geuen out among the ROMANE knights, that ſo ſoone as euer they had ouercome *Cæſar*, they muſt alſo bring *Pompey* to be a priuate man againe. Some ſaye therefore, that *Pompey* would neuer afterwardes imploy *Cato* in any greater matters of waight in all this warre, but when he E followed *Cæſar*, he left him captaine of his armie to kepe his cariage by ſea, fearing that ſo ſoone as *Cæſar* were once ouercome, he would make him ſtraight alſo reſigne his authoritie. *Pompey* following *Cæſar* in this maner, faire and ſoftly, they cryed out apon him, that he made no warre with *Cæſar*, but againſt his contrie and the Senate, bycauſe he might be ſtill in authoritie: and that he would neuer leaue to haue them for his ſeruauntes and gard about him, which ſhould rule and commaund the world. Furthermore, *Domitius Aenobarbus*, calling him continually *Agamemnon*, and king of kinges: made him much to be enuied. *Phaonius* alſo mocked him as much as the other, that ſpake moſt boldeſt: for he went crying vp and downe, my maſters, I geue you warning, you are like to eate no THVSCVLAN figges this yeare. And *Lucius Afranius* alſo, he that had loſt the armie which he had in SPAYNE, and F was alſo ſuſpected for a traitour, ſeeing *Pompey* then refuſed to come to battell: I meruaile, ſaid he, that they which accuſe me, doe not luſtely goe to finde him out, whome they call the marchaunt and common buyer of prouinces, to fight with him preſently. With theſe

Pompey ouerthrewe Cæſar.

Pompey followeth Cæſar into Theſſaly.

Pompey mocked of his owne ſouldiers.

and many ſuch other lewd ſpeaches, they compelled *Pompey* in thend (who could not abide A
to be ill ſpoken of, and would not denie his frendes any thinge) to follow their vaine hope and
deſires, and to forſake his owne wiſe determination: the which thinge, no good ſhippe ma-
ſter, and much leſſe a chiefe and ſoueraine captaine, ouer ſo many nations and ſo great ar-
mies, ſhould haue ſuffred, and conſented vnto. Now, he that did alwayes commend the phi-
ſitions, that would not follow the fonde deſire of the ſicke pacientes: was him ſelfe conten-
ted to obey the worſt parte of his armie, fearing their diſpleaſure, where their life or health
ſtood in hazard. For who would thinke or iudge them to be wiſe men, and in their wittes, who
walking vp and downe their campe, did already ſue to be Conſuls and Prætors? conſidering
that *Spinther*, *Domitius*, & *Scipio*, were at ſtrife together, making frendes to be highe biſhoppe,
(which office *Cæſar* had) as if they ſhould haue fought with *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, or B
with the king of the NABATHEIANS, which had camped by them, and not with *Cæſar* and his
Cæſars conqueſts. armie: who had taken a thowſand townes by aſſaulte, had ſubdued aboue three hundred ſeue-
rall nations, and had wonne infinite battells of the GERMANES and GAVLES, and was neuer
ouercome: had alſo taken a million of men priſoners, and had likewiſe ſlaine ſo many at diuers
battells. All this notwithſtanding, they of *Pompeys* ſide ſtill being importunate of him, & trou-
bling him in this ſorte: in fine, when they were come into the fields of PHARSALIA, they com-
Labienus, generall of Pompeis horſemē. pelled *Pompey* to call a counſell. There *Labienus*, generall of the horſemen ſtanding vp, ſware
before them all, that he would not retorne from the battell, before he had made his enemies
to flie. The like othe all the reſt did take. The next night following, *Pompey* thought in his
Pompeys dreame before the battell of Pharſalia. dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honor him, made a maruelous C
great clapping of their handes: & that he him ſelfe did ſet forth the temple of *Venus* the con-
querour, with many ſpoiles. This viſion partly put him in good courage, & partly againe made
him doubt: for that he was affrayed, bycauſe *Cæſars* familie was diſcended from this goddeſſe
Venus, that his dreame did ſignifie, that he ſhould haue the honor of the victorie, with the
VVonderfull noiſes hard in Pompeys campe. ſpoiles he ſhould winne of him. Beſides all this, there ranne ſodaine feareful noiſes & tumultes
in his campe without any apparant cauſe, that waked all the campe vpon it. At the fourth
watche, when the watche is renued in the morning, there was ſeene a maruelous great light
ouer *Cæſars* campe, and they were all at reſt. Of that, there came as it were a torche of a bur-
ning fire, and fell in *Pompeys* campe. The which *Cæſar* him ſelfe ſayed he ſaw, when he went to
ſearche the watche. At the breake of the daye, *Cæſar* being determined to raiſe his campe, and D
to go to the citie of SCOTVSA, as his ſouldiers were buſie about ouerthrowing of their tentes,
& ſending away their bagges and baggage before: there came skowtes vnto him, that brought
him worde they ſawe a great deale of armor and weapon caryed to and fro in their enemies
campe, and hard a noiſe and buſſling beſides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After
theſe came in other skowtes, that brought word alſo that their vowarde was already ſet in bat-
tell raye. Then *Cæſar* ſaid, that the daye was nowe come they had longed for ſo ſore, and that
they ſhould now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of vittells: and thereupon
gaue order preſently that they ſhould put out the red coates or armes vpon his tente, which
was the ſigne all the ROMANES vſed, to ſhew that they would fight. The ſouldiers ſeeing that
out, left their cariage and tentes, and with great ſhowtes of ioye ranne to arme them ſelues. E
The captaines of euery band alſo, beſtowed euery man in ſuch place as he ſhould fight, and
ſo they conueyed them ſelues into battell raye, without any tumulte or diſorder, as quietly, as
if they ſhould haue entred into a daunce. *Pompey* him ſelfe led the right winge of his armie a-
Pompeys army ſet in battell raye in Pharſalia. gainſt *Antony*. The middle of the battell he gaue vnto *Scipio* his father in lawe, being right a-
gainſt *Domitius Caluinus*. The left winge alſo was led by *Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus*, the which
was garded with men of armes. For all the horſemen were placed on that ſide, to diſtreſſe *Cæ-*
ſar if they could, that was directly againſt them: and to ouerthrowe the tenth legion that
was ſo much accounted of, being the valliantеſt ſouldiers the enemie had in all his armie,
Cæſars order of fight. amongeſt the which *Cæſar* did euer vſe to fight in perſon. *Cæſar* then ſeeing the left winge of
his enemies ſo ſtrong with the gard of the horſemen, and being affrayed of the brightnes of F
their armor: brought forward ſix enſeignes for ſupply, which he placed hard behind the tenth
legiō, cōmaunding them that no man ſhould ſturre, leaſt their enemies ſhould diſcouer them.

And

A And furthermore, when the horſemen of the enemies ſhould come to geue charge vpon thē that then they ſhould ronne with ſpeed on the toe ſide of the formeſt ranckes, & not to throw their dartes farre from them, as the valliantеſt ſouldiers are wont to do, to come to the ſword the ſooner: but to throw them vpwardes into their enemies eyes and faces. For, ſaid he, theſe braue fellowes and fine daunſers, will neuer abide to haue their faces marred. And this was *Cæſars* deuiſe at that time. *Pompey* being a horſe backe, rode vp and downe to conſider the ordinaunce of both battells: and perceyuing that his enemies ſtoode ſtill in their ranckes, looking for the ſignall of battell, & that his owne battell on thother ſide waued vp & downe diſorderly, as men vnskilfull in warres: he was affrayed they would flie before they were charged. Therupō he ſtraightly cōmaūded thē in the voward, that they ſhould ſtedily kepe their rācks, *Pompeis ordinance of his battell.*

B and ſtanding cloſe together ſhould ſo defend them ſelues, receyuing the charge of the enemy. But *Cæſar* diſliked of that deuiſe, for thereby, ſaid he, the force of their blowes was leſſened & in withholding them frō geuing the charge, he not only tooke away that courage which thaſſailant carieth with him that commeth with furie: but made them more ouer fainte hearted, in receyuing the charge of the enemies. In *Cæſars* armie, there were about two and twentie thowſand fighting men: and in *Pompeys* armie, ſomewhat aboue twiſe as many. Now, when the worde of battell was geuen of either ſide, and that the trompettes did ſounde the allarme: euery man beganne to looke to him ſelfe. But a few of the chieſeſt of the Romanes, and certaine Græcians that were there alſo out of the ſet battel, perceyuing the imminent daunger, beganne to bethinke them, to what paſſe the ambition and wilfull contencion betwene theſe

C two men, had brought the ſtate of Rome. For, the weapons of kinſmen, the bandes of brethern, the enſeignes all alike, the flower of ſo many valliant men of one citie, did ſerue for a notable example, to ſhew how mans nature prickt forward with couetouſnes, is quite blinde and without reaſon. For if they could haue bene contented quietly to haue gouerned that which they had conquered: the greateſt, and beſt part of the world, both by ſea and by land, was ſubiect vnto them. Or otherwiſe, if they could not haue quenched their vnſatiable deſire of victorie & triumphe, they had occaſion of warre enough offred them againſt the Parthians and Germanes. Furthermore, they had enough to do beſides to conquer Scythia, and the Indians: & withal, they had had an honeſt culler to haue cloked their ambitious deſires, if it had bene but to haue brought the barbarous people to a ciuill life. For what horſe men of Scy-

D thia, or arrowes of Parthia, or riches of Indians, could haue abidden the power of three ſcore & ten thowſand Romane ſouldiers, & ſpecially being led by two ſo famous captaines, as *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*? whoſe names, theſe ſtraunge & farre nations vnderſtood, longe before the name of the Romanes: ſo great were their victories, hauing conquered ſo many wilde & barbarous people. They both being then in armes the one againſt the other, not regarding their honor, which made them ſo ambitious: did not ſpare their owne contry, who had vntill that time remained vnuincible, both in fame and prowes. For, the alliance that was made betwene them, the loue of *Iulia*, & marying with her, was ſuſpected frō the beginning to be but a deceit, & a pledge as it were of a cōſpiracie made betwene thē, for a priuate benefit, more thē for any true frendſhip. Now, whē the feildes of Pharsalia were couered ouer with men, with horſe

E and armor, and that the ſignall of battell was geuen on either ſide: the firſt man of *Cæſars* army that aduaunced forward to geue charge, was *Caius Craſſinius*, captaine of ſix ſcore and fiue men, to performe a great promiſe which he had made vnto *Cæſar*. For *Cæſar*, when he came out of his tent in the morning, ſeeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what he thought of the ſucceſſe of this battell? *Craſſinius* holding out his right hand vnto him, cōragyouſly cryed: Oh *Cæſar*, thine is the victorie, and this daye thou ſhalt commend me either aliue or dead. Then remembring theſe wordes, he brake out of the ranckes, and many following after him, ranne amongeſt the middeſt of his enemies. Straight they came to the ſword, and made great ſlaughter. But he preſſing forward ſtill, one with a thruſt ranne him through the mouth, that the ſwords pointe came through at his necke. Thereupon *Craſſinius*

F being ſlaine, the battell was equall. *Pompey* did not make his left winge marche ouer ſodainely, but ſtayed, and caſt his eyes abroade to ſee what his horſemen would do, the which had already deuided their companies, meaning to compaſſe in *Cæſar*, and to make the ſmall nomber

Caius Craſſinius geueth the onſet of Cæſars ſide.

Craſſinius ſlaine.

of horſemen which he had before him to geue backe apon the ſquadron of his footemen. On thother ſide, as ſoone as *Cæſar* had geuē the ſignal of battel, his horſemen retired backe a litle, & the ſix enſeignes which he had placed ſecretly behinde them, (being three thowſand fighting men) ranne ſodainely to aſſaile the enemie vpon the flancke, and when they came neere vnto the horſemen, they threw the pointes of their dartes vpwardes according to *Cæſars* commaundement, and hyt the younge gentlemen full in their faces. They being vtterly vnskilfull to fight, & leaſt of all looking for ſuch maner of fight: had not the hartes to defend themſelues, nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heades, & clapping their hādes on their faces, ſhamefully fled. They being ouerthrowen, *Cæſars* men made no accompt to follow them, but went and gaue charge vpon the battel of footemen, in that place ſpecially where they had no gard of horſemen, whereby they might the eaſelier be compaſſed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flancke, and in the voward alſo by the tenth legion, perceyuing them ſelues (contrarie to their expectation) compaſſed about by their enemies, where they thought to haue enuironned them: they could make no longer reſiſtance. They alſo being likewiſe driuen to flie, when *Pompey* ſaw the duſt in the element, & coniectured the flying of his horſemen: what minde he was of then, it was hard to ſay. For by his countenance, a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wittes end, forgetting that he was *Pompey* the great: for that he went ſtraight into his campe, and ſpake neuer a word to any man, rightly verifying *Homers* verſes to this effect.

Pompeis horſemen put to flight by Cæſar.

Pompeie flying in the fields of Pharſalia.

But mightie Iupe, vvho ſittes aloft in yonrie chariot hie,
Strake Aiax vvith ſo great a feare that Aiax byandby,
Let fall his lethern target made of tough oxe hide ſeuen folde,
And ran avvay, not looking backe, for all he vvas ſo bold.

In this eſtate *Pompey* entred into his tent, and ſate him downe there a great while, and ſpake neuer a worde: vntill ſuch time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his campe. And then, he ſaid no more: but what, euen into our campe? and ſo riſing vp, he put a gowne on his backe, euen fit for his misfortune, and ſecretly ſtale out of the campe. The other legions alſo fled: and great ſlaughter was made of the tent kepers, and their ſeruantes that garded the campe. For *Aſinius Pollio* writeth (who was at that battell on *Cæſars* ſide) that there were ſlaine onely but ſix thowſand ſouldiers. Howbeit at the taking of their campe, *Cæſars* ſouldiers then found plainly the madnes & vanitie of *Pompeys* men. For, all their tentes and pauilions were full of noſegayes and garlandes of mirtle, & their couches all couered with flowers, their tables full of bowles of wine, and men prepared ready to do ſacrifice for ioye, rather then to arme them ſelues to fight. Thus went they to battell, caried away with this vaine & fooliſh hope. Whē *Pompey* was gone a litle way frō his campe, he forſooke his horſe, hauing a very few with him: & perceyuing that no man purſued him, he went a foote faire & ſoftly, his head full of ſuch thoughts and imaginations, as might be ſuppoſed a man of his like calling might haue, who for foure & thirty yeares ſpace together, was wont cōtinually to cary victorie away, and beganne then euen in his laſt caſt, to proue what it was to flie, and to be ouercome: and who thought then with him ſelfe, how in one howers ſpace he had loſt the honor and riches, which he had gotten in ſo many foughten feildes and battels, whereby he was not longe before followed and obeyed of ſo many thowſand men of warre, of ſo many horſemen, and of ſuch a great flete of ſhippes on the ſea, and then to goe as he did in ſuch poore eſtate, and with ſo ſmall a traine, that his very enemies who ſought him, knew him not. Thus when he was paſſed the citie of LARISSA, and comming to the vallie of Tempé: there being a thirſt, he fell downe of his bellie, and dranke of the riuer. Then riſing vp againe, he went his way thence, and came to the ſea ſide, and tooke a fiſhers cotage where he lay all night. The next morning by breake of the daye, he went into a litle bote vpon the riuer, and tooke the free men with him that were about him: and as for the ſlaues, he ſent them backe againe, and did counſell them boldely to goe to *Cæſar*, and not to be affrayed. Thus rowing vp and downe the ſhore ſide, in this litle bote, he ſpyed a great ſhippe of burden in the maine ſea, ryding at anker, which was ready to waye anker, and to ſaile awaye. The maſter of the ſhippe was a ROMANE, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with *Pompey*, yet knew him by

Aſinius Pollio reporteth this battell.

The miſerable ſtate of Pompey.

A by ſight very well. He was called *Peticius*, who had dreamed the night before, that he ſawe *Pompey* ſpeake vnto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in pouerty and in miſery. So, he had tolde this dreame vnto the mariners which ſailed with him (as men commonly vſe to doe, ſpecially when they dreame of ſuch weighty matters, and being at leaſure withall) and at the very inſtant, there was one of the mariners that told him, he ſawe a litle bote of the riuer rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that ſhooke their clokes at them, & held out their hands. Thereupon *Peticius* ſtanding vp, knew *Pompey* ſtraight, euen in like caſe as he had dreamed of him the night before: and clapping his head for anger, commaunded his mariners to let downe his bote, and gaue him his hand, calling him *Pompey* by his name, miſtruſting (ſeeing him in that eſtate) what miſſortune had happened to him. Therupon, not looking B to be intreated, nor that he ſhould tell him of his miſhappe, he receiued him into his ſhippe, and all thoſe he would haue with him: and then hoiſed ſaile. With *Pompey*, there were both the *Lentuli*, & *Faonius*. Shortly after alſo, they perceiued king *Deiotarus* comming from the riuer to them, that beckened and made ſignes to receiue them: which they did. At ſupper time, the maſter of the ſhippe, made ready ſuch meate as he had abord. *Faonius* ſeeing *Pompey* for lacke of men to waite on him, waſhing of him ſelfe: ran vnto him, waſhed him, and annointed him, and afterwardes continued ſtill to waite vpon him, and to doe ſuch ſeruice about him, as ſeruaunts do to their maſters, euen to waſhing of his feete, & making ready of his ſupper. When a ſimple man ſaw him, that could no skill of ſeruice, he ſayd:

Peticius dreame of Pompey.

Pompey imbarketh in Peticius ſhippe a Romane.

Good gods, howe euery thing becommeth noble men?

C *Pompey* paſſing then by the citie of AMPHIPOLIS, coaſted from thence into the Ile of LESBOS, to goe fetch his wife *Cornelia* and his ſonne, being then in the city of MITYLENE. There hauing caſt out his ancker, and riding at rode, he put a meſſenger on the ſhore & ſent him into the citie to his wife: not according to her expectacion, who was ſtill put in good hope by continuall letters and newes brought vnto her, that the warre was ended and determined by the city of DYRRACHIVM. This meſſenger now finding her in this hope, had not the hart ſo much as to ſalute her, but letting her vnderſtande rather by his teares then wordes, the great miſſortune *Pompey* had: told her, ſhe muſt diſpatch quickely, if ſhe would ſee *Pompey* with one ſhippe only, and none of his, but borowed. The young Lady hearing theſe newes, fell downe in a ſound before him, and neither ſpake nor ſturred of long time: but after ſhe was come to D her ſelfe, remembring that it was no time to weepe and lament, ſhe went with ſpeede through the city vnto the ſea ſide. There *Pompey* meeting her, tooke her in his armes, & imbraced her. But ſhe ſincking vnder him, fell downe, and ſayd: Out alas, woe worth my hard fortune, not thine (good husband) that I ſee thee now brought to one poore ſhippe, who before thou marriedſt thy vnfortunate *Cornelia*, wert wont to ſaile theſe ſeas with fiue hũdred ſhips. Alas, why art thou come to ſee me, and why diddeſt thou not leaue me to curſed fate and my wicked deſteny: ſith my ſelfe is cauſe of all this thy euill? Alas, how happy a woman had I bene, if I had bene dead, before I heard of the death of my firſt husband *Publius Craſſius*, whom the wretched PARTHIANS ſlue? And how wiſe a woman had I bene, (if according to my determinacion) I had killed my ſelfe immediatly after him: where now I liue to bring yet this miſſortune vnto E *Pompey* the great? It is reported that *Cornelia* ſpake theſe words, and that *Pompey* alſo anſwered her in this maner. Peraduenture, *Cornelia* mine, thou haſt knowen a better fortune, which hath alſo deceiued thee, bicauſe ſhe hath continued lenger with me then her maner is. But ſince we are borne men, we muſt paciently beare theſe troubles, and proue fortune againe. For it is no impoſſible matter for vs againe to come into proſperitie out of this preſent miſerie, as to fall out of late proſperitie into preſent calamitie. When *Cornelia* heard him ſay ſo, ſhe ſent backe into the city for her ſtuffe and family. The MITYLENIANS alſo came openly to ſalute *Pompey*, and prayed him to come into the city, and to refreſh him ſelfe: but *Pompey* would not, & gaue them counſell to obey the conqueror, & not to feare any thing, for *Cæſar* was a iuſt man, and of a curteous nature. Then *Pompey* turning vnto *Cratippus* the Philoſopher, who came amõg the F citizens alſo to ſee him: made his complaint vnto him, and reaſoned a litle with him about diuine prouidence. *Cratippus* curteouſly yeelded vnto him, putting him ſtill in better hope, fearing leaſt he would haue growen too hot and troubleſome, if he would haue holden him hard

Pompey arriueth in the Iſle of Lesbos, at the citie of Mitylene.

The ſorowe of Cornelia, for Pompeys ouerthrow.

The meting of Pompey and his wife Cornelia.

The words of Cornelia vnto Pompey.

Pompeis anſwere vnto Cornelia.

Pompey reaſoneth with Cratippus the Philoſopher, about diuine prouidence.

to it. For *Pompey* at the length might haue asked him, what prouidence of the gods there had bene in his doings? And *Cratippus* might haue aunſwered him, that for the ill gouernment of the common wealth at ROME, it was of neceſſity that it ſhould fall into the handes of a ſouereine Prince. Peraduenture *Cratippus* might then haue asked him: how, and whereby *Pompey* wouldeſt thou make vs beleue, if thou haddeſt ouercome *Cæſar*, that thou wouldeſt haue vſed thy good fortune better then he? But for diuine matters, referre them to the goddes as it pleaſeth them. *Pompey* taking his wife and frends with him, hoiſed ſaile, and landed no where, but compelled to take freſhe acates and water. The firſt city he came vnto, was ATTALIA in the contry of PAMPHYLIA. Thither came to him certaine gallies out of CILICIA, & many ſouldiers alſo, inſomuch he had a three ſcore Senators of ROME againe in his company. Then, vnderſtanding that his army by ſea was yet whole, and that *Cato* had gathered together a great number of his ſouldiers after the ouerthrowe, whome he had tranſported with him into AFRICKE: he lamented, and complained vnto his frends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, & not ſuffred him to helpe him ſelfe with his other force wherin he was the ſtronger: and that he kept not ſtill neere vnto his army by ſea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet preſently haue prepared to his power ready by ſea, to haue reſiſted his enemy. To confeſſe a troth, *Pompey* committed not ſo great a fault in all this warre, neither did *Cæſar* put foorth a better deuiſe, then to make his enemie fight farre from his armie by ſea. Thus *Pompey* being driuen to attempt ſomewhat according to his ſmall abilitie, he ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the cities. To others, he went him ſelfe in perſon alſo to require money, wherewith he manned and armed ſome ſhips. This notwithſtanding, fearing the ſodaine approach of his enemy, leaſt he ſhould preuent him before he could put any reaſonable force in readines for to reſiſt him: he bethought him ſelfe what place he might beſt retyre vnto for his moſt ſafetie. When he had conſidered of it, he thought that there was neuer a prouince of the ROMANES that could ſaue and defend them. And for other ſtraunge realmes, he thought PARTHIA aboue all other, was the beſt place to receiue them into at that preſent, hauing ſo ſmal power as they had: and that was better able to helpe & aide them with more power then they. Other of his counſell were of minde to go into AFRICKE, vnto king *Iuba*. But *Theophanes* LESBIAN ſaid, he thought it a great folly, to leaue ÆGYPT which was but three dayes ſailing from thence, and king *Ptolomy*, (being but lately comen to mans ſtate, and bound vno *Pompey* for the late frendſhippe and fauor his father found of him) and to goe put him ſelfe into the handes of the PARTHIANS, the vileſt, and vnfaithfulleſt nation in the world, and not to proue the modeſty of a ROMANE, that had bene his father in law, whoſe proſperity if he could haue endured, he might haue bene the chieſeſt man: and now to put him ſelfe to *Arſaces* good will, who could not away with *Craſſus* when he liued. Further, he thought it an ill parte alſo, for him to go cary his young wife of the noble houſe of *Scipio*, amongſt the barbarous people, who thinke it lawfull for thē to vſe what villany and inſolency they liſt to any. For, admit ſhe haue no villany offered her by them: yet is it an vndecent thing, to thinke ſhe might haue bene diſhonored, they hauing her in their power to doe it. There was no perſwaſion (as they ſay) but this only that turned *Pompey* vnto Euphrates: for it ſeemeth that *Pompeys* counſell, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therefore to flie into ÆGYPT, he departed out of CYPRVS in a gaily of SELEVCIA with his wife *Cornelia*. The reſidue of his traine imbarked alſo, ſome into gallies, & others into marchauntes ſhippes of great burden, and ſo ſafely paſſed the ſea without daunger. When *Pompey* heard newes that king *Ptolomy* was in the citie of PELVSIVM with his armie, making warre againſt his ſiſter: he went thither, and ſent a meſſenger before vnto the king, to aduertiſe him of his arriuall, and to intreate him to receiue him. King *Ptolomy* was then but a young man, inſomuch as one *Pothinus* gouerned all the whole realme vnder him. He aſſembled a counſell of the chieſeſt and wiſeſt men of the court, who had ſuch credit and authoritie as it pleaſed him to geue them. They being aſſembled, he cōmaunded euery man in the kings name to ſay his minde touching the receiuing of *Pompey*, whether the king ſhould receiue him or not. It was a miſerable thinge to ſee *Pothinus*, an eunuche of the kinges, and *Theodotus* of CHIO, an hyered ſchoolemaſter to teache the young king rethoricke, and *Achillas* ÆGYPTIAN to conſult among them ſelues what they ſhould doe with *Pompey* the great. Theſe were the

Pompey arriueth at Attalia, in the contrie of Pamphylia.

Pompeys great error, and Cæſars craſty deuiſe.

Theophanes Lesbian perſwaded Pompey to flie into AEgypt.

Pompey arriueth in AEgypt, & goeth to Peluſium. Pothinus an eunuche, and groome of the chamber to king Ptolomy, ruleth all AEgypt.

A the chiefeſt counſellers of all his eunuches, and of thoſe that had brought him vp. Nowe did *Pompey* ride at ancker vpon the ſhore ſide, expecting the reſolution of this coũſel: in the which the opinions of other were diuers, for they would not haue receiued him: the other alſo, that he ſhould be receiued. But the Rethoritian *Theodotus* to ſhew his eloquence, perſwaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, ſayd he, if we receiue him, we ſhall haue *Cæſar* our enemie, and *Pompey* our Lord: and if they do deny him on thother ſide, *Pompey* will blame them for refuſing of him, and *Cæſar* for not keeping of him. Therefore, this ſhould be the beſt reſolution, to ſend to kill him: for thereby, they ſhould winne the good will of the one, and not feare the diſpleaſure of the other: and ſome ſay moreouer, that he added this mocke withall: a dead man bytes not. They being determined of this among them ſelues, B gaue *Achillas* commiſſion to doe it. He taking with him *Septimius* (who had charge aforetime vnder *Pompey*) and *Saluius* an other Centurion alſo, with three or foure ſouldiers beſides, they made towards *Pompeys* gallie, about whom were at that time, the chiefeſt of his traine, to ſee what would become of this matter. But when they ſaw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in Princely ſhow and maner, nor nothing aunſwerable to the hope which *Theophanes* had put them in, ſeeing ſo few men come to them in a fiſher bote: they began then to miſtruſt the ſmall accompt that was made of them, & counſelled *Pompey* to returne backe, and to launche againe into the ſea, being out of the daunger of the hurling of a dart. In the meane time, the fiſher bote drew neere, and *Septimius* roſe, and ſaluted *Pompey* in the ROMANE tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as ſoueraine Captaine: and *Achillas* alſo ſpake C to him in the Greeke tongue, and bad him come into his bote, bicauſe that by the ſhore ſide, there was a great deale of mudde and ſande banckes, ſo that his gally ſhould haue no water to bring him in. At the very ſame time, they ſaw a farre of diuers of the kings gallies which were arming with all ſpeede poſſible, & all the ſhore beſides ful of ſouldiers. Thus, though *Pompey* & his company would haue altered their mindes, they could not haue told how to haue eſcaped: & furthermore, ſhewing that they had miſtruſted thẽ, then they had geuen the murtherer occaſion to haue executed his cruelty. So taking his leaue of his wife *Cornelia*, who lamented his death before his end: he cõmaunded two Centurions to go down before him into the ÆGYPTIANS bote, and *Philip* one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, with an other ſlaue called *Scynes*. When *Achillas* reached out his hande to receiue him into his bote, he turned him to his wife, and D ſonne, and ſayd theſe verſes of *Sophocles* vnto them:

The man that into Court comes free,
Muſt there in ſtate of bondage be.

Theſe were the laſt words he ſpake vnto his people, when he left his owne gally, & went into the ÆGYPTIANS bote. The lande being a great way of from his gally, when he ſaw neuer a man in the bote ſpeake frendly vnto him, beholding *Septimius*, he ſaid vnto him: me thinkes my frend I ſhould know thee, for that thou haſt ſerued with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gaue him no aunſwere, nor ſhewed him any curteſie. *Pompey* ſeeing that no man ſpake to him, tooke a litle booke he had in his hande, in the which he had wrytten an oration that he ment to make vnto king *Ptolomy*, & beganne to read it. When E they came neere the ſhore, *Cornelia* with her ſeruaunts and frends about her, ſtoode vp in her ſhippe in great feare, to ſee what ſhould become of *Pompey*. So, ſhe hoped well, when ſhe ſaw many of the kings people on the ſhore, comming towards *Pompey* at his landing, as it were to receiue and honor him. But euen as *Pompey* tooke *Philip* his hande to ariſe more eaſily, *Septimius* came firſt behinde him and thruſt him through with his ſword. Next vnto him alſo, *Saluius* and *Achillas* drew out their ſwords in like manner. *Pompey* then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his hands, and hidde his face, and manly abidde the wounds they gaue him, onely ſighing a litle. Thus being nine and fifty yeare olde, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They that rode at ancker in their ſhippes, when they ſaw him murdered, gaue ſuch a feareful crie, that it was hard to the ſhore: thẽ waying vp their anckers with ſpede, F they hoyſed ſaile, and departed their way, hauing winde at will that blew a luſty gale, as ſoone as they had gotten the maine ſea. The ÆGYPTIANS which prepared to rowe after them, when they ſaw they were paſt their reach, and vnpoſſible to be ouertaken: they let them goe.

The deliberacion of the AEgyptians, for the receiuing of Pompey.

Theodotus perſwaded them to kill Pompey.

A dead man byteth not.

Achillas appointed to kill Pompey.

How Pompey was receiued into AEgypt.

Pompey the great, cruelly ſlaine as he landed.

The manlines and pacience of Pompey at his death.

Then hauing ſtriken of *Pompeys* heade, they threwe his body ouer borde, for a miſerable ſpectacle to all thoſe that were deſirous to ſee him. *Philip* his infranchiſed bondman remained euer by it, vntill ſuch time as the ÆGYPTIANS had ſeene it their bellies full. Then hauing waſhed his body with ſalt water, and wrapped it vp in an old ſhirt of his, bicauſe he had no other ſhift to lay it in: he ſought vpon the ſands, & found at the length a peece of an old fiſhers bote, enough to ſerue to burne his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As he was buſie gathering the broken peeces of this bote together, thither came vnto him an old ROMANE, who in his youth had ſerued vnder *Pompey*, and ſayd vnto him: O frend, what art thou that prepareſt the funeralls of *Pompey* the great? *Philip* anſwered, that he was a bondman of his infranchiſed. *The funeralls of Pompey.* Well, ſaid he, thou ſhalt not haue all this honor alone, I pray thee yet let me accompany thee in ſo deuout a deede, that I may not altogether repent me to haue dwelt ſo long in a ſtraunge contrie, where I haue abidden ſuch miſerie and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good happe, with mine owne hands to touche *Pompeys* body, and to helpe to bury the only and moſt famous Captaine of the ROMANES. The next day after, *Lucius Lentulus* not knowing what had paſſed, comming out of CYPRVS, ſailed by the ſhore ſide, and perceiued a fire made for funeralls, and *Philip* ſtanding by it, whom he knew not at the firſt. So he asked him, what is he that is dead and buried there? But ſtraight fetching a great ſigh, alas, ſayd he, perhappes it is *Pompey* the great. Then he landed a litle, and was ſtraight taken and ſlaine. This was the end of *Pompey* the great. Not longe after, *Cæſar* alſo came into ÆGYPT that was in great warres, where *Pompeys* head was preſented vnto him: but he turned his head aſide, and would not ſee it: and abhorred him that brought it, as a deteſtable murtherer. Then taking his ringe wherewith he ſealed his letters, whereuppon was grauen a Lyon holding a ſword: he burſt out a weeping. *Achillas* and *Pothinus* he put to death. King *Ptolomy* him ſelfe alſo, being ouerthrowen in battell by the riuer of Nilus, vaniſhed away, and was neuer heard of after. *Theodotus* the Rethoritian eſcaped *Cæſars* hands, & wandred vp & downe ÆGYPT in great miſery, deſpiſed of euery man. Afterwards, *Marcus Brutus* (who ſlue *Cæſar*) conquering ASIA, met with him by chaunce, and putting him to all the torments he could poſſibly deuiſe, at the length ſlue him. The aſhes of *Pompeys* bodie were afterwards brought vnto his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them in a towne of hers by the citie of ALBA.

Lucius Lentulus ſlaine. *Cæſar arriueth in AEgypt.* *Pompeis ring.* *The murtherers of Pompey put to death.*

THE COMPARISON OF *Pompey with Ageſilaus.*

NOw that we haue declared vnto you, the liues of *Ageſilaus* and *Pompey*: let vs compare their maners and condicions together, which are theſe. Firſt, *Pompey* came to his honor and greatneſſe, by his integritie and ſo aduanced him ſelfe: and was a great aide vnto *Sylla*, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid thoſe tyrans out of ITALIE, who held it in bondage. But *Ageſilaus* vſurped the kingdom of LACEDÆMON, againſt the law of gods and men, condemning *Leotychides* for a baſtard, whom his brother auowed to be his lawfull ſonne: and contemned beſides the oracle of the gods, which gaue warning of a lame king. Furthermore, *Pompey* did honor *Sylla* while he liued, and when he was dead, gaue his body honorable buriall in deſpite of *Lepidus*: and maried his daughter vnto *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla*. *Ageſilaus* contrarily did diſhonor *Lyſander*, apon light occaſion: but *Pompey* had done no leſſe for *Sylla*, than *Sylla* had done for him. *Lyſander* on thother ſide, had made *Ageſilaus* king of LACEDÆMON, and Lieutenant generall of all GRÆCE. Thirdly, the iniuries that *Pompey* did vnto the common weale, were done of neceſſitie, to pleaſe *Cæſar* and *Scipio*, both of them his fathers in law. *Ageſilaus* alſo, to ſatiſfie his ſonnes loue, ſaued *Sphodrias* life that had deſerued death, for the miſchiefe he had done the ATHENIANS: and he willingly alſo tooke parte with *Phœbidas*, not ſecretly, but openly, bicauſe he had broken the peace made with the THEBANS. To conclude, what hurt *Pompey* did vnto the ROMANES, either through ignorance, or to pleaſure his frends: the ſame did *Ageſilaus* vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, through anger & ſelfe wil, in renuing warre with the BOEOTIANS, apon a full peace concluded. If we ſhall reckon of the fortune of the one and the other, in the faultes they committed: *Pompeis* fortune vnto the ROMANES was vnlooked for. But *Ageſilaus* would not ſuffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to auoyd the lame kingdom, though they knew it before. For, though *Leotychides* had bene proued a baſtard ten thouſand times, yet had not the race of the *Eurytiontides* failed, but they could haue foũd an other lawfull king among them, that ſhould haue gone vpright: had not *Lyſander*, fauoring *Ageſilaus*, kept the true meaning of the oracle from the LACEDÆMONIANS. On thother ſide againe for matters of gouernment, there was neuer ſuch an excellent deuiſe found out, as was done by *Ageſilaus*: to helpe the feare and daunger the LACEDÆMONIANS were in, for thoſe that fled at the battell of LEVCTRES, when he counſelled them to let the law ſleepe for that day. Neither can any man matche *Pompeis* with the like: who, to ſhew his frends what power he was of, did breake the lawes which him ſelfe had made. For *Ageſilaus* being driuen of neceſſity to aboliſh the law, to ſaue the life of his citizens, found ſuch a deuiſe that the law was not hurtfull to the common wealth, neither yet was put downe for feare it ſhould doe hurt. I muſt needes commende this for a great vertue and ciuility in *Ageſilaus*, who ſo ſoone as he

How Pompey and Ageſilaus came to their greatnes.

The faultes of Ageſilaus and Pompey.

receiued the Scytala (or ſcrowle of parchement from the Ephori) returned into his contrie, A
and left the warre of Asia. He did not as *Pompey*, who made him ſelfe great to the benefit of
the common wealth, and for the common wealthes ſake, did forſake ſuch honor and ſo great
authoritie, as neuer Captaine before him, but *Alexander* the great, had the like in thoſe
Thinges done by Ageſilaus and Pompey in warres. partes. But now to other matter. Touching their battells and exploytes in warres, the multi-
tude of victories and triumphes that *Pompey* obtained, and the great armies that he led: *Xeno-*
phon him ſelfe if he were aliue, could not compare *Ageſilaus* victories vnto his: although for
the ſingular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had libertie
graunted him, to wryte and ſpeake of *Ageſilaus* what he thought good. Me thinkes alſo, there
was great difference betwext *Pompey* and *Ageſilaus*, in their equitie and clemencie towardes
their enemies. For, whileſt *Ageſilaus* went about to conquer Thebes, and vtterly to race B
and deſtroy the citie of Messina, the one being an auncient citie of his contrie, and the o-
Ageſilaus loſt the ſignorie of the Lacedæmonians. ther the capitall citie of Boeotia: he had almoſt loſt his owne citie of Sparta, for at the
leaſt he loſt the commaundement and rule he had ouer the reſt of Græce. The other con-
trarily gaue cities vnto pirates to dwell in, which were willing to chaunge their trade and ma-
ner of life: and when it was in his choyſe to lead *Tigranes* king of Armenia, in triumphe at
Rome, he choſe rather to make him a confederat of the Romanes, ſaying, that he preferred
perpetuall honor before one dayes glorie. But ſince it is reaſon we ſhould geue the firſt place
and honor of the diſcipline of warres, vnto a Captaine of the greateſt skill and experience in
warres: the Lacedæmonian then leaueth the Romane farre behind. For firſt of all *Ageſilaus* C
neuer forſooke his citie, though it was beſieged with three ſcore and ten thowſand men, and
that there were very fewe within the ſame to defende it, the which alſo a litle before had bene
Pompeis fault to forſake Rome. ouerthrowen at the battell of Leuctres. And *Pompey* on thother ſide, hearinge that *Cæſar*
with fiue thowſand footemen onely had taken a towne in Italie: fled from Rome in verie
feare. And therein he can not be excuſed of one of theſe two: either that he fled cowardly
for ſo few men, or elſe that he had a falſe imagination of more. For he conueyed his wife and
children away, but he left all the reſt without defence, and fled: where in deede he ſhould ei-
ther haue ouercome, valliantly fighting for defenſe of his contrie, or elſe haue receiued the
condicions of peace which the conquerors ſhould haue offered him. For, he was a citizen
and allied vnto him. For he that thought it an vntollerable thing to prolong the tearme of his
gouernment, or to graunt him a ſecond Conſulſhippe: did now geue him oportunitie, ſuffe- D
ring him to take the city of Rome, to ſay vnto *Metellus* the Tribune, & the reſt, that they were
A ſpeciall point of a skilfull Captaine. all his priſoners. Sith therefore it is the chiefeſt point of an excellent Captaine, to compell
his enemies to fight when he findeth him ſelfe the ſtronger, and alſo to keepe him ſelfe from
compulſion of fight when he is the weaker: *Ageſilaus* excelling in that, did euer keepe him
ſelfe inuincible. *Cæſar* alſo had great skill therein, to keepe him ſelfe from daunger being the
weaker, and againe could tell howe to compell *Pompey* to hazard battell, to his vtter deſtru-
ction by lande, where he was the weaker: and by this meanes he made him ſelfe Lorde of
the treaſure, vittells, and alſo of the ſea, which his enemies had in their handes, without
fighting. That which they alleage in his excuſe, is that which moſt doth condemne him, ſpe-
cially for ſo great and skilfull a Captaine. For as it is likely enough, that a young Generall of E
an armie may eaſily be brought from his wife and ſafe counſell, with rumor and tumult of a
few fearefull men, that ſhould perſwade him it were a ſhame and diſhonor for him if he did
otherwiſe: yet were this no ſtraunge matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for *Pompey* the
great, whoſe campe the Romanes called their contrie, and his tent the Senate, and called all
the Prætors and Conſuls that gouerned at Rome, rebells and traitors to the common wealth
of Rome: who coulde excuſe him (who was neuer ſeene commaunded by other then him
ſelfe, but had bene alwayes chiefe Captaine and Generall in any warre he made, and euer had
the vpper hand) but that he was drawen on by the ſcoffes of *Faonius*, and *Domitius*, to hazard
battell, to endaunger the whole Empire and liberty of Rome, only for feare they ſhould call
him king *Agamemnon*? Who, if he had ſo much regarded preſent infamie, he ſhould haue F
fought from the beginning for defence of the citie of Rome, and not to haue taken example
of *Themiſtocles* policie by flying, and afterwards to thinke it a ſhame as he did, to lye in Theſ-

SALY

A SALIE a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fieldes of Pharſalia for a Theater, or cloſe campe, of neceſſitie to fight which of them ſhoulde haue the Empire of ROME. Further, there was no Heraulde to ſummone him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he muſt aunſwere to his name, and come and fight, or elſe to looſe the honor of the crowne vnto an other. But there were infinite other fieldes and townes (and as a man woulde ſay the whole earth) which the commoditie of his armie by ſea gaue him choyſe to conquer if he would rather haue followed the ſteppes of *Fabius Maximus*, of *Marius*, of *Lucullus*, or of *Ageſilaus* him ſelfe: who did paciently abide no leſſe tumultes within the citie ſelfe of SPARTA, when the THEBANS went to ſummone him to come out to fight, for all the reſt of his contrie. And in ÆGYPT alſo, he did abide many falſe accuſations againſt him,
B wherewith the king him ſelfe did burden him, praying him alwayes to haue a litle pacience. In fine, hauing followed the beſt counſell which he had determined with him ſelfe from the beginning, he ſaued the ÆGYPTIANS againſt their willes: and furthermore, he did not only keepe the citie of SPARTA from ſo great a daunger, but did alſo ſet vp tokens of triumphe in the ſame againſt the THEBANS, whereby, he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the ſlaughter, and beſides that, gaue his citizens occaſion to obtaine victorie afterwardes. Hereupon *Ageſilaus* was highly praiſed of them, whoſe liues he had ſaued againſt their wills. And *Pompey* contrarily was blamed by them ſelues, through whom he had offended: yet ſome ſay, that he was deceiued by his father in law *Scipio*. For he meaning to keepe the moſt parte of the money to him ſelfe which he had brought out of ASIA, did haſten and perſwade *Pom-*
C *pey* to geue battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had bene true, a worthie Captaine ſhould not ſo lightly haue bene brought into error, vpon a falſe accompt, to hazard him ſelfe to looſe all. Thus may we ſee what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore for their iorneys into ÆGYPT, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went thither with ſmall honor, for moneys ſake to ſerue the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make warre with the GRÆCIANS.

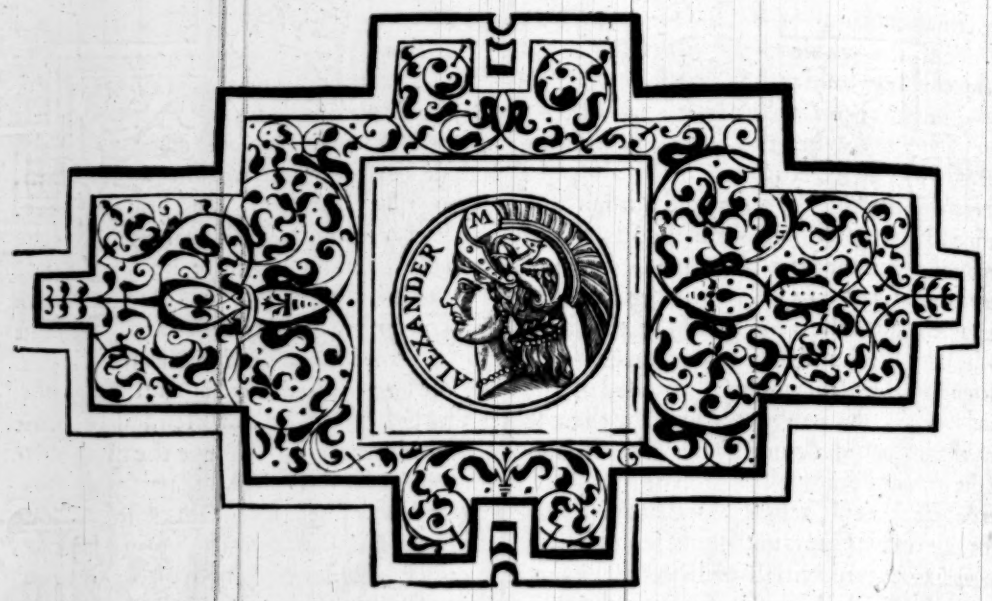
Ageſilaus conſtanter than Pompey.

Pompeys flying into AEgypt is excuſed.

Laſtly, in that which we accuſe the ÆGYPTIANS for *Pompeys* ſake: for the like matter doe they againe accuſe *Ageſilaus*. For, the one was cruelly put to death, & betrayed by them whom he truſted: & *Ageſilaus* forſooke them which
D truſted him, and went to the enemies, hauing brought aide to fight againſt them.

The end of Pompeys life.

THE LIFE OF
Alexander the great.



HAuing determined in this volume to write the life of king *Alexander*, & of *Iulius Cæsar*, that ouercame *Pompey*: hauing to speake of many things, I will vse none other preface, but only desire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare al things at large, but briefly touch diuers, chiefly in those their nobleſt acts & moſt worthy of memory. For they muſt remember, that my intent is not to write hiſtories, but only liues. For, the nobleſt deedes doe not alwayes ſhew mens vertues and vices, but oftētimes a light occaſion, a word, or ſome ſporte makes mens naturall diſpoſitions and maners appeare more plaine, then the famous battells wonne, wherein are ſlaine tenne thowſande men, or the great armies, or cities wonne by ſiege or aſſault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no accompt of other partes of the bodie, do take the reſemblaunces of the face and fauor of the countenance, in the which conſiſteth the iudgement of their maners & diſpoſition: euen ſo they muſt geue vs leaue to ſeeke out the ſignes and tokens of the minde only, and thereby ſhewe the life of either of them, referring you vnto others to wryte the warres, battells, and other great thinges they did. It is certaine that *Alexander* was diſcended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*, and that of his mothers ſide, he came of the blood of the *AEacides* by *Neoptolemus*. They ſay alſo, that king *Philip* his father when he was a young man, fell in fancie with his mother *Olympias*, which at that time alſo was a younge maiden, and an orphane without father or mother, in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where they were both receiued into the miſterie and fraternity of the houſe of the religious: and that afterwards, he did aske her in mariage of her brother *Arymbas*, with whoſe conſent they were maried together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withall, there was a great light fire that diſperſed it ſelfe all about into diuers flames. King *Philip* her husband alſo, ſhortly after he was maried, dreamed that he did ſeale his wiues belly, and that the ſeale wherewith he ſealed, left behinde the printe of a Lyon. Certaine wiſards and ſoothſayers, tolde *Philip* that this dreame gaue him warning to looke ſtraightly to his wife. But *Ariſtander* TELMESIAN aunſwered againe, that it ſignified his wife was conceiued with childe, for that they doe not ſeale a veſſell that hath nothinge in it: and that ſhe was with childe with a boy, which ſhoulde haue a

The face ſheweth mens maners and condicions.

The parentage of Alexander.

Olympias the wife of Philip king of Macedon.

Olympias dreame.

King Philips dreame.

Lions

A Lions hart. It is reported alſo, that many times as ſhe lay a ſleepe in her bed, there was ſeene a ſerpent lying by her, the which was the chiefeſt cauſe (as ſome preſuppoſe) that withdrewe *Philips* loue and kindnes from her, and cauſed him that he lay not ſo oft with her, as before he was wont to doe: either for that he feared ſome charme or enchauntment, or elſe for that he thought him ſelfe vnmeete for her company, ſuppoſing her to be beloued of ſome god. Some do alſo report this after an other ſort: as in this maner. That the women in thoſe parts of long time, haue bene commonly poſſeſt with the ſpirite of *Orpheus*, and the diuine fury of *Bacchus*, whereupon they are called Clodones, & Mimallones (as much as warlicke, & fierce) and doe many things like vnto the women of EDONIA, and THRACIA, dwelling about the mountaine Æmus. Hereby it appeareth, that this word Threskeuin (ſignifying in the Greeke tongue, too B ſuperſtitiouſly geuen to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For *Olympias* aboue other womē, louing to be inſpired with ſuch diuine madnes & fury: did celebrate their ſolemne ſacrifices with a certaine horrible & barbarous maner. For in theſe daunces to *Bacchus*, ſhe caried a great number of tame ſnakes about her, the which gliding apon the Iuie wherewith the women were dreſſed in thoſe ceremonies, & winding thē ſelues about the litle iauelings they had in their hands, & the garlands about their heades: therby they made men the more afraid of them. Whereupon *Philip* after this dreame, ſent *Cherο* MEGALOPOLITAN vnto the oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHES, to inquier what it ſignified. Anſwere was geuen him, that he ſhould do ſacrifice vnto *Iupiter Hammon*, & honor him aboue all gods: & that he had loſt one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a crany of his chamber dore, ſaw the god in forme of a ſnake C lye by his wife. Furthermore, *Olympias* (as *Eratoſthenes* writeth) bidding her ſonne farewel whē he went to conquer ASIA, after ſhe had ſecretly tolde him alone, by whom he was begotten: ſhe prayed him to be valliant, & to ſhew himſelfe worthy his ſonne, that begat him. Others tel alſo, that ſhe was angry with this report, ſaying: will *Alexander* neuer leaue to make me ſuſpected of *Iuno*? So it is, that *Alexander* was borne on the ſixt day of the moneth of Hecatombæon, (in engliſh, Iune) which the MACEDONIANS call Lous. On the very ſame day, the temple of *Diana* in the city of EPHESVS was burnt, as *Hegeſias* MAGNESIAN doth witneſſe, whoſe crie & exclamation was ſo terrible & cold, that it was enough to haue quenched that fire. It is not to be wondred at, that *Diana* ſuffred her temple to be burnt, being like a midwife, buſie about *Alexanders* birth. But this is true, that all the prieſts, magitians and ſoothſayers, which were at D that time in EPHESVS, iudging that this did prognoſticate ſome maruelous great miſfortune to come, like men beſtraught of their wits, they ran vp & downe the city, ſmiting of their faces, & crying that ſome great plague & miſchief was borne that day vnto ASIA. Shortly after that king *Philip* had wonne the city of POTIDÆA, three meſſengers came to him the ſame day that brought him great newes. The firſt, that *Parmenio* had wonne a notable battell of the ILLYRIANS: the ſecond, that his horſe only wan the bell & price at the Olympian games: & the third, that his wife had brought him a ſonne called *Alexander*. *Philip* being maruelous glad to heare theſe newes, the ſoothſayers did make his ioy yet greater: aſſuring him that his ſonne which was borne with three victories all together, ſhould be inuincible. Now for his ſtature & perſo- *Alexanders ſtature and perſonage.*
E nage, the ſtatues and images made of him by *Lyſippus* doe beſt declare it, for that he would be drawen of no man but him only. Diuers of his ſucceſſors & frends did afterwards counterfeat his image, but that excellent workeman *Lyſippus* only, of all other the chiefeſt, hath perfectly drawen and reſembled *Alexanders* maner of holding his necke, ſomwhat hanging downe towards the left ſide, & alſo the ſwete looke & caſt of his eyes. But when *Apelles* painted *Alexander*, holding lightning in his hand, he did not ſhew his freſh colour, but made him ſomewhat blacke and ſwarter, then his face in deede was: for naturally he had a very fayre white colour, mingled alſo with red, which chiefly appeared in his face & in his breſt. I remember I red alſo in the cōmentaries of *Ariſtoxenus*, that his skin had a maruelous good ſauor, & that his breath was very ſwete, inſomuch that his body had ſo ſwete a ſmell of it ſelfe, that all the apparell he *Alexanders body had a maruelous ſweete ſauor.*
F wore next vnto his body, tooke thereof a paſſing delightfull ſauor, as if it had bene perfumed. And the cauſe hereof peraduenture might be, the very temperature & conſtitucion of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For *Theophraſtus* is of opinion, that the ſweete ſauor commeth by meanes of the heate that dryeth vp the moiſture of the bodie. By which reaſon

Olympias ſerpent.

The birth of Alexander. The temple of Diana burnt at Epheſus.

Wonderfull things ſeene at the birth of Alexander.

alſo it appeareth, that the drie & hot contries pearched with heate of the ſunne, are thoſe that deliuer vnto vs the beſt ſpices: bicauſe that the ſunne drieth vp the moyſture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This natural heate that *Alexander* had, made him (as it appeareth) to be giuen to drinke, & to be haſty. Euen from his childhood they ſaw that he was giuen to be chaſt. For though otherwiſe he was very hot & haſty, yet was he hardly moued with luſt or pleaſure of the body, & would moderately vſe it. But on thother ſide, the ambition & deſire he had of honor, ſhewed a certaine greatnes of minde & noble corage, paſſing his yeares. For he was not (as his father *Philip*) deſirous of all kind of glory: who like a Rethoritian had a delite to vtter his eloquence, & ſtamped in his coynes, the victories he had wonne at the Olympian games, by the ſwift running of his horſe & coches. For when he was asked one day (bicauſe he was ſwift of foote) whether he would aſſay to run for victory at the Olympian games: I could be content, ſaid he, ſo I might run with kings. And yet to ſpeake generally, he miſliked all ſuch contention for games. For it ſeemeth that he vtterly miſliked all wreſtling & other exerciſe for priſe, where men did vſe all their ſtrength: but otherwiſe he him ſelf made certen feſtiual daies & games of priſe, for common ſtage plaiers, muſitians, & ſingers, & for the very Poets alſo. He delighted alſo in hunting of diuers kindes of beaſtes, and playing at the ſtaffe. Ambaſſadors being ſent on a time from the king of PERSIA, whileſt his father was in ſome iorney out of his realme: *Alexander* familliarly entertaining of them, ſo wan them with his curteous entertainment, (for that he vſed no childiſh queſtions vnto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but what diſtance it was frō one place to an other, & which way they went into the high contries of ASIA, & of the king of PERSIA him ſelfe, how he was towards his enemies, & what power he had) that he did rauiſh them with delight to heare him, inſomuch that they made no more account of *Philips* eloquence & ſharpe wit, in reſpect of his ſonnes corage, & noble minde, to attempt great enterpriſes. For when they brought him newes that his father had taken ſome famous city, or had won ſome great battell, he was nothing glad to heare it, but would ſay to his playfellowes: ſirs, my father will haue all, I ſhall haue nothing left me to conquer with you, that ſhalbe ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleaſure nor riches, but only in valliantnes & honor, thought, that the greater conqueſts & realmes his father ſhould leaue him, the leſſe he ſhould haue to do for himſelfe. And therfore, ſeing that his fathers dominions & Empire increaſed dayly more and more, perceiuing all occaſion taken from him to do any great attempt: he deſired no riches nor pleaſure, but warres & battells, & aſpired to a ſignory where he might win honor. He had diuers men appointed him (as it is to be ſuppoſed) to bring him vp: as ſchoolemaſters, gouernors, & groomes of his chamber to attend vpon him: and among thoſe, *Leonidas* was the chiefeſt man that had the gouernment & charge of him, a man of a ſeuere diſpoſition, & a kinſeman alſo vnto the Queene *Olympias*. He miſliked to be called a maſter or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, wherupō the others called him *Alexanders* gouernor, bicauſe he was a noble man, & allied to the Prince. But he that bare the name of his ſchoolemaſter, was *Lyſimachus*, an ACARNANIAN borne, who had no other maner of ciuility in him, ſauing that he called him ſelfe *Phœnix*, *Alexander Achilles*, & *Philip Peleus*: & therfore he was well thought of, and was the ſeconde perſon next vnto *Leonidas*. At what time *Philonicus* THESSALIAN had brought *Bucephal* the horſe to ſell vnto king *Philip*, asking thirteene talents, they went into the field to ryde him. The horſe was found ſo rough & churliſh that the ryders ſaid he would neuer do ſeruice, for he would let no man get vp on his backe, nor abide any of the gentlemens voyces about king *Philip*, but would yerke out at them. Thereupon, *Philip* being affrayed, commaunded them to cary him away as a wild beaſt, & altogether vnprofitable: the which they had done, had not *Alexander* that ſtoode by ſaid, O gods, what a horſe do they turne away, for lacke of skil & hart to handle him. *Philip* heard what he ſaid, but held his peace. *Alexander* oft repeating his wordes, ſeeming to be ſory that they ſhould ſend backe the horſe againe: why, ſaid *Philip*, doeſt thou control them that haue more experience than thou, & that know better then thou how to handle a horſe? *Alexander* anſwered, & yet me thinkes I ſhould hādle him better thā all they haue done. But if thou canſt not, no more thē they, replied *Philip*: what wilt thou forfet for thy folly? I am cōtent (ꝙ *Alexander*) to ieopard the price of the horſe. Euery man laughed to heare his aunſwere: and the wager was layed betwene them. Then ran

Alexander

Alexander coueted honor.

The noble minde of Alexander.

Leonidas the gouernor of Alexander.

Bucephal Alexanders horſe.

A *Alexander* to the horſe, and tooke him by the bridle: and turned him towardes the ſunne. It ſeemed that he had marked (as I ſuppoſe) how madde the horſe was to ſee his owne ſhadow, which was euer before him in his eye, as he ſturred to & fro. Then *Alexander* ſpeaking gently to the horſe, and clapping him on the backe with his hand, till he had left his fury & ſnorting: ſoftly let fall his cloke from him, and lightly leaping on his backe, got vp without any daunger, and holding the reines of the bridle hard, without ſtriking or ſturring the horſe, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he ſawe that the furie of the horſe was paſt, and that he beganne to galloppe, he put him to his full career, and layed on ſpurres and voyce a good. *Philip* at the firſt with feare beholding his ſonnes agility, leaſt he ſhould take ſome hurt, ſaid neuer a word: but when he ſaw him redily turne the horſe at the end of his career, in a brauery for that

The agility of Alexander in taming the wildnes of Bucephal the horſe.

B he had done, all the lookers on gaue a ſhowte for ioy. The father on thother ſide (as they ſay) fell a weeping for ioy. And when *Alexander* was lighted from the horſe, he ſayd vnto him kiſſing his head: O ſonne, thou muſt needes haue a realme that is meete for thee, for MACEDON will not hold thee. Furthermore, conſidering that of nature he was not to be won by extreamity, & that by gentle meanes and perſwaſion he could make him do what he would: he euer ſought rather to perſwade then cõmaund him in any thing he had to do. Now *Philip* putting no great affiãce in his ſchoolemaſters of muſicke & humanity, for the inſtruction & education of his ſonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning than their capacities would reache vnto: and that as *Sophocles* ſayth,

Philip prophecieth of his ſonne Alexander.

He needed many reynes, and many bits at once:

C He ſent for *Ariſtotle* (the greateſt Philoſopher in his time, & beſt learned) to teach his ſonne, vnto whom he gaue honorable ſtipend. For *Philip* hauing won & takẽ before, the city of STAGYRA, where *Ariſtotle* was borne: for his ſake he built it againe, & repleniſhed it with inhabitãts which fled away, or otherwiſe were in bondage. He appointed them for a ſchoole houſe and dwelling place, the pleaſant houſe that is by the city of MIEZA. In that place are yet ſeene ſeats of ſtone which *Ariſtotle* cauſed to be made, & cloſe walks to walke in the ſhadow. It is thought alſo, that *Alexander* did not only learne of *Ariſtotle*, moral philoſophy & humanity, but alſo he heard of him other more ſecret, hard, & graue doctrine, which *Ariſtotles* ſchollers do properly call Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning things ſpeculatiue, which requireth the maſters teaching to vnderſtand thẽ, or els are kept from cõmon knowledge: which ſciences, they did not

Ariſtotle, was Alexanders ſchoolemaſter. Ariſtotle borne in the city of Stagira.

D cõmonly teach. *Alexander* being paſſed into ASIA, & hearing that *Ariſtotle* had put out certen bookes of that matter: for the honors ſake of philoſophy, he wrote a letter vnto him, ſomwhat too plaine, & of this effect. *Alexander*, vnto *Ariſtotle* greeting. Thou haſt not done well to put forth the Acroamatical ſciences. For wherin ſhal we excell other, if thoſe things which thou haſt ſecretly taught vs, be made cõmon to all? I do thee to vnderſtand, that I had rather excell others in excellency of knowledge, then in greatnes of power. Farewel. Wherunto *Ariſtotle* to pacifie this his ambitious humor, wrote vnto him againe, that theſe bookes were publiſhed, & not publiſhed. For to ſay truly, in al his treatiſes which be called μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ: there is no plain inſtruction profitable for any man, neither to picke out by himſelfe, nor yet to be taught by any other, then *Ariſtotle* him ſelfe, or his ſchollers. So that it is written as a memoriall for them

An Epiſtle of Alexander vnto Ariſtotle.

E that haue bene entred & brought vp in the Peripateticke ſect & doctrine. It ſeemeth alſo, that it was *Ariſtotle* aboue all other, that made *Alexander* take delight to ſtudy phiſick. For *Alexander* did not only like the knowledge of ſpeculation, but would exerciſe practiſe alſo, & help his frends when they were ſicke: & made beſides certaine remedies, & rules to liue by: as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his owne nature he was much geuẽ to his booke, & deſired to read much. He learned alſo the Iliades of *Homer*, of *Ariſtotles* correction, which they call τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πάρθηκος the corrected, as hauing paſſed vnder the rule: & laid it euery night vnder his beds head with his dagger, calling it (as *Oneſicrates* writeth) the inſtitution of martiall diſcipline. And when he was in the high contries of ASIA, where he coulde not readily come by other bookes, he wrote vnto *Harpalus* to ſend them to him. *Harpalus* ſent him the hiſtories of *Philiſtus*, with diuers tragedies of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *AEſchylus*: and certaine hymnes of *Teleſtus* and *Philoxenus*. *Alexander* did reuerence *Ariſtotle* at the firſt, as his father, and ſo he

Alexander the great practiſed phiſicke.

Some thinke that this place ſhould be meant of the riche coffer, that was found among king Darius iuells, in the which Alexander would haue all Homers works kept.

F tearmed him: bicauſe from his natural father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to liue.

But afterwardes he ſuſpected him ſomewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he ſo frendly to him as he had bene: whereby men perceiued that he did not beare him the good will he was wont to doe. This notwithſtanding, he left not that zeale and deſire he had to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which he had learned from his youth, and ſtill continued with him. For he ſhewed diuers teſtimonies thereof. As, the honor he did vnto *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher. The fiftie talentes which he ſent vnto *Xenocrates*, *Dandamis*, and *Calanus*: of whome he made great account. When king *Philip* made warre with the BIZANTINES, *Alexander* being but ſixteene yeare olde, was left his Lieutenaunt in MACEDON, with the cuſtodie and charge of his great ſeale: at what time he alſo ſubdued the MEDARIANS which had rebelled againſt him, and hauing wonne their citie by aſſault, he draue out the barbarous people, and made a Colonie of it of ſundrie nations, and called it ALEXANDROPOLIS, to ſay, the citie of *Alexander*. He was with his father at the battell of CHÆRONEA againſt the GRÆCIANS, where it was reported, that it was he that gaue charge firſt of all apon the holie bande of the THEBANS. Furthermore, there was an old oke ſeene in my time, which the contry men commonly call *Alexanders* oke, bicauſe his tent or pauillion was faſtned to it: and not farre from thence is the charnell houſe, where thoſe MACEDONIANS were buried that were ſlaine at the battell. For theſe cauſes, his father *Philip* loued him very deerely, and was glad to heare the MACEDONIANS call *Alexander* king, & him ſelfe their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his court afterwards, by reaſon of *Philippes* new mariages and loues, bred great quarrell and ſtrife amongeſt the women: for the miſchiefe of diſſention & gealozy of women, doth ſeparate the harts of kings one from an other, whereof was chiefeſt cauſe, the ſharpenes of *Olympias*, who being a gealous woman, fretting, and of a reuenging minde, did incenſe *Alexander* againſt his father. But the chiefeſt cauſe that prouoked *Alexander*, was *Attalus* at the mariage of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* maried a maiden, falling in fancie with her when him ſelfe was paſt mariage. This was the matter: *Attalus* being vncle vnto this *Cleopatra*, fell droncke at the mariage, and hauing in his cuppes, he perſwaded the MACEDONIANS that were at the feaſt, to pray to the goddes, that they might haue a lawfull heire of *Philippe* and *Cleopatra*, to ſucceede him in the kingdome of MACEDON. *Alexander* being in a rage therewith threwe a cuppe at his head, and ſayd vnto him: why, traytor, what am I: doſt thou take me for a baſtard? *Philip* ſeeing that, roſe from the bourd, and drew out his ſword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choller and wine, he fell downe on the grounde. Then *Alexander* mocking him, loe, ſayd he, to the MACEDONIANS, here is the man that prepared to go out of EVROPE into ASIA, and ſtepping onely from one bedde to an other, ye ſee him layed alongeſt on the ground. After this great inſolency, he tooke his mother *Olympias* away with him, and carying her into his contrie of EPIRVS, he left her there, and him ſelfe afterwards went into ILLYRIA. In the meane time, *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN, a frend of king *Philippes*, and very familliar with him, came to ſee him. *Philip* when he had curteouſly welcommed him, asked him howe the GRÆCIANS did agree together. Truely, O king, quod he, it importes you much to inquier of the agreement of the GRÆCIANS, when your owne court is ſo full of quarrell & contencion. Theſe words nipped *Philip* in ſuch ſorte, & cauſed him to know his fault, that through *Demaratus* meanes, whom he ſent to perſwade *Alexander* to returne, *Alexander* was made to come backe againe. Now whē *Pexodorus*, a Prince of CARIA (deſiring for neceſſities ſake, to enter in league and frendſhip with *Philip*) offred his eldeſt daughter in mariage vnto *Arideus* king *Philips* ſonne, & had ſent *Ariſtocritus* Ambaſſador into MACEDON for that purpoſe: the frends of *Alexander* & his mother, began againe to inueigle him with new reports and ſuſpicions, how *Philip* by this great mariage would aduaunce *Arideus* to his vtter vndoing, and leaue him his heire in the kingdom. *Alexander* being nettled therwith ſent one *Theſſalus* a plaier of tragedies into CARIA to *Pexodorus*: to perſwade him to leaue *Arideus*, that was a baſtard & a foole, & rather to make alliāce with *Alexander*. This offer pleaſed *Pexodorus* far better, to haue *Alexander* his ſonne in law, than *Arideus*. *Philip* vnderſtanding this, went himſelf into *Alexanders* chāber, taking *Philotas* with him (the ſonne of *Parmenio*) one of his familliars, & bitterly tooke vp *Alexander*, telling him that he had a baſe mind, & was vnworthy to be left his heire after his death, if he would caſt himſelfe away, marying the daughter of a CARIAN, that was a ſlaue & ſubiect of

Alexanders firſt ſouldierſhip.

The city of Alexandropolis.

The quarrells of Philip with Olympias and Alexander.

Alexander mocketh Philip his father.

Arideus king Philippes baſtard, begotten of a common ſtrumpes, Philina.

of a barbarous king. Therupō he wrote letters vnto CORINTH, that they ſhould ſend *Theſſalus* boūd vnto him. And furthermore, he baniſhed out of MACEDON, *Harpalus*, *Nearchus*, *Phrygius*, & *Ptolomy*, his ſonnes companions: whom *Alexander* afterwards called home againe, & placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, *Pauſanias* ſuſteining villany by the counſell and commaundement of *Attalus* & *Cleopatra*, craued Iuſtice of *Philip*, and finding no amends: he conuerted all his anger againſt him, and for ſpight ſlue him him ſelfe. Of this murther, moſt men accuſed Quene *Olympias*, who (as it is reported) allured this young man, hauing iuſt cauſe of anger, to kill him. And *Alexander* alſo went not cleare from ſuſpition of this murther. For ſome ſay, that *Pauſanias* after this villanie was done him, complained vnto *Alexander*, and told him how he had bene abuſed: who recited theſe verſes to him of *Euripides*, in the tragedie of *Medea*, where ſhe ſaid in anger, that ſhe would be reuenged:

Philip king of Macedon, ſlaine by Pauſanias.

Both of the bridegroome and the bride,
And of the father in lawe.

Notwithſtanding, afterwardes he cauſed diligent ſearche to be made, and all them to be ſeuerely puniſhed that were of the conſpiracie: and was angrie alſo that his mother *Olympias* had cruelly ſlaine *Cleopatra*. So he came to be king of MACEDON at twenty yeares of age, and found his realme greatly enuyed & hated of daungerous enemies, and euery way full of daunger. For, the barbarous nations that were neere neighbours vnto MACEDON, could not abide the bondage of ſtraungers, but deſired to haue their naturall kinges. Neither had *Philip* time enough to bridle and pacifie GRÆCE, which he had conquered by force of armes: but hauing a litle altered the gouernmentes, had through his inſolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell, for that they had not long bene aquainted to obey. Thereupon *Alexanders* counſell of MACEDON, being affraid of the troubleſome time, were of opinion, that *Alexāder* ſhould vtterly forſake the affaires of GRÆCE, and not to follow them with extremitie, but that he ſhould ſeeke to winne the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled againſt him, and wiſely to remedy theſe new ſturres. But he farre otherwiſe determined to ſtabliſh his ſafety by corage and magnanimitie: perſwading him ſelfe, that if they ſaw him ſtowpe and yeeld at the beginning, how litle ſo euer it were, euery one would be apon him. Thereupon, he ſtraight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, inuading them ſodainely with his armie, by the riuer of DANVBY, where in a great battell he ouerthrew *Syrmus*, king of the TRIBALLIANS. Furthermore, hauing intelligence that the THEBANS were reuolted, and that the ATHENIANS alſo were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his armie towardes the ſtreight of *Thermopiles*, ſaying that he would make *Demoſthenes* the Orator ſee (who in his oratiōs, whileſt he was in ILLYRIA, & in the contry of the TRIBALLIANS, called him child) that he was growen a ſtripling paſſing through THESSALY, & ſhould finde him a man before the walles of ATHENS. When he came with his armie vnto the gates of THEBES, he was willing to geue them of the citie occaſion to repent them: and therefore onely demaunded *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trompet, pardon and ſafetie vnto all them that would yeld vnto him. The THEBANS on thother ſide, demaunded of him *Philotas*, & *Antipater*, two of his chiefeſt ſeruauntes, & made the crier proclaime in the citie, that all ſuch as would defend the libertie of GRÆCE, ſhould ioyne with them. Then did *Alexander* leaue the MACEDONIANS at libertie to make warre with all crueltie. Then the THEBANS fought with greater corage and deſire then they were able, conſidering that their enemies were many againſt one. And on thother ſide alſo, when the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS which were within the caſtell of CADMIA, made a ſalie vpon them, and gaue them charge in the rereward: then they being enuironned of all ſides, were ſlaine in maner euery one of them, their citie taken, deſtroyed, & raſed euen to the hard ground. This he did, ſpecially to make all the reſt of the people of GRÆCE afraid by example of this great calamitie and miſerie of the THEBANS, to thend none of them ſhould dare from thenceforth once to riſe againſt him. He would cloke this crueltie of his vnder the complaintes of his confederates, the PHOCIANS and PLATEIANS: who complaining to him of the iniuries the THEBANS had offred, could not denie them iuſtice. Notwithſtāding, excepting the prieſts, and the religious, and all ſuch as were frendes vnto any of the Lords of MACEDON,

The beginning of Alexanders raigne.

Alexander ouercame Syrmus king of the Triballians.

Thebes won and raſed by Alexander.

all the frendes and hinſmen of the poet *Pindarus*, and all thoſe that had diſſwaded them which were the rebells: he ſold all the reſt of the citie of THEBES for ſlaues, which amounted to the nomber of thirtie thowſand perſones, beſides them that were ſlaine at the battell, which were ſix thowſand moe. Now amongeſt the other miſeries & calamities of the poore citie of THEBES, there were certaine THRACIAN ſouldiers, who hauing ſpoyled and defaced the houſe of *Timoclea*, a vertuous ladie and of noble parentage, they deuided her goods among them: and their captaine hauing rauiſhed her by force, asked her, whether ſhe had any where hidden any gold or ſiluer. The ladie told him, ſhe had. Then leading him into her garden, ſhe brought him vnto a well: where ſhe ſaid ſhe had caſt all her iuells and precious things, when ſhe heard the citie was taken. The barbarous THRACIAN ſtouped to looke into the well: ſhe ſtanding behind him, thruſt him in, and then threw ſtones enow on him, and ſo killed him. The ſouldiers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, and ſo caried her vnto *Alexander*. When *Alexander* ſaw her countenance, & marked her gate: he ſuppoſed her at the firſt to be ſome great lady, ſhe followed the ſouldiers with ſuch a maieſtie & boldnes. *Alexãder* thẽ asking her what ſhe was: She aunſwered, that ſhe was the ſiſter of *Theagenes*, who fought a battell with king *Philip* before the citie of CHÆRONEA, where being generall he was ſlaine, valiantly fighting for the defenſe of the libertie of GRÆCE. *Alexander* wondering at her noble aunſwere and couragious deede, cõmaunded no man ſhoud touche her nor her children, & ſo freely let her goe whether ſhe would. He made league alſo with the ATHENIANS, though they were very ſory for their miſerable fortune. For the day of the ſolemne feaſt of their miſteries being come, they left it of, mourning for the THEBANS: courteouſly enterteining all thoſe, that flying from THEBES came to them for ſuccour. But whether it was for that his anger was paſt him, following therein the nature of lyons: or bycauſe that after ſo great an example of crueltie, he would ſhew a ſinguler clemency againe: he did not only pardon the ATHENIANS of all faults committed, but did alſo counſell them to looke wiſely to their doings, for their citie one daie ſhould commaund all GRÆCE, if he chaunced to die. Men report, that certenly he oftentimes repented him that he had delt ſo cruelly with the THEBANS, and the griefe he tooke apon it was cauſe that he afterwardes ſhewed him ſelfe more mercifull vnto diuers others. Afterwardes alſo he did blame the furie of *Bacchus*, who to be reuenged of him, made him kill *Clitus* at the table being droncke, and the MACEDONIANS alſo to refuſe him to goe any further to conquer the INDIANS, which was an imperfection of his enterpriſe, and a miniſhing alſo of his honor. Beſides, there was neuer THEBAN afterwardes, that had eſcaped the furie of his victorie, and did make any peticion to him, but he had his ſute. Thus was the ſtate of THEBES as you haue heard. Then the GRÆCIANS hauing aſſembled a generall counſell of all the ſtates of GRÆCE within the ſtraights of *Peloponneſus*: there it was determined that they would make warre with the PERSIANS. Whereupon they choſe *Alexander* generall for all GRÆCE. Then diuers men comming to viſite *Alexander*, aſwell philoſophers, as gouernors of ſtates, to congratulate with him for his electiõ, he looked that *Diogenes Sinopian* (who dwelt at CORINTH) would likewiſe come as the reſt had done: but when he ſaw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept ſtill in the ſuburbes of CORINTHE, at a place called CRANIVM, he went him ſelfe vnto him, and found him layed all a long in the ſunne. When *Diogenes* ſaw ſo many comming towardes him, he ſate vp a litle, and looked full apon *Alexander*. *Alexander* courteouſly ſpake vnto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thinge. Yea ſaid he, that I do: that thou ſtand out of my ſunne a litle. *Alexander* was ſo well pleaſed with this aunſwere, and maruelled ſo much at the great boldnes of this man, to ſe how ſmall account he made of him: that when he went his way from him, *Alexanders* familliers laughing at *Diogenes*, & mocking him, he told them: maſters ſay what you lyſt, truely if I were not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*. *Alexander* being deſirous to heare what the oracle of *Apollo* DELPHIAN would ſay vnto him touching the ſucceſſe of his iorney into ASIA: he went vnto the citie of DELPHES. It chaunced ſo, that he came thither in the dayes which they call vnfortunate, on which dayes no man vſed to aske *Apollo* any thing. This notwithſtanding, he ſent firſt vnto the Nunne which pronounced the oracles, to pray her to come to him. But ſhe refuſed to come, alleaging the cuſtome which forbad her to goe. Thereupon, *Alexander* went thither him ſelfe in perſon, and brought her out by force into

A noble acte of Timoclea, a noble woma of Thebes.

Alexander choſen generall of all Græce.

Alexanders talke with Diogenes.

A into the temple. She seeing then that he would not be denyed, but would needs haue his will: told him, My sonne, for that I see, thou art inuincible. *Alexander* hearing that, saied he desired no other oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwardes when he was euen ready to go on with his voyage, he had diuers signes and tokens from the gods: and amongest other, an image of the Poet *Orpheus* made of cyprus, in the citie of LEBETHRES, in those dayes did sweate maruelously. Many men fearing that signe, *Aristander* the soothsayer bad *Alexander* be of good cheere, and hope well, for he should obtaine noble victories that should neuer be forgotten, the which should make the Poets and musicians sweate to write and singe them. Then, for his armie which he led with him, they that doe set downe the least nomber, say that they were thirtie thowsand footemen, and fiue thowsand horsemen: and they that say more, B doe write, foure & thirtie thowsand footemen, and foure thowsand horsemen. *Aristobulus* writeth, that *Alexander* had no more but three score and tenne talents to paie his souldiers with: and *Duris* writeth, that he had no more prouision of vittells, then for thirtie dayes onely. And *Onesicritus* sayeth moreouer, that he did owe two hundred talents. Now, notwithstanding that he beganne this warre with so small ability to mainteine it, he would neuer take shippe before he vnderstood the state of his frendes, to know what abilitie they had to goe with him, and before he had geuen vnto some, landes, and vnto other, a towne, and to others againe, the custome of some hauen. Thus by his bountie hauing in maner spent almost the reuenues of the crowne of MACEDON, *Perdiccas* asked him: my Lord, what will you kepe for your selfe? hope, sayd he. Then, q. *Perdiccas* againe, we will also haue some parte, since we goe with you: and C so refused the reuenue which the king had geuen him for his pencion. Many others did also the like. But such as were contented to take his liberalitie, or would aske him any thing, he gaue them very franckly, and in such liberallitie spent all the reuenue he had. With this desier & determination, he went on to the straight of HELLESPONT, & going to the citie of ILIVM, he did sacrifice vnto *Diana*, and made funerall effusions vnto the demy goddes (to wit, vnto the princes which died in the warre of TROIA, whose bodies where buried there) and specially vnto *Achilles*, whose graue he annointed with oyle, and ranne naked round about it with his familliers, according to the auncient custome of funeralls. Then he couered it with nosegayes and flowers, saying, that *Achilles* was happy, who while he liued had a faithfull frend, and after his death an excellent herauld to singe his praise. When he had done, & went vp and downe D the citie to see all the monumentes and notable thinges there: one asked him, if he would see *Paris* harpe. He aunswered againe, he would very faine see *Achilles* harpe, who played & sunge apon it all the famous actes done by valliant men in former times. In the meane time, *Darius* king of PERSIA, hauing leauied a great armie, sent his captaines and leuetenants to tary *Alexander* at the riuer of GRANICVS. There was *Alexander* to fight of necessitie, being the onely barre to stoppe his entrie into ASIA. Moreouer, the captaines of his counsell about him, were afraid of the depth of this riuer, and of the height of the bancke on the other side, which was verie hie and steepe, & could not be wonne without fighting. And some said also, that he should haue speciall care of the auncient regard of the moneth: bycause the kings of MACEDON did neuer vse to put their armie into the field in the moneth of Dason, which is Iune. For that, E said *Alexander*, we will remedy soone: let them call it the second moneth, Artemisium, which is Maye. Furthermore *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he should not medle the first day, bycause it was very late. *Alexander* made aunswere againe, that HELLESPONT would blush for shame, if he were now affraid to passe ouer the riuer, since he had already commen ouer an arme of the sea. Thereupon he him selfe first entred the riuer with thirteene guidons of horsemen, and marched forwardes against an infinite nomber of arrowes, which the enemies shot at him, as he was comming vp the other bancke, which was very highe and steepe, and worst of all, full of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which stayed to receiue him in bartell raye, thrusting his men downe into the riuer, which was very deepe, and ranne so swifte, that it almost caried them downe the streame: insomuch that men thought him more rash than wise, to F leade his men with such daunger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent that he would needes ouer, & in thend with great a doe recouered the other side, specially bycause the earth shidde away, by reason of the mudde. So when he was ouer, he was driuen to fight pel mel one

VVonderfull signes appearing vnto Alexander before his iourney into Asia.

Alexanders armie into Asia.

The liberalitie of Alexander.

Alexanders saying of Achilles.

Battell betwixt Alexander and Darius at the riuer of Granicus.

vpon an other, bycauſe his enemies did ſet vpon the firſt that were paſſed ouer, before they could put them ſelues into battell raye, with great cryes, keeping their horſes very cloſe together, and fought firſt with their dartes, and afterwardes came to the ſworde when their dartes were broken. Then many of them ſet vpon him alone, for he was eaſely to be knowen aboue the reſt by his ſhield & the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hong from thone ſide to thother, a maruelous faier white plume. *Alexander* had a blow with a dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon *Roeſaces* & *Spithridates*, both two chiefe captaines of the PERSIANS, ſetting apon *Alexander* at once, he left the one, and riding ſtraight to *Roeſaces*, who was excellently armed, he gaue him ſuch a blow with his launce, that he brake it in his hand, and ſtraight drew out his ſword. But ſo ſoone as they two had cloſed together, *Spithridates* comming at toe ſide of him, raiſed him ſelfe vpon his ſtirroppes and gaue *Alexander* with all his might ſuch a blow of his head with a battell axe, that he cut the creaſt of his helmet, and one of the ſides of his plume, and made ſuch a gaſh, that the edge of his battell axe touched the very heare of his head. And as he was lifting vp his hand to ſtrike *Alexander* againe, great *Clitus* preuenting him, thruſt him through with a partiſan, and at the very ſame inſtant, *Roeſaces* alſo fell dead from his horſe with a wound which *Alexander* gaue him with his ſword. Now whileſt the horſemen fought with ſuch furie, the ſquadron of the battell of footemen of the MACEDONIANS had paſſed the riuer, and both the battells beganne to march one againſt the other. The PERSIANS ſtucke not manfully to it any long time, but ſtraight turned their backes and fled, ſauing the GRÆCIANS which tooke paie of king *Darius*: they drew together vpon a hill, and craued mercy of *Alexander*. But *Alexander* ſetting vpon them, more of will then diſcretion, had his horſe killed vnder him, being thruſt through the flancke with a ſword. This was not Bucephal, but an other horſe he had. All his men that were ſlaine or hurt at this battell, were hurte amongeſt them valliantly fighting againſt deſperate men. It is reported that there were ſlaine at this firſt battell, twenty thowſand footemen of theſe barbarous people, & two thowſand fiue hundred horſemen. Of *Alexanders* ſide, *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that there were ſlaine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelue of them were footemen. *Alexander* to honor their valliantnes, cauſed euery one of their images to be made in braſſe by *Lyſippus*. And bycauſe he would make the GRÆCIANS partakers of this victorie, he ſent vnto the ATHENIANS three hundred of their targettes, which he had wonne at the battell, and generally vpon all the other ſpoiles, he put this honorable inſcription. *Alexander the ſonne of Philip, and the Græcians, excepting the Lacedæmonians, haue vvonne this ſpoile apon the barbarous Aſians.* As for plate of gold or ſiluer, alſo purple ſilkes, or other ſuch precious ware which he gat among the PERSIANS: he ſent them all vnto his mother, a few except. This firſt victorie of *Alexander*, brought ſuch a ſodaine chaunge amongeſt the barbarous people in *Alexanders* behalfe, that the citie ſelfe of SARDIS, the chiefe citie of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the leaſt through all the lowe contries and coaſtes apon the ſea, they yeelded ſtraight vnto him, ſauing the cities of HALICARNASSVS and MILETVM, which did ſtill reſiſt him: howbeit at length he tooke thē by force. When he had alſo conquered all thereabouts, he ſtood in dout afterwards what he were beſt to determine. Sometime he had a maruelous deſire, whotly to follow *Darius* whereſoeuer he were, and to venter all at a battell. An other time againe, he thought it better firſt to occupy himſelfe in conquering of theſe low contries, & to make him ſelfe ſtrong with the money and riches he ſhould finde among them, that he might afterwardes be the better able to follow him. In the contrie of LYDIA neere vnto the citie XANTHVM, they ſay there is a ſpringe that brake of it ſelfe, and ouerflowing the banckes about it, caſt out a litle table of copper from the bottome, vpon the which were graued certen carectes in olde letters, which ſaid: that the kingdome of the PERSIANS ſhould be diſtroyed by the GRÆCIANS. This did further ſo encorage *Alexander*, that he made haſt to cleere all the ſea coaſt, euen as farre as CILICIA and PHOENICIA. But the wonderfull good ſucceſſe he had, runninge alongeſt all the coaſt of PAMPHILIA, gaue diuers hiſtoriographers occaſion to ſet forth his doinges with admiration, ſaying that it was one of the wonders of the worlde, that the furie of the ſea, which vnto all other was extreame roughe, and many times would ſwell ouer the toppes of the highe rockes vpon the cliffes, fell calme vnto him. And it appeareth that *Menander*

Clitus ſaued Alexander.

Alexanders victory of the Perſians at Granicus.

A *nander* him ſelfe in a comedie of his doth witneſſe this wonderfull happynes of *Alexander*, when merily he ſayeth:

O great Alexander, hovv great is thy ſtate?
For thou vvith thy ſelfe mayſt thus iuſtly debate.
If any man lyuing I liſt for too call,
He commeth and humbly before me doth fall.
And if through the ſourges my iorney doe lye,
The vvaues giue me vvay, and the Sea becomes drye.

Yet *Alexander* him ſelfe ſimply writeth in his epiſtles (without any great wonder) that by ſea he paſſed a place called the ladder, and that to paſſe there, he tooke ſhippe in the citie of B PHASELIDES. There he remained many dayes, and when he ſaw the image of *Theodectes* PHASELITAN, ſtanding in the market place: he went in a daunce thither one euening after ſupper, and caſt flowers and garlandes apon his image, honoring the memorie of the dead, though it ſeemed but in ſporte, for that he was his companion when he lyued, by meanes of *Ariſtotle* and his philoſophie. After that he ouercame alſo the PISIDIANS, who thought to haue reſiſted him, and conquered all PHRYGIA beſides. There in the citie of GORDIVS, which is ſaid to be the auncient ſeate of king *Midas*: he ſaw the charret that is ſo much ſpoke of, which is bound with the barcke of a cornell tree, and it was told him for a trothe, of the barbarous people, that they beleued it as a prophecy: that whoſoeuer could vndoe the bande of that barcke, was certenly ordeyned to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that *Alexander* prouing C to vndoe that bande, and finding no endes to vndoe it by, they were ſo many folde wreathed one within the other: he drew out his ſword, and cut the knot in the middeſt, So that then many endes appeared. But *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that he had quickly vndone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and body of the charret and ſo ſeuered them a ſoonder. Departing thence, he conquered the PAPHLAGONIANS & CAPPADOCIANS, and vnderſtood of the death of *Memnon*, that was *Darius* generall of his army by Sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withſtand *Alexander*: whereupon he was the bolder to goe on with his determination to leade his army into the highe contries of ASIA. Then did king *Darius* him ſelfe come againſt *Alexander*, hauing leauied a great power at SVSA, of ſix hundred thowſand fighting men, truſting to that multitude, and alſo to a dreame, the which D his wiſards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. *Darius* dreamed that he ſaw all the armie of the MACEDONIANS on a fire, and *Alexander* ſeruing of him in the ſelfe ſame attier that he him ſelfe wore when he was one of the chamber vnto the late king his predeceſſor: and that when he came into the temple of *Belus*, he ſodainely vaniſhed from him. By this dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods did ſignifie vnto him, that the MACEDONIANS ſhould haue noble ſucceſſe in their doinges, & that *Alexander* ſhould conquer all ASIA, euen as king *Darius* had done, when he was but Aſgandes vnto the king: and that ſhortly after, he ſhould end his life with great honor. This furthermore made him bolde alſo, when he ſaw that *Alexander* remained a good while in CILICIA, ſuppoſing it had bene for that he was afraid of him. Howbeit it was by reaſon of a ſicknes he had, the which ſome ſay he got, by ex- E treame paines and trauell, & others alſo, bycauſe he waſhed him ſelfe in the riuer of Cydnus, which was cold as Iſe. Howſoeuer it came, there was none of the other phiſitians that durſt vndertake to cure him, thinking his diſeaſe vncurable, and no medicines to preuaile that they could giue him, and fearing alſo that the MACEDONIANS would laie it to their charge, if *Alexander* miſcaried. But *Philip* ACARNANIAN, conſidering his maſter was very ill, and bearing him ſelfe of his loue and good will towardes him, thought he ſhoulde not doe that became him, if he did not proue (ſeeing him in extremitie and daunger of life) the vtmoſt remedies of phiſicke, what daunger ſo euer he put him ſelfe into: and therefore tooke apon him to miniſter phiſicke vnto *Alexander*, and perſwaded him to drincke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, & goe to the warres. In the meane time, *Parmenio* wrote him a letter from the campe, F aduertiſing him, that he ſhould beware of *Philip* his phiſitian, for he was bribed and corrupted by *Darius*, with large promiſes of great riches, that he would geue him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his maſter. *Alexander* when he had redde this letter, layed it vnder his beddes

The memorie of Theodectes honored by Alexander.

The citie of Gordius in Phrygia where king Midas kept.

Darius armie and dreame.

Alexanders ſickneſſe in Cilicia. Cydnus fl.

The wonderfull truſt of Alexander in his phiſitian.

head, and made none of his neereſt familliers acquainted therewith. When the hower came A
that he ſhould take his medicine, *Philip* came into his chamber with other of the kings familliers, & brought a cup in his hand with the pocion he ſhould drinke. *Alexander* then gaue him the letter, & withall, cheerefully tooke the cup of him, ſhewing no maner of feare or miſtruſt of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the ſight, how one reading the letter, and thother drinking the medicine both at one inſtant, they looked one apon another, howbeit not both with like cheerefull countenaunce. For *Alexander* looked merily apon him, plainly ſhewing the truſt he had in his phiſitian *Philip*, and how much he loued him: and the phiſitian alſo beheld *Alexander*, like a man perplexed & amazed, to be ſo falſly accuſed, & ſtraight liſt vp his handes to heauen, calling the goddes to witneſſe that he was innocent, and then came to *Alexanders* bed ſide, and prayed him to be of good cheere, and boldly to doe as he B
would aduiſe him. The medicine beginning to worke, ouercame the diſeaſe, and draue for the time, to the loweſt partes of his body, all his naturall ſtrength and powers: in ſomuch as his ſpeach failed him, and he fell into ſuch a weaknes, and almoſt ſooning, that his pulſe did ſcant beate, and his ſences were welneere taken from him. But that being paſt, *Philip* in few dayes recouered him againe. Now, when *Alexander* had gotten ſome ſtrength, he ſhewed him ſelfe openly vnto the MACEDONIANS: for they would not be pacified, nor perſwaded of his health, vntill they had ſeene him. In king *Darius* campe, there was one *Amyntas* a MACEDONIAN, & baniſht out of his contrie, who knew *Alexanders* diſpoſition very well. He finding that *Darius*

Darius contemneth Amyntas profitable counſell.

ment to meete with *Alexander* within the ſtraightes and vallies of the mountaines: beſought him to tarie rather where he was, being a plaine open contrie round about him, conſidering C
that he had a great hoſte of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was moſt for his aduantage to meete with him in the open field. *Darius* aunſwered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. *Amyntas* replied, for that, O king, I praie you feare not: for I warrant you apon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way comming towards you. All theſe perſwaſions of *Amyntas* could not turne *Darius* from making his campe to marche towardes CILICIA. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo, *Alexander* went towardes SYRIA to meete with him. But it chaunced one night, that the one of them miſſed of the other, and when day was come, they both retorned backe againe: *Alexander* being glad of this happe, & making haſt to meete with his enemy within the ſtraights, *Darius* alſo ſeeking to winne *Alexanders* lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army D
out of the ſtraites: beganne then to find the fault & error committed, for that he had ſhut him ſelfe vp in the ſtraights, (holden in on the one ſide with the mountaine, and on the other with the Sea, and the riuer of Pindarus that ranne betwene both) and that he was driuen to diſperſe his armie into diuers companies, in a ſtonie and ill fauored contrie, ill for horſemen to trauell, being on the contrarie ſide a great aduantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footemen, and but few in nomber. But now, as fortune gaue *Alexander* the field as he would wiſhe it to fight for his aduantage: ſo could he tell excellently well how to ſet his men in bat-

Battell betwext Alexander and Darius in Cilicia.

tell raye to winne the victorie. For albeit that *Alexander* had the leſſe nomber by many then his enemie, yet he had ſuch policy and caſt with him, that he foreſaw all, and would not be en-
uironned: For he did put out the right winge of his battell a great deale further, then he did E
his left winge, and fighting him ſelfe in the left winge in the foremoſt ranckes, he made all the barbarous people flie that ſtood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thighe with a blow of a ſword. *Chares* writeth, that *Darius* ſelfe did hurte him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithſtanding *Alexander* ſelfe writing of this battell vnto *Antipater* ſayeth, that in deede he was hurte on the thighe with a ſword, howbeit it did put him in no daunger: but he

Alexanders victory of Darius in Cilicia.

writeth not that *Darius* did hurte him. Thus hauing wonne a famous victory, and ſlaine aboue a hundred and tenne thowſand of his enemies, he could not yet take *Darius*, bycauſe he fled, hauing ſtill foure or fiue forlonges vantage before him: howbeit he tooke his charriot of battell wherein he fought, and his bow alſo. Then he retorned from the chaſe, & found the MACEDONIANS ſacking & ſpoiling all the reſt of the campe of the barbarous people, where there F
was infinite riches (although they had left the moſt parte of their cariage behind them in the citie of DAMAS, to come lighter to the battell) but yet reſerued for him ſelfe all king *Darius*

tent,

A tent, which was full of a great nomber of officers, of riche moueables, and of gold and siluer. So, when he was come to the campe, putting of his armor, he entred into the bathe and sayed: come on, lette vs goe and washe of the sweate of the battell in *Darius* owne bathe. Naye, replyed one of his familliers againe, in *Alexanders* bathe: for the goodes of the vanquished are rightly the vanquishers. When he came into the bathe, and sawe the basons and yewers, the boxes, and vyolles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed passing sweetely, that it was like a parradise: then going out of his bathe, and comming into his tent, seeing it so stately and large, his bedde, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous sort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him vnto his familliers and said: this was a king in deede, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to goe to his supper, B word was brought him, that they were bringing vnto him amongest other Ladies taken prisoners, king *Darius* mother and his wife, and two of his daughters vnmaried: who hauing seene his chariot and bowe, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of them selues thinking *Darius* had bene slaine. *Alexander* pawsed a good while and gaue no aunswere, pitying more their misfortune, then reioycing at his owne goodhappe. Then he presently sent one *Leonatus* vnto them, to let them vnderstand, that *Darius* was a liue, and that they should not neede to be afraid of *Alexãder*, for he did not fight with *Darius*, but for his kingdome only: and as for them, that they should haue at his handes all that they had of *Darius* before, when he had his whole kingdome in his handes. As these wordes pleased the captiue Ladies, so the deedes that followed, made them finde his clemencie to be no lesse. For first he suffred them C to burie as many of the PERSIAN Lordes as they would, euen of them that had bene slaine in the battell, and to take as much silkes of the spoiles, iuells, and ornamentes, as they thought good to honor their funeralles with: & also did lessen no parte of their honor, nor of the nomber of their officers and seruauntes, nor of any iotte of their estate which they had before, but did allowe them also greater pencions, then they had before. But aboue all, the princelyest grace, and most noble fauor that *Alexander* shewed vnto these captiue princesses, which had alwayes liued in honorable fame and chastitie, was this: That they neuer heard wonde, or so much as any suspition that should make them afrayed to be dishonored or deflowred: but were priuately among them selues vnuisited or repayred vnto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had bene in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had bene kept in some close D monasterie: although *Darius* wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as *Darius* also was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. *Alexander* thinking it more princely for a kinge, as I suppose to conquer him selfe, then to ouercome his enemies: did neither touche them nor any other, maide or wife, before he maried them, *Barsine* onely excepted, who being left *Memnons* widow (generall of kinge *Darius* by sea) was taken by the citie of DAMAS. She being excellently well learned in the Greeke tongue, and of good enterteinment (being the daughter of *Artabazus*, who came of a kinges daughter) *Alexander* was bolde with her by *Parmenioes* procurement, (as *Aristobulus* writeth) who intised him to embrace the companie of so excellent a woman, and passing faire besides. Furthermore, beholding the other PERSIAN Ladies besides which were E prisoners, what goodly faire women they were: he spake it pleasauntly, that the Ladies of PERSIA made mens eyes sore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beautie of his continencie, before their sweete faire faces: he passed by without any sparke of affection towardes them, more then if they had bene images of stone without life. To confirme this, *Philoxenus* whom he had left his lieutenaunt in the lowe contries apon the sea coast, wrote vnto him on a time, that one *Theodorus* a marchaunt of TARENTVM, had to sell two goodly young boies, maruelous faire: and therefore that he sent vnto him to knowe his pleasure, if he would bye them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he cried out alowde: O, my frendes, what villany hath euer *Philoxenus* seene in me, that he should deuise (hauing nothing to doe there) to purchace me such infamie? whereuppon he wrote vnto him from F the campe, with reprochfull wordes, that he should send that vile TARENTIN marchaunt *Theodorus* and his marchaundise to the Deuill. He sharpely punished also one *Agnon*, that wrote vnto him he would bye a young boye called *Crobylus* (who for beautie bare the onely

Darius mother, wife, and two daughters, taken by Alexander.

The clemency of Alexander vnto the captiue Ladies.

The chastitie of Alexander.

Alexanders pleasant speech of womens beautie.

name in CORINTHE,) and bring him to him. An other time alſo, when he heard that *Damon* A
and *Timotheus* MACEDONIANS, vnder *Parmenioes* charge, had deflowred two of the ſouldiers
wiues that were ſtraungers, and waged of him: he wrote vnto *Parmenio* to looke vnto it, and
to examine the matter. And if he found them giltie of the rape, that then he ſhould put them
both to death, as brute beaſtes borne to deſtroie mankinde. And in that letter he wrote thus
of him ſelfe. For my ſelfe, ſaid he, I haue neither ſeene, nor deſired to ſee *Darius* wife: neither
haue I ſuffred any ſpeach of her beawtie before me. Moreouer he ſaied, that he did vnder-
ſtand that he was mortall by theſe two thinges: to wit, ſleepe, and luſt: for, from the weake-
nes of our nature proceedeth ſleepe and ſenſualitie. He was alſo no greedy gutte, but tem-
Alexander temperate in eating: perate in eating, as he ſhewed by many prooſes: but chiefly in that he ſaide vnto the prin-
ceſſe *Ada*, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queene of CARIA. For when B
(for the loue ſhe bare him) ſhe daily ſent him ſundrie delicate diſhes of meate, tartes, and
marchpaines, and beſides the meate it ſelfe, the paſtlers and cookes to make them, which
were excellent workemen: he aunſwered that he could not tell what to doe with them, for
How Leonidas brought vp Alexander. he had better cookes than thoſe appointed him by his gouernour *Leonidas*, to witte: for his
diner, to riſe before daye, and to marche by night: and for his ſupper, to eate litle at diner.
And my gouernour, ſaid he, would oftentimes open the cheſtes where my bedding and
apparell lay, to ſee if my mother had put any fine knackes or conceites among them. Fur-
thermore, he was leſſe geuen to wine, then men would haue iudged. For he was thought
to be a greater bibber than he was, bycauſe he ſate longe at the bourde, rather to talke then
drinke. For euer when he dranke, he would propound ſome tedious matter, and yet but when C
he was at leyſure. For hauing matters to doe, there was neither feaſte, bancket, plaie, ma-
riage, nor any paſtime that could ſtaie him: as they had done other captaines. The which
appeareth plainely by the ſhortenes of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deedes he
Alexanders life when he was at leiſure. did, in that litle time he liued. When he had leyſure, after he was vp in the morning, firſt
of all he would doe ſacrifice to the goddes, and then would goe to diner, paſſing awaie all
the reſt of the daye, in hunting, writing ſome thinge, taking vp ſome quarell betwene ſoul-
diers, or els in ſtudying. If he went any iourney of no haſtie buſines, he would exerciſe him
ſelfe by the waie as he went, ſhooting in his bowe, or learning to get vp or out of his charret
ſodenly, as it ranne. Oftentimes alſo for his paſtime he would hunte the foxe, or ketche
birdes, as appeareth in his booke of remembraunces for euerie daie. Then when he came to D
his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and nointe him ſelfe: and would aske his
pantelers and caruers if his ſupper were ready. He would euer ſuppe late, and was very cu-
rious to ſee, that euery man at his bourde were a like ſerued, and would ſit longe at the ta-
Alexander a pleaſant prince as any could be. ble, bycauſe he euer loued to talke, as we haue told you before. Otherwiſe he was as noble a
prince and gracious to waite apon, and as pleaſaunt, as any king that euer was. For he lacked
no grace nor comelines to adorne a prince, ſauing that he would be ſomething ouer buſie in
glorying in his owne deedes, much like vnto a bragging ſouldier: neither was he contented
him ſelfe to pleaſe his owne humour that waie, but would alſo ſuffer his familliers to ſoothe
him euen to his teeth. And this was many times the deſtruction of honeſt men about him,
the which would neither praiſe him in his preſence, hating the flatterers, not yet durſt ſaye E
leſſe of the praiſes which they gaue him. For of the firſt they were aſhamed, and by the ſe-
cond they fell in daunger. After ſupper, he would waſhe him ſelfe againe, and ſleepe vntill
noone the next daye following, and oftentimes all daye longe. For him ſelfe, he was no-
thing curious of dainty diſhes: for when any did ſend him rare frutes, or fiſhe, from the con-
tries neere the ſea ſide, he would ſend them abroad vnto his frendes, and ſeldom kepe any
thinge for him ſelfe. His table notwithſtanding was alwayes very honorably ſerued, and
did ſtill increace his fare, as he did enlarge his conqueſtes: till it came to the ſumme of
tenne thowſand drachmas a daye. But there he ſtayed, and would not exceede that ſumme,
and moreouer commaunded all men that would feaſt him, that they ſhould not ſpend aboue
that ſumme. After this battell of ISSVS, he ſent vnto the citie of DAMAS, to take all the F
gold and ſiluer, the cariage, and all the women and children of the PERSIANS which were left
there, where the men of armes of the THESSALIANS ſpedde them full well. For therefore
did

A did he ſend them thither, bycauſe he ſawe that they had fought valliantly at the daye of the battell: and ſo were the reſte of his armie alſo well ſtored with money. There the MACEDONIANS hauing taſted firſt of the golde, ſiluer, women, and barbarous life: as dogges by cent doe follow the tracke of beaſtes, euen ſo were they greedy to follow after the goodes of the PERSIANS. Firſt *Alexander* thought it beſt to winne all the ſea coaſte. Thether came the kinges of CYPRVS, and PHOENICIA, and deliuered vp to him the whole Iland & all PHOENICIA, ſauing onely the citie of TYRE. That citie he beſeeged ſeuen moneths together by lande, with great bulwarkes and diuers engines of batterie, and by ſea, with two hundred gallies. During this ſege, *Alexander* dreamed one night, that *Hercules* held out his hand vnto him ouer the walles of the citie, and called him by his name: and there were diuers TYRIANS B alſo that dreamed in likewiſe, that *Apollo* told them that he would goe vnto *Alexander*, bycauſe he was not pleaſed with their doinges in the citie. Thereupon they bound his image, (which was of a wonderfull bignes) with grat chaines, and nailed him downe faſt to the baſe, as if he had bene a traitour that would haue yeelded him ſelfe vnto their enemies, and called him *Alexandrine*, as much as fauoring *Alexander*. *Alexander* had there alſo an other dreame. For he dreamed that he ſawe a *Satyre* a farre of ſporting with him, and when he thought to haue commen neere to haue taken him, he ſtill eſcaped from him: vntill at the length, after he had ronne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his handes. The ſoothe-ſayers being asked what this dreame ſhould ſignifie, aunſwered probably, by deuiding *Satyros* into two, and then it is Σὰ τύρος: which ſignifieth, the citie of TYRE ſhalbe thine. And they C doe yet ſhow vnto this daie, the fountaine where *Alexander* thought he ſaw the *Satyre*. Continuing this ſeege, he went to make warre with the ARABIANS, that dwell apon the mountaine Antiliban, where he was in great daunger of being caſt away, onely bycauſe he heard his tutor *Lyſimachus* that followed him, ſaye boſtingly, that he was not inferior, nor older than the Phœnix. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horſes, and went vp a foote: and *Alexander* was of ſo courteous a nature, that he would not leaue his tutor *Lyſimachus* behind him (who was ſo wery that he could goe no further) but bycauſe it was darke night, & for that the enemies were not farre from them, he came behind to encorage his tutor, and in maner to carie him. By this meanes, vnwares, he was farre from his armie with very few men about him, and benighted beſides: moreouer it was very colde, and D the waie was very ill. At the length, perceyuing diuers fires which the enemies had made, ſome in one place, and ſome in an other, truſting to his valliantnes, hauing alwayes prouided remedie in extremitie, when the MACEDONIANS were diſtreſſed, him ſelfe euer putting to his owne hand: he ranne vnto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous people that laye by the fire ſide, he ſnatched awaye a fire brand, and ranne with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were ſo affraid, that they ranne their waye as faſt as they could. Other alſo thinking to come and ſette vppon him, he ſlue them euery man, and ſo laye there that night, him ſelfe and his men without daunger. Thus *Chares* reporteth this matter. Now for the ſeege of TYRE, that fell out thus. *Alexander* cauſed the moſt parte of his armie to take reſt, being ouerharried and E wearyed with ſo many battelles as they had fought: and ſent a few of his men onely to geue aſſault vnto the citie, to kepe the TYRIANS occupied, that they ſhould take no reſt. One daye the ſoothſayer *Ariſtander* ſacrifycing vnto the goddes, hauing conſidered of the ſignes of the intralles of the beaſtes: did aſſure them that were preſent, that the citie ſhould be taken by the later ende of the moneth. Euery bodie laughed to heare him: for that daye was the very laſt daye of the moneth. *Alexander* ſeeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to ſaie to it, ſeeking euer to bringe thoſe tokens to effect, which the ſoothſayers did prognoſticate: commaunded them that they ſhould not reckon that daye the thirtie day, but the ſeuen and twentie, and immediatly vpon it, made the trompet ſounde the allarme, & geue a hotter aſſault to the walle, then he had thought to haue done before. They fought valliantly F on both ſides, in ſo much as they that were left in the campe, could not kepe in, but muſt needs runne to thaſſault to helpe their companions. The TYRIANS ſeeing thaſſault ſo hot on euery ſide, their hartes began to faile them, and by this meanes was the citie taken the ſelfe ſame day.

Alexander beſeegeth the citie of Tyre.

Alexanders dreame at the citie of Tyre.

Alexanders ſecõd dreame againe at Tyre.

Alexanders iorney againſt the Arabians Antiliban mõs.

The corage and agilitie of Alexander.

The citie of Tyre beſeged, and taken by Alexander.

An other time also, when *Alexander* was before GAZA, the chiefe citie of SYRIA, there fell a clodde of earth vpon his shoulder, out of the which there flewe a birde into the ayer. The birde lighting apon one of the engines of his battrie, was cought with the nettes made of sinewes which couered ouer the ropes of the engines. *Aristander* did prognosticate, that it signified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstãding, that he should yet take the towne. And in deede so it came to passe. When he sent great presentes of spoiles which he wanne at the sacke of this citie, vnto his mother *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and diuers others of his frendes: among other thinges, he sent vnto *Leonidas* his gouernor, fiue hundred talentes waight of frankensence, and a hundred talentes waight of myrre: remembring the hope he put him into when he was a childe. For, as *Alexander* was vpon a daye sacrifycing vnto the goddes, he tooke both his handes full of frankensence to cast into the fire, to make a perfume thereof. When his gouernour *Leonidas* saw him, he saied thus vnto him: When thou hast conquered the contrie where these sweete thinges grow, then be liberall of thy perfume: but now, spare that litle thou hast at this present. *Alexander* calling to minde at that time his admonition, wrote vnto him in this sorte: we do send thee plenty of frankensence & myrre, bicause thou shouldest no more be a niggard vnto the goddes. There was brought vnto him a litle coffer also, which was thought to be the preciousest thinge and the richest, that was gotten of all the spoiles and riches, taken at the ouerthrow of *Darius*. When he saw it, he asked his familliers that were about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thinge to be put into it. Some said one thinge, some said an other thinge: but he said, he would put the Iliades of *Homer* into it, as the worthiest thinge. This is confirmed by the best historiographers. Now if that which the ALEXANDRIANS report vpon *Heraclides* wordes, be true: then it appeareth that he did profitte him selfe much by *Homer* in this iorney. For it is reported that when he had conquered ÆGYPT, he determined to builde a great citie, and to repleniſh it with a great nomber of GRÆCIANS, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to inclose a certen ground, which he had chosen by thaduise of his enginers and workemasters: the night before he had a maruelous dreame, that he sawe an olde man standing before him, full of white heares, with an honorable presence, and comming towardes him said these verses.

Alexander tooke the citie of Gaza.

The building of the citie of Alexandria.

Alexanders dreame in Egypt.

VVithin the foming sea there lyes a certein Iland, right
Against the shore of Egypt, vvhich of auncient Pharos hight.

Assoone as he rose the next morning, he went to see this Ile of PHAROS, the which at that time was a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Nylus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now ioyned vnto firme lande, being forced by mans hand. This, he thought the meetest place that could be, to build the citie which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great barre of earth, broade enough, that seperateth a great lake on the one side, and the sea on thother, the which doeth ioyne hard to a great hauen. Then he said that *Homer* was wonderfull in all his thinges, but that amongest others, he was an excellent Architecture: and commaunded, that straight they should cast the platforme of the citie, according to the situation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to marke withall, wherefore they were driuen to take meale, and with that did marke out vpon the earth being blacke, the compasse of the towne that was round and circular, and being deuided into two equall partes, either of them resembled the skirtes and facion of the MACEDONIAN cloke. *Alexander* liked this draught passingly well. But there rose apon the sodaine out of the riuer or lake, such an infinite multitude of great fowle of all sortes, that they couered the element as it had bene a clowde, and lighting within this circuite, did eate vp all the meale, and left not a crumme. *Alexander* liked not these signes. Notwithstanding, his soothsayers bad him not be discoraged, for they told him it was a signe that he should build a citie there, so plentifull of all thinges, that he should mainteine all sortes of people. Then he commaunded them, vnto whom he had geuen the charge of the building, that they should goe forward with their worke, and he him selfe in the meane time, tooke his iorney to goe visite the temple of *Iupiter Hammon*. The Iorney was long, and there were many troubles by the waie, but two daungers aboue all the rest most speciall. The first, lacke of water, bycause they had to trauell many dayes

The Ile of Pharos.

A wonder.

Alexanders iourney vnto the oracle of Hammon.

A dayes iorney through a great desert. The second was, the daunger of the rising of the southe winde by the waie, to blow the sand abroade, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that desert, that blew vp whole hilles of sand, which slue fiftie thowsand men of *Cambyses* armie. Euery man in *Alexanders* traine did know these daungers very well: howbeit it was hard to disswade *Alexander* from any thing which he had a desire vnto. For, fortune fauoring him in all his attemptes, made him constant and resolute in his determinations: and his noble corage besides, made him inuincible in all thinges he tooke in hand, in somuch as he did not only compell his enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that voyage, in stead of these former daungers spoken of, he had many helpes, the which are supposed were sent him from the goddes, by the oracles
B that followed afterwardes. For in a certen sorte, they haue beleued the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderfull water and great showers that fell from the element did kepe him from feare of the first daunger, and did quenche their thirst, and moysted the drienes of the sand in such sorte, that there came a swete freshe ayer from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides to shew them the waie, and that they wandred vp and downe, they could not tell where: there came crowes vnto them that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behind. But *Callisthenes* writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crowes, they brought them againe into the right waie which had lost their waie. Thus *Alexander* in thend, hauing passed through this wildernes, he came vnto
C the temple he sought for: where, the prophet or chiefe priest saluted him from the god *Hammon*, as from his father. Then *Alexander* asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his father, were left aliue. The priest aunswered him, and bad him take heede he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then *Alexander* againe rehersing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murderers that had conspired the death of *Philip* his father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his kingdome, if he would graunt him to be king ouer all the world. The god aunswered him by the mouth of his prophet, he should: and that the death of *Philip* was fully reuenged. Then did *Alexander* offer great presentes vnto the god, and gaue money large to the priests, & ministers of the temple. This is that the most parte of writers doe declare, touching *Alexanders* demaund, and the oracles geuen him. Yet did *Ale-*
D *xander* him selfe write vnto his mother, that he had secret oracles from the god, which he would onely impart vnto her, at his retorne into MACEDON. Others saie also, that the prophet meaning to salute him in the Greeke tongue to welcome him the better, would haue said vnto him, *O Paidion*, as much as deere sonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, bycause the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an s, for an n, in the latter ende, saying, *O Pai dios*, to wit, O sonne of Iupiter; and that *Alexander* was glad of that mistaking. Whereupon there ranne a rumor straight among his men, that *Iupiter* had called him his sonne. It is said also, that he heard *Psammon* the philosopher in EGYPT, and that he liked his wordes very well, when he saide that god was king of all mortall men: For (q he) he that commaundeth all things, must needes be god. But *Alexander* selfe spake better, and like a phi-
E losopher, when he said: That god generally was father to all mortall men, but that particularly he did elect the best sorte for him selfe. To conclude, he shewed him selfe more arrogant vnto the barbarous people, and made as though he certainly beleued that he had bene begotten of some god: but vnto the GRÆCIANS he spake more modestly of diuine generation. For in a letter he wrote vnto the ATHENIANS touching the citie of SAMOS, he said: I gaue ye not that noble free citie, but it was geuen you, at that time by him whom they called my Lord & father: meaning *Philip*. Afterwardes also being striken with an arrow, and feeling great paine of it: My frendes said he, This blood which is spilt, is mans blood, and not as *Homer* said,

No such as from the immortall gods doth flowe.

And one day also in a maruelous great thunder, when euery man was afraid, *Anaxarchus*
F the Rethoritian being present, said vnto him: O thou sonne of *Iupiter*, wilt thou doe as much? no said he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearefull to my frends, as thou wouldest haue me: disdaining the seruice of fishe to my borde, bycause thou seest not princes heades serued in.

Cambyses army slaine by sandebilles.

Crowes guided Alexãder in his iorney.

The saying of Psammon the philosopher of the prouidẽce of God.

Alexander ascribeth godhead to himselfe.

And the report goeth alſo, that *Alexander* vpon a time ſending a litle fiſhe vnto *Hepheſtion*, *Anaxarchus* ſhould ſaye as it were in mockery, that they which aboue others ſeeke for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, haue either ſmall pleaſure in the world, or els as litle as others haue. By theſe prooſes and reaſons alleaged, we maie thinke that *Alexander* had no vaine nor preſumptuous opinion of him ſelfe, to thinke that he was otherwiſe begotten of a god, but that he did it in policie to kepe other men vnder obedience, by the opinion conceiued of his godhead. Retorning out of PHOENICIA into EGYPT, he made many ſacrifices, feaſtes, and preceſſions in honor of the goddes, ſondry daunces, Tragedies, and ſuch like paſtimes goodly to behold: not onely for the ſumptuous ſetting out of them, but alſo for the good will and diligence of the ſetters forth of them, which ſtriued euery one to exceede the other. For the kings of the CYPRIANS were the ſetters of them forth, as at ATHENS they draw by lot a citizen of euery tribe of the people, to defraie the charges of theſe paſtimes. Theſe kinges were very earneſt who ſhould doe beſt, but ſpecially *Nicocreon*, king of SALAMINA in CYPRVS: and *Paſicrates*, Lord of the citie of SOLES. For it fell to their lot to furniſh two of the excelleteſt plaiers, *Paſicrates* furniſhed *Athenodorus*, and *Nicocreon Theſſalus*: whom *Alexander* loued ſingulerly well, though he made no ſhew of it, vntill that *Athenodorus* was declared victor, by the iudges deputed to geue ſentence. For when he went from the plaies, he told them he did like the iudges opinion well, notwithſtanding, he would haue bene contented to haue geuen the one halfe of his realme, not to haue ſeene *Theſſalus* ouercome. *Athenodorus* being condemned vpon a time by the ATHENIANS, bycauſe he was not in ATHENS at the feaſtes of *Bacchus*, when the Comedies and Tragedies were plaied, and a fine ſet of his head for his abſence: he beſought *Alexãder* to write vnto them in his behalfe, that they would releaſe his penalty. *Alexander* would not ſo doe, but ſent thether his money whereof he was condemned, and paide it for him of his owne purſe. Alſo when *Lycon* SCARPHIAN, an excellent ſtage player had pleaſed *Alexander* well, and did foiſte in a verſe in his comedy, conteining a petition of tenne talents: *Alexander* laughing at it, gaue it him. *Darius* at that time wrote vnto *Alexander*, and vnto certen of his frendes alſo, to pray him to take tenne thouſand tallentes for the raunſon of all thoſe priſoners he had in his handes, and for all the contries, landes and ſignories on this ſide the riuer of Euphrates, and one of his daughters alſo in mariage, that from thence forth he might be his kinſman and frend. *Alexander* imparted this to his counſell. Amongeſt them *Parmenio* ſaid vnto him: if I were *Alexander*, ꝙ he, ſurely I would accept this offer. So would I in deede, ꝙ *Alexander* againe, if I were *Parmenio*. In fine, he wrote againe vnto *Darius*, that if he would ſubmit him ſelfe, he would vſe him courteouſly: if not, that then he would preſently marche towardes him. But he repented him afterwardes, when king *Darius* wife was dead with childe: For without diſſimulation it greeued him much, that he had loſt ſo noble an occaſion to ſhew his courteſie and clemencie. This notwithſtanding, he gaue her body honorable buriall, ſparing for no coſt. Amongeſt the Eunuches of the queenes chamber, there was one *Tireus* taken priſoner, among the women: who ſtealing out of *Alexanders* campe, taking his horſe backe, rode vnto *Darius* to bring him newes of the death of his wife. Then *Darius* beating of his head, & weping bitterly, cried out alowd: Oh goddes! what wretched happe haue the PERSIANS? that haue not onely had the wife and ſiſter of their king taken priſoners euen in his life time, but now that ſhe is dead alſo in trauell of childe, ſhe hath bene depriued of princely buriall? Then ſpake the Eunuch to him, and ſaid: For her buriall, moſt gracious king, & for all due honor that might be wiſſhed her, PERSIA hath no cauſe to complaine of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queene *Statira* your wife whileſt ſhe liued priſoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any parte or iot of their honor they were wont to haue before, ſauing onely to ſee the light of your honour, the which, god *Oromaſdes* graunt to reſtore againe (if it be his will) vnto your maieſtie: neither was there any honor wanting at her death (to ſet forth her ſtately funeralles) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented alſo with the teares of your enemies. For *Alexander* is as mercifull in victorie, as he is valliant in battell. *Darius* hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in minde for very griefe: tooke the Eunuche aſide into the ſecreteſt place of his tent, and ſaid vnto him. If thou be not, with the misfortune of the PERSIANS, becomen a MACEDONIAN, but doeſt in thy hart

Alexander made playes and feaſtes.

Darius ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Alexander.

Statira, king Darius wife, died in trauell of childe.

Tireus reporte to Darius of Statirаes buriall.

Darius talke with Tireus the Eunuch.

A hart acknowledge *Darius*, for thy ſoueraine Lord and maſter: I pray thee, and do alſo coniure thee, by the reuerence thou beareſt vnto this bright light of the ſunne, and to the right hande of the king, that thou doe tell me truely. Are theſe the leaſt euills which I lament in *Statira*, her impriſonment and death? And did ſhe not in her life make vs more miſerable by her diſhonor, than if we had diſhonorably fallen into the hands of a cruell enemy? For, what honeſt communication I pray thee, can a young victorious Prince haue with his enemies wife a priſoner: hauing done her ſo much honor as he hath done? *Darius* going on with theſe ſpeeches, *Tireus* the eunuch fell downe on his knees, & beſought him not to ſay ſo, neither to bleamiſh the vertue of *Alexander* in that ſorte, nor yet ſo to diſhonor his ſiſter and wife deceaſed, and thereby alſo to depriue him ſelfe of the greateſt comfort he could wiſh to haue in this calami-
B tie, which was, to be ouercome by an enemy that had greater vertues than a man could poſſibly haue: but rather that he ſhould wonder at *Alexanders* vertue, who had ſhewed him ſelfe chaſter to the Ladies, than valliant againſt the PERSIANS. And therewithall, the eunuch confirmed the great honeſty, chaſtity, and noble minde of *Alexander*, by many great and deepe othes. Then *Darius* comming out among his frendes againe, holding vp his handes vnto the heauens, made this prayer vnto the gods. O heauenly gods, creators of men, & protectors of kings and realmes: firſt, I beſeech you graunt me, that reſtoring the PERSIANS againe to their former good ſtate, I may leaue the realme vnto my ſucceſſors, with that glorie and fame I receiued it of my predeceſſors: that obtaining victory, I may vſe *Alexander* with that great ho-
C nor and curteſie, which he hath in my miſery ſhewed vnto thoſe I loued beſt in the world. Or otherwiſe, if the time appointed be come, that the kingdom of PERSIA muſt nedes haue end, either through diuine reuenge, or by naturall chaunge of earthly things: Then, good goddes yet graunt, that none but *Alexander* after me, may ſit in *Cyrus* throne. Diuers writers do agree, that theſe things came euen thus to paſſe. Now *Alexander* hauing conquered all ASIA on this ſide of the riuer of Euphrates, he went to meete with *Darius*, that came downe with ten hundred thowſand fighting men. It was told him by ſome of his frendes to make him laugh, that the ſlaues of his army had deuided them ſelues in two parts, and had choſen them a Generall of either parte, naming the one *Alexander*, and the other *Darius*: and that at the firſt, they be-
D ganne to skirmiſh only with cloddes of earth, and afterwardes with fiſtes, but at the laſt, they grew ſo hot, that they came to plaine ſtones and ſtaues, ſo that they could not be parted. *Alexander* hearing that, would needes haue the two Generalls fight hand to hand one with the other: and *Alexander* ſelfe did arme him that was called *Alexander*, & *Philotas* the other which was called *Darius*. All the army thereupon was gathered together to ſee this combat betwene thē, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lucke to come. The fight was ſharp betwene them, but in thend, he that was called *Alexander* ouercame the other: and *Alexander* to reward him, gaue him twelue villages, with priuiledge to goe after the PERSIAN maner. Thus it is written by *Eratoſthenes*. The great battell that *Alexander* fought with *Darius*, was not (as many writers
E report) at Arbeles, but at Gauſameles, which ſignifieth in the PERSIAN tongue, the houſe of the cammell. For ſome one of the auncient kings of PERSIA that had ſcaped from the hands of his enemies, flying vpon a drumbledary cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the reuenues of certaine villages to keepe the cammell there. There fell out at that time an eclipſe of the moone, in the moneth called Bœdromion (now Auguſt) about the time that the feaſt of the miſteries was celebrated at ATHENS. The eleuenth night after that, both their armies being in ſight of the other, *Darius* kept his men in battell ray, and went him ſelfe by torche light viewing his bandes and companies. *Alexander* on thother ſide whileſt his MACEDONIAN ſouldiers ſlept, was before his tent with *Ariſtander* the Soothſayer, and made certaine ſecret ceremonies and ſacrifices vnto *Apollo*. The auncient Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, ſpecially *Parmenio*, ſeeing all the vallie betwext the riuer of Niphates, and the mountaines of the GORDIEIANS, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and
F hearing a dreadfull noiſe as of a confuſed multitude of people that filled their campe with the ſound thereof: they were amazed, and conſulted, that in one day it was in maner vnpoſſible to fight a battell with ſuch an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went vnto *Alexander* after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counſell him to geue battell by night,

The commendation of Alexanders chaſtity.

Darius prayer vnto the gods.

Darius army of tenne hundred thowſand fighting men againſt Alexander, at the riuer of Euphrates.

bicause the darkenes thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the sight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gaue them this notable aunswere: I will not steale victorie, q he. This aunswere seemed very fonde and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasaunt, being neere so great daunger. Howebeit others thinke that it was a present noble corage, and a deepe consideration of him, to thinke what should happen: thereby to geue *Darius* no maner of occasion (if he were ouercomen) to take hart againe, and to proue an other battell, accusing the darkenes of the night as cause of his ouerthrow: as he had done at the first conflict, imputing his ouerthrowe to the mountaines, the straights, and the sea. For, sayd he, *Darius* will neuer leaue to make warres with vs for lacke of men, nor munition, hauing so large a realme as he hath, & such a world of people besides: but then he will no more hasard battell, when his hart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his army at noone dayes ouerthrowen by plaine battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his tent, and layed him downe to sleepe, and slept all that night more soundly than he was wont to doe before: insomuch as the Lordes and Princes of his campe comming to waite apon him at his vprising, marueled when they found him so sounde a sleepe, and therefore of them selues they commaunded the souldiers to eate. Afterwards, perceiuing that time came fast apon them, *Parmenio* went into *Alexanders* chamber, and comming to his beddes side, called him twise or thrise by his name, till at the last he waked him, and asked him how it chaunced that he slept so long, like one that had already ouercome, & that did not thinke he should fight as great and daungerous a battell as euer he did in his life. Why, sayd *Alexander*, laughing on him: doest thou not thinke we haue already ouercomen, being troubled no more with running after *Darius* vp and downe a contrie vtterly destroyed, as we should otherwise haue bene compelled to haue done, if he would not haue comen to battell, and destroyed the contrie before vs? Now *Alexander* did not only shew him selfe before the battell, but euen at the very instant of battell, a noble man of corage, and of great iudgement. For *Parmenio* leading the left wing of his battell, the men of armes of the BACTRIANS gaue such a fierce onset vpon the MACEDONIANS, that they made them geue backe: and *Mazeus* also, king *Darius* Lieutenant, sent certaine troupes of horsemen out of their battell, to geue charge vpon them that were left in the campe to garde the cariage. *Parmenio* being amazed with either of both attempts, sent immediatly to aduertise *Alexander*, that all their campe and cariage would be lost, if he did not send presently to aide the rereward. When these newes came to *Alexander* from *Parmenio*, he had already geuen the signall of battell vnto his men for to geue charge. Whereupon he aunswered the messenger that brought him these newes, that he should tell *Parmenio* he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wanne the battell, they should not only saue their owne cariage, but also winne the cariage of their enemies: & if it were their chaunce to lose it, then that they should not neede to care for their cariage, nor for their slaues, but only to thinke to dye honorably, valliantly fighting for his life. Hauing sent this message vnto *Parmenio*, he put on his helmet. The rest of his armor for his body, he had put it on before in his tent, which was, a SICILIAN cassocke, and vpon that a brigandine made of many foldes of canuas with oylet holes, which was gotten among the spoyles at the battell of ISSVS. His head peece was as bright as siluer, made by *Theophilus* the armorer: his coller sutelike to the same, all set full of pretious stones, and he had a sword by his side, marueious light, and of excellent temper, which the king of the CITIEIANS had geuen him, vsing commonly to fight with his sword at any set battel. His coate armor was marueious rich, and of sumptuous workemanshippe, farre aboue all the rest he ware. It was of the workemanshippe of *Hellicon*, the which the RHODIANS gaue him for a present, and this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did set his men in battell ray, or made any oration vnto them, or did ryde alongest the bands to take view of them: he alwayes vsed to ryde vpon an other horse to spare *Bucephal*, bicause he was then somewhat olde: notwithstanding, when he ment in deede to fight, then *Bucephal* was brought vnto him, and as soone as he was gotten vp on his backe, the trompet sounded, & he gaue charge. Then, after he had made long exhortacions to incorage the men of armes of the THESSALIANS, and the other GRÆCIANS also, and when they had all promised him they would sticke to him like men, and prayed him

The magnanimity of Alexander.

Alexanders third battell with Darius.

The armor of Alexander.

to

A to lead them, and geue charge vppon the enemies: he tooke his launce in his left hande, and holding vp his right hande vnto heauen, beſought the goddes (as *Calliſthenes* writeth) that if it were true, he was begotten of *Iupiter*, that it would pleaſe them that day to helpe him, and to encorage the GRÆCIANS. The Soothſayer *Ariſtander* was then a horſebacke hard by *Alexander*, apparelled all in white, & a crowne of gold on his head, who ſhewed *Alexander* when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying ouer his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies. This maruelouſly encoraged all the armie that ſaw it, and with this ioy, the men of armes of *Alexanders* ſide, encoraging one an other, did ſet ſpurres to their horſe to charge apon the enemies. The battell of the footemen of the PERSIANS, beganne a litle to geue way, and be-

An Eagle flew ouer Alexanders head, when he went to fight with Darius.

fore the foremeſt could come to geue them charge, the barbarous people turned their backs,
B and fled. The chaſe was great, & *Alexander* driuing them that fled vppon the middeſt of their owne battell, where *Darius* ſelfe was in perſon. He ſpied him a farre of ouer the foremeſt ranckes in the middeſt of his battel, being a goodly tall Prince, ſtanding in a charriot of warre, compaſſed in rounde with great troupes of horſemen, all ſet in goodly ordinaunce to receiue the enemy. But when they ſaw *Alexander* at hand with ſo grimme a looke, chaſing them that fled, through thoſe that yet kept their rancks: there fell ſuch a feare among them, that the moſt parte diſperſed them ſelues. Notwithſtanding, the beſt and moſt vallianteſt men fought it out to the death before their king, and falling dead one apon an other, they did let them that the enemies could not ſo well follow *Darius*. For they lying one by an other on the ground, drawing on to the laſt gaſpe, did yet take both men and horſes by the legges to hinder them. *Darius*
C then ſeeing nothing but terror and deſtruction before his eyes, and that the bandes which he had ſet before him for ſafegard, came backe vpon him, ſo as he could not deuiſe how to turne his charriot forward nor backward, the wheeles were ſo hindered and ſtayed with the heapes of dead bodies, and that the horſe alſo being ſet apon and hidde in maner in this conflict, fell to leapinge and plunginge for feare, ſo that the charrettiers couldeno lenger guide nor driue them: he got vp vpon a mare that lately had fole, and ſo ſaued himſelfe flying apon her. And yet had he not thus eſcaped, had not *Parmenio* once againe ſent vnto *Alexander* to pray him to come and aide him: bicauſe there was yet a great ſquadron whole together that made no countenaunce to flie. Somewhat there was in it, that they accuſed *Parmenio* that day to haue

The flying of Darius.

deſt but ſlackely and cowardly, either bicauſe his age had taken his corage from him, or elſe
D for that he enuied *Alexanders* greatnes and proſperity, who againſt his will became ouer great as *Calliſthenes* ſayd. In fine, *Alexander* was angry with the ſecond meſſage, and yet told not his men truely the cauſe why, but fayning that he would haue them leaue killing, and bicauſe alſo night came on: he cauſed the trompet ſound retreate, and ſo went towards his army, whom he thought to be in diſtreſſe. Notwithſtanding, newes came to him by the way, that in that place alſo, they had geuen the enemies the ouerthrowe, and that they fled euery way for life. The battell hauing this ſucceſſe, euery man thought that the kingdom of the PERSIANS was vtterly ouerthrowen, and that *Alexander* likewiſe was become only king of all ASIA: whereupon he made ſumptuous ſacrifices vnto the goddes, and gaue great riches, houſes, lands and poſſeſſions vnto his frendes and familliars. Furthermore, to ſhewe his liberalitie alſo vnto the
E GRÆCIANS, he wrote vnto them, that he would haue all tyrannies ſuppreſſed through out all GRÆCE, and that all the GRÆCIANS ſhould liue at libertie vnder their owne lawes. Particularly alſo he wrote vnto the PLATÆIANS, that he woulde reedifie their citie againe, bicauſe their predeceſſors in time paſt, had geuen their contrie vnto the GRÆCIANS, to fight againſt the barbarous people for the defence of the common libertie of all GRÆCE. He ſent alſo into ITALIE vnto the GROTONIANS, parte of the ſpoyle, to honor the memory of the valliantnes, and good will of *Phayllus* their citizen, who in the time of the warres with the MEDES, (when all the GRÆCIANS that dwelt in ITALIE had forſaken their naturall contrie men of GRÆCE it ſelfe, bicauſe they thought they could not otherwiſe ſcape) went with a ſhippe of his vnto SALAMINA, which he armed and ſet forth at his owne charges, bicauſe he would be at the bat-
F tell and partake alſo of the common daunger with the GRÆCIANS: ſuch honor did *Alexander* beare vnto prowes, that he loued to reward & remember the worthy deedes of men. Then *Alexander* marching with his army into the contry of BABYLON, they all yeelded ſtraight vnto

Alexanders third victory of Darius, and liberalitie to all men.

him. When he came into the contrie of the ECBATANIANS, he marueled when he ſaw an opening of the earth, out of the which there came continuall ſparkes of fire as out of a well: & that hard by alſo the earth ſpued out continually a kinde of *mawnd or chalkie clay ſomwhat lyquid, of ſuch aboundaunce, as it ſeemed like a lake. This maund or chalke is like vnto a kind of lyme or clay, but it is ſo eaſie to be ſette a fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightnes only of the light that commeth out of the fire, it is ſet afire, & doth alſo ſet the ayer a fire which is betwene both. The barbarous people of that contrie, being deſirous to ſhewe *Alexander* the nature of that Naptha, ſcattered the ſtreete that led to his lodging, with ſome of it. Then the day being ſhut in, they fired it at one of the endes, and the firſt droppes taking fire, in the twinckling of an eye, all the reſt from one end of the ſtreete to the other was of a flame, and though it was darke and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. *Alexander* being in bath at that time, and waited apon by a page called *Steuen*: (a hard fauored boy, but yet that had an excellent ſweete voyce to ſing) one *Athenophanes* an ATHENIAN, that alwayes nointed & bathed the king, & much delighted him with his pleaſaunt conceites, asked him if he would ſee the triall of this Naptha apon *Steuen*: for if the fire tooke and went not out, then he would ſay it had a wonderfull force, and was vnquencheable. The page was contented to haue it proued apon him. But ſo ſoone as they had layed it on him, and did but touche it only, it tooke ſtraight of ſuch a flame, and ſo fired his body, that *Alexander* him ſelfe was in a maruelous perplexitie withall. And ſure had it not bene by good happe, that there were many by ready with veſſells full of water to put into the bath, it had bene vnpoſſible to haue ſaued the boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet ſo he eſcaped narrowly, and beſides was ſicke long after. Now ſome apply this Naptha vnto the fable of *Medea*, ſaying that therwith ſhe rubbed the crowne and lawne ſhe gaue vnto the daughter of *Creon* at her mariage, ſo much ſpoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crowne nor the lawne could caſt fire of them ſelues, neither did the fire light by chaunce. But by oyling them with this Naptha ſhe wrought a certaine aptnes to receiue more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride ſate. For the beames which the fire caſteth out, haue ouer ſome bodies no other force, but to heet and lighten them. But ſuch as haue an oyly drie humor, and thereby a ſimpathy and proportionable conformitie with the nature of the fire: it eaſily enflameth and ſetteth a fire, by the forcible impreſſion of his beames. Howbeit they make a great queſtion of the cauſe of this naturall force of Naptha,* or whether this liquid ſubſtance and moyſt humor that taketh fire ſo eaſily, doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceiue fire. For this contrie of BABYLON is very hot, inſomuch as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it vp againe, as if the earth by vehement inflammacion had a ſtrong blaſt to caſt it out: and men in the extreameſt heate of the ſommer, doe ſleepe there, vpon great leather budgets filled full of freſh water. *Harpalus*, whom *Alexander* left there his Lieutenaunt & Gouernor of that contry, deſiring to ſet forth and beawtifie the gardens of the kings pallace & walkes of the ſame, with all maner of plantes of GRÆCE: he brought all the reſt to good paſſe, ſauing Iuie only, which the earth could neuer abide, but it euer dyed, bicauſe the heate and temper of the earth killed it, and the Iuie of it ſelfe liketh freſh ayer and a cold ground. This digreſſion is ſomwhat from the matter, but peraduenture the reader will not thinke it troubleſome, howe hard ſoeuer he finde it, ſo it be not ouer tedious. *Alexander* hauing wonne the city of SVSA, he found within the caſtell foure thowſand talentes in ready coyne, gold and ſiluer, beſides other infinite treaſure and ineſtimable, amongeſt the which (it is ſayd) he found to the value of fiue thowſand talentes weight of * purple HERMIONA ſilke which they had ſafe locked vp & kept the ſpace of two hundred yeres ſaue ten, and yet the colour kept as freſhe as if it had bene newly made. Some ſay that the cauſe why it was ſo well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it, with honnie, in ſilkes which before had bene dyed redde, and with white oyle in white ſilkes. For, there are ſilkes ſeene of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. *Dino* writeth furthermore, that the kinges of PERSIA made water to be brought from the riuers of Nylus and Iſter (otherwiſe called Danubie) which they did locke vp with their other treaſure for a confirmation of the greatnes of their Empire, and to ſhew that they were Lordes of the world. The wayes to enter into PERSIA being very hard of paſſage, and in maner vnpaſſable,

(both

*The ſtrength and power of Naptha, in the contry of Ecbatania.

What Medaes enchantement was.

* In this place there lacke certaine lynes in the Greeke original.

No Iuie in the contrie of Babylon.

Treſure found by Alexander at the citie of Suſa.

* It ſeemeth that he meaneth of ſilke dyed in purple whereof the beſt that was in Europe was made in the citie of Hermiona, in Laconia.

(both for the illnes of the wayes, as alſo for the gard that kept them, which were the choiſeſt men of PERSIA) *Darius* alſo being fled thither: there was one that ſpake the Greeke and PERSIAN tongue (whoſe father was borne in the contry of LYCIA, & his mother a PERSIAN) that guided *Alexander* into PERSIA, by ſome compaſſe fetched about not very long, according to the Oracles aunſwere of *Alexander* geuen by the mouth of Nunne *Pythias*, when he was a child: that a LYCIAN ſhould guide and lead him againſt the PERSIANS. There was then great ſlaughter made in PERSIA of the priſoners that were taken. For *Alexander* him ſelfe wryteth, that he commaunded the men ſhould be put to the ſword, thinking that the beſt way to ſerue his turne. It is ſayd alſo, that there he found a maruelous treaſure of gold and ſiluer in readie money, as he had done before in the citie of SVSA: the which he caried away with all the reſt of the kinges rich wardroppe, and with it laded tenne thowſande moyles, and fiue thowſande cammells. *Alexander* entring into the caſtell of the chiefe citie of PERSIA, ſaw by chaunce a great image of *Xerxes* lye on the ground, the which vnwares was throwen downe by the multitude of the ſouldiers that came in, thronging one apon an other. Thereupon he ſtayed, and ſpake vnto it as if it had bene aliue, ſaying: I can not tell whether I ſhould paſſe by thee, and let thee lye, for the warre thou madeſt ſomtime againſt the GRÆCIANS: or whether I ſhould lift thee vp, reſpecting the noble minde & vertues thou haddeſt. In thend, when he had ſtoode mute a long time, conſidering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refreſh his weary army, bicauſe it was the winter quarter, he remained there foure monethes together. The reporte goeth, that the firſt time that *Alexander* ſate vnder the cloth of ſtate of king *Darius*, all of rich golde: *Demarathus* CORINTHIAN (who firſt beganne to loue him euen in his father *Philippes* time) burſt out in teares for ioy, good old man, ſaying that the GRÆCIANS long time dead before, were depriued of this bleſſed happe, to ſee *Alexander* ſet in king *Xerxes* princely chaier. After that, preparing againe to goe againſt *Darius*, he would needes make mery one day, and refreſh him ſelfe with ſome bancket. It chaunced ſo, that he with his companions was bidden to a priuate feaſt priuately, where was aſſembled ſome fine curtiſans of his familiars who with their frendes taried at the banket. Amongeſt them was that famous *Thais*, borne in the contry of ATTICA, & then concubine to *Ptolomy*, king of ÆGYPT after *Alexanders* death. She finely praiſing *Alexander*, and partely in ſporting wiſe, began to vtter matter in affection of her contrie, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth: ſaying, that that day ſhe founde her ſelfe fully recompenced to her great good liking, for all the paines ſhe had take, trauelling through all the contries of ASIA, following of his armie, now that ſhe had this fauor & good happe to be mery and pleaſaunt, in the prowde and ſtately pallace of the great kings of PERSIA. But yet it would doe her more good, for a recreation, to burne *Xerxes* houſe with the fire of ioy, who had burnt the city of ATHENS: and her ſelfe to geue the fire to it, before ſo noble a Prince as *Alexander*. Bicauſe euer after it might be ſaid, that the women following his campe, had taken more noble reuenge of the PERSIANS, for the wronges and iniuries they had done vnto GRÆCE: than all the Captaines of GRÆCE that euer were had done, either by lande or ſea. When ſhe had ſayd, *Alexanders* familiars about him, clapped their hands, and made great noiſe for ioy, ſaying: that it were as good a deede as could be poſſible, and perſwaded *Alexander* vnto it. *Alexander* yeelding to their perſwaſions, roſe vp, and putting a garland of flowers apon his head, went formeſt him ſelfe: and all his familliars followed after him, crying and dauncing all about the caſtell. The other MACEDONIANS hearing of it alſo, came thither immediatly with torches light and great ioy, hoping that this was a good ſigne that *Alexander* ment to returne againe into MACEDON, and not to dwell in the contrie of the barbarous people, ſith he did burne and deſtroy the kings caſtell. Thus, and in this ſorte it was thought to be burnt. Some writers thinke otherwiſe: that it was not burnt with ſuch ſport, but by determination of the counſell. But howſoeuer it was, all they graunt, that *Alexander* did preſently repent him, and commaunded the fire to be quenched ſtraight. For his liberality, that good will and readines to geue, increaſed with his conqueſtes: and when he did beſtowe giftes of any, he would beſides his gift euer geue them good countenance, on whom he beſtowed his grace and fauor. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. *Ariſto* being Collonell of the PÆONIANS, hauing ſlaine one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and ſayd: ſuch a preſent,

Alexanders iorney into Perſia.

Alexander found a maruelous treaſure in Perſia.

The inſolent boldnes of Thais the harlot.

Perſepolis ſet a fire by Alexander.

O king, by vs, is euer rewarded with a cuppe of golde. Yea, q. *Alexander*, ſmyling apon him: A
with an emptie cuppe. But I drinke to thee this cuppe full of good wine, and doe geue thee
cuppe & all. An other time, he met with a poore MACEDONIAN that led a moyle loden with
gold of the kings: and when the poore moyle was ſo weary that ſhe could no lenger cary her
burden, the moyleter put it apon his owne backe, and loded him ſelfe withall, carying it ſo a
good pretie way: howbeit in thende being ouerloden, was about to throwe it downe on the
ground. *Alexander* perceiuing it, asked him what burden he caried. When it was tolde him:
well, q. he to the moyletter, be not weary yet, but carie it into the tent, for I geue it thee. To
be ſhort, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with thoſe
that would aske him ſomewhat. He wrote alſo vnto *Phocion*, that he would take him no more
for his frend, if he would refuſe his giftes. It ſeemed that he had geuen nothing vnto a young B
boy called *Serapion* (who euer did ſerue them the ball that played at tenis) becauſe he asked him
nothing. Wherefore, the king playing on a time, this young boy threw the ball to others that
played with him, and not to him ſelfe. The king marueling at it, at the length ſayd vnto him:
why, my boy, doeſt thou not geue me the ball? Becauſe your maieſtie doth not aske it me, q.
he. *Alexander* then vnderſtanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, & did much for him after-
wards. There was attending on him alſo one *Proteas*, a pleaſaunt conceited man, & that could
ſlent finely. It chaunced vpon ſome occaſion that *Alexander* fell out with him: whereuppon
ſome of his frends were interceſſors to the king for him, & beſought him to pardon him: and
Proteas him ſelfe alſo being preſent, craued pardon with teares in his eyes. *Alexander* there-
upon forgaue him. Then pleaſauntly replied *Proteas*, I deſire it may pleaſe your grace, that I C
may receiue ſome teſtimonie to aſſure me I am in your fauor. Thereuppon the king ſtraight
commaunded one to geue him fiue talents. The goods and riches he gaue vnto his familliars
and gard about him, were very great, as it appeareth plainly by a letter which his mother *O-*
lympias wrote vnto him, to this effect: I know thou ſpareſt not to geue thy frends large giftes,
and that thou makeſt much of them: but thereby thou makeſt them kings fellowes, they get
many frendes, and leaue the poſte alone without any. His mother did many times write ſuch
like matters vnto him, the which *Alexander* kept very ſecret, ſauing one day when he opened
one of them, *Hephæſtion* being preſent drew neere, and red the letter with him, as he was wont
to do. *Alexander* did let him alone, but when he had red it, he plucked the ſeale of armes from
his finger, wherewith he did vſe to ſeale his letters, and put it to *Hephæſtions* mouth. He gaue D
alſo vnto the ſonne of *Mazeus*, (that was the chiefeſt man about *Darius*) a ſeconde gouern-
ment, beſides that which he had before, and greater than the firſt. This young noble man re-
fuſed it, ſaying: why, and it pleaſe your grace, before there was but one *Darius*, but you now
make many *Alexanders*. He gaue vnto *Parmenio* alſo, *Bagoas* houſe, where (as is reported) he
found a thowſand talents worth, of the ſpoyles and goods of the SVSIANS. He wrote alſo vn-
to *Antipater*, that he ſhould keepe a gard about his perſon, for he had many enemies that lay
in waite for him. He did ſend alſo many goodly preſents vnto his mother, but withall he wrote
vnto her, that ſhe would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking vpon her the office
of a Captaine. She ſtorming at it, he paciently did brooke her anger. *Antipater* an other time,
wrytinga long letter vnto him againſt his mother *Olympias*, when he had red it ouer: loe, ſaid E
he, *Antipater* knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers eye will wipe out tenne thowſande
ſuch letters. Furthermore, *Alexander* perceiuing on a time, that his frendes became very diſ-
ſolute & licentious in dyet and life, and that *Agnon* TEIAN had his corked ſhooes nayled with
ſiluer nayles, that *Leonatus* alſo cauſed diuers cammells to be loden amongeſt his cariage with
powder of ÆGYPT, to put apon him when he wreſtled or vſed any other exerciſe of body: &
that alſo they caried after *Philotas*, toyles for chaſe and hunting, of a hundred furlong long,
and that there were alſo that vſed pretious perfumes & ſwete ſauors when they bathed them
ſelues, more then there were that rubbed them ſelues with plaine oyle, and that they had fine
chamberlaines to rubbe them in the bath, and to make their beddes ſoft and delicate: he wiſe-
ly and curteouſly rebuked them and ſayd. I maruell, ſayd he, that you which haue fought in ſo F
often and great battells, doe not remember that they which trauell, doe ſleepe more ſweete
and ſoundly, than they that take their eaſe and doe nothing: and that you doe not marke, that

Alexanders prodigalitie reproued by his mother Olympias.

Alexander reproueth the finenes and curioſitie of his frendes.

comparing

A comparing your life, with the manner of the life of the PERSIANS, to liue at pleasure is a vile thinge, and to trauell is Princely. And howe I pray you, can a man take paine to dresse his owne horse, or to make cleane his launce or helmet, that for slothfull curiosities sake, disdaineth to rubbe his owne bodie with his fine fingers? Are you ignorant, that the type of honor in all our victorie consisteth, in scorning to doe that which we see them doe, whom we haue vanquished and ouercome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint them selues with hardnes: he tooke more paines in warres and in hunting, and did hazard him selfe more daungerously, then euer he had done before. Whereuppon an Ambassador of LACEDÆMON being present to see him fight with a Lyon, and to kill him, sayd vnto him: truely your grace hath fought well with this Lyon, and tried which of you two should be king. *Craterus* after B that, caused this hunting to be set vp in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES: where are the images of the Lyon, of the dogges, and of the king fighting with the Lyon, and of him selfe also that came to helpe him, all those images being of copper, some made by *Lysippus*, the rest by *Leochares*. Thus *Alexander* did put him selfe vnto all iuberdies, as well to exercise his strength and corage, as also to allure his men to doe the like. This notwithstanding, his frendes and familiars hauing wealth at will, as men exceeding riche, they would needes liue delicately and at ease, and woulde take no more paines, misliking vtterly to goe vp and downe the contries to make warre here and there: and thereuppon beganne a litle to finde fault with *Alexander*, and to speake euill of him. Which at the first *Alexander* tooke quietly, saying, that it was honor for a king to suffer him selfe to be slaundered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the C least good turnes he did vnto his frendes, did shewe his hartie loue and honor he bare them, as shall appeare vnto you by some examples that followe. *Peucestas* being bitten by a beare, did let his frendes vnderstande it by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* was offended therewith, and wrote vnto him thus. Sende me worde at the least yet how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellowes did forsake thee at the hunting, to thende they may be punished. *Hephæstion* being absent about certaine businesse he had, *Alexander* wrote vnto him, that as they were hunting a beast called Ichnewmon, *Craterus* vnfortunately crossinge *Perdiccas* darte, was striken through both his thighes. *Peucestas* being cured of a great disease, *Alexander* wrote vnto *Alexippus* his Phisitian that had cured him, and gaue him thankes. *Craterus* also being sicke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine D sacrifices for the recouerie of his health, and sent vnto him, willing him to doe the like. And when the Phisitian *Pausanias* ment to geue him a drinke of Eelleborum, he wrote letters vnto him, telling him what daunger he was in, and prayed him to be carefull how he receiued that medicine. He did also put *Ephialtes* and *Cissus* in prison, who brought him the first newes of *Harpalus* flying, bicause they did wrongfully accuse & slaũder him. When he had cõmaunded there should be a bill made of all the olde mens names, and diseased persones that were in his campe, to sende them home againe into their contry: there was one *Eurylochus* ÆGEIAN that made his name be billed among the sicke persons, & it was found afterwardes that he was not sicke, and confessed that he did it only to follow a young woman called *Telesippa*, with whom he was in loue, who was returning homewardes towardes the sea side. *Alexander* asked him, E whether this woman were free or bond: he answered him, that she was a curtisan free borne. Then sayd *Alexander* vnto *Eurylochus*, I would be glad to further thy loue, yet I can not force her to tarie: but seeke to winne her by giftes and fayer wordes to be contented to tarie, sithence she is a free woman. It is a wonderfull thing to see what paines he would take, to write for his frendes, euen in such trifles as he did. As, when he wrote into CILICIA for a seruaunt of *Seleucus* that was fled from his master, sending straight commaundement, that they should carefully lay for him. And by an other letter he commendeth *Peucestas*, for that he had stayed and taken one *Nicon*, a slaue of *Craterus*. And by one other letter also vnto *Megabizus*, touching an other bondman that had taken sanctuarie in a temple: he commaunded him also to seeke to intise him out of the sanctuarie, to laye hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to F meddle with him in any case. It is sayd also, that at the first when he vsed to sit in iudgement to heare criminall causes, whilest the accuser went on with his complaint and accusation: he alwayes vsed to lay his hande vppon one of his eares to keepe that cleane from the matter of

Alexander, enemy to idlenes.

Alexanders care of his frendes and wonderfull curtesie towards them.

Alexander kept one eare for the condemned person.

accuſation, thereby reſeruing it to heare the purgacion and iuſtificacion of the perſon condemned. But afterwardes, the number of accuſations that were brought before him, did ſo prouoke and alter him, that he did beleue the falſe accuſations, by the great number of the true that were brought in. But nothinge put him more in rage, then when he vnderſtoode they had ſpoken ill of him: and then he was ſo fierce, as no pardon would be graunted, for that he loued his honor, more then his kingdome or life. Then at that time he went againſt *Darius*, thinking that he ment to fight againe: but vnderſtanding that *Beſſus* had taken him, then he gaue the THESSALIANS leaue to departe home into their contrie, and gaue them two thowſand talentes, ouer and aboue their ordinarie pay. *Alexander* had then a maruelous long, hard, and painefull iorney in following of *Darius*: for in eleuen dayes, he rode three thowſande three hundred furlong, inſomuch as the moſt parte of his men were euen wearie, and done, for lacke of water. It chaunced him one day to meete with certaine MACEDONIANS that caried (vppon moyles) goate skinnes full of water, which they had fetched from a riuer. They ſeeing *Alexander* in manner deade for thirſt, being about noone: ranne quickely to him, and in a headpeece brought him water. *Alexander* asked them, to whom they caried this water. They anſwered him againe, that they caried it to their children, but yet we would haue your grace to liue: for though we loſe them, we may get more children. When they had ſayd ſo, *Alexander* tooke the helmet with water, and perceiuing that the men of armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thruſt out their neckes to looke vpon this water, he gaue the water backe againe vnto them that had geuen it him, and thanked them, but dranke none of it. For, ſayd he, if I drinke alone, all theſe men here will faint. Then they ſeeing the noble corage and curteſie of *Alexander*, cried out that he ſhould lead them: and therewithall beganne to ſpurre their horſes, ſaying, that they were not wearie nor a thirſt, nor did thinke them ſelues mortall, ſo long as they had ſuch a king. Euerie man was a like willing to followe *Alexander*, yet had he but three ſcore only that entred with him into the enemies campe. There, paſſinge ouer much golde and ſiluer which was ſcattered abroade in the market place, and going alſo by many charriottes full of women and children, which they found in the fields, flying away at all aduenture: they ranne vpon the ſpurre vntill they had ouertaken the foremoſt that fled, thinking to haue founde *Darius* amongeſt them. But at the length, with much a doe, they founde him layed along in a coche, hauing many woundes vpon his bodie, ſome of darts and ſome ſpeares. So, he being almoſt at the laſt caſt, called for ſome drinke, and dranke colde water, which *Polyſtratus* gaue him. To whom when he had dronke, he ſayd: this is my laſt miſhappe, my frend, that hauing receiued this pleaſure, I can not requite thee: howbeit *Alexander* will recompence thee, and the goddes, *Alexander*, for the liberalitie and curteſie which he hath ſhewed vnto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my ſake. At theſe laſt wordes, he tooke *Polyſtratus* by the hande, and ſo gaue vp the goaſt. *Alexander* came immediatly after, and plainely ſhewed that he was ſorie for his death and misfortune: and vndoing his owne cloke, he caſt it vpon the body of *Darius*. After that, hauing by good happe gotten *Beſſus* into his hands, he tare him in peces with two high ſtraight trees which he bowed downewards, and tied his legges to eche of them: ſo that when the trees were let goe, they gaue a ſodaine cruell ierke vp and caried either tree, a peece of his bodie with it. Then *Alexander* hauing geuen *Darius* corſe Princely buriall, and embalned him: he ſent it vnto his mother, and receiued his brother *Exathres* for one of his frendes. From thence he went into the contrie of HYRCANIA with all the flower of his armie, where he ſawe the gulfe of the ſea Caſpium, which he thought of no leſſe greatneſſe, then the ſea of PONTVS, howbeit calmer then the other ſeas be. He could not then certainly finde out what it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelyhoode he thought it was ſome breaking out of the lake or marriſh of Meotin. Yet ſome auncient naturall Philoſophers ſeemed to know truely what it was. For many yeares before *Alexanders* voyage and conqueſt, they wrote, that of the foure chiefeſt gulfes of the ſea that commeth from the Ocean, and doe entre within maine land, that which is moſt northerly, is the ſea Caſpium, which they call alſo Hyrcanium. As *Alexander* went through the contrie, certaine barbarous people ſodainely ſette vpon them that led *Bucephal* his horſe, and tooke him: but with that he was in ſuch a rage, that

Alexander would not pardon ill wordes ſpoken of him.

Alexanders painefull iorney, in following of Darius.

The loue of Alexander to his ſouldiers, and abſtinence.

Alexander regarded not the ſpoyle of gold & ſiluer, in reſpect of purſuing his flying enemy.

The death of Darius.

The puniſhment and execution of Beſſus.

The ſea Hyrcanium or Caſpium.

A that he ſent a Heraulde into their contrie to proclaime open warres vppon them, and that he would put man, woman, and childe to the ſword, if they brought him not his horſe againe. Whereuppon, when his horſe was returned home, and that they yeelded vp their cities and fortes into his handes: he did vſe them all very curteouſly, and moreouer did geue them money for the raunſome of his horſe, which they reſtored. Departing thence, he entred into the contrie of PARTHIA. There hauinge leaſure enough, he beganne to apparell him ſelfe after the facion of the barbarous people, bicauſe he thought thereby the better to winne the harts of the contriemen, framing him ſelfe vnto their owne facions: or elſe to trye the hartes of the MACEDONIANS, to ſee how they would like the maner of the PERSIANS (which he ment to bring them vnto) in reuerencing of him as they did their king, by litle and litle acquainting B them to allow the alteracion and chaunge of his life. This notwithſtanding, he would not at the firſt take vp the apparell of the MEDES, which was verie ſtraunge, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without briches, nor did weare a long gowne trailing on the grounde, nor a high coptanct hatte, but tooke a meane apparell betwext the MEDES & the PERSIANS, more modeſt then theirs, and more coſtly than the laſt: and yet at the firſt he did not weare it, but when he would talke with the barbarous people, or elſe priuately amongeſt his frendes and familliars. Afterwards notwithſtanding, he ſhewed him ſelfe openly to the people in that apparel, when he gaue them audience. This ſight grieued the MACEDONIANS much: but they had his vertues in ſuch admiration, that they thought it meete in ſome things he ſhould take his owne pleaſure, ſithence he had bene often hurt in the warres, and not long before had his C legge broken with an arrow, and an other time, had ſuch a blow with a ſtone full in his necke, that it made him ſpurre blinde a great while after, and yet neuertheleſſe he neuer eſchewed any bodely daunger. For he paſſed ouer the riuer of Orexartes, which he tooke to be Tanais, and hauinge in battell ouerthrowen the SCYTHIANS, he followed them in chaſe aboue a hundred furlong, notwithſtanding that at that inſtant he had a looſeneſſe of bodie. Thither came vnto him (as it is reported) the Queene of the AMAZONES, as many wryters doe teſtifie: among the which are theſe, *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus*, *Oneſicritus*, *Antigenes*, and *Hiſter*. But *Chares*, *Ptolomy*, *Anticlides*, & *Philon* THEBAN, *Philip* the hiſtoriographer, *Hecateus* ERETRIAN, *Philip* CHALCIDIAN, and *Duris* SAMIAN, all theſe doe wryte that it was not true: and it ſeemeth alſo that *Alexander* ſelfe doth confirme it. For, wryting all things particularly vnto *Antipater* as they happened vnto him, he wrote vnto him that the king of SCYTHIA offered him D his daughter in mariage: but there he maketh no mencion at all of any AMAZON. It is alſo ſayd, that *Oneſicritus* long time after that did reade vnto king *Lyſimachus*, the fourth booke of his hiſtorie, where he did ſpeake of the AMAZON. *Lyſimachus* ſmyling, ſayd vnto him: why, and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit or not credit it, *Alexanders* eſtimacion thereby is neither impayred nor aduaunced. Furthermore, *Alexander* fearing that the MACEDONIANS, being wearie with this long warre, would goe no further: he left all the reſt of his armie behinde, and tooke only twentie thowſande footemen, and three thowſand horſemen of the choyceſt men of his armie, and with them inuaded the contrie of HYRCANIA. There he made an oration vnto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of ASIA had E but ſeene them as it were in a dreame, and if they ſhould now returne backe into MACEDON, hauing but onely ſturred them, and not altogether ſubdued ASIA: the people offended with them, woulde ſette vppon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. Neuertheleſſe, he gaue any man leaue to returne that would, proteſting therewith againſt them that would goe, how they did forſake him, his frends, and thoſe who had ſo good harts towards him, as to follow him in ſo noble a iorney, to conquer the whole earth vnto the MACEDONIANS. This ſelfe matter is reported thus in a letter which *Alexander* wrote vnto *Antipater*: and there he wryteth furthermore, that hauing made this oration vnto them, they all cried out, and bad him leade them into what parte of the worlde he would. When they had graunted their good wills, it was no hard matter afterwards, to winne the reſt of the common F ſorte who followed the example of the chiefeſt. Thereuppon he did frame him ſelfe the more to liue after the facion of the contrie there, and enterchaungeablie alſo to bring the men of that contrie vnto the manner of the MACEDONIANS: being perſwaded, that by this mixture

Alexander goeth after the maner of the Perſians.

Some faultes are to be borne with, in a man of great vertues.

Orexartes fl.

Alexander with one word of his mouth brought the Macedonians to obedience.

and enterchaunge of manners one with an other, he ſhould by frendſhippe more then force, A
make them agree louingly together, when that he ſhould be ſo farre from the contry of PERSIA. For this purpoſe therefore, he choſe thirty thowſand of their children of that contry, and ſet them to learne the Greke tongue, and to be brought vp in the diſcipline of warres, after the MACEDONIANS maner: and gaue them ſchoolemaſters and Captaines to traine them in ech facultie. And for the marrying of *Roxane*, he fancied her, ſeeing her at a feaſt where he was: which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better aduiſe and counſell loued her. For the barbarous people were verie prowde of this matche when they ſawe him make alliance with them in this ſorte, inſomuch as they loued him better then they did before, bicauſe they ſaw in thoſe things he was alwayes ſo chaſt and continent, that notwithſtanding he was marueloufly in loue with her, yet he would not diſhonorably touche this young Ladie, before he B
was maried vnto her. Furthermore, *Alexander* conſidering that of the two men which he loued beſt, *Hephæſtion* liked well of his matche, and went apparelled as him ſelfe did, and that *Craterus* contrarily did ſtill vſe the MACEDONIAN manner: he delt in all affayres with the barbarous people, by *Hephæſtion*, and with the GRÆCIANS and MACEDONIANS, by *Craterus*. To be ſhort, he loued the one, and honored the other: ſaying, that *Hephæſtion* loued *Alexander*, and *Craterus* loued the king. Hereuppon theſe two perſons bare one an other grudge in their harts, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrell: inſomuch as on a time being in INDIA, they drewe their ſwordes and fought together, and diuers of their frendes ranne to take part with either ſide. Thither came *Alexander* ſelfe alſo, who openly before them all, bitterly tooke vp *Hephæſtion*, and called him foole and bedlem, ſaying: doeſt thou not know, that whatſoeuer he C
be that ſhould take *Alexander* from me, he ſhould neuer liue? Priuatly alſo, he ſharply rebuked *Craterus*, and calling them both before him, he made them frendes together, ſwearing by *Iupiter Hammon*, and by all the other gods, that he loued them two of all men liuing, neuertheles if euer he founde that they fell out together againe, they ſhould both dye for it, or him at the leaſt that firſt beganne to quarrell. So euer after that, they ſay, there was neuer fowle word nor deede betwene them, not ſo much as in ſport only. There was alſo one *Philotas*, the ſonne of *Parmenio*, a man of great authority among the MACEDONIANS, who next vnto *Alexander* was the moſt vallianteſt man, the pacienteſt to abide paine, the liberalleſt, and one that loued his men & frends better then any noble man in the campe whatſoeuer. Of him it is reported, that D
a frend of his came to him on a time to borrow money: and he commaunded ſtraight one of his men to let him haue it. His purſe bearer aunſwered him, that he had none. Why, ſayd his maſter, doeſt thou tell me ſo? Haſt thou not plate, and apparell to ſell or gage to helpe him to ſome? Howbeit otherwiſe, he had ſuch a pride & glory to ſhew his riches, to apparell himſelfe ſo ſumptuouſly, and to be more fine and princked then became a priuate man, that this made him to be hated: bicauſe he tooke vpō him to be a great man & to looke bigge on the matter, which became him ill fauoredly, and therfore euery man through his owne folly, fell in miſliking with him. Inſomuch as his owne father ſaid one day vnto him: ſonne I pray thee be more humble & lowly. This *Philotas* had long before bene cōplained vpon vnto *Alexander*, bicauſe that when the cariage of king *Darius* armie (which was in the citie of DAMAS) was taken after the battell of CILICIA, among many priſoners that were taken and brought vnto *Alexan-* E
ders campe, there was one *Antigona*, a paſſing fayer young curtiſan, borne in the citie of PINNA. *Philotas* founde meanes to gette her, and like a young man that was in loue with her, making merie with her at the table, fondly lette fall braue wordes and boaſtes of a ſouldier, ſaying, that what notable thinges were done, they were done by him ſelfe and his father: and called *Alexander* at euerie worde, young man, and ſayd that by their meanes he helde his name and kingdome. This courtiſan tolde one of his frendes what he ſayd, and that frende tolde an other frende, and ſo went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to *Craterus* eares. He tooke the courtiſan, and brought her vnto *Alexander*, vnto whom ſhe told as much as ſhe had ſayd before. *Alexander* bad her ſtill make much of *Philotas*, and to tell him euery word what he ſayd of him. *Philotas* knowing nothing that he was thus circum- F
uented, did euer frequent her companie, and would be bold commonly to ſpeake many fooliſh and vndiſcreete words againſt the king, ſomtime in anger, & ſomtime againe in a brauery.

Alexander

Alexander maried Roxane, a Perſian.

Quarrell betweat Hephæſtion and Craterus.

Why Philotas was ſuſpected, and enuied of Alexander.

A *Alexander* this notwithſtanding, though he had manifeſt proofe and cauſe to accuſe *Philotas*, yet he diſſembled it for that time, and would not be knowen of it: either for that he knew *Parmenio* loued him, or elſe for that he was affrayed of their great power and authoritie. About that time there was one *Limnus Chalæſtrian* a MACEDONIAN, that layed great and ſecret waite to kill *Alexander*: and being in loue with a young man called *Nicomachus*, entiſed him to helpe him to doe this deede. The young man wiſely denied it, & told the ſame to his brother called *Balinus*. He went vnto *Philotas*, and prayed him to bring them both before *Alexander*, for they had a matter of great importance to impart vnto him. *Philotas* would not let him ſpeake with the king (but why, no man could tell) telling them that the king had greater matters in hande, and was not at leaſure. Then they went vnto an other, and he brought them vnto *Alexander*,

Limnus traiterouſly ſeeketh to kill Alexander.

B vnto whome firſt they opened the treaſon of *Limnus* conſpired againſt him: and by the way they tolde alſo, how they had bene twiſe before with *Philotas*, who would not let them come in, nor ſpeake with them. That angred *Alexander* greatly, and he was the more offended alſo when *Limnus* was ſlaine by him, whome he ſent to apprehende him, reſiſting him for that he would not be taken: and thought that by his death he had loſt a great meanes to come to the light of this treaſon and conſpiracie. Then *Alexander* frowning vppon *Philotas*, brought all his enemies vpon his backe, that of long time had hated him. For they beganne to ſpeake boldly, that it was time for the kinge to looke about him, for it was not to be ſuppoſed that this *Limnus Chalæſtrian* of him ſelfe durſt haue entred into that treaſon, but rather that he was a miniſter, and a chiefe inſtrument, ſet on by a greater perſonage then he: and therefore

C that it ſtoode *Alexander* vpon to examine them ſtraightly, which had cauſe to keepe this treaſon ſecret. After *Alexander* once gaue eare vnto ſuch wordes and vehement preſumptions, there was ſtraight brought in a thowſand accuſations againſt *Philotas*. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the preſence of diuers Lordes and familliars of the king put to the torter, *Alexander* ſelfe being behinde a hanginge, to heare what he would ſay. It is reported, that when he hearde howe faintly and pitiefully he beſought *Hephæſtion* to take pitie of him, he ſayd vnto him ſelfe: alas, poore *Philotas*, thou that haſt ſo faint a hart, howe durſt thou take vppon thee ſo great matters? In fine, *Philotas* was put to death, and immediatly after he was executed, *Alexander* ſent alſo with ſpeede vnto the realme of MEDIA to kill *Parmenio*, who was his Lieutenaunt there, and one that had ſerued king *Philippe* his father, in his greateſt af-

Philotas and his father Parmenio put to death.

D fayers, and who onely of all other the olde ſeruauntes of his father had procured *Alexander* to take in hande the conqueſt of ASIA: and who alſo of three ſonnes which he brought out with him, had ſeene two of them dye before him, and afterwardes was ſlaine him ſelfe with the third. This crueltie of *Alexander* made his frendes affrayed of him, and ſpecially *Antipater*: who ſecretly ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the ÆTOLIANS, to make league with them, bicauſe they them ſelues alſo were affrayed of *Alexander*, for that they had put the *Oeniades* to death. *Alexander* hearing that, ſayd, that he him ſelfe, and not the ſonnes of the *Oeniades*, would be reuenged of the ÆTOLIANS. Not long after that, followed the murther of *Clitus*, the which to heare it ſimplie tolde, would ſeeme much more cruell than the death of *Philotas*. But reportinge the cauſe and the time together in which it chaunced: it will be founde

Antipater was affrayed of Alexander.

E that it was not of ſette purpoſe, but by chaunce, and vnfortunately, that *Alexander* being ouercome with wine, did vnluckely wreake his anger vpon *Clitus*. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came certaine men of the lowe contries from the ſea ſide, that brought apples of GRÆCE vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* wondering to ſee them ſo greene and fayer, ſent for *Clitus* to ſhewe him them, and to geue him ſome of them. *Clitus* by chaunce did ſacrifice at that time vnto the goddes, and left his ſacrifice to goe vnto *Alexander*: howebeit there were three weathers that followed him, on whome the accuſtomed ſprincklinges had bene done alreadie to haue ſacrificed them. *Alexander* vnderſtandinge that, tolde it to his Soothſayers, *Ariſtander*, and *Cleomantis* LACONIAN, who both did aunſwere him, that it was an ill ſigne. *Alexander* thereuppon gaue order ſtraight, that they ſhoulde doe ſacrifice

VVVhy Alexander ſlue Clitus.

F for the health of *Clitus*, and ſpeciallie for that three dayes before he dreamed one night that he ſawe *Clitus* in a mourninge gowne, ſittinge amongeſt the ſonnes of *Parmenio*, the which were all dead before. This notwithſtanding, *Clitus* did not make an ende of his ſacrifice, but

Alexanders dreame of Clitus.

came ſtraight to ſupper to the kinge, who had that day ſacrificed vnto *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. At this feaſt there was olde drinking, and all the ſupper time there were certaine verſes ſong and made by a Poet, called *Pranichus*, (or as others ſay, of one *Pierion*) againſt certaine Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, which had not long before bene ouercome by the barbarous people, and only to ſhame them, and to make the companie laugh. With theſe verſes, auncient men that were at this feaſt, became much offended, and grewe angrie with the Poet that made them, and the minſtrell that ſong them. *Alexander* on thother ſide, and his familliars liked them verie well, and commaunded the minſtrell to ſing ſtill. *Clitus* therewithall being ouertaken with wine, and beſides of a churliſh nature, prowde and arrogant, fell into greater choller, and ſayd: that it was neither well nor honeſtlie done in that ſorte to ſpeake ill of thoſe poore MACEDONIAN Captaines (and ſpeciallie amongeſt the barbarous people their enemies) which were farre better men then they, that laughed them to ſcorne, although their fortune much worſe then theirs. *Alexander* then replied, and ſayd, that ſaying ſo, he pleaded for him ſelfe, calling cowardlineſſe, misfortune. Then *Clitus* ſtanding vp, ſayd againe: but yet this my cowardlynes ſaued thy life, that calleſt thy ſelfe the ſonne of the goddes, when thou turnedſt thy backe from *Spithridates* ſword: and the blood which theſe poore MACEDONIANS did ſhedde for thee, and the woundes which they receiued of their bodies fighting for thee, haue made thee ſo great, that thou diſdaineſt now to haue king *Philip* for thy father, and wilt needes make thy ſelfe the ſonne of *Iupiter Hammon*. *Alexander* being moued with theſe words, ſtraight replied: O, villen, thinkeſt thou to ſcape vnpuniſhed for theſe prowde words of thine, which thou vſeſt continually againſt me, making the MACEDONIANS rebell againſt *Alexander*? *Clitus* aunſwered againe, too much are we puniſhed, *Alexander*, for our paines and ſeruice to receiue ſuch reward: nay, moſt happy thinke we them that long ſence are dead and gone, not now to ſee the MACEDONIANS ſcourged with roddes of the MEDES, & compelled to curry fauor with the PERSIANS, to haue acceſſe vnto their king. Thus *Clitus* boldly ſpeaking againſt *Alexander*, and *Alexander* againe aunſwering and reuiling him: the graueſt men ſought to pacifie this ſturre and tumult. *Alexander* then turning him ſelfe vnto *Xenodochus* CARDIAN, and *Artemius* COLOPHONIAN: doe you not thinke (ſayd he) that the GRÆCIANS are amongeſt the MACEDONIANS, as demy goddes that walke among brute beaſtes? *Clitus* for all this would not geue ouer his impudency and mallapertneſſe, but cried out, and bad *Alexander* ſpeake openlie what he had to ſay, or elſe not to bidde free men come to ſuppe with him that were wont to ſpeake franckely: if not, to keepe with the barbarous ſlaues that honored his PERSIAN girdell, and long white garment. Then coulde *Alexander* no longer hold his choller, but tooke an apple that was vpon his table, and threw it at *Clitus*, and looked for his ſworde, the which *Ariſtophanes*, one of his gard that waited on him, had of purpoſe taken from him. And when euerie man came ſtraight about him to ſtay him, and to pray him to be contented: he immediatly roſe from the borde, and called his gard vnto him in the MACEDONIAN tongue, (which was a ſigne of great trouble to followe after it) and commaunded a trompetor to ſound the allarme. But he drawing backe, would not ſound: whereuppon *Alexander* ſtrake him with his fiſt. Notwithſtanding, the trompetor was greatly commended afterwards, for that he only kept the campe that they roſe not. All this could not quiet *Clitus*, whereupon his frends with much a doe thruſt him out of the halle: but he came in againe at an other dore, and arrogantly and vnreuerently rehearſed this verſe of the Poet *Euripides*, out of *Andromaches* tragedie:

The malapertnes of Clitus againſt Alexander.

Alas for ſorowe, euill wayes
Are into Græce crept nowe a dayes.

Then *Alexander* taking a partiſan from one of his gard, as *Clitus* was comming towardes him, and had lift vp the hanging before the dore, he ranne him through the body, ſo that *Clitus* fell to the ground, and fetching one grone, died preſently. *Alexanders* choller had left him ſtraight, and he became maruelous ſorowfull: and when he ſaw his frendes round about him ſay neuer a word, he pluckt the partiſan out of his body, & would haue thruſt it into his owne throte. Howbeit his gard about him caught him by the hands, & caried him perforce into his chamber: & there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, & the next day following, vntill

Alexander ſlue Clitus, & grieuouſly repented him.

A vntill ſuch time as he was able to crie no more, but lying on the ground, onely laie ſighing. His frendes hearing his voice no more, were afraid, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But *Alexander* would heare none of them, ſauing *Ariſtander* the Soothesayer, who remembred him of his dreame he had of *Clitus* before, which was, a prognoſtication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his deſteny before he was borne. This ſeemed to comfort *Alexander*. Afterwardes they brought in *Calliſthenes* the philoſopher, a kinſman of *Ariſtotles*, and *Anaxarchus* borne in ABDERA. Of theſe two, *Calliſthenes* ſought by gentle talke, not mouing any matter offenſiue to comfort *Alexanders* ſorow. But *Anaxarchus* that from the beginning had taken a way by him ſelfe in the ſtudie of philoſophie, being accompted a braine ſicke man, and one that deſpiſed his companions: he comming into *Alexanders* chamber alſo with him, cryed out at the dore as he came in: See, yonder is *Alexander* the great whom all the world lookes apon, and is affraid of. See where he lies, weeping like a ſlaue on the ground, that is affraid of the lawe, and of the reproche of men: as if he him ſelfe ſhould not geue them law, and ſtabliſh the boundes of iuſtice or iniuſtice, ſithence he hath ouercome to be Lord and maſter, and not to be ſubiect and ſlaue to a vaine opinion. Knoweſt thou not that the poets ſaie, that *Iupiter* hath Themis, to wit, right and iuſtice placed of either hand on him? what ſignifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is wholy right, and iuſt? Theſe wordes of *Anaxarchus* did comfort the ſorowfull harte of king *Alexander* at that time, but therewithall, they made *Alexanders* maners afterwardes more fierce and diſſolute. For, as he thereby did maruelouſly grow in fauor with the king, euen ſo did he make the company of *Calliſthenes*, (who of him ſelfe was not very pleaſaunt, bicauſe of his grauety and ſowrenes) much more hatefull and miſliked then before. It is written alſo that there was certain talke one night at king *Alexanders* borde touching the ſeaſons of the yeare, & temperatenes of the ayer, and that *Calliſthenes* was of their opinion which mainteined, that the contry they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter alſo ſharper then in GRÆCE. *Anaxarchus* held the contrary opinion, and ſtifly mainteined it, in ſo much as *Calliſthenes* ſaid vnto him: and yet muſt thou graunt, that it is colder here then there. For there, all the winter time thou couldeſt goe with a ſingle cloke on thy backe onely, and here thou muſt haue three or foure garments vpon thee when thou art at thy borde. This galled *Anaxarchus* to the quicke, and made him more angry then before: and for the other rethoritians and flatterers, they did alſo hate him, bicauſe they ſaw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloued alſo of olde men for his honeſt life, the which was very graue, modeſt, and contented with his owne, deſiring no mans els. Whereby men found, that the reaſon he alleaged for following of *Alexander* in this voyage, was true: for he ſaid that he came to be an humble ſuter to the king to reſtore his baniſhed citizens into their contrie againe, and to repleniſh their citie with inhabitantes. Now, though his eſtimation made him chiefly to be enuyed, yet did he him ſelfe geue his enemies occaſion to accuſe him. For oftentimes being inuited by the king to ſupper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be meut, and ſay nothing, ſhowing by his grauety and ſilence, that nothing pleaſed him that was either ſaid or done. Whereupon *Alexander* ſelfe ſaid on a time vnto him:

Calliſthenes, and Anaxarchus, do comfort Alexander.

The cauſe why Calliſthenes was enuyed.

I can not thinke that perſon vviſe,
That in his owvne caſe hath no eyes.

It is reported of him alſo, that being at ſupper on a time with the king, diuers requeſting him to make an oration on the ſuddein in commendation of the MACEDONIANS: he made ſuch an eloquent oration vpon that matter, that all they that heard him roſe from the borde, and clapping their handes for ioy, caſt noſegayes and flowers vpon him. But yet *Alexander* at that time ſaid vnto him that, which the Poet *Euripides* ſaid:

It is no mayſtry to be eloquent,
In handling of a plentuous argument.

Nay, but vtter then thy eloquence in reprouing of the MACEDONIANS, that hearing their faultes, they may learne to amend. Then *Calliſthenes* chaunging coppy, ſpake boldly many thinges againſt the MACEDONIANS: Declaring, that the diſſention amongeſt the GRÆCIANS did increaſe king *Philips* power, alleaging theſe verſes:

VVhere diſcord reignes in Realm or touvne,
Euen vvicked folke doe vvin renovvne.

But by this occaſiõ, he purchaſed him ſelfe great ill will of the MACEDONIANS: in ſomuch, as *Alexander* ſelfe ſaid at that time, that he had not ſo much ſhewed his eloquence, as the malice he bare vnto the MACEDONIANS. *Hermippus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that one *Strœbus* a clearke of *Calliſthenes* did afterwardes tell it vnto *Ariſtotle* in this ſorte: and that *Calliſthenes* ſeeing king *Alexander* offended with him, did recite theſe verſes of *Homer* three or foure times as he went.

Patroclus vvho farre paſſed thee,
VVas ſlaine as thou art like to be.

Ariſtotle thought Calliſthenes eloquent, but not wiſe.

And therefore very wiſely ſaid *Ariſtotle*, that *Calliſthenes* was eloquent, but not wiſe. For like a philoſopher, he ſtowtely ſtood againſt kneeling to the king, and ſaid that openly, which the nobleſt & auncienteſt men among the MACEDONIANS durſt but whiſper one in an others eare, though they did all vtterly miſlike it: whereby he did yet deliuer GRÆCE from open ſhame, & *Alexander* from a greater, bringing him from that maner of adoration of his perſon. This notwithſtanding, he vndid him ſelfe bicauſe he would ſeeme rather by preſumption to bringe him to it, then by reaſon to perſwade him. *Chares* MITYLENIAN hath written, that *Alexander* hauing dronke at a certain feaſt where he hapned to be, reached his cuppe vnto one of his frendes, who after he had taken it of him, roſe vp firſt on his feete, and dranke alſo, turning him towardes the goddes, and firſt making ſolemne reuerence, he went and kiſſed *Alexander*, and then ſate him downe againe. All the reſt that were at the feaſt, did the like one after an other, and *Calliſthenes* alſo, who tooke the cuppe when it came to his turne, (the king not looking on him, but talking with *Hephæſtiõ*,) after he had dronke, came to the king to kiſſe him as others had done. Howbeit one *Demetrius* called *Phidõ*, ſaid vnto the king: kiſſe him not, I pray your grace, for he of all men hath done you no reuerence. *Alexander* turned his head a ſide, and would not kiſſe him. Then cryed *Calliſthenes* out alowde: well, quoth he, then I will goe my waie, with leſſe then others, by a kiſſe. And thus beganne *Alexanders* grudge firſt againſt *Calliſthenes*, by meanes whereof *Hephæſtion* was credited the better, when he ſaid that *Calliſthenes* had promiſed him to reuerence *Alexander*, although that he had broken promiſe. After him alſo *Lyſimachus*, *Agnon*, and diuers others beganne to plaie their partes againſt him, ſaying, that this Sophiſter went bragging vp and downe, as if he had deſtroyed a whole tyrannie, and that all the young men followed him to honor him, as if among ſo many thowſand ſouldiers, neuer a man of them had ſo noble a harte as he. And therefore, when the treaſon of *Hermolaus* againſt *Alexanders* perſon was diſcouered, they found the accuſation probable, the which ſome falſe detracters had informed againſt *Calliſthenes*: who had aunſwered *Hermolaus* that asked him, how he could come to be famous aboue all men, thus: in killing the famouſeſt perſon. And to animate him to goe forward with this treaſon, he had told him further, that he ſhould not be affraid of a golden bedde, but remember that he had to doe with a man, which was ſomtime ſicke and hurte as other men were. This notwithſtanding, there was neuer a one of *Hermolaus* confederates, that would once name *Calliſthenes*, what tormentes ſoeuer they abidde, to bewray who were their companions. And *Alexander* ſelfe alſo writing of this treaſon immediatly after, vnto *Craterus*, *Attalus*, and *Alcetas*, ſaid, that their ſeruauntes which had bene racked and put to the torter, did conſtantly affirme that they onely had conſpired his death, and no man els was priuie vnto it. But afterwardes, he ſent an other letter vnto *Antipater*, wherein he directly accuſed *Calliſthenes*, and ſaid, that his ſeruauntes had already bene ſtoned to death by the MACEDONIANS, howbeit that he him ſelfe would afterwardes alſo puniſh the maſter, and thoſe that had ſent vnto him, and that had receiued the murtherers into their cities, who came of purpoſe to kill him. And therein he plainly ſhewed the ill will he bare vnto *Ariſtotle*, for that *Calliſthenes* had bene brought vp with him, being his kinſman, and the ſonne of *Hero*, *Ariſtotles* neece. Some ſaie, that *Alexander* truſſed *Calliſthenes* vp. Others againe report, that he died of ſickenes in priſon. Neuertheles *Chares* writeth, that *Calliſthenes* was kept priſoner ſeuen moneths together, bicauſe he ſhould haue had his iudgement in open counſaill euen in the preſence of *Ariſtotle* him ſelfe: howbeit, being very fatte, he

Calliſthenes ſuſpected of treaſõ againſt Alexander.

Alexander offended with Ariſtotle.

The death of Calliſthenes the rethorician.

A he was eaten in the ende by lice, and ſo died, about the time that *Alexander* was hurt, fighting againſt the MALLIANS OXYDRACIANS, in the conqueſt of INDIA, but theſe thinges chaunced a good while after. *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN being very old, had a great deſire to goe ſee *Alexander*: and when he had ſeene him, he ſaid that the GRÆCIANS which were dead long before, were depriued of that bliſſe and happynes, that they could not ſee *Alexander* ſitte in the royall ſeate of king *Darius*. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the kinges goodwill vnto him, for he died of a ſickneſs ſoone after he came vnto his campe, & *Alexander* did honor his funeralls: for all the armie in their armor did caſt vp a mounte of earth facioned like a tombe, which was a great compaſſe about, & foure ſcore cubittes high. His aſhes afterwardes were brought with an honorable conuoye, vnto the ſea ſide, in a charriot with foure horſes richely ſet out.

The iourney of Demaratus Corinthiã vnto Alexander, and his death.

B *Alexander* being ready to take his iorney to goe conquer INDIA, perceyuing that his armie was very heauy & vnwildſom to remoue, for the wonderfull cariage and ſpoiles they had with them: the cartes one morning being loden, he firſt burnt his owne cariage, & next his frendes, & then commaunded that they ſhould alſo ſet the cariage of the MACEDONIANS a fire, which counſell ſeemed more daungerous to be reſolued of, then the proofe of the execution fell out difficulte. For there are very few of them that were angry therewith, & the moſt part of them (as if they had bene ſecretly moued by ſome god) with lowde cryes of ioy, one of them gaue vnto an other ſuch neceſſary things as they had neede of, and afterwardes of them ſelues did burne and ſpoile all the reſt. This made *Alexander* much more rigorous then he was before, beſides that he was already become cruell enough, and without mercy or perdon, did ſharpely

Alexanders iourney into India.

Alexander burns his cariages.

C puniſh euery man that offended. For hauing commaunded *Menander* one of his frendes, to kepe him a ſtrong holde: he put him to death, bicauſe he would not remaine there. Furthermore, he him ſelfe ſlue *Orſodates* (a captaine of the barbarous people) with a darte, for that he rebelled againſt him. About that time, there was an ewe that had eaned a lambe, which had apon her head, the forme and purple culler of the kinges hatte, after the PERSIAN maner, called Tiara, hauing two ſtones hanging on ech ſide of it. *Alexander* abhorred this monſterous ſigne, inſomuch as he pourged him ſelfe by certain BABYLONIAN prieſtes, which he alwayes caried about with him for that purpoſe, and ſaid vnto his frendes: that this monſter did not ſo much moue him for reſpect of him ſelfe, as it did for them, fearing that the goddes after his death had predeſtined the force and power of his kingdom to fall into the handes of ſome

The cruelnit of Alexander towardes his men.

A monſterous lamme appeared vnto Alexander.

D baſe cowardly perſon. This notwithſtanding, an other ſigne and token which chaunced in the necke of that, did take away this feare and diſcoragement he had. For a MACEDONIAN called *Proxenus*, that had charge of the kinges cariage, as he digged in a certain place by the riuer of Oxus, to ſet vp the kinges tent and his lodging, he found a certain fatte and oylie vaine, which after they had drawen out the firſt, there came out alſo an other cleerer, which differed nothing, neither in ſmell, taſte, nor ſauor, from naturall oyle, hauing the gloſſe and fattnes ſo like, as there could be diſcerned no difference betwene them: the which was ſo much more to be wondred at, bicauſe that in al that contry there were no olyues. They ſay alſo, that the water of the riuer ſelfe of Oxus is very ſoft, & maketh their skinnes fatte, which waſh or bathe them ſelues therein. And yet it appeareth by that which *Alexander* ſelfe wrote vnto *Antipater*, that

A ſpring of oyle found, by the riuer of Oxus.

E he was very glad of it, putting that amongeſt the greateſt ſignes which the goddes had ſent vnto him. The Soothſayers did interprete this wonder, that it was a ſigne, that he ſhould haue a noble, but yet a painefull voyage: for the goddes, ſaid they, haue geuen oyle vnto men to refreſh their wearynes. And truly ſo did he ſuſteine many daungers in thoſe warres, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greateſt loſſe he had of his men, was for lacke of vittells, and by the infection of the ayer. For he, ſtriuing to ouercome fortune by valiantnes, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impoſſible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withſtand a noble harte. It is reported, that when he went to beſiege a ſtrong holde which *Siſimethres* kept, being thought vnſaltable, and that his ſouldiers were in diſpeire of it: he asked one *Oxyarthes*, what hart *Siſimethres* had. *Oxyarthes* aunſwered him, that he was the verieſt coward

Oyle refreſheth wearynes.

F in the world. O, that is well, ꝙ *Alexander*: then it is to be wonne, if that be true thou ſaieſt, ſithence the captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it of a ſodaine, by putting *Siſimethres* in a great feare. After that alſo, he did beſiege an other peece of as great ſtrength, and

difficultie to assault as the other; and making the young souldiers of the MACEDONIANS to go to thassault, he called one of them vnto him, whose name also was *Alexander*, vnto whom he said thus. *Alexander*, this daie thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy name sake. The yong man did not forget his words, for he fought so valliantly, that he was slaine, for whom *Alexander* was very sory. An other time when his men were affraid, & durst not come neere vnto the citie of NISA to assault it, bicause there ranne a very deepe riuer hard by the walles: he came to the riuers side, and said: oh, what a coward am I, that neuer learned to swimme? and so prepared him selfe to swimme ouer apon his shielde. After he had caused them to retire from the assault, there came ambassadors vnto him from the cities besieged, to craue pardon of him. They wondered at him at the first, when they saw him armed, without any pompe or other ceremonie about him: but much more, when a chaier was brought him to sit downe on, that he commaunded the oldest man amongest them called *Acuphis*, to take it to him, and sit him downe. *Acuphis* marueling at *Alexanders* great curtesie, asked him: what they should doe for him, thenceforth to be his good frendes. I will, said *Alexander*, that they from whom thou comest as ambassador vnto vs, doe make thee their king: and withall that they doe send me a hundred of their best men for ostages. *Acuphis*, smiling, aunswered him againe: but I shall rule them better, O king, if I send you the worst, and not the best. There was a king called *Taxiles* a very wise man, who had a great contrie in INDIA, no lesse in biggenes and circuit then all ÆGYPT, and as full of good pasture and frutes as any country in the world could be: who came on a tyme to salute *Alexander*, and sayd vnto him. What should we neede, *Alexander*, to fight, and make warres one with an other, if thou comest not to take away our water, and our necessary commoditie to liue by: for which thinges, men of iudgement must needes fight? As for other goods, if I be richer then thou, I am ready to giue thee of myne: and if I haue lesse, I will not thinke skorne to thanke thee, if thou wilt giue me some of thine. *Alexander* being pleased to heare him speake thus wisely, imbraced him, and sayd vnto him. Thinkest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all these goodly fayre wordes? no, no, thou hast wonne nothing by that: for I will fight and contend with thee in honestie and curtesie, bycause thou shalt not exceede me in bowntie and liberalitie. So *Alexander* taking diuers giftes of him, but giuing more vnto *Taxiles*: he dranke to him one night at supper, and said, I drinke to thee a thowsand talents in golde. This gifte misliked *Alexanders* friendes: but in recompence thereof, he wanne the hartes of many of those barbarous Lordes and Princes of that country. There was a certeine number of souldiers of the INDIANS, the warlikest men of all that country: who beeing mercenary souldiers, were euer enterteyned in seruice of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt vnto *Alexander* in diuers places. *Alexander* hauing made peace with them in a citie where they were kept in: when they came abrode apon suertie of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the sworde. There was but this onely fault, to bleamish the honor of his noble deedes in all his warres: for in all thinges els, he shewed mercy and equitie. Furthermore, the graue Philosophers and wise men of INDIA did greatly trouble him also. For they reproued the kinges and Princes of the INDIANS for that they yelded vnto *Alexander*, & procured the free cities to take armes against him. But by their occasion, he tooke diuers of their cities. For king *Porus*, *Alexander* selfe writeth in his Epistles, all his actes at large which he did against him. For he sayth, that both their campes lying on either side of the riuer of Hydaspes, king *Porus* set his Elephants apon the banke of the riuer with their heades towards their enemies, to keepe them from passing ouer: and that he him selfe did continually make a noise and tumult in his campe, to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night when there was no moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, & the choice of his horsemen, and went farre from his enemies to get ouer into a litle Ilande. When he was come into the Iland, there fel a wonderful shower of raine, great windes, lightnings and thunders apon his campe, insomuch as he saw many of his men burnt by lightning in this litle Ilande. This notwithstanding, he did not leaue to get ouer to the other side of the riuer. The riuer being swollen with the great flud of rayne that fell the night before, ouerflowing the bankes, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne: so that *Alexander* when he had

The citie of Nisa.

Acuphis wise aunswer vnto Alexander.

King Taxiles talke with Alexander.

Alexanders aunswer to Taxiles.

Alexander dishonorably brake the peace he had made.

Alexanders actes against king Porus. Hydaspes fl.

had passed ouer the riuer, and was come to the other side, found him selfe in very ill case, for that he could hardly keepe his feete, bicause the earth was very slippery vnder him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it downe on euery side. It is written of him, that then he sayd vnto the ATHENIANS: O ATHENIANS, could ye thinke that I could take such paines, and put my selfe into so many daungers, onely to be praised of you? Thus *Onesicritus* reporteth it. But *Alexander* selfe writeth, that they left their rafters or great peeces of tymber pinned together whereuppon they had passed ouer the streame of the mayne riuer: and that they waded thorow the other arme or gutt of the water which had broken the earth, vppe to their breasts with their harnesse on their backes. Furthermore, when he had passed ouer both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty furlonges before the battell of his footemen: thinking that if his enemies came to giue him charge with their men of armes, that he was the stronger: and if they would also aduawnce their footemen forwarde, that his footemen also should come tyme enough. One of the twaine fel out as he had gessed. For, a thowsand horsemen, and three skore charrets armed with his ennemies, gaue him charge before their great company, whom he ouerthrew, and tooke all their charrets, & slue foure hundred of the men of armes in the fielde. King *Porus* then knowing by those signes that *Alexander* was there in person, and had passed ouer the riuer: he marched towardes him with all his armie in battell ray, sauing a few which he left behinde to resist the MACEDONIANS, if they shewed force to passe ouer the riuer. *Alexander* being afraid of the great multitude of his ennemies, and of the terror of the *Elephants*, did not giue charge apon the middest of the battell, but being him selfe in the left winge, gaue charge apon the corner of thenemies left winge, and also commaunded them that were in the right winge to doe the like. So, both the endes of thenemies armie were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ranne vnto the Elephants, & gathered them selues together about them. Thus the battell being begon, the conflict continued long, insomuch as the enemies were scantly all ouerthrowne by three of the clocke in the afternoone.

Many writers doe agree, that *Porus* was foure cubits and a shaft length hier and bigger then the Elephant, although the Elephant was very great, and as bigge as a horse: and besides that the Elephant did shew great wit and care, to saue the king his Maister. For whilest he perceyued his Maister was stronge enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assayle him: but when he found that he began to faint, hauing many woundes apon his body, and arrowes sticking in it: then being afraid lest his Maister should fall downe from his backe, he softely fell on his knees, and gently taking his dartes and arrowes with his troncke, which he had in his body, he pluckt them all from him one after an other. *Porus* beeing taken, *Alexander* asked him, howe he should handle him, princely, aunswered *Porus*. *Alexander* asked him agayne, if he would saye any thing els. I comprehend all, sayde he, in this word princely. Thereupon *Alexander* did not onely leaue him his prouinces and Realmes, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Liefetenant: but gaue him many other contries also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteene seuerall nations, fiue thowsand of no small cities, besides an infinite number of villages, and thryse as many other contries: he made *Philip* one of his friendes, his Liefetenant of all those contries: his horse Bucephal dyed at this battell, not in the fielde, but afterwardes whilest he was in cure for the woundes he had on his body: but as *Onesicritus* sayth, he dyed euen worne for very age. *Alexander* was as sory for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friendes: and for proofe thereof, he built a great citie in the place where his horse was buryed, apon the riuer of Hydaspes, the which he called after his name, *Bucephalia*. It is reported also, that hauing lost a dogge of his called Peritas, which he had brought vppe of a whelpe, and loued very dearely: he built also a citie, and called it after his name. *Sotion* writeth, that he hearde it reported thus of *Potamon* LESBIAN. This last battell against king *Porus*, killed the MACEDONIANS hartes, and made them that they had no desire to goe any further to conquer INDIA. For, finding that they had such a doe to ouercome them, though they were but twenty thowsand footemen, and two thowsand horse, they spake yll of *Alexander* when he went about to compell them to passe ouer the ryuer of Ganges, vnderstanding by the contry men that it was two and thirty furlong ouer, and a hundred fadam deepe: and howe that the banke of the ryuer was

The stature of king Porus.

The quicke wit and care of the Elephant to saue the king his maister.

Alexanders conquests in the Indias.

The death of Bucephal Alexanders horse.

Bucephalia, a great citie built by Alexander, apon the riuer of Hydaspes: & why so named.

Peritas, Alexanders dogge.

Ganges fl.

Gangaride, and Presij, people of India.

full of ſouldiers,horſemen,and Elephants.For it was reported, that the kings of the GANGARIDES,& the PRÆSIANS were on thother ſide with foure ſcore thowſand horſemen,two hundred thowſand footemen,eight thowſand charrets or carts of warre wel armed,and ſix thowſand Elephants of warre.This was no fable,not fryuolous tale.For,a king called *Androcottus* (who raigned not long after,)gaue vnto *Seleucus*,fiue hundred Elephants at one time, & conquered all INDIA with ſixe hundred thowſand fighting men. *Alexander* then offended with his mens refuſall,kept cloſe in his tent for certeine daies,and lay vpon the ground,ſaying,that he did not thanke them,for all that they had done thithervnto, vnles they paſſed ouer the ryuer of Ganges alſo: And that to returne backe againe, it was as much as to confeſſe that he had bene ouercome. At the length, when he ſawe and conſidered that there was great reaſon in his friendes perſwaſions which labored to comfort him, and that his ſouldiers came to the dore of his tent,crying and lamenting, humbly beſeeching him to leade them backe againe: in thende he tooke pitie of them,and was contented to returne. This notwithſtanding,before he departed from thoſe parties, he put forth many vaine and falſe deuiſes to make his name immortall amonge that people. He made armors of greater proportion then his owne, and mangers for horſes,higher then the common ſort: moreouer,he made bytts alſo farre heauier then the common ſort,and made them to be throwen and ſcattered abroad in euery place. He built great aultars alſo in honor of the godds,the which the kings of the PRÆSIANS haue in great veneration at this day: and paſſing ouer the riuer,doe make ſacrifices there, after the manner of the GRÆCIANS.*Androcottus* at that time was a very young man, and ſawe *Alexander* him ſelfe,and ſayd afterwards,that *Alexander* had well neare taken and wonne all the contry,the king which then raigned,was ſo hated of all his ſubiectes,for his wicked life, and baſe parentage he came of.Departing thence,he went to ſee the great ſea Oceanum,and made diuers botes with ores,in the which he eaſily went downe the riuers at his pleaſure. Howbeit, this his pleaſant going by water,was not without warre: for he would land oftentymes, and did aſſaile cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in aſſailing the citie of the MALLIANS, (which they ſay are the warlikeſt men of all the INDIANS)he was almoſt ſlaine there. For,hauing with darts repulſed the ennemies from the wall,he him ſelfe was the firſt man that ſette foote on a ladder to gett vp, the which brake aſſoone as euer he was gotten vpon the ramper. Then the barbarous people comming together againſt the wall, did throwe at him from beneathe, and many tymes lighted vpon him.*Alexander* hauing fewe of his men about him, made no more a doe,but leaped downe from the wall in the middeſt of his ennemies, and by good happe lighted on his feete.His harnes making a great noyſe with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had ſeene ſome light or ſpirite goe before him: ſo that at the firſt they all betooke them to their legges,and ranne ſcatteringly here and there. But after that,when they came againe to them ſelues, and ſawe that he had but two gentlemen onely about him,they came and ſette apon him of all handes,and fought with him at the ſworde or puſhe of the pyke,and ſo hurt him very ſore through his armor: but one amonge the reſt,being ſomewhat further of, gaue him ſuch a terrible blowe with an arrowe, that he ſtrake him through his curats,and ſhot him in at the ſide vnder his breſt. The blow entred ſo into his body,that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereuppon,he that had ſtriken him with his arrow,ranne ſodainly to him with a cimiter drawen in his hand. Howbeit *Peuceſtas* & *Limnæus* ſtepped before him,and were both hurt: *Limnæus* was ſlaine preſently, and *Peuceſtas* fought it out,till at the length,*Alexander* ſelfe ſlew the barbarous man with his owne hand,after he had many greeuous woundes vpon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his necke that ſo aſtonied him,that he leaned againſt the wall looking apon his enemies. In the meane time,the MACEDONIANS compaſſing him round about, tooke him, and caried him into his tent halfe in a ſownde,and was paſt knowledge: Whereupon,there ranne a rumor ſtraight in the campe,that *Alexander* was dead.They had much a doe to cut the arrow aſonder that was of wodde: ſo his curats being plucked of with great paine, yet were they to plucke the arrow head out of his body,which ſtucke in one of his bones: the which as it is reported, was foure fingers long,and three fingers broad.So that when they plucked it out,he ſownded ſo oft,that he was almoſt dead.This notwithſtanding,he ouercame the daunger,and eſcaped.Being very weake,

Alexanders returne out of India.

Alexanders vaine deuiſes to make him ſelfe immortall.

King Androcottus.

Alexander in daunger at the citie of the Mallians.

A weake, he kept diet a long time to recouer him ſelfe, and neuer came out of his tent: vntill he heard the MACEDONIANS cry, and make great noyſe about his tent, deſirous to ſee him. Then he put on a night gowne, and came out amongeſt them all: and after he had done ſacrifice vnto the godds for recouery of his health, he went on his iorney againe, and in the ſame did conquer many great contreyes, and tooke diuers goodly cities. He did alſo take tenne of the wiſe men of the contry, which men doe all go naked, and therefore are called GYMNOSOPHISTÆ, (to wit, Philoſophers of INDIA) who had procured *Sabbas* to rebell againſt him, and had done great hurt vnto the MACEDONIANS. And bicauſe they were taken to be the ſharpeſt and readieſt of aunſwer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard queſtions, & told them he would put the firſt man to death, that aunſwered him worſt, and ſo the reſt in order: and made the el-

The wiſe men of India.

B deſt amonge them Iudge of their aunſwers. The queſtion he asked the firſt man, was this:

Alexanders queſtions propounded to the ten Philoſophers of India.

Whether the dead or the liuing, were the greater number. He aunſwered, the liuing. For the dead ſayd he, are no more men. 1.

The ſecond man he asked: whether the earth, or the ſea brought forth moſt creatures. He aunſwered, the earth. For the ſea ſayd he, is but a part of the earth. 2.

To the third man: which of all beaſtes was the ſubtilleſt. That (ſayd he) which man hetherto neuer knew. 3.

To the fourth: why he did make *Sabbas* rebell? bicauſe ſayd he, he ſhould liue honorably, or dye vilely. 4.

To the fift, which he thought was firſt, the daye, or the night? He aunſwered, the daye, by a 5.

C day. The kinge finding his aunſwer ſtraunge, added to this ſpeech: ſtraunge queſtions, muſt needes haue ſtraunge aunſwers.

Comming to the ſixt man, he asked him: how a man ſhould come to be beloued: If he be a good man ſayd he, not terrible. 6.

To the ſeuenth, how a man ſhould be a god? In doing a thing, ſaid he, impoſſible for a man. 7.

To the eight, which was the ſtrōger: life or death? life, ſaid he, that ſuffreth ſo many troubles. 8.

And vnto the ninth and laſt man: how long a man ſhould liue? vntill ſayd he, he thinke it better to dye, then to liue. 9.

When *Alexander* had heard theſe aunſwers, he turned vnto the Iudge, & bad him giue his iudgement vpon them. The Iudge ſaid, they had all aunſwered one worſe then another. Then

D ſhalt thou die firſt, ſaid *Alexander*, bicauſe thou haſt giuen ſuch ſentence: not ſo, O king, ꝙ he, if thou wilt not be a lier: bicauſe thou ſaidſt, that thou wouldeſt kil him firſt, that had aunſwered worſt. In fine, *Alexander* did let them go with rewardes. He ſent *Oneſicritus* alſo vnto the other wiſe men of the INDIANS, which were of greateſt fame among thē, & that led a ſolitary & quiet life: to pray them to come vnto him. This *Oneſicritus* the Philoſopher, was *Diogenes* the Ciniks ſcholler. It is reported, that *Calanus* one of theſe wiſe men, very ſharply & proudly bad him put of his clothes, to heare his words naked: or otherwiſe that he would not ſpeake to him, though he came from *Iupiter* him ſelf. Yet *Dandamis* aunſwered him more gently. For he hauing learned what maner of men *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes* were, ſaid: that they ſeemed to haue bene wiſe men, & wel borne, notwithſtanding that they had reuerenced the lawe too much in

Alexander rewarded the ten wiſe men, and did let them goe.

Oneſicritus a Philoſopher.

Calanus, otherwiſe called Sphines.

Dandamis.

E their life time. Others write notwithſtanding, that *Dandamis* ſaid nothing els, but aſked why *Alexander* had takē ſo painful a iorney in hand, as to come into INDIA. For *Calanus*, (whoſe right name otherwiſe was *Sphines*) king *Taxiles* perſwaded him to go vnto *Alexander*: who bicauſe he ſaluted thoſe he met, in the INDIAN tongue, ſaying *Cale*, as much to ſay, as God ſaue ye: the GRÆCIANS named him *Calanus*. It is reported, that this *Calanus* did ſhew *Alexander* a figure & ſimilitude of his kingdom, which was this. He threw down before him a dry ſeare peece of leather, & then put his foote vpon one of the endes of it. The leather being troden down on that ſide, roſe vp in al partes e__, & going vp & down with all ſtill treading vpon the ſides of the leather: he made *Alexander* ſee, that the leather being troden downe on the one ſide, did riſe vp of al ſides els, vntil ſuch time as he put his foote in the middeſt of the leather, & then al the whole

Calanus, a wiſe man of India.

The ſimilitud of a kingdom, ſhewed by a peece of leather.

F leather was plain alike. His meaning thereby, was to let *Alexāder* vnderſtād, that the moſt part of his time he ſhould keepe in the middeſt of his contry, & not to goe farre from it. *Alexander* cōtinued ſeuen moneths trauelling vpon the riuers, to go ſee the great ſea Oceanum. Then he

Psitulcis is an Iland.

tooke ſhip,& ſailed into a litle Iland called SCYLLVSTIS, howbeit others call it PSITVLCIS. There he landed,made ſacrifices vnto the gods,& vewed the greatnes & nature of the ſea Oceanū,& all the ſituacion of the coaſt apon that ſea,as farre as he could go. Then he made his praiers vnto the gods,that no conqueror liuing after him ſhould go beyond the bounds of his iorney & conqueſt,& ſo returned homeward. He cōmaunded his ſhips ſhould fetch a cōpaſſe about,& leaue INDIA on the right hand:& made *Nearchus* Admirall of all his fleete, & *Oneſicritus* chiefe Pilote. He him ſelf in the meane time went by land through the contry of the ORITES,& there he found great ſcarſitye of vittels,& loſt many of his men:ſo that he caried not out of INDIA the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither,which were in al,ſix ſcore thowſand footemen,& fifteen thowſand horſmen. Some of thē died of greeuous diſſeaſes,others,by ill diet,others,by extreme heat & drowght;& the moſt of thē by hunger,trauailing through this barren contry,where the poore men liued hardly,& had onely a few ſheepe which they fed with ſea fiſh,that made their fleſh ſauor very il fauoredly. At the lēgth,when in three ſcore daies iorney he had painfully trauelled through this contry, he thē entred into the cōtry called GEDROSIA,where he found great plēty of al kind of vittels,which the gouernors, kings,& princes,neighbours vnto the ſame,did ſēd vnto him. After he had refreſhed his army there a litle,he wēt through the cōtry of CARMANIA,where he continued ſeuē daies together banketing,going ſtil through the contry. For night & day,he was feaſting continually with his frends apon a ſcaffold lōger then broad,riſing vp of height,& drawn with eight goodly horſe. After that ſcaffold followed diuers other charrets couered ouer,ſome with goodly rich arras, & purple ſilk,others with trim freſh boughes which they renued at euery fields end:& in thoſe were *Alexanders* other frends & captaines with garlands of flowers apon their heades,which drank & made mery together. In all this armie, there was neither helmet, pike,dart,nor target ſeene:but gold & ſiluer bowles,cups,& flagons in the ſouldiers hands,al the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes & veſſels which they caried with them,one drinking to another,ſome marching in the fields going forward,& others alſo ſet at the table. About thē were the minſtrels playing & piping on their flutes & ſhalmes,& womē ſinging & daunſing,& fooling by the way as they wēt. In all this diſſolute marching through the cōtry, & in the middeſt of their dronkēnes,they mingled with it ſport:that euery mā did ſtriue to coūterfeat all the inſolēcies of *Bacchus*,as if god *Bacchus* him ſelf had ben there in perſon,& had led the mommery. Whē he came vnto the kings caſtel of GEDROSIA,he ſtaied there alſo certein daies to refreſh his army with feaſting & bāketing. It is ſaid,that one day whē he had dronke hard, he went to ſeē the games for daunſing:& amongſt thē,the games which a yong man called *Bagoas* had ſet forth,(with whō *Alexander* fel in liking)& bare the bel. This *Bagoas* being in his daunſing garmēts,came through the Theater,& ſat him downe by *Alexander*. The MACEDONIANS were ſo glad of it,that they ſhowted & clapped their hands for ioy,crying out alowde,to kiſſe him:So that in fine he toke him in his armes,& kiſſed him,before them all. Thither came *Nearchus* his Admiral vnto him:who made report what he had ſene & done in his nauigatiō. *Alexander* was ſo glad of that,as he was deſirous to ſaile by ſea him ſelf:& ſo,entring into the ſea oceanum by the mouth of Euphrates,with a great fleete of ſhips,to cōpaſſe in all the coaſts of ARABIA & AFRICKE,& thēce into Mare Mediterraneū,by the ſtraights of the pillers of *Hercules*. To this intēt he built a great nūber of ſhips in the city of THAPSACVS,& ſent for mariners,ſhipmaſters, & pilots,out of al parts. But now,the difficultie of the iorney which he tooke apon him for the cōqueſt of INDIA,the daunger he was in whē he fought with the MALLIANS,& the nūber of his mē which he loſt beſides which was very great,al theſe things cōſidered together, making mē beleue that he ſhould neuer return with ſafetie:they made all the people(which he had cōquered)bold to riſe againſt him,& gaue his gouernors & Lieuetenants of prouinces occaſion to cōmit great inſolēcies,robberies,& exactiōs of people. To be ſhort,it put al his kingdom in broile & ſedition. Inſomuch as *Olympias* & *Cleopatra* riſing againſt *Antipater*, they deuided his gouernmēt betwene thē:*Olympias* choſing for her,the kingdō of EPIRVS:& *Cleopatra*,the kingdō of MACEDON. Which whē *Alexander* had heard,he ſaid his mother was the wiſeſt: for the realme of MACEDON would neuer haue ſuffred a womā to raigne ouer thē. Therupon he ſent *Nearchus* back again to the ſea,determining to fil all the ſea coaſts with warre. As he trauelled through

Alexanders name in the ſea Oceanum.

Alexanders armie going in to India.

Sheepe fed with fiſhe.

The contry of Gedroſia.

The contry of Carmania.

The riot of Alexanders ſouldiers.

The citie of Thapſacus.

The prouinces conquered by Alexander,rebelled againſt him.

A through the cõtries farre frõ the ſea, he put his capteines & gouernors to death, which had reuolted againſt him: & of thoſe he ſlue *Oxyarthes*, one of *Abulites* ſonnes, by his own hãd, rõning him thorow with a pike. And whẽ *Abulites* ſelf alſo had brought *Alexãder* iij thowſãd talẽts only, without any other prouiſiõ made for vittels for his army: he made him put the money before his horſe, which would not once touch it. Then ſayd he vnto him: I pray thee to what purpoſe ſerueth this prouiſiõ? & therwithal immediatly cõmitted him to priſõ. As he came through the cõtry of PERSIA, he firſt renued the old cuſtõ there, which was: that as often times as the kings did return home frõ any far iorney, they gaue vnto euery womã a crown a peece. It is ſaid therfore that for this cauſe, ſome of their natural kings many times did not returne again into their cõtry: & that *Ochus* amõgſt others did not ſo much as once returne back again, willingly baniB ſhing him ſelf out of his cõtry, of niggardlines, becauſe he would not be at this charg. After that, *Cyrus* tomb (king of PERSIA) being toũd & brokẽ vp, he put him to death that did it, although he were a MACEDONIAN of the citye of PELLA, (and none of the meaneſt) called *Polymachus*. Whẽ he had red the inſcriptiõ writtẽ apõ it in the Perſian tõgue, he would needes alſo haue it writtẽ in the Greeke tõgue: & this it was. *O mã, vvhat ſo thou art, & vvhẽceſoeuer thou cõmeſt, fro I knovve thou ſhalt come. I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Perſia, I pray thee enuy me not for this litle earth that coũereth my body.* Theſe words pearced *Alexanders* hart, whẽ he cõſidered the vncertainty of worldly things. There alſo, *Calanus* the INDIAN Philoſopher, hauing had a flyxe a litle while, praied that they would make him a ſtacke of wod, ſuch as they vſe to burne dead bodies on, & then rode thither a horſe back: & after he had made his praier vnto the godds, he C caſt thoſe ſprincklings apon him, which were vſed to be ſprinckled at the funerals of the dead. Then cutting of a locke of his heare before he went vp on the wodſtacke, he bad al the MACEDONIANS that were there farewel, & ſhooke them by the hands, praying thẽ that day to be mery, and drinke freely with the king, whom he would ſee ſhortly after in the citye of BABYLON. When he had ſaid theſe words, he layd him down vpon the wodſtack, couered his face, & neuer ſturred hand nor foote, nor quinched when the fire tooke him, but did ſacrifice him ſelf in this ſort, as the maner of his contry was, that the wiſe men ſhould ſo ſacrifice thẽſelues. An other INDIAN alſo, who followed *Iulius Cæſar*, did the like many yeares after in the citye of ATHENS: & there is his tombe yet to be ſeene, cõmonly called the INDIANS tombe. When *Alexander* came from ſeing this ſacrifice of *Calanus*, he did bid diuers of his frends & Capteines to D ſupper to him: & there did bring forth a crown for a reward vnto him that drank beſt. He that drank moſt of al other, was one *Promachus*, that drank foure gallons of wine, & wan the crown, worth a talent: but he liued not aboue three dayes after. And of other alſo that fell in ſport to quaffing, who ſhould drink moſt, there died of thẽ (as *Chares* writeth) one & forty perſons: of an extreme cold that tooke thẽ in their dronkennes & wine. When they were in the citie of SVSA, he married certein of his frends, & him ſelf alſo married *Statira*, one of king *Darius* Daughters, diſpoſing alſo of the other PERSIAN Ladies (according to their eſtate and birth) vnto his beſt frends. He made alſo a ſolemne feaſt of cõmon mariages amongſt the MACEDONIANS, of thẽ that had ben maried before: At which feaſt, it is writtẽ, that nine thowſand perſons ſitting at the bords, he gaue vnto euery one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honor of the gods. E And there alſo amongſt other wõderful gifts, he did pay al the dets the MACEDONIANS ought vnto their creditors, the which amounted vnto the ſumme of tenne thowſand talents ſauing a hundred & thirty leſſe. Wherupon *Antigenes* with one eye, falſely putting in his name amongeſt the number of the detters, & bringing in one that ſaid he had lent him money: *Alexander* cauſed him to be paid. But afterwards, when it was proued to his face, that there was no ſuch matter: *Alexander* then was ſo offended with him, that he baniſhed him his court, & depriued him of his captainſhip, notwithſtanding that he had before ſhewed him ſelf a valiant mã in the warrs. For whẽ he was but a yong man, he was ſhot into the eye, before the city of PERINTHE, which king *Philip* did beſeege: & at that preſent time they would haue pluckt the arrow out of his eye, but he neuer fainted for it, neither would ſuffer thẽ to pul it out, before he had firſt driF uẽ his enemies within the wals of their citie. He toke this infamy very inwardly, & he was ſo ſory for it, that euery mã might ſee he was like to die for ſorow. Thẽ *Alexander* fearing he ſhould die, did pardõ him, & bad him beſides kepe the money which was giuẽ him. Now the 30000.

The death of Polymachus Pellean. Cyrus Epitaph ouer his tomb

Calanus the Indian did ſacrifice him ſelfe alme.

Alexander made men drinke to wyn a game and price.

The Macedonians maried vnto the Perſians

The wonderfull giftes of Alexander.

Alexander payed the ſoldiers dets.

Antigenes with one eye, a valiant Captaine, baniſhed the court for making a lye.

Thirty thousand boyes of the Persians, taught the discipline of warre by Alexanders commaundement.

young boyes which *Alexander* had left to the gouernment of Capteines, to trayne & exercise them in the discipline of warre: they being growen stronge men, & lusty youthes, excellently well trained & ready in armes: *Alexander* reioyced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discorage the MACEDONIANS, & made them greatly affraid, bicause they thought that from thenceforth the king would make lesse accompt of thē. For when *Alexander* would haue sent the sicke and impotent persons, which had bene maimed in the warres, into the low contry, to the sea side: they aunswered him, that so doing he should do them great wronge, to send these poore men frō him in that sort, (after they had done him all the seruice they could) home to their contry & frends, in worse case then he tooke them from thence. And therefore they said, if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men vnseruiceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly yong daunsers about him, with whom he might go conquer the world. *Alexander* was maruelously offended with their prowd words, insomuch that in his anger he reuiled them all, put away his ordinary gard, & tooke other PERSIANS in their place, making some the gard about his owne person, others, his vshers, heraulds, & ministers to execute his will and commaundement. The poore MACEDONIANS seeing *Alexander* thus waited on, & them selues so shamefully reiected: they let fall their stoutnes, and after they had cōmoned of the matter together, they were ready to teare thēselues for spite & malice. In fine whē they had laid their heads together, they cōsented to go vnto his tent & without weapōs, naked in their shirts to yeld thēselues vnto him, weping & howling, beseching him to do with thē what pleased him, & to vse thē like wretched vnthankful creatures. But *Alexander*, though his anger was now somwhat pacified, did not receiue thē the first time, neither did they also go their waies, but remained there 2. daies & nights together, in this pitiful state, before the dore of his tent, lamenting vnto him, & calling him their soueraine & king: vntill that he came him self out of his tent the third day, & seing the poore wretches in this greeuous & pitiful state, he him self fel a weeping a long time. So, after he had a litle rebuked thē, he called thē curteously, & gaue the impotēt & sick persons leaue to depart home, rewarding thē very honorably. Furthermore, he wrote vnto *Antipater* his Lieutenant, that he should alwaies giue thē the highest place in al cōmon sports & assemblies, & that they should be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreouer, he cōmaūded that the orphans whose parents were slaine in the warrs, should receiue the pay of their fathers. After *Alexander* was come vnto the citie of ECBATANA, in the kingdō of MEDEA, & that he had dispatched his waightiest causes: he gaue him self again vnto publike sportes, feasts, & pastimes, for that there were newly come vnto him out of GRÆCE, 3. thowsand excellent masters & deuisers of such sports. About that time it chaūced, that *Hephæstion* fell sicke of an agew. But he beeing a young man of warre, did not regard his mouth as he should haue done, but hauing spyed oportunitie that his Phisitian *Glaucus* was gone vnto the Theater, to see the sports & pastimes: He went to dinner, and eate a roasted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water: whereuppon his feuer tooke him so sorely, that he liued not long after. *Alexander* vnwisely tooke the chaunce of his death, & cōmaūded all the heares of his horse & mules to be presently shorn in tokē of mourning, & that al the battlemēts of the wals of cities should also be ouerthrown, & hong vp pore *Glaucus* his Phisitian vpon a crosse, & cōmaūded that no minstrel should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his campe: vntil that there was brought him an oracle from *Iupiter Hammon*, cōmaūding that *Hephæstion* should be worshipped & sacrificed vnto, as a deny god. In thend, to passe ouer his mourning and sorow, he went vnto the warres, as vnto a hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the COSSÆIANS, whom he pluckt vp by the roots, and slue man, woman, and childe. And this was called the sacrifice of *Hephæstions* funeralls. *Alexander* furthermore beeing desirous to bestowe tenne thowsand talents coste vppon his obsequies and funeralls, and also to exceede the charge by the rarenes and excellencie of workemanshippe: amongest all other excellent workemasters, he desired one *Stasicrates*, for he had euer passing inuention, and his worke was alwayes stately and sumptuous in any newe thinges he tooke in hande. For he talking one daye with *Alexander*, tolde him, that of all the Mountaynes he knewe in the worlde, he thought there was none more excellent to resemble the statue or image of a man, then was Mount Atho in THRACIA: and that if it were his

The clemencie and liberalitie of Alexander vnto his soldiers

The death of Hephæstion.

Alexanders sorow for the death of Hephæstion.

Stasicrates an excellent image maker.

A his pleaſure,he would make him the nobleſt and moſt durable image, that ſhould bee in the world,which in his left hand ſhould hold a citie to conteine ten thowſand perſons, and out of his right hand, there ſhould ronne a great riuer into the ſea. Yet *Alexander* would not harken to him,but then was talking with other workemen of more ſtraunge inuentions,& farre greater coſt.Now as he was ready to take his iorney to go vnto BABYLON: *Nearchus* his Admirall came againe vnto him from the great ſea Oceanum,by the riuer of Euphrates,and tolde him, how certaine CHALDEAN Soothſayers came vnto him,who did warne him that he ſhould not goe into BABYLON. Howbeit *Alexander* made no reckoning of it,but went on.But when he came hard to the walls of BABYLON, he ſaw a great number of crowes fighting & killing one of another,& ſome of them fell downe deade hard by him.Afterwards being told him that *A-*
B *pollodorus* the gouernor of the citie of BABYLON, hauing ſacrificed vnto the goddes,to knowe what ſhould happen to him: he ſent for the Soothſayer *Pithagoras*,to knowe of him if it were true.The Soothſayer denied it not.Then *Alexander* asked him,what ſignes he had in the ſacrifice.He aunſwered,that the lyuer of the beaſt had no head.O gods,ſaid *Alexander* then, this is an ill ſigne: notwithſtanding he did *Pithagoras* no hurt,but yet he repented him that he did not beleue *Nearchus* words. For this reſpect therefore *Alexander* lay much abroade in the contry from BABYLON,& did take his pleaſure rowing vp & downe the riuer of Euphrates. Yet had *Diuers ſignes before Alexanders death.*
he many other ill ſignes & tokēs one vpō another,that made him afraid.For there was a tame aſſe that killed one of the greateſt & goodlieſt Lions in all BABYLON,with one of his feete. A-
C nother time when *Alexander* had put of his clothes,to be nointed to play at tennis: When he ſhould put on his apparel again,the yong gentlemen that plaied with him, found a man ſet in his chaier of eſtate,hauing the kings diademe on his head,& his gowne on his back,& ſaid neuer a word.Then they asked him what he was?It was long before he made them aunſwer,but at the length comming to him ſelf,he ſaid his name was *Dionyſius*,borne in MESSINA:& being accuſed for certein crimes committed, he was ſent from the ſea thether,where he had bene a long time priſoner,& alſo that the god *Serapis* had appeared vnto him,& vndone his irons, & that he commaunded him to take the kings gowne & his diademe,and to ſit him downe in his chaier of eſtate,& ſay neuer a word.When *Alexander* heard it,he put him to death according to the counſail of his Soothſayers:but then his mind was troubled,& feared that the gods had forſaken him,& alſo grew to ſuſpect his frends.But firſt of al,*Alexander* feared *Antipater* & his *Alexander feared Antipater.*
D ſonnes,aboue all other.For one of them called *Iolas*,was his firſt cupbearer:& his brother called *Caſſander*,was newly come out of GRÆCE vnto him.The firſt time that *Caſſander* ſaw ſome of the barbarous people reuerencing *Alexander*, he hauing bene brought vp with the libertie of GRÆCE,& had neuer ſeene the like before:fel into a lowd laughing very vnreuerētly. Therwith king *Alexander* was ſo offended,that he tooke him by the heare of his head with both his hands,& knocked his head & the wal together.Another time alſo when *Caſſander* did aunſwer ſome that accuſed his father *Antipater*:king *Alexander* tooke him vp ſharply,& ſaid vnto him. What ſaieſt thou,ſaid he?Dooſt thou thinke that theſe men would haue gon ſo long a iorney as this,falſly to accuſe thy father,if he had not done them wrong?*Caſſander* again replyed vnto *Alexander*,& ſaid,that that was a manifeſt proofe of their falſe accuſatiō,for that they did now
E accuſe him being ſo farre of,bicauſe they thought they could not ſodainly be diſproued. *Alexander* thereat fel a laughing a good,& ſaid,lo,theſe are *Ariſtotles* quiddities to argue *pro & cōtra*:but this wil not ſaue you from puniſhment,if I find that you haue done theſe men wronge. In fine,they report that *Caſſander* tooke ſuch an inward feare & conceit vpon it,that long time after when he was king of MACEDON,and had all GRÆCE at his commaundement: going vp and downe the citie of DELPHES, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of *Alexander*, which put him into ſuch a ſodaine feare,that the heares of his head ſtoode vpright,and his body quaked in ſuch ſort,that it was a great time before he could come to him ſelfe againe.Nowe aftet that *Alexander* had left his truſt and confidence in the goddes, his minde was ſo troubled and affraide, that no ſtraunge thinge happened vnto him,
F (how litle ſo euer it was) but he tooke it ſtraight for a ſigne and prediction from the godds: ſo that his tent was alwayes full of Prieſtes and Soothſayers that did nothing but ſacrifice and purifie, and tende vnto diuinements. So horrible a thing,is the miſtruſt and contempt of the

godds,when it is begotten in the harts of men,and superstician also so dreadfull, that it filleth A
the gilty consciences and fearefull hartes like water distilling from aboue: as at that time it filled *Alexander* with all folly,after that feare had once possessed him. This notwithstāding,after that he had receiued some aunswers touching *Hephæstion* from the oracle of *Iupiter Hammon*, he left his sorow,and returned again to his bankets and feasting. For he did sumptuously feast *Nearchus*,and one day when he came out of his bathe according to his manner, beeing ready to goe to bed, *Medius* one of his Capteines besought him to come to a banket to him at his lodging. *Alexander* went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, so that he got an agew by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking vppe *Hercules* cuppe all at a drawght: neither for the sodaine paine he felt betweene his showlders, as if he had beene thrust into the backe with a speare. For all these were thought to be written by some, for lyes B and fables, bicause they would haue made the ende of this great tragedie lamentable and pitifull. But *Aristobulus* writeth, that he had such an extreame feuer and thirst withall, that he dranke wine,& after that fel a rauing,& at the lēgth dyed the thirtie day of the month of Iune. In his housholde booke of things passed dayly, it is written, that his feuer beeing apon him,he slept in his hottehouse on the eyghtenth day of Iune. The next morning after he was come out of his hottehouse, he went into his chamber, and passed away all that daye with *Medius*, playing at dyce: and at nyght very late, after he had bathed him selfe and sacrificed vnto the goddes, he fell to meate, and had his feuer that nyght. And the twenty daye also,bathing him selfe againe,and making his ordinary sacrifice to the goddes, he did sitte downe to eate within his stooue,harkening vnto *Nearchus* that tolde him straunge thinges he had seene C in the great sea Oceanum. The one and twenty day also hauing done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had bene,& felt him selfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great feuer: and on that day he made his bed to be remoued,and to be set vppe by the fish pondes,where he commoned with his capteines touching certaine roomes that were void in his armie, and commaunded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three and twenty day hauing an extreame feuer vpon him,he was caried vnto the sacrifices,and commaunded that his chiefest Capteines onely should remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner sort,as centiniers or Lieuetenants of bands,that they should watch & ward without. The foure and twenty day,he was caried vnto the other pallace of the kings, which is on thother side of the lake,where he slept a litle,but the feuer neuer left him:& when D his Capteines & noble men came to doe him humble reuerence, & to see him,he lay speechles. So did he the fiue and twenty day also: insomuch as the MACEDONIANS thought he was dead. Then they came & knocked at the pallace gate,& cried out vnto his friendes and familiers,and threatned them,so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereuppon the gates were opened,& they comming in their gownes went vnto his bed side to see him. That selfe day *Python* & *Seleucus* were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god *Serapis*,to knowe if they should bringe king *Alexander* thither. The god aunswered them, that they should not remoue him from thence. The eight and twenty day at night *Alexander* dyed. Thus it is written word for word in manner,in the housholde booke of remembrance. At that present tyme,there was no suspition that he was poysoned. Yet they say, that six yeares after, E there appeared some proofe that he was poisoned. Whereupon his mother *Olympias* put many men to death,and cast the ashes of *Iolas* into the wind, that was dead before,for that it was said he gaue him poyson in his drinke. They that thinke it was *Aristotle* that counselled *Antipater* to do it,by whose meane the poyson was brought: they say that *Agnothemis* reported it, hauing heard it of king *Antigonus* owne mouth. The poyson (as some say) was cold as Ise,and falleth from a rocke in the territory of the citie of NONACRIS, & it is gathered as they would gather a deawe into the horne of the foote of an asse,for there is no other kinde of thinge that wil keepe it,it is so extreme cold & percing. Others defend it,& say,that the report of his poysoning is vntrue:& for proofe therof they alleage this reason,which is of no smal importance, that is: That the chiefest Capteines fel at great variance after his death,so that the corps of *Alexander* remained many dayes naked without buriall, in a whot dry contry,& yet there neuer F appeared any signe or token apon his body, that he was poysoned, but was still a cleane and fayre

Alexander fell sicke of an agew.

Aristobulus report of the sickenes and death of Alexander.

The death of Alexander the great.

Aristotle suspected for the poysoning of Alexander.

faire corps as could be. *Alexander* left *Roxane* great with childe, for the which the MACEDONIANS did her great honor: but ſhe did malice *Statira* extreamely,& did finely deceiue her by a counterfeat letter ſhe ſent,as if it had comen from *Alexander*,willing her to come vnto him. But when ſhe was come, *Roxane* killed her and her ſiſter, and then threw their bodies into a well,and filled it vp with earth,by *Perdiccas* helpe and conſent. *Perdiccas* came to be king, immediatly after *Alexanders* death, by meanes of *Arideus*, whom he kept about him for his gard and ſafety. This *Arideus*, beeing borne of a common ſtrumpet and common woman, called *Philinna*,was halfe lunaticke,not by nature nor by chaunce:but,as it is reported,put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinkes, which *Olympias* cauſed to be geuen him, and thereby continued franticke.

Statira ſlaine by Roxane.

Arideus, Alexanders baſtard brother.

The end of Alexanders life.

THE LIFE OF *Iulius Cæſar.*

AT what time *Sylla* was made Lord of all, he would haue had *Cæſar* put away his wife *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cinna* Dictator : but when he ſaw, he could neither with any promiſe nor threate bring him to it,he tooke her ioynter away from him. The cauſe of *Cæſars* ill will vnto *Sylla*, was by meanes of mariage:for *Marius* thelder,maried his fathers own ſiſter, by whom he had *Marius* the younger,whereby *Cæſar* & he were coſin germaines. *Sylla* being troubled in waightie matters, putting to death ſo many of his enemies,when he came to be cõqueror,he made no reckoning of *Cæſar*:but he was not contented to be hidden in ſafety, but came and made ſute vnto the people for the Prieſthoodſhippe that was voyde, when he had ſcant any heare on his face. Howbeit he was repulſed by *Syllaes* meanes, that ſecretly was againſt him. Who,when he was determined to haue killed him,ſome of his frendes told him, that it was to no purpoſe to put ſo young a boy as he to death. But *Sylla* told them againe,that they did not conſider that there were many *Marians* in that young boy. *Cæſar* vnderſtanding that, ſtale out of ROME, and hidde him ſelfe a long time in the contrie of the SABINES, wandring ſtill from place to place. But one day being caried from houſe to houſe, he fell into the handes of *Syllaes* ſouldiers, who ſearched all thoſe places, and tooke them whom they found

Cæſar ioyned with Cinna & Marius.

hidden. *Cæsar* bribed the Captaine, whose name was *Cornelius*, with two talentes which he gaue him. After he had escaped them thus, he went vnto the sea side, and tooke shippe, and sailed into BITHYNIA to goe vnto king *Nicomedes*. When he had bene with him a while, he tooke sea againe, and was taken by pyrates about the Ile of PHARMACVSA: for those pyrates kept all vppon that sea coast, with a great fleete of shippes and botes. They asking him at the first twentie talentes for his ransome, *Cæsar* laughed them to scorne, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, & of him selfe promised them fiftie talents. Then he sent his men vp and downe to get him this money, so that he was left in maner alone among these theeues of the CILICIANS, (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his frends, and two of his slaues only: and yet he made so litle reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleepe, he sent vnto them to commaunde them to make no noyse. Thus was he eight and thirtie dayes among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited vppon by them as a Prince. All this time he woulde boldly exercise him selfe in any sporte or pastime they would goe to. And other while also he woulde wryte verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them: and if any of them seemed as though they had not vnderstoode him, or passed not for them, he called them blockeheades, and brute beastes, and laughing, threatned them that he would hang them vp. But they were as merie with the matter as could be, and tooke all in good parte, thinking that this his bold speach came, through the simplicity of his youth. So when his raunsome was come from the citie of MILETVM, they being payed their money, and he againe set at libertie: he then presently armed, and manned out certaine ships out of the hauen of MILETVM, to follow those theeues, whom he found yet riding at ancker in the same Iland. So he tooke the most of them, & had the spoile of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of PERGAMVM, & there committed thē to prison, whileste he him selfe went to speake with *Iunius*, who had the gouernment of ASIA, as vnto whom the execution of these pirats did belong, for that he was Prætor of that contrie. But this Prætor hauing a great fancie to be fingering of the money, bicause there was good store of it: answered, that he would consider of these prisoners at better leasure. *Cæsar* leauing *Iunius* there, returned againe vnto PERGAMVM, and there hung vp all these theeues openly vpon a crosse, as he had oftentimes promised them in the Ile he would doe, when they thought he did but jeast. Afterwardes when *Syllaes* power beganne to decay, *Cæsars* frendes wrote vnto him, to pray him to come home againe. But he sailed first vnto RHODES, to studie there a time vnder *Apollonius* the sonne of *Molon*, whose scholler also *Cicero* was, for he was a very honest man, & an excellent good Rethoritian. It is reported that *Cæsar* had an excellent naturall gift to speake well before the people, & besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doutlesse he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gaue place to the first, bicause he would be the first and chiefest man of warre and authoritie, being not yet comen to the degree of perfection to speake well, which his nature coulde haue performed in him, bicause he was geuen rather to followe warres and to mannage great matters, which in thende brought him to be Lord of all ROME. And therefore in a booke he wrote against that which *Cicero* made in the praise of *Cato*, he prayeth the readers not to compare the stile of a souldier, with the eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the most parte of his life. When he was returned againe vnto ROME, he accused *Dolabella* for his ill behauior in the gouernment of his prouince, and he had diuers cities of GRÆCE that gaue in euidence against him. Notwithstanding, *Dolabella* at the length was dismissed. *Cæsar*, to requite the good will of the GRÆCIANS, which they had shewed him in his accusation of *Dolabella*, tooke their cause in hand, when they did accuse *Publius Antonius* before *Marcus Lucullus*, Prætor of MACEDON: and followed it so hard against him in their behalfe, that *Antonius* was driuen to appeale before the Tribunes at ROME, alleaging, to colour his appeale withall, that he coulde haue no iustice in GRÆCE against the GRÆCIANS. Now *Cæsar* immediatly wan many mens good willes at ROME, through his eloquence, in pleading of their causes: and the people loued him maruelously also, bicause of the curteous manner he had to speake to euery man, and to vse them gently, being more ceremonious therein, then was looked for in one of his yeres. Furthermore, he euer kept a good bourde, and fared well at his table, and was very liberall besides:

Cæsar tooke sea, and went vnto Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.

Cæsar taken of pirats.

Iunius Prætor of Asia.

Cæsars eloquence.

Cæsar loued hospitalitie.

besides: the which in deede did aduaunce him forward, and brought him in estimacion with the people. His enemies iudging that this fauor of the common people would soone quaile, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expence: suffered him to runne on, till by litle and litle he was growen to be of great strength & power. But in fine, when they had thus geuen him the bridell to grow to this greatnes, and that they could not then pull him backe, though in dede in sight it would turne one day to the destruction of the whole state and common wealth of ROME: too late they found, that there is not so litle a beginning of any thing, but continuaunce of time will soone make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatnes. Thereuppon, *Cicero* like a wise shipmaster that feareth the calmnes of the sea, was the first man that mistrusting his manner of dealing in the common wealth, found out his craft & malice, which he cunningly cloked vnder the habit of outward curtesie and familliaritie. And yet, sayd he, when I consider howe finely he combeth his faire bush of heare, and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scrat his head with one finger only: my minde giues me then, that such a kinde of man should not haue so wicked a thought in his head, as to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth. But this was long time after that. The first shewe and proofe of the loue and good will which the people did beare vnto *Cæsar*, was: when he sued to be Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thowsand footemen) standding against *Caius Pompilius*, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second & more manifest proofe then the first, was at the death of his aunt *Iulia*, the wife of *Marius* the elder. For being her nephew, he made a solemne oration in the market place in commendacion of her, and at her buriall did boldly venter to shew foorth the images of *Marius*: the which was the first time that they were seene after *Syllaes* victorie, bicause that *Marius* and all his confederates had bene proclaimed traitors and enemies to the common wealth. For when there were some that cried out apon *Cæsar* for doing of it: the people on thother side kept a sturre, and reioyced at it, clapping of their handes, and thanked him, for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembraunce of *Marius* honor againe into ROME, which had so long time bene obscured & buried. And where it had bene an auncient custom of long time, that the ROMANES vsed to make funerall orations in praise of olde Ladies and matrons when they dyed, but not of young women: *Cæsar* was the first that praised his owne wife with funerall oration when she was deade, the which also did increase the peoples good willes the more, seeing him of so kinde & gentle nature. After the buriall of his wife, he was made Treasorer, vnder *Antistius Vetus* Prætor, whom he honored euer after: so that when him selfe came to be Prætor, he made his sonne to be chosen Treasorer. Afterwardes, when he was come out of that office, he maried his thirde wife *Pompeia*, hauing a daughter by his first wife *Cornelia*, which was maried vnto *Pompey* the great. Now for that he was very liberal in expences, bying (as some thought) but a vaine and short glorie of the fauor of the people: (where in deede he bought good cheape the greatest thinges that coulde be.) Some say, that before he bare any office in the common wealth, he was growen in debt, to the summe of thirteene hundred talentes. Furthermore, bicause he was made ouerseer of the worke, for the high way going vnto *Appius*, he disbursed a great summe of his owne money towardes the charges of the same. And on the other side, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did show the people the pastime of three hundred & twentie cople of sword players, and did besides exceede all other in sumptuousnes in the sportes and common feastes which he made to delight them withall: (and did as it were drowne all the stately shewes of others in the like, that had gone before him) he so pleased the people, & wan their loue therwith, that they deuised daily to giue him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in ROME, to wit, the faction of *Sylla*, which was very strong and of great power, & the other of *Marius*, which then was vnder foote & durst not shew it selfe. But *Cæsar*, bicause he would renue it again, euen at that time when he being Ædilis, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest ruffe: he secretly caused images of *Marius* to be made, and of victories that caried triumphes, and those he set vp one night within the Capitol. The next morning when euery man saw the glistering of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions, that they were the victories which *Marius* had wonne apon the CIMBRES: euery one marueled much at the boldnes

Cæsar a follower of the people.

Ciceroes iudgement of Cæsar.

The loue of the people in Rome vnto Cæsar.

Cæsar chosen Tribunus militum.

Cæsar made the funerall oration, at the death of his aunt Iulia.

Cæsar the first that praised his wife in funerall oration.

Cæsar made Quæstor.

Pompeia, Cæsars third wife.

Cæsars prodigality.

of him that durſt ſet them vp there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereuppon, it ranne A
Cæſar accuſed to make a rebellion in the ſtate. ſtraight through all the citie, and euerie man came thither to ſee them. Then ſome cried out apon *Cæſar*, and ſayd it was a tyranny which he ment to ſet vp, by renuing of ſuch honors as before had bene troden vnder foote, and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a baite to gage the peoples good wils, which he had ſet out in the ſtately ſhewes of his cõmon playes, to ſee if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide ſuch partes to be played, and a new alteracion of things to be made. They of *Marius* faction on thother ſide, incoraging one an other, ſhewed them ſelues ſtraight a great nũber gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitoll ring againe with their cries and clapping of handes: inſomuch as the teares ranne downe many of their cheekes for very ioy, when they ſawe the images of *Marius*, and they extolled *Cæſar* to the skies, iudging him the B worthieſt man of all the kinred of *Marius*. The Senate being aſſembled thereuppon, *Catulus Luctatius* one of the greateſt authoritie at that time in Rome, roſe, and vehemently inueyed againſt *Cæſar*, and ſpake that then which euer ſince hath bene noted much: that *Cæſar* did not now couertly go to worke, but by plaine force ſought to alter the ſtate of the common wealth. Neuertheleſſe, *Cæſar* at that time aunſwered him ſo that the Senate was ſatisfied. Thereupon they that had him in eſtimacion did grow in better hope then before, & perſwaded him, that hardily he ſhoulde geue place to no man, and that through the good will of the people, he ſhould be better than all they, and come to be the chiefeſt man of the citie. At that time, the
The death of Metellus chiefe Biſhop of Rome. chiefe Biſhoppe *Metellus* dyed, and two of the notableſt men of the citie, and of greateſt authoritie (*Iſauricus*, and *Catulus*) contended for his roome: *Cæſar* notwithſtanding their conten- C tion, would geue neither of them both place, but preſented him ſelfe to the people, and made ſute for it as they did. The ſute being equall betwext either of them, *Catulus*, bicauſe he was a man of greate calling and dignitie than the other, doubting the vncertaintie of the election: ſent vnto *Cæſar* a good ſumme of money, to make him leaue of his ſute. But *Cæſar* ſent him word againe, that he would lend a greater ſumme then that, to maintaine the ſute againſt him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the dore of his houſe, *Cæſar* weeping, kiſſed her, and ſayd: Mother, this day thou ſhalt ſee thy ſonne chiefe Biſhoppe of Rome, or baniſhed from Rome. In fine, when the voyces of the people were gathered together, and the ſtriſe well debated: *Cæſar* wanne the victorie, and made the Senate and noble
Cæſar made chiefe Biſhop of Rome. men all affrayed of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do D
Cæſar ſuſpected to be cõfederate with Catiline in his conſpiracy. what he thought good. Then *Catulus* and *Piſo* fell flatly out with *Cicero*, and condemned him, for that he did not bewray *Cæſar*, when he knew that he was of conſpiracie with *Catiline*, and had oportunitie to haue done it. For when *Catiline* was bent and determined, not onely to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth, but vtterly to deſtroy the Empire of Rome, he ſcaped out of the handes of iuſtice for lacke of ſufficient proofe, before his full treaſon and determination was knowen. Notwithſtanding he left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in the citie, companions of his conſpiracie: vnto whom, whether *Cæſar* did geue any ſecret helpe or comfort, it is not well knowen. Yet this is manifeſt, that when they were conuinced in open Senate, *Cicero* being at that time Conſul, asking euery mans opinion in the Senate, what puniſhment they ſhould haue, and euery one of them till it came to *Cæſar*, gaue ſentence they ſhould dye: *Cæſar* E
Cæſar went about to deliuer the conſpirators. then riſing vp to ſpeake, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and ſayd, that it was neither lawefull, nor yet their cuſtome did beare it, to put men of ſuch nobilitie to death (but in an extremitie) without lawefull inditement and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in priſon in ſome citie of Italie, where *Cicero* thought beſt, vntill that *Catiline* were ouerthrowen: the Senate then might at their pleaſure quietly take ſuch order therein, as might beſt appeare vnto their wiſedoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withall was vttered with ſuch a paſſing good grace and eloquence, that not only they which were to ſpeake after him did approue it: but ſuch alſo as had ſpoken to the contrarie before, reuoked their opinion and ſtucke to his, vntil it came to *Cato* and *Catulus* to ſpeake. They both
Catoes oration againſt Cæſar. did ſharpely inuey againſt him, but *Cato* chiefly: who in his oration made *Cæſar* ſuſpected to F be of the conſpiracie, and ſtowtly ſpake againſt him, inſomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. *Cæſar* comming out of the Senate, a company

of

A of young men which garded *Cicero* for the safetie of his person, did sette apon him with their swordes drawen. But some say, that *Curio* couered *Cæsar* with his gowne, and tooke him out of their handes. And *Cicero* selfe, when the young men looked apon him, beckened with his head that they should not kil him, either fearing the fury of the people, or els that he thought it too shamefull and wicked a parte. But if that were true, I maruell why *Cicero* did not put it into his booke he wrote of his Consulshippe. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he tooke not the oportunitie offered him against *Cæsar*, onely for ouermuch feare of the people, that loued him verie dearely. For shortly after, when *Cæsar* went into the Senate, to cleere him selfe of certaine presumptions and false accusations obiected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him lenger then they were wont: the B people came about the counsell house, and called out alowde for him, bidding them let him out. *Cato* then fearing the insurrection of the poore needie persons, which were they that put all their hope in *Cæsar*, and did also moue the people to sturre: did perswade the Senate to make a franke distribucion of corne vnto them, for a moneth. This distribucion did put the common wealth to a new charge of fiue hundred & fiftie Myriades. This counsell quenched a present great feare, and did in happie time scatter and disperse abroade the best parte of *Cæsars* force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he neuer sought any alteracion in the common wealth, but contrarily he him selfe had a great misfortune fell in his owne house, which was this. There was a young noble man of the order of the PATRICIANS, called *Publius* C *Clodius*, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person, as any was elsse in ROME. He became in loue with *Pompeia Cæsars* wife, who misliked not withall: notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to, and that *Aurelia* (*Cæsars* mother) an honest gentlewoman had such an eye of her, that these two louers could not meete as they would, without great perill and difficultie. The ROMANES doe vse to honor a goddesse which they call the good goddesse, as the GRÆCIANS haue her whom they call *Gynæcia*, to wit, the goddesse of women. Her, the PHRYGIANS doe claime to be peculiar vnto them, saying: that she is king *Midas* mother. Howbeit the ROMANES hold opinion, that it is a nimphe of wodde, maried vnto god *Faunus*. The GRÆCIANS, they say also, that she was one of the mothers of the god *Bacchus*, whom they dare not name. And for proofe hereof, on her feast day, the wo- D men make certaine tabernacles of vine twigges, and leaues of vine braunches, and also they make as the tale goeth, a holie dragon for this goddesse, and doe set it by her: besides, it is not lawful for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house it selfe where they are made. Furthermore, they say that the women in these sacrifices do many things amongest thē selues, much like vnto the ceremonies of *Orpheus*. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband, (whether he were Prætor or Consul) and all his men & the boyes in the house, doe come out of it, and leaue it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, & there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most parte of the night, and they doe besides passe the night away, in songes and musicke. *Pompeia*, *Cæsars* wife, being that yeare to celebrate this feast, *Clodius* who had yet no heare on his face, & therby thought he should not be bewrayed: E disguised him selfe in a singing wenches apparell, bicause his face was verie like vnto a young wenche. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chamber maide that was made priuie vnto it: she left him, and ranne to *Pompeia* her mistres, to tell her that he was come. The chamber maide taried long before she came againe, insomuch as *Clodius* being wearie waiting for her where she left him, he tooke his pleasure, and went from one place to an other in the house, which had very large roomes in it, still shunning the light, and was by chaunce met withall by one of *Aureliaes* maides, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. *Clodius* refusing to play, the maide pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: *Clodius* then answered her, that he taried for *Abra* one of *Pompeiaes* women. So, *Aureliaes* maide knowing him by his voyce, ranne straight where the lightes and Ladies were, and cried out, F that there was a man disguised in womans apparell. The women therewith were so amazed, that *Aurelia* caused them presently to leaue of the ceremonies of the sacrifice, and to hide their secret thinges, and hauing seene the gates fast locked, went immediatly vp and downe

The loue of P. Clodius vnto Pompeia, Cæsars, wife.

The good goddesse what she was, and her sacrifices.

Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

the house with torche light to seeke out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of *Pompeiaes* maide, with whom he hidde him selfe. Thus *Clodius* being found out, & knowen of the women: they thrust him out of the dores by the shoulders. The same night the women tolde their husbandes of this chaunce as soone as they came home. The next morning, there ranne a great rumor through the citie, how *Clodius* had attempted a great villany, and that he deserued, not only to be punished of them whom he had slaundred, but also of the common wealth and the goddes. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did indite him, & accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the nobilitie and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burdened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his owne sister, which was maried vnto *Lucullus*. Notwithstanding, the people stowtly defended *Clodius* against their accusations: and this did helpe him much against the Iudges, which were amazed, & affraid to stirre the people. This notwithstanding, *Cæsar* presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by *Clodius* accuser to be a witnes against him, he aunswered, he knew nothing of that they obiected against *Clodius*. This aunswere being cleane contrarie to their expectacion that heard it, the accuser asked *Cæsar*, why then he had put away his wife: bicause I will not, sayd he, that my wife be so much as suspected. And some say, that *Cæsar* spake truely as he thought. But others thinke, that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to saue *Clodius*. So *Clodius* was discharged of this accusation, bicause the most parte of the Iudges gaue a confused iudgement, for the feare they stoode one way of the daunger of the common people if they condemned him: and for the ill opinion of thother side of the nobilitie, if they did quit him. The gouernment of the prouince of Spayne being fallen vnto *Cæsar* for that he was Prætor: his creditors came and cried out apon him, and were importunate of him to be payed. *Cæsar* being vnable to satisfie them, was compelled to goe vnto *Crassus*, who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stoode in neede of *Cæsars* boldnes and corage to withstand *Pompeys* greatnes in the common wealth. *Crassus* became his suretie vnto his greediest creditors for the summe of eight hundred and thirtie talentes: whereuppon they suffered *Cæsar* to departe to the gouernment of his prouince. In his iorney it is reported, that passinge ouer the mountaines of the Alpes, they came through a litle poore village that had not many householdes, and yet poore cotages. There, his frendes that did accompanie him, asked him merily, if there were any contending for offices in that towne, and whether there were any strife there amongest the noble men for honor. *Cæsar* speaking in good earnest, aunswered: I can not tell that said he, but for my parte, I had rather be the chiefest man here, then the second person in Rome. An other time also when he was in Spayne, reading the history of *Alexanders* actes, when he had red it, he was sorowfull a good while after, & then burst out in weeping. His frends seeing that, marueled what should be the cause of his sorow. He aunswered them, doe ye not thinke sayd he, that I haue good cause to be heauie, when king *Alexander* being no older than my selfe is now, had in old time wonne so many nations and contries: and that I hithervnto haue done nothing worthy of my selfe? Therefore when he was come into Spayne, he was very carefull of his busines, and had in few dayes ioyned ten new ensignes more of footemen, vnto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the Callæcians and Lvsitanians, he conquered all, & went as farre as the great sea Oceanum, subduing all the people which before knew not the Romanes for their Lordes. There he tooke order for pacifying of the warre, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them frendes one with an other, but specially he pacified all sutes of law, & strife, betwext the detters and creditors, which grewe by reason of vserie. For he ordained that the creditors shoulde take yearely two partes of the reuenue of their detters, vntill such time as they had payed them selues: and that the detters should haue the third parte to them selues to liue withall. He hauing wonne great estimacion by this good order taken, returned from his gouernment very riche, and his souldiers also full of rich spoyles, who called him Imperator, to say soueraine Captaine. Now the Romanes hauing a custome, that such as demaunded honor of triumphe, should remaine a while without the city, and that they on thother side which sued for the Consulship, should

Clodius accused for prophaning the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Cæsar putteth away his wife Pompeia.

Clodius quit by the Iudges for prophaning the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Cæsar Prætor of Spaine.

Crassus surety for Cæsar to his creditors.

Cæsars actes in Spayne.

Cæsars order betwext the creditor and detter.

Cæsars souldiers called him Imperator.

of

of neceſſitie be there in perſon : *Cæſar* comming vnhappely at that very time when the Conſuls were choſen, he ſent to pray the Senate to do him that fauor, that being abſent, he might by his frendes ſue for the Conſulſhippe. *Cato* at the firſt did vehemently inuey againſt it, vowching an expreſſe law forbidding the contrarie. But afterwards, perceiuing that notwithſtanding the reaſons he alleaged, many of the Senators (being wonne by *Cæſar*) fauored his requeſt: yet he cunningly ſought all he could to preuent them, prolonging time, dilating his oration vntill night. *Cæſar* thereupon determined rather to geue ouer the ſute of his triumphe, and to make ſute for the Conſulſhippe: and ſo came into the citie, and had ſuch a deuiſe with him, as went beyond them all, but *Cato* only. His deuiſe was this. *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, two of the greateſt perſonages of the city of Rome, being at iarre together, *Cæſar* made them friends, and by that meanes got vnto him ſelfe the power of them both: for, by colour of that gentle acte and friendſhippe of his, he ſubtilly (vnwares to them all) did greatly alter and chaunge the ſtate of the common wealth. For it was not the priuate diſcord betwene *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, as many men thought, that cauſed the ciuill warre: but rather it was their agreement together, who ioyned all their powers firſt to ouerthrowe the ſtate of the Senate and nobilitie, and afterwardes they fell at iarre one with an other. But *Cato*, that then foreſaw and prophecied many times what woulde followe, was taken but for a vaine man: but afterwardes they found him a wiſer man, then happie in his counſell. Thus *Cæſar* being brought vnto the aſſemblie of the election, in the middeſt of theſe two noble perſons, whom he had before reconciled together: he was there choſen Conſull, with *Calphurnius Bibulus*, without gaine ſaying or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entred into his office, he beganne to put foorth lawes meeter for a ſeditious Tribune of the people, than for a Conſull: bicauſe by them he preferred the diuiſion of landes, and diſtributing of corne to euerie citizen, Gratis, to pleaſe them withall. But when the noble men of the Senate were againſt his deuiſe, he deſiring no better occaſion, beganne to crie out, and to proteſt, that by the ouerhardneſſe and auſteritie of the Senate, they draue him againſt his will to leane vnto the people: and thereupon hauing *Craſſus* on thone ſide of him, and *Pompey* on thother, he asked them openly in thaſſemblie, if they did geue their conſent vnto the lawes which he had put forth. They both aunſwered, they did. Then he prayed them to ſtande by him againſt thoſe that threatned him with force of ſworde to let him. *Craſſus* gaue him his worde, he would. *Pompey* alſo did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his ſword and target both, againſt them that would withſtand him with their ſwords. Theſe wordes offended much the Senate, being farre vnmeete for his grauetie, and vndecent for the maieſtie and honor he caried, and moſt of all vncomely for the preſence of the Senate whome he ſhould haue reuerenced: and were ſpeaches fitter for a raſh light headed youth, than for his perſon. Howbeit the common people on thother ſide, they reioyced. Then *Cæſar* bicauſe he would be more aſſured of *Pompeis* power and frendſhippe, he gaue him his daughter *Iulia* in mariage, which was made ſure before vnto *Seruilius Cæpio*, and promiſed him in exchaunge *Pompeis* wife, the which was ſure alſo vnto *Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*. And ſhortly after alſo, *Cæſar* ſelfe did marie *Calphurnia* the daughter of *Piſo*, whom he cauſed to be made Conſul, to ſucceede him the next yeare following. *Cato* then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witnes, that it was a ſhamefull matter, and not to be ſuffered, that they ſhould in that ſorte make hauoke of the Empire of Rome, by ſuch horrible bawdie matches, diſtributing among them ſelues through thoſe wicked mariages the gouernments of the prouinces, and of great armies. *Calphurnius Bibulus*, fellow Conſul with *Cæſar*, perceiuing that he did contend in vaine, making all the reſiſtaunce he could to withſtand this lawe, and that oftentimes he was in daunger to be ſlaine with *Cato*, in the market place and aſſemblie: he kept cloſe in his houſe all the reſt of his Conſulſhippe. When *Pompey* had maried *Iulia*, he filled all the market place with ſouldiers, & by open force authoriſed the lawes which *Cæſar* made in the behalfe of the people. Furthermore, he procured that *Cæſar* had Gavle on this ſide, and beyond the Alpes, and all Illyria, with foure legions graunted him for fiue yeares. Then *Cato* ſtanding vp to ſpeake againſt it: *Cæſar* bad his officers lay holde of him, and carie him to priſon, thinking he would haue appealed vnto the Tribunes. But *Cato* ſayd neuer a worde, when he went his way. *Cæſar* perceiuing then, that

Cæſar reconcileth Pompey and Craſſus together.

Catoes foreſight and prophecy.

Cæſars firſt Conſulſhip with Calphurnius Bibulus.

Cæſars lawes.

Lex agraria.

Cæſar maried his daughter Iulia vnto Pompey.

Cæſar maried Calphurnia the daughter of Piſo.

Pompey by force of armes authoriſed Cæſars lawes.

Cæſar ſent Cato to priſon.

not onely the Senators and nobilitie were offended, but that the common people alſo for the reuerence they bare vnto *Catoes* vertues, were aſhamed, and went away with ſilence: he him ſelfe ſecretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take *Cato* from the officers. But after he had played this parte, there were few Senators that would be Preſident of the Senate vnder him, but left the citie, bicauſe they could not away with his doinges. And of them, there was an old man called *Conſidius*, that on a time boldly told him, the reſt durſt not come to counſel, bicauſe they were afrayed of his ſouldiers. *Cæſar* aunſwered him againe: and why then, doeſt not thou kepe thee at home, for the ſame feare? *Conſidius* replied, bicauſe my age taketh away feare from me: for hauing ſo ſhort a time to liue, I haue no care to prolonge it further. The ſhamefulleſt parte that *Cæſar* played while he was Conſul, ſeemeth to be this: when he choſe *P. Clodius* Tribune of the people, that had offred his wife ſuch diſhonor, and profaned the holy auncient miſteries of the women, which were celebrated in his owne houſe. *Clodius* ſued to be Tribune to no other end, but to deſtroy *Cicero*: & *Cæſar* ſelfe alſo departed not from ROME to his army, before he had ſet them together by the eares, and driuen *Cicero* out of ITALY. All theſe things they ſay he did, before the warres with the GAVLES. But the time of the great armies & cõqueſts he made afterwards, & of the warre in the which he ſubdued al the GAVLES: (entring into an other courſe of life farre contrarie vnto the firſt) made him to be knowen for as valliant a ſouldier & as excellent a Captaine to lead men, as thoſe that afore him had bene counted the wiſeſt and moſt valianteſt Generalles that euer were, and that by their valliant deedes had atchieued great honor. For whoſoeuer would compare the houſe of the *Fabians*, of the *Scipioes*, of the *Metellians*, yea thoſe alſo of his owne time, or long before him, as *Sylla*, *Marius*, the two *Lucullians*, and *Pompey* ſelfe,

Cæſar by Clodius, draue Cicero out of Italy.

Cæſar, a valliant ſouldier, and a skilfull Captaine.

Whoſe fame aſcendeth vp vnto the heauens:

It will appeare that *Cæſars* prowes and deedes of armes, did excell them all together. The one, in the hard contries where he made warres: an other, in enlarging the realmes and contries which he ioyned vnto the Empire of ROME: an other, in the multitude and power of his enemies whome he ouercame: an other, in the rudeneſſe and auſtere nature of men with whom he had to doe, whoſe maners afterwardes he ſoftned and made ciuill: an other, in curteſie and clemencie which he vſed vnto them whome he had conquered: an other in great bountie and liberality beſtowed vpon them that ſerued vnder him in thoſe warres: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battells he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had ſlaine in battell. For in leſſe then tenne yeares warre in GAVLE he tooke by force and aſſault aboue eight hundred townes, he conquered three hundred ſeuerall nations: and hauing before him in battell thirty hundred thowſand ſouldiers, at ſundrie times he ſlue tenne hũdred thowſand of them, & tooke as many more priſoners. Furthermore, he was ſo entirely beloued of his ſouldiers, that to doe him ſeruice (where otherwiſe they were no more then other men in any priuate quarrell) if *Cæſars* honor were touched, they were inuincible, & would ſo deſperatly venter them ſelues, & with ſuch furie, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the exãple of *Acilius*: who in a battell by ſea before the city of MARSELLES, bording one of his enemies ſhippes, one cut of his right hand with a ſword, but yet he forſooke not his target which he had in his left hand, but thruſt it in his enemies faces, & made them flie, ſo that he wanne their ſhippe from them. And *Caſſius Scæua* alſo, in a conflict before the city of DYRRACHIVM, hauing one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his ſhoulder ſtriken through with a dart, and his thigh with an other, and hauing receiued thirty arrowes vpon his ſhield: he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yeelde vnto them. But when two of them came running to him, he claue one of their ſhoulders from his bodie with his ſword, and hurt the other in the face: ſo that he made him turne his backe, & at the length ſaued him ſelfe, by meanes of his companions that came to helpe him. And in BRITAYNE alſo, when the Captaines of the bandes were driuen into a marriſſe or bogge full of mire and durt, and that the enemies did fiercelie aſſaile them there; *Cæſar* then ſtandinge to viewe the battell, he ſawe a priuate ſouldier of his thruſt in among the Captaines, and fought ſo valliantlie in their defence, that at the length he draue the barbarous people to flye, and by his meanes ſaued the Captaines, which otherwiſe were in great daunger to haue bene caſt away.

Cæſars conqueſtes in Gaule.

The loue and reſpect of Cæſars ſouldiers vnto him.

The wonderfull valliantnes of Acilius, Caſſius Scæua, & diuers others of Cæſars ſouldiers.

Then

A Then this ſouldier being the hindemoſt man of all the Captaines, marching with great paine through the myre & durt, halfe ſwimming, and halfe a foote: in the end got to the other ſide, but left his ſhield behinde him. *Cæſar* wondring at his noble corage, ranne to him with ioy to imbrace him. But the poore ſouldier hanging downe his head, the water ſtanding in his eyes, fell downe at *Cæſars* feete, and beſought him to pardon him, for that he had left his targette behinde him. And in AFRICKE alſo, *Scipio* hauing taken one of *Cæſars* ſhippes, and *Granius Petronius* abourde on her amongeſt other, not long before choſen Treaſorer: he put all the reſt to the ſword but him, and ſayd he would geue him his life. But *Petronius* aunſwered him againe: that *Cæſars* ſouldiers did not vſe to haue their liues geuen them, but to geue others their liues: and with thoſe wordes he drewe his ſworde, and thruſt him ſelfe through. Nowe *Granius Petronius.*

B *Cæſars* ſelfe did breede this noble corage and life in them. Firſt, for that he gaue them bountifully, & did honor them alſo, ſhewing thereby, that he did not heape vp riches in the warres to maintaine his life afterwards in wantonneſſe and pleaſure, but that he did keepe it in ſtore, honorably to reward their valliant ſeruice: and that by ſo much he thought him ſelfe riche, by howe much he was liberall in rewarding of them that had deſerued it. Furthermore, they did not wonder ſo much at his valliantneſſe in putting him ſelfe at euery inſtant in ſuch manifeſt daunger, and in taking ſo extreame paines as he did, knowing that it was his greedie deſire of honor that ſet him a fire, and pricked him forward to doe it: but that he alwayes continued all labour and hardneſſe, more then his bodie could beare, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the conſtitucion of his bodie, he was leane, white, and ſoft skin-

C ned, and often ſubiect to headache, and otherwhile to the falling ſickenes: (the which tooke him the firſt time, as it is reported, in CORDVBA, a citie of SPAYNE) but yet therefore yeelded not to the diſeaſe of his bodie, to make it a cloke to cheriſhe him withall, but contrarilie, tooke the paines of warre, as a medicine to cure his ſicke bodie fighting alwayes with his diſeaſe, trauelling continually, liuing ſoberly, and commonly lying abroade in the field. For the moſt nights he ſlept in his coch or litter, and thereby beſtowed his reſt, to make him alwayes able to do ſome thing: and in the day time, he would trauell vp and downe the contrie to ſee townes, caſtels, and ſtrong places. He had alwayes a ſecretarie with him in his coche, who did ſtill wryte as he went by the way, and a ſouldier behinde him that caried his ſword. He made ſuch ſpeede the firſt time he came from ROME, when he had his office: that in eight dayes, *Cæſar had the falling ſickenes.*

D he came to the riuer of Rhone. He was ſo excellent a rider of horſe from his youth, that holding his handes behinde him, he would galloppe his horſe vpon the ſpurre. In his warres in GAVLE, he did further exerciſe him ſelfe to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupie two ſecretaries at once with as much as they could wryte: and as *Oppius* wryteth, more then two at a time. And it is reported, that *Cæſar* was the firſt that deuiſed frendes might talke together by wryting ciphers in letters, when he had no leaſure to ſpeake with them for his vrgent buſines, and for the great diſtaunce beſides from ROME. How litle accompt *Cæſar* made of his dyet, this example doth proue it. *Cæſar* ſupping one night in MILANE with his frende *Valerius Leo*, there was ſerued ſparrage to his bourde, and oyle of perfume put into it in ſtead of ſallet oyle. He ſimplie eate it, and found no fault, blaming his frendes that were offended: *The temperance of Cæſar in his dyet.*

E and told them, that it had bene enough for them to haue abſteyned to eate of that they miſliked, and not to ſhame their frend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with his frend. An other time as he trauelled through the contrie, he was driuen by fowle weather on the ſodaine to take a poore mans cottage, that had but one litle cabin in it, and that was ſo narrowe, that one man could but ſcarce lye in it. Then he ſayd to his frendes that were about him: greateſt roomes are meeteſt for greateſt men, and the moſt neceſſarie roomes, for the ſickeſt perſons. And thereuppon he cauſed *Oppius* that was ſicke to lye there all night: and he him ſelfe, with the reſt of his frendes, lay with out dores, vnder the eaſing of the houſe. *Cæſars ciuilitie not to blame his frend.*

The firſt warre that *Cæſar* made with the GAVLES, was with the HELVETIANS and TIGVRIANS, who hauing ſette fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelue, and foure hun-

F dred villages beſides, came to inuade that parte of GAVLE which was ſubiect to the ROMANES, as the CIMBRI and TEVTONS had done before: vnto whome for valliantneſſe they gaue no place, & they were alſo a great number of them (for they were three hundred thouſ-

and ſoules in all) whereof there were a hundred, foure ſcore, and tenne thowſande fighting men. Of thoſe, it was not *Cæſar* him ſelfe that ouercame the TIGVRINIANS, but *Labienus* his Lieutenaunt, that ouerthrewe them by the riuer of Arax. But the HELVETIANS them ſelues came ſodainly with their armie to ſet apon him, as he was going towardes a citie of his confederates. *Cæſar* perceiuing that, made haſt to get him ſome place of ſtrength, and there did ſette his men in battell raye. When one brought him his horſe to gette vp on which he vſed in battell, he ſayd vnto them: when I haue ouercome mine enemies, I will then get vp on him to followe the chaſe, but nowe lette vs geue them charge. Therewith he marched forward a foote, and gaue charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he coulde make them flie that were in battell. But the greateſt trouble he had, was to diſtreſſe their campe, and to breake their ſtrength which they had made with their cartes. For there, they that before had fledde from the battell, did not onely put them ſelues in force, and valliantly fought it out: but their wiues and children alſo fighting for their liues to the death, were all ſlaine, and the battell was ſcant ended at midnight. Nowe if the act of this victorie was famous, vnto that he alſo added an other as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had eſcaped from this battell, he gathered together againe aboue a hundred thowſande of them, and compelled them to returne home into their contrie which they had forſaken, and vnto their townes alſo which they had burnt: bicauſe he feared the GERMAINES would come ouer the riuer of Rheyne, and occupie that contrie lying voyde. The ſecond warre he made, was in defence of the GAVLES againſt the GERMAINES: although before, he him ſelfe had cauſed *Arioviſtus* their king, to be receiued for a confederate of the ROMANES. Notwithſtanding, they were growen very vnquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainely, that hauing any occaſion offered them to enlarge their territories, they woulde not content them with their owne, but ment to inuade and poſſeſſe the reſt of GAVLE. *Cæſar* perceiuing that ſome of his Captaines trembled for feare, but ſpecially the young gentlemen of noble houſes of ROME, who thought to haue gone to the warres with him, as onely for their pleaſure and gaine: he called them to counſell, and commaunded them that were affrayed, that they ſhould depart home, and not put them ſelues in daunger againſt their willes, ſith they had ſuch womaniſhe faint hartes to ſhrinke when he had neede of them. And for him ſelfe, he ſayd, he would ſet apon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion onely, ſaying, that the enemies were no vallianter than the CIMBRI had bene, nor that he was a Captaine inferior vnto *Marius*. This oration being made, the ſouldiers of the tenth legion ſent their Lieutenauntes vnto him, to thanke him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions alſo fell out with their Captaines, and all of them together followed him many dayes iorney with good will to ſerue him, vntill they came within two hundred furlonges of the campe of the enemies. *Arioviſtus* corage was well cooled, when he ſawe *Cæſar* was come, and that the ROMANES came to ſeeke out the GERMAINES, where they thought, and made accompt, that they durſt not haue abidden them: and therefore nothinge miſtruſtinge it woulde haue come ſo to paſſe, he wondered much at *Cæſars* corage, and the more when he ſawe his owne armie in a maze withall. But muche more did their corages fall, by reaſon of the fooliſhe women propheciers they had among them, which did foretell thinges to come: who, conſideringe the waues and trouble of the riuers, and the terrible noyſe they made runninge downe the ſtreame, did forewarne them not to fight, vntill the newe moone. *Cæſar* hauinge intelligence thereof, and perceiuinge that the barbarous people thereuppon ſturred not: thought it beſt then to ſette vppon them, being diſcoraged with this ſuperſticious feare, rather then loſinge time, he ſhoulde tarie their leaſure. So he did skirmiſhe with them euen to their fortes, and litle hilles where they lay, and by this meanes prouoked them ſo, that with great furie they came downe to fight. There he ouercame them in battell, and followed them in chaſe, with great ſlaughter, three hundred furlonge, euen vnto the riuer of Rheyn: and he filled all the fieldes thitherto with deade bodies and ſpoyles. Howebeit *Arioviſtus* flyinge with ſpeede, gotte ouer the riuer of Rheyn, and eſcaped with a fewe of his men. It is ſayd that there were ſlaine foure ſcore thowſande perſons at this battel. After this exployte, *Cæſar* left his armie amongeſt the SEQVANES to winter there and

The Tigurinians ſlaine by Labienus. Arax fl.

Cæſar refuſed his horſe, whē he fought a battell.

The Heluetians ſlaine by Cæſar.

Rhenus fl.

Cæſar made warre with king Arioniſtus.

The wiſe women of Germany how they did foreſe: thinges to come.

King Arioniſtus ouerthrowen by Cæſar.

A & he him ſelfe in the meane time, thinking of thaffayres at ROME, went ouer the mountaines into GAVLE about the riuer of Po, being parte of his prouince which he had in charge. For there, the riuer called Rubico, deuideth the reſt of ITALIE from GAVLE on this ſide the Alpes. *Cæſar* lying there, did practiſe to make frendes in ROME, bicauſe many came thither to ſee him: vnto whom he graunted their ſutes they demaunded, and ſent them home alſo, partely with liberall rewards, and partely with large promiſes and hope. Now during all this conqueſt of the GAVLES, *Pompey* did not conſider how *Cæſar* enterchaungeablie did conquer the GAVLES with the weapons of the ROMANES, and wanne the ROMANES againe with the money of the GAVLES. *Cæſar* being aduertiſed that the BELGÆ (which were the warlikeſt men of all the GAVLES, and that occupied the third parte of GAVLE) were all vp in armes,
B and had raiſed a great power of men together: he ſtraight made towardes them with all poſſible ſpeede, and founde them ſpoyling and ouerrunninge the contrie of the GAVLES, their neighbours, and confederates of the ROMANES. So he gaue them battell, and they fighting cowardly, he ouerthrew the moſt parte of them which were in a troupe together, & ſlue ſuch a number of them, that the ROMANES paſſed ouer deepe riuers and lakes a foote, vpon their dead bodies, the riuers were ſo full of them. After this ouerthrow, they that dwelt neereſt vnto the ſea ſide, and were next neighbours vnto the Ocean, did yeeld them ſelues without any compulſion or fight: whereupon, he led his army againſt the NERVIANS, the ſtowteſt warriers of all the BELGÆ. They dwelling in the wodde contrie, had conueyed their wiues, children and goods, into a maruelous great forreſt, as farre from their enemies as they could: and be-
C ing about the number of ſixe ſcore thowſand fighting men and more, they came one day and ſet apon *Cæſar*, when his armie was out of order, and fortifying of his campe, litle looking to haue fought that day. At the firſt charge, they brake the horſemen of the ROMANES, and compaſſing in the twelfth & ſeuenth legion, they ſlue all the Centurions & Captaines of the bands. And had not *Cæſar* ſelfe taken his ſhield on his arme, and flying in amongeſt the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: & the tenth legion alſo ſeeing him in daunger, ronne vnto him from the toppe of the hill where they ſtoode in battell, and broken the ranckes of their enemies: there had not a ROMANE eſcaped a liue that day. But taking example of *Cæſars* valliantnes, they fought deſperatly beyond their power, and yet could not make the NERVIANS flie, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in manner
D ſlaine in the field. It is wrytten that of three skore thowſand fighting men, there eſcaped only but fiue hundred: and of foure hundred gentlemen and counſellers of the ROMANES, but three ſaued. The Senate vnderſtanding it at ROME, ordained that they ſhoulde doe ſacrifice vnto the goddes, and keepe feaſtes and ſolemne proceſſions fifteene dayes together without interminſion, hauing neuer made the like ordinaunce at ROME, for any victorie that euer was obteined. Bicauſe they ſaw the daunger had bene maruelous great, ſo many nations riſing as they did in armes together againſt him: and further, the loue of the people vnto him made his victory much more famous. For when *Cæſar* had ſet his affaires at a ſtay in GAVLE, on the other ſide of the Alpes: he alwayes vſed to lye about the riuer of Po in the winter time, to geue direction for the eſtabliſhing of thinges at ROME, at his pleaſure. For, not only they that made
E ſute for offices at ROME were choſen Magiſtrats, by meanes of *Cæſars* money which he gaue them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voyces, and when they were in office, did al that they could to increaſe *Cæſars* power and greatnes: but the greateſt & chiefeſt men alſo of the noblitie, went vnto LVKE vnto him. As *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, *Appius*, Prætor of SARDINIA, and *Nepos*, Proconſull in SPAYNE. Inſomuch that there were at one time, ſixe ſcore ſergeaunts carying roddes and axes before the Magiſtrats: and aboue two hundred Senators beſides. There they fell in conſultacion, and determined that *Pompey* & *Craſſus* ſhould againe be choſen Conſuls the next yere following. Furthermore, they did appoint, that *Cæſar* ſhould haue money againe deliuered him to pay his armie, and beſides, did proroge the time of his gouernment, fiue yeares further. This was thought a very ſtraunge & an vnreaſonable matter
F vnto wiſe men. For they thē ſelues that had taken ſo much money of *Cæſar*, perſwaded the Senate to let him haue money of the cōmon treaſure, as though he had had none before: yea to ſpeake more plainly, they compelled the Senate vnto it, ſighing & lamēting to ſee the decrees

The Belgæ ouercome by Cæſar.

Nerui the ſtowteſt warriers of all the Belgæ.

The Nerui ſlaine by Cæſar.

The great Lordes of Rome, came to Luca to Cæſar.

they passed. *Cato* was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into CYPRVS. Howbeit *Faonius* that followed *Catoes* steppes, when he sawe that he could not preuaile, nor withstande them: he went out of the Senate in choller, and cried out amongest the people, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: some for the reuerence they bare vnto *Pompey*, and *Crassius*, and others fauoring *Cæsars* proceedinges, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet them selues, and sturred not. Then *Cæsar* returning into GAVLE beyonde the Alpes vnto his armie, founde there a greate warre in the contrie. For two great nations of GERMANIE had not long before passed ouer the riuer of Rheyn, to conquer newe landes: and the one of these people were called IPES, and the other TENTERIDES. Now touching the battell which *Cæsar* fought with them, he him selfe doth describe it in his commentaries, in this sorte. That the barbarous people hauing sent Ambassadours vnto him, to require peace for a certaine time: they notwithstanding, against lawe of armes, came and sette apon him as he trauelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of armes ouerthrewe fiue thowsande of his horsemen, who nothinge at all mistrusted their comming. Againe, that they sent him other Ambassadours to mocke him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole armie to marche against them, thinking it a follie, and madnesse, to keepe faith with such trayterous barbarous breakers of leagues. *Canutius* wryteth, that the Senate appointing againe to doe newe sacrifice, processions, and feastes, to geue thankes to the goddes for this victorie: *Cato* was of contrarie opinion, that *Cæsar* should be deliuered into the handes of the barbarous people, for to pourge their city and common wealth of this breache of faith, and to turne the curse apon him, that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came ouer the Rheyn (being about the number of foure hundred thowsand persons) they were all in maner slaine, sauing a very fewe of them, that flying from the battell got ouer the riuer of Rheyn againe, who were receiued by the SICAMBRIANS, an other people of the GERMAINES. *Cæsar* taking this occasion against them, lacking no good will of him selfe besides, to haue the honor to be counted the first ROMANE that euer passed ouer the riuer of Rheyn with an armie: he built a bridge ouer it. This riuer is maruelous broade, and runneth with great furie. And in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great bredth from one side to thother, and it hath so strong and swift a streame besides: that men casting downe great bodies of trees into the riuer (which the streame bringeth downe with it) did with the great blowes and force thereof maruelously shake the postes of the bridge he had set vp. But to preuent the blowes of those trees, and also to breake the furie of the streame: he made a pile of great wodde aboue the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ramme them in to the bottome of the riuer, so that in ten dayes space, he had set vp and finisht his bridge of the goodliest carpenters worke, and most excellent inuention to see to, that could be possiblie thought or deuised. Then passing ouer his army vpon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the SVEVIANS, which were the warlikest people of all GERMANY, had gotten them selues with their goodes into wonderfull great valleis and bogges, full of woddes and forrestes. Nowe when he had burnt all the contrie of his enemies, and confirmed the league with the confederats of the ROMANES: he returned backe againe into GAVLE after he had taried eighteene dayes at the most in GERMANY, on thother side of the Rheyn. The iorney he made also into ENGLAND, was a noble enterprise, and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the west Ocean with an army by sea, & that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make warre in that so great & famous Ilande: (which many auncient wryters would not beleue that it was so in deede, and did make them vary about it, saying that it was but a fable & a lye) and was the first that enlarged the ROMANE Empire, beyonde the earth inhabitable. For twise he passed ouer the narrowe sea against the firme lande of GAVLE, and fighting many battells there, did hurt his enemies more, then enriche his owne men: bicause, of men hardlie brought vp, and poore, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereuppon his warre had not such successe as he looked for, and therefore takinge pledges onely of the kinge, and imposing a yearely tribute apon him, to be payed vnto the people of ROME: he returned againe into GAVLE. There he was no sooner landed, but he founde letters ready to be sent ouer the sea vnto him:

Ipes, & Tenterides, people of Germany.

Cæsars horsemen put to flight.

The Ipes and Tenterides slaine by Cæsar.

Sicambri, a people of the Germanes.

Cæsar made a bridge ouer the riuer of Rheyn.

Cæsars iorney into England.

in

A in the which he was aduertiſed from ROME, of the death of his Daughter, that ſhe was dead with child by *Pompey*. For the which, *Pompey* & *Cæſar* both, were maruelous ſorowfull: & their friends mourned alſo, thinking that this alliance which mainteined the common wealth (that otherwiſe was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now ſeuered, and broken a ſonder, and the rather likely, bicauſe the childe liued not long after the mother. So the common people at ROME tooke the corps of *Iulia*, in diſpite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the fielde of *Mars*. Now *Cæſar* being driuen to deuide his armie (that was very great) into ſundry garriſons for the winter time, and returning againe into ITALY as he was wont: all GAVLE rebelled againe, and had rayſed great armies in euery quarter to ſet apon the ROMANES, and to aſſay if they could diſtreſſe their forts where they lay in garriſon. The greateſt number and moſt warB like men of theſe GAVLES, that entred into action of rebellion, were led by one *Ambiorix*: and firſt did ſet vpon the garriſons of *Cotta*, and *Titurius*, whom they ſlue, and all the ſouldiers they had about them. Then they went with three ſcore thowſand fighting men to beſeege the garriſon which *Quintus Cicero* had in his charge, and had almoſt taken them by force, bicauſe all the ſouldiers were euery man of them hurt: but they were ſo valiant and courageous, that they did more then men (as they ſay) in defending of them ſelues. Theſe newes being come to *Cæſar*, who was farre from thence at that time, he returned with all poſſible ſpeede, and leuying ſeuen thowſand ſouldiers, made haſte to helpe *Cicero* that was in ſuch diſtreſſe. The GAVLES that did beſeege *Cicero*, vnderſtanding of *Cæſars* comming, rayſed their ſeege incontinently, to goe and meete him: making accompt that he was but a handfull in their handes, they were C ſo fewe. *Cæſar* to deceiue them, ſtill drewe backe, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meete for a Captaine that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commaunded his men in no wiſe to ſturre out to skirmiſh with them, but compelled them to rayſe vp the rampers of his campe, and to fortifie the gates, as men that were afraid, bicauſe the enemies ſhould the leſſe eſteeme of them: vntill that at length he tooke opportunitie, by their diſorderly cõming to aſſaile the trenches of his campe, (they were growen to ſuch a preſumptuous boldnes and bravery) and then ſalying out apon them, he put them all to flight with ſlaughter of a great number of them. This did ſuppreſſe all the rebellions of the GAVLES in thoſe parties, and furthermore, he him ſelfe in perſon went in the middeſt of winter thether, where he heard they did rebell: for that there was come a newe ſupply out of D ITALY of three whole legions in their roome, which he had loſt: of the which, two of them *Pompey* lent him, and the other legion, he him ſelfe had leauyed in GAVLE about the riuer of Po. During theſe ſturres, brake forth the beginning of the greateſt & moſt daungerous warre that he had in all GAVLE, the which had bene ſecretly practiſed of long time by the chiefeſt & moſt warlike people of that contry, who had leauied a wonderfull great power. For euery where they leauied multitudes of men, & great riches beſides, to fortefie their ſtronge holdes. Furthermore the contry where they roſe, was very ill to come vnto, and ſpecially at that time being winter, when the riuers were froſen, the woodes and forreſts couered with ſnowe, the meadowes drowned with fluddes, and the fieldes ſo deepe of ſnow, that no wayes were to be found, neither the mariſſes nor riuers to be decerned, all was ſo ouerflowen and drowned with E water: all which troubles together, were enough (as they thought) to keepe *Cæſar* from ſetting vpon the rebels. Many nations of the GAVLES were of this conſpiracy, but two of the chiefeſt were the ARVERNIANS and CARNVTES: who had choſen *Vercingentorix* for their Lieuetenant generall, whoſe father the GAVLES before had put to death, bicauſe they thought he aſpired to make him ſelfe king. This *Vercingentorix* deuiding his armie into diuers partes, and appointing diuers Captaines ouer them, had gotten to take his part, all the people and contries thereabout, euẽ as farre as they that dwell towards the *ſea Adriatick, hauing further determined (vnderſtanding that ROME did cõſpire againſt *Cæſar*) to make all GAVLE riſe in armes againſt him. So that if he had but taried a litle lenger, vntill *Cæſar* had entred into his ciuill warres: he had put all ITALY in as great feare and daunger, as it was when the CIMBRI did F come and inuade it. But *Cæſar*, that was very valiant in all aſſaies and daungers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and oportunitie: ſo ſoone as he vnderſtoode the newes of the rebellion, he departed with ſpeede, and returned backe the ſelfe ſame way which he had

The death of Iulia, Cæſars Daughter.

The rebellion of the Gaules

Cotta, and Titurius, with their armie ſlaine.

Cæſar ſlue the Gaules led by Ambiorix.

The ſecond rebellion of the Gaules againſt Cæſar.

Vercingentorix Captaine of the rebells againſt Cæſar

* *Some ſay, that in this place is to be redde in the Greeke* [illegible] *which is, the riuer Saone.*

gone, making the barbarous people know, that they ſhould deale with an armie vnuincible, & which they could not poſſibly withſtand, conſidering the great ſpeede he had made with the ſame, in ſo ſharpe and hard a winter. For where they would not poſſibly haue beleeued, that a poſte or currer could haue come in ſo ſhort a time from the place where he was, vnto them: they wondred when they ſaw him burning and deſtroying the contry, the townes and ſtronge forts where he came with his armie, taking all to mercy that yelded vnto him: vntil ſuch time as the HEDVI tooke armes againſt him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the ROMANES, and were greatly honored of them. Wherfore *Cæſars* men when they vnderſtoode that they had ioyned with the rebells, they were maruelous ſory, and halfe diſcouraged. Thereupon, *Cæſar* departing from thoſe parties, went through the contry of the LINGONES, to enter the contry of the *BVRGONIANS, who were confederats of the ROMANES, and the neareſt vnto ITALY on that ſide, in reſpect of all the reſt of GAVLE. Thither the enemies came to ſet apon him, and to enuironne him of all ſides, with an infinit number of thowſands of fighting men. *Cæſar* on thother ſide taried their comming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them ſo affraid of him, that at length he ouercame the barbarous people. But at the firſt, it ſeemeth notwithſtanding, that he had receyued ſome ouerthrowe: for the ARVERNIANS ſhewed a ſworde hanged vppe in one of their temples, which they ſayde they had wonne from *Cæſar*. Inſomuch as *Cæſar* ſelfe comming that way by occaſion, ſawe it, and fell a laughing at it. But ſome of his friendes going about to take it away, he would not ſuffer them, but bad them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thinge. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as at the firſt had ſaued them ſelues by fleeing, the moſt of them were gotten with their king into the citie of ALEXIA, the which *Cæſar* went and beſeeged, although it ſeemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the wals, as alſo for the multitude of ſouldiers they had to defend it. But now during this ſeege, he fell into a maruelous great daunger without, almoſt incredible. For an armie of three hundred thowſand fighting men of the beſt men that were among all the nations of the GAVLES, came againſt him, being at the ſeege of ALEXIA, beſides them that were within the citie, which amounted to the number of three ſcore and tenne thowſand fighting men at the leaſt: ſo that perceiuing he was ſhut in betwixt two ſo great armies, he was driuen to fortifie him ſelfe with two walls, the one againſt them of the citie, and the other againſt them without. For if thoſe two armies had ioyned together, *Cæſar* had bene vtterly vndone. And therefore, this ſeege of ALEXIA, and the battell he wanne before it, did deſeruedly winne him more honor and fame, then any other. For there, in that inſtant and extreame daunger, he ſhewed more valiantnes and wiſdom, then he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wonderfull thing was this? that they of the citie neuer heard any thing of them that came to ayde them, vntill *Cæſar* had ouercome them: and furthermore, that the ROMANES them ſelues which kept watch vpon the wall that was built againſt the citie, knew alſo no more of it, then they, but when it was done, and that they heard the cryes and lamentacions of men & women in ALEXIA, when they perceiued on thother ſide of the citie ſuch a nũber of gliſtering ſhields of gold and ſiluer, ſuch ſtore of bloody corſelets and armors, ſuch a deale of plate and moueables, and ſuch a number of tents and pauilyons after the facion of the GAVLES, which the ROMANES had gotten of their ſpoyles in their campe. Thus ſodainely was this great armie vaniſhed, as a dreame or viſion: where the moſt part of them were ſlaine that day in battell. Furthermore, after that they within the citie of ALEXIA had done great hurt to *Cæſar*, and them ſelues alſo: in the ende, they all yelded them ſelues. And *Vercingentorix* (he that was their king and Capteine in all this warre) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horſe furniſhed with riche cappariſon accordingly, and rode round about *Cæſar*, who ſate in his chayer of eſtate. Then lighting from his horſe, he tooke of his cappariſon and furniture, and vnarmed him ſelfe, and layed all on the ground, and went and ſate downe at *Cæſars* feete, and ſayd neuer a word. So *Cæſar* at length committed him as a priſoner taken in the warres, to leade him afterwards in his triumphe at ROME. Nowe *Cæſar* had of long time derermined to deſtroy *Pompey*, and *Pompey* him alſo. For *Craſſus* being killed amongeſt the PARTHIANS, who onely did ſee, that one of them two muſt needes fall: nothing kept *Cæſar* from being the greateſt perſon, but bicauſe he deſtroied not *Pompey*, that was the greater: neither did any thing let *Pompey* to withſtand

The Hedui rebell againſt the Romanes.

** Sequani.*

Vercingentorix ouerthrowen by Cæſar.

The ſeege of Alexia.

Cæſars daunger, and wiſe policie.

Cæſars great victorie at Alexia.

Alexia yelded vp to Cæſar.

A ſtand that it ſhould not come to paſſe, but bicauſe he did not firſt ouercome *Cæſar*, whom onely he feared. For till then, *Pompey* had not long feared him, but alwayes before ſet light by him, thinking it an eaſie matter for him to put him downe when he would, ſithe he had brought him to that greatnes he was come vnto. But *Cæſar* contrarily, hauing had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wreſtler that ſtudieth for trickes to ouerthrowe his aduerſary: he went farre from ROME, to exerciſe him ſelfe in the warres of GAVLE, where he did trayne his armie, and preſently by his valiant deedes did increaſe his fame and honor. By theſe meanes became *Cæſar* as famous as *Pompey* in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterpriſe in execution, but ſome occaſions of culler, which *Pompey* partly gaue him, and partly alſo the tyme deliuered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill gouernment at that tyme of the com-

The diſcord betwixt Cæſar and Pompey, and the cauſe of the ciuill warres. Cæſars craftineſs.

B mon wealth at ROME. For they that made ſute for honor and offices, bought the voyces of the people with ready money, which they gaue out openly to vſury, without ſhame or feare. Thereupon, the common people that had ſold their voyces for money, came to the market place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hyered them: not with their voices, but with their bowes, ſlings, and ſwordes. So that the aſſembly ſeldom tyme brake vp, but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and ſprinckled with the bloode of them that were ſlayne in the market place, the citie remayning all that tyme without gouernment of Magiſtrate, like a ſhippe left without a Pilote. Inſomuch, as men of deepe iudgement & diſcreſſion ſeing ſuch furie & madnes of the people, thought thẽ ſelues happy if the cõmon wealth were no worſe troubled, thẽ with the abſolut ſtate of a Monarchy & ſoueraine Lord to gouerne them. Furthermore, there

The peoples voices bought at Rome for money.

C were many that were not affraid to ſpeake it openly, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the cõmon wealth, but by the authority of one man only, that ſhould cõmaund thẽ all: & that this medicine muſt be miniſtred by the hands of him, that was the gẽtleſt Phiſition, meaning couertly *Pompey*. Now *Pompey* vſed many fine ſpeeches, making ſemblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly vnder hand did lay all the yrons in the fire he could, to bring it to paſſe, that he might be choſen Dictator. *Cato* finding the mark he ſhot at, & fearing leaſt in the end the people ſhould be compelled to make him Dictator: he perſwaded the Senat rather to make him ſole Conſul, that contenting him ſelf with that more iuſt & lawful gouernment, he ſhould not couet the other vnlawfull. The Senate following his counſel, did not only make him Conſul, but further did proroge his gouernment of the prouinces he had. For

Pompey gouerned Spain and Africk.

D he had two prouinces, all SPAYNE, & AFRICK, the which he gouerned by his Lieuetenants: & further, he receiued yearely of the common treaſure to pay his ſouldiers a thowſand talents. Hereuppon *Cæſar* tooke occaſion alſo to ſend his men to make ſute in his name for the Conſulſhip, & alſo to haue the gouernment of his prouinces proroged. *Pompey* at the firſt held his peace. But *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* (that otherwiſe hated *Cæſar*) withſtood them, and to ſhame and diſhonor him, had much needeles ſpeech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they tooke away the fredom from the COLONYES which *Cæſar* had lately brought vnto the citie of NOVVM COMVM in GAVLE towards ITALY, where *Cæſar* not long before had lodged them. And moreouer, when *Marcellus* was Conſul, he made one of the Senators in that citie to be whipped with roddes, who came to ROME about thoſe matters: & ſaid, he gaue him thoſe markes,

Cæſar ſueth the ſecond time to be Cõſul, and to haue his gouernments proroged.

E that he ſhould know he was no ROMANE Citizen, and bad him goe his way, and tel *Cæſar* of it. After *Marcellus* Conſulſhip, *Cæſar* ſetting open his cofers of the treaſure he had gottẽ among the GAVLES, did franckely giue it out amongeſt the Magiſtrates at ROME, without reſtrainte or ſpare. Firſt, he ſet *Curio*, the Tribune cleare out of debt: and gaue alſo vnto *Paule* the Conſul a thowſand fiue hundred talents, with which money he built that notable pallace by the market place, called *Paules* Baſilicke, in the place of *Fuluius* Baſilicke. Then *Pompey* being affraid of this practiſe, began openly to procure, both by him ſelfe and his friends, that they ſhould ſend *Cæſar* a ſucceſſor: and moreouer, he ſent vnto *Cæſar* for his two legions of men of warre which he had lent him, for the conqueſt of GAVLE. *Cæſar* ſent him them againe, and gaue euery priuate ſouldier, two hundred and fiftie ſiluer drachmas. Now, they that brought theſe two legi-

Cæſar bribeth the Magiſtrates at Rome.

F ons backe from *Cæſar*, gaue out ill and ſeditious wordes againſt him amonge the people, and did alſo abuſe *Pompey* with falſe perſwaſions and vaine hopes, informing him that he was maruelouſly deſired and wiſhed for in *Cæſars* campe: and that though in ROME, for the ma-

Pompey abuſed by flatterers.

lice and ſecret ſpite which the gouernours there did beare him, he could hardly obteyne that he deſired: yet in GAVLE he might aſſure him ſelfe, that all the armie was at his commaundement. They added further alſo, that if the ſouldiers there did once returne ouer the mountaines againe into ITALY, they would all ſtraight come to him, they did ſo hate *Cæſar*: bicauſe he wearied them with too much labor and continuall fight, and withal, for that they ſuſpected he aſpired to be king. Theſe words breeding ſecuritie in *Pompey*, & a vaine conceit of him ſelfe, made him negligent in his doings, ſo that he made no preparatiō for warre, as though he had no occaſion to be affraid: but onely ſtudied to thwart *Cæſar* in ſpeech, & to croſſe the ſutes he made. Howbeit *Cæſar* paſſed not of all this. For the report went, that one of *Cæſars* Captaines which was ſent to ROME to proſecute his ſute, being at the Senate dore, and hearing that they denied to proroge *Cæſars* time of gouernment which he ſued for: clapping his hand vpon his ſword, he ſaid, ſith you wil not graūt it him, this ſhal giue it him. Notwithſtanding, the requeſts that *Cæſar* propownded, caried great ſemblance of reaſon with them. For he ſaid, that he was contented to lay downe armes, ſo that *Pompey* did the like: & that both of them as priuat perſons ſhould come & make ſute of their Citizens to obtaine honorable recompence: declaring vnto them, that taking armes from him, & graunting them vnto *Pompey*, they did wrongefully accuſe him in going about to make him ſelfe a tyranne, & in the meane time to graunt the other meanes to be a tyranne. *Curio* making theſe offers & perſwaſions opēly before the people, in the name of *Cæſar*: he was heard with great reioycing & clapping of hands, and there were ſome that caſt flowers and noſegayes vpon him when he went his way, as they commonly vſe to doe vnto any man, when he hath obteined victorye, and wonne any games. Then *Antonius* one of the Tribunes, brought a letter ſent from *Cæſar*, and made it openly to be read in deſpite of the Conſuls. But *Scipio* in the Senate, *Pompeys* father in law, made this motion: that if *Cæſar* did not diſmiſſe his armie by a certaine day appoynted him, the ROMANES ſhould proclayme him an enemie vnto ROME. Then the Conſuls openly asked in the preſence of the Senators, if they thought it good that *Pompey* ſhould diſmiſſe his armie: But few agreed to that demaund. After that againe they asked, if they liked that *Cæſar* ſhould diſmiſſe his armie: thereto they all in manner aunſwered, yea, yea. But when *Antonius* requeſted agayne that bothe of them ſhould lay downe armes: then they were all indifferently of his minde. Notwithſtanding, bicauſe *Scipio* did inſolently behaue him ſelfe, and *Marcellus* alſo, who cryed that they muſt vſe force of armes, & not mens opinions againſt a theefe: the Senate roſe ſtraight vpon it without further determination, & men chaunged apparel through the citie bicauſe of this diſſention, as they vſe to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from *Cæſar*, which ſemed much more reaſonable: in the which he requeſted that they would graunt him GAVLE, that lyeth betwene the Mountaines of the Alpes & ITALY, & ILLYRIA, with two legions only, & then that he would requeſt nothing els, vntil he made ſute for the ſecond Conſulſhip. *Cicero* the Orator, that was newly come from his gouernment of CILICIA, trauelled to reconcile them together, & pacified *Pompey* thē beſt he could: who told him, he would yeld to any thing he would haue him, ſo he did let him alone with his armie. So *Cicero* perſwaded *Cæſars* friends to be contented, to take thoſe two prouinces, and ſix thowſand men onely, that they might be friends & at peace together. *Pompey* very willingly yelded vnto it, & graunted them. But *Lentulus* the Conſul would not agree to it, but ſhamefully draue *Curio* and *Antonius* out of the Senate: whereby they them ſelues gaue *Cæſar* a happy occaſion & culler, as could be, ſtirring vp his ſouldiers the more againſt them, whē he ſhewed them theſe two notable men & Tribunes of the people that were driuen to flie, diſguiſed like ſlaues, in a cariers cart. For, they were driuen for feare to ſteale out of ROME, diſguiſed in that manner. Nowe at that time, *Cæſar* had not in all about him, aboue fiue thowſand footemen, and three thowſand horſemen: for the reſt of his armie, he left on thother ſide of the Mountaines to be brought after him by his Lieuetenants. So, conſidering that for the execution of his enterpriſe, he ſhould not neede ſo many men of warre at the firſt, but rather ſodainly ſtealing vpon them, to make them affraid with his valiantnes, taking benefit of the oportunitie of tyme, bicauſe he ſhould more eaſily make his enemies affraid of him, comming ſo ſodainly when they looked not for him, then he ſhould otherwiſe diſtreſſe them, aſſailing them with his whole armie, in giuing them leyſure to pro-

Cæſars requeſts vnto the Senate.

Antonius & Curio, Tribunes of the people, fly from Rome to Cæſar.

A B C D E F

A side further for him: he commaunded his Captaines and Lieuetenants to go before, without any other armor then their swords, to take the citie of ARIMINVM, (a great citie of GAVLE, being the first citie men come to, when they come out of GAVLE) with as litle bloodshed and tumult, as they could possible. Then committing that force and armie he had with him, vnto *Hortensius* one of his friends: he remeyned a whole day together, openly in the sight of euery man, to see the sworde players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a litle, came afterwards into the hall amongest them, and made mery with them a while, whome he had bidden to supper. Then when it was well forwarde night, and very darke, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be mery, and no man to sturre, for he would straight come to them againe: howebeit he had secretly before com-
B maunded a fewe of his trustiest friendes to followe him, not altogether, but some one way, and some an other way. He him selfe in the meane tyme tooke a coche he had hyered, and made as though he woulde haue gonne some other waye at the first, but sodainely he turned backe againe towardes the citie of ARIMINVM. When he was come vnto the litle ryuer of Rubicon, which deuideth GAVLE on this side the Alpes from ITALY: he stayed vppon a sodaine. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his consci-
C ence, to thinke what an enterprise he tooke in hand: & his thoughts also fell out more doubtfull, when he entred into consideration of the desperatnes of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with him selfe, and spake neuer a word, wauing sometime one way, sometime an other way, and often times chaunged his determination, contrary to him selfe. So did he talke much also with his friends he had with him, amongest whom was *Asinius Pollio*, telling them what mischieues the beginning of this passage ouer that riuer would breede in the world, and how much their posteritie and them that liued after them, would speake of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage, all those perillous thoughts to come, & speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt daungerous and desperat enterprises, *A desperat man feareth no daunger*, come on: he passed ouer the riuer, and when
D he was come ouer, he ranne with his coche and neuer staied, so that before day light he was within the citie of ARIMINVM, and tooke it. It is said, that the night before he passed ouer this riuer, he dreamed a damnable dreame, that he carnally knew his mother. The citie of ARIMINVM being taken, and the rumor thereof dispersed through all ITALY, euen as if it had bene open warre both by sea & land, & as if all the lawes of ROME, together with thextreme bounds
E and confines of the same had bene broken vp: a man would haue sayd, that not onely the men and women for feare, as experience proued at other times, but whole cities them selues leauing their habitations, fled from one place to another through all ITALY. And ROME it selfe also was immediatly filled with the flowing repaire of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parties like droues of cattell, that there was neither officer nor Magistrate that could any more commaund them by authoritie, neither by any perswasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that ROME had in maner destroyed it selfe for lacke of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, and there were daungerous sturres and tumults euery where: bicause they that were glad of this
F trouble, could keepe in no certaine place, but running vp and downe the citie, when they met with others in diuers places, that seemed either to be affraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a citie) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatned them with that that was to come. *Pompey* him selfe, who at that time was not a litle amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill wordes some gaue him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproued him, and sayd that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly, because he had made *Cæsar* so great and stronge against him & the common wealth. And other againe did blame him, bicause he had refused the honest offers and reasonable condicions of peace, which *Cæsar* had offered him, suffering *Lentulus* the Consul to abuse him too much. On thother side, *Phaonius* spake vnto him, and bad him stampe on the ground with his foote: For *Pompey* beeing one day in a brauerie in the Senate, sayd openly: let no man take thought for preparation of warre, for when he lysted, with one stampe of his foote on the ground, he would fill all ITALY with souldiers. This notwithstanding, *Pompey* at that tyme had

Cæsars doubtfull thoughts at the riuer of Rubicon.

The Greeke vseth this phrase of speech, cast the dye.

Cæsar tooke the citie of Ariminum.

Cæsars damnable dreame.

Rome in vproare with Cæsars comming.

greater number of ſouldiers then *Cæſar*: but they would neuer let him follow his owne determination. For they brought him ſo many lyes, and put ſo many examples of feare before him, as if *Cæſar* had bene already at their heeles, and had wonne all: ſo that in the ende he yelded vnto them, and gaue place to their furie and madnes, determining (ſeeing all thinges in ſuch tumult and garboyle) that there was no way but to forſake the citie, and thereuppon commaunded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tary there, vnles he loued tyrannie, more then his owne libertie and the common wealth. Thus the Conſuls them ſelues, before they had done their common ſacrifices accuſtomed at their going out of the citie, fled euery man of them. So did likewiſe the moſte parte of the Senators, taking their owne thinges in haſte, ſuch as came firſt to hande, as if by ſtealth they had taken them from another. And there were ſome of them alſo that alwayes loued *Cæſar*, whoſe witts were then ſo troubled and beſides them ſelues, with the feare they had conceyued: that they alſo fled, and followed the ſtreame of this tumult, without manifeſt cauſe or neceſſitie. But aboue all thinges, it was a lamentable ſight to ſee the citie it ſelfe, that in this feare and trouble was left at all aduenture, as a ſhippe toſſed in ſtorms of ſea, forſaken of her Pilots, and diſpairing of her ſafetie. This their departure being thus miſerable, yet men eſteemed their baniſhment (for the loue they bare vnto *Pompey*) to bee their naturall contry, and reckoned Rome no better then *Cæſars* campe. At that tyme alſo *Labienus*, who was one of *Cæſars* greateſt friendes, and had bene alwayes vſed as his Lieuetenant in the warres of Gavle, and had valiantly fought in his cauſe: he likewiſe forſooke him then, and fled vnto *Pompey*. But *Cæſar* ſent his money and cariage after him, and then went and encamped before the citie of Corfinivm, the which *Domitius* kept, with thirty cohorts or enſignes. When *Domitius* ſawe he was beſeeged, he ſtraight thought him ſelfe but vndone, and diſpayring of his ſucceſſe, he bad a Phiſition, a ſlaue of his, giue him poyſon. The Phiſition gaue him a drinke which he dranke, thinking to haue dyed. But ſhortly after, *Domitius* hearing them reporte what clemencie and wonderfull curteſie *Cæſar* vſed vnto them he tooke: repented him then that he had dronke this drinke, and beganne to lament and bewayle his deſperate reſolucion taken to dye. The Phiſition did comfort him againe, and tolde him, that he had taken a drinke, onely to make him ſleepe, but not to deſtroy him. Then *Domitius* reioyced, and went ſtraight and yelded him ſelfe vnto *Cæſar*: who gaue him his life, but he notwithſtanding ſtale away immediatly, and fled vnto *Pompey*. When theſe newes were brought to Rome, they did maruelouſly reioyce and comfort them that ſtill remayned there: and moreouer there were of them that had forſaken Rome, which returned thither againe. In the meane time, *Cæſar* did put all *Domitius* men in paye, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any Captaines, that leauied men for *Pompey*. Now *Cæſar* hauing aſſembled a great and dreadfull power together, went ſtraight where he thought to finde *Pompey* him ſelfe. But *Pompey* taried not his comming, but fled into the citie of Brvndvsivm, from whence he had ſent the two Conſuls before with that armie he had, vnto Dyrrachivm: and he him ſelfe alſo went thither afterwards, when he vnderſtoode that *Cæſar* was come, as you ſhall heare more amply hereafter in his life. *Cæſar* lacked no good will to follow him, but wanting ſhippes to take the ſeas, he returned forthwith to Rome: So that in leſſe then three skore dayes, he was Lord of all Italy, without any blood ſhed. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it much quietter then he looked for, and many Senatours there alſo: he curteouſly intreated them, and prayed them to ſend vnto *Pompey*, to pacifie all matters betweene them, apon reaſonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, eyther bicauſe they feared *Pompey* for that they had forſaken him, or els for that they thought *Cæſar* ment not as he ſpake, but that they were wordes of courſe, to culler his purpoſe withall. And when *Metellus* alſo, one of the Tribunes, would not ſuffer him to take any of the common treaſure out of the temple of *Saturne*, but tolde him that it was againſt the lawe: Tuſhe, ſayd he, tyme of warre and lawe are two thinges. If this that I doe, q he, doe offende thee, then get thee hence for this tyme: for warre can not abyde this francke and bolde ſpeeche. But when warres are done, and that we are all quiet agayne, then thou ſhalt ſpeake in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I doe tell thee this of fauor, impayring ſo much my right, for thou art myne, both thou, and all them that haue riſen againſt me, and whom I haue in my hands.

Pompey flyeth from Rome.

Labienus forſooke Cæſar, and fled to Pompey.

Domitius eſcaped from Cæſar, & fled to Pompey.

Pompey flyeth into Epirus.

Silent leges inter arma.

When

A When he had ſpoken thus vnto *Metellus*, he went to the temple dore where the treaſure laye: and finding no keyes there, he cauſed Smythes to be ſent for, and made them breake open the lockes. *Metellus* thereuppon beganne agayne to withſtande him, and certen men that ſtoode by prayſed him in his doing: but *Cæſar* at length ſpeaking biggely to him, threatned him he would kill him preſently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, younge man, q he, thow knoweſt it is harder for me to tell it thee, than to doe it. That word made *Metellus* quake for feare, that he gotte him away rowndly: and euer after that, *Cæſar* had all at his commaundement for the warres. From thence he went into SPAYNE, to make warre with *Petreius* and *Varro*, *Pompeys* Lieuetenants: firſt to gette their armies and prouinces into his hands which they gouerned, that afterwardes he might follow *Pompey* the better, B leauing neuer an enemie behinde him. In this iorney he was oftentymes him ſelfe in daunger, through the ambuſhes that were layde for him in diuers ſtraunge ſortes and places, and likely alſo to haue loſt all his armie for lacke of vittells. All this notwithſtanding, he neuer left following of *Pompeys* Lieuetenants, prouoking them to battell, and intrenching them in: vntill he had gotten their campe & armies into his handes, albeit that the Lieuetenants them ſelues fled vnto *Pompey*. When *Cæſar* returned agayne to ROME, *Piſo* his father in lawe gaue him counſell to ſende Ambaſſadors vnto *Pompey*, to treate of peace. But *Iſauricius*, to flatter *Cæſar*, was againſt it. *Cæſar* beeing then created Dictator by the Senate, called home againe all the baniſhed men, and reſtored their children to honor, whoſe fathers before had beene ſlayne in *Syllaes* tyme: and did ſomewhat cutte of the vſuries that did oppreſſe them, and be-C ſides, did make ſome ſuch other ordinances as thoſe, but very fewe. For he was Dictator but eleuen dayes onely, and then did yeld it vppe of him ſelfe, and made him ſelfe Conſul, with *Seruilius Iſauricus*, and after that determined to followe the warres. All the reſt of his armie he left comming on the way behind him, and went him ſelfe before with ſix hundred horſe, and fiue legions onely of footemen, in the winter quarter, about the moneth of Ianuary, which after the ATHENIANS, is called POSIDEON. Then hauing paſt ouer the ſea Ionium, and landed his men, he wanne the cities of ORICVM and APOLLONIA. Then he ſent his ſhippes backe againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM, to tranſport the reſt of his ſouldiers that could not come with that ſpeede he did. They as they came by the way, (like men whoſe ſtrength of bo-D dy, & luſty youth, was decayed) being wearied with ſo many ſundry battells as they had fought with their enemies: complayned of *Cæſar* in this ſorte. To what ende and purpoſe doth this man hale vs after him, vp and downe the world, vſing vs like ſlaues and drudges? It is not our armor, but our bodies that beare the blowes away: and what, ſhall we neuer be without our harnes of our backes, and our ſhieldes on our armes? ſhould not *Cæſar* thinke, at the leaſt when he ſeeth our blood and woundes, that we are all mortall men, and that we feele the miſerie and paynes that other men doe feele? And now euen in the dead of winter, he putteth vs vnto the mercie of the ſea and tempeſt, yea which the gods them ſelues can not withſtand: as if he fled before his enemies, and purſued them not. Thus ſpending time with this talke, the ſouldiers ſtill marching on, by ſmall iorneys came at length vnto the citie of BRVNDVSIVM. But when they were come, & found that *Cæſar* had already paſſed ouer the ſea, then they ſtraight chaun-E ged their complaints and myndes. For they blamed them ſelues, and tooke on alſo with their Captaines, bicauſe they had not made them make more haſte in marching: and ſitting vpon the rockes and clyffes of the ſea, they looked ouer the mayne ſea, towards the Realme of EPIRVS, to ſee if they could diſcerne the ſhippes returning backe, to tranſport them ouer. *Cæſar* in the meane time being in the citie of APOLLONIA, hauing but a ſmall armie to fight with *Pompey*, it greued him for that the reſt of his armie was ſo long a comming, not knowing what way to take. In the ende he followed a daungerous determinacion, to imbarke vnknowen in a litle pynnaſe of twelue ores onely, to paſſe ouer the ſea againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM: the which he could not doe without great daunger, conſidering that all that ſea was full of *Pompeys* ſhippes and armies. So he tooke ſhippe in the night apparelled like a ſlaue, and went aborde vpon this F litle pynnaſe, & ſaid neuer a word, as if he had bene ſome poore man of meane condicion. The pynnaſe laye in the mouth of the riuer of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calme & quiet, by reaſon of a litle wind that came from the ſhore, which euery morning draue

Cæſar taketh money out of the temple of Saturne.

Cæſars iorney into Spayne, againſt Pompeys Lieuetenants.

Cæſar Dictator.

Cæſar and Iſauricus Conſulls.

Cæſar goeth into the kingdom of Epirus

Complaints of the olde ſouldiers againſt Cæſar.

A great aduenture of Cæſar.

Anius fl.

backe the waues farre into the maine sea. But that night, by il fortune, there came a great wind from the sea that ouercame the land wind, insomuch as the force & strength of the riuer fighting against the violence of the rage & waues of the sea, the encownter was maruailous daungerous, the water of the riuer being driuen backe, and rebounding vpward, with great noyse and daunger in turning of the water. Thereuppon the Maister of the pynnase seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this riuer, bad the Maryners to cast about againe, and to returne against the streame. *Cæsar* hearing that, straight discouered him selfe vnto the Maister of the pynnase, who at the first was amazed when he saw him: but *Cæsar* then taking him by the hand sayd vnto him, good fellow, be of good cheere, and forwardes hardily, feare not, for thou hast *Cæsar* and his fortune with thee. Then the Maryners forgetting the daunger of the storme they were in, laid on lode with ores, and labored for life what they could against the winde, to get out of the mouth of this riuer. But at length, perceiuing they labored in vaine, and that the pynnase tooke in aboundance of water, and was ready to sincke: *Cæsar* then to his great griefe was driuen to returne backe again. Who when he was returned vnto his campe, his souldiers came in great companies vnto him, & were very sory, that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to ouercome his enemies, but would put his person in daunger, to goe fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meane time *Antonius* arriued, and brought with him the rest of his armie from BRVNDVSIVM. Then *Cæsar* finding him selfe strong enough, went & offered *Pompey* battel, who was passingly wel lodged, for vittelling of his campe both by sea & land. *Cæsar* on thother side, who had no great plenty of vittels at the first, was in a very hard case: insomuch as his men gathered rootes, & mingled thē with milke, & eate them. Furthermore, they did make breade of it also, & sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, & came alongest by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, and sayd: that as longe as the earth brought forth such frutes, they would neuer leaue beseeging of *Pompey*. But *Pompey* straightly commaunded them, that they should neither cary those words nor bread into their campe, fearing least his mens hartes would faile them, and that they would be affraid, when they should thinke of their enemies hardnes, with whome they had to fight, sithe they were weary with no paynes, no more then brute beastes. *Cæsars* men did daily skirmishe hard to the trenches of *Pompeys* campe, in the which *Cæsar* had euer the better, sauing once only, at what tyme his men fled with such feare, that all his campe that daye was in greate hazarde to haue beene caste awaye. For *Pompey* came on with his battell apon them, and they were not able to abyde it, but were fought with, and dryuen into their campe, and their trenches were filled with deade bodyes, which were slayne within the very gate and bullwarkes of their campe, they were so valiantly pursued. *Cæsar* stoode before them that fledde, to make them to turne heade agayne: but he coulde not preuayle. For when he woulde haue taken the ensignes to haue stayed them, the ensigne bearers threw them downe on the grounde: so that the enemyes tooke two and thirtye of them, and *Cæsars* selfe also scaped hardely with lyfe. For stryking a greate bigge souldier that fledde by him, commaunding him to staye, and turne his face to his enemie: the souldier beeing affrayde, lift vppe his sworde to stryke at *Cæsar*. But one of *Cæsars* Pages preuenting him, gaue him suche a blowe with his sworde, that he strake of his showlder. *Cæsar* that daye was brought vnto so greate extremitie, that (if *Pompey* had not eyther for feare, or spytefull fortune, left of to followe his victorie, and retyred into his campe, beeing contented to haue dryuen his enemyes into their campe) returning to his campe with his friendes, he sayde vnto them: the victorie this daye had beene our enemies, if they had had a Captayne, that coulde haue tolde howe to haue ouercome. So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bedde, and that nyght troubled him more, then any nyght that euer he had. For still his mynde ranne with great sorowe of the fowle faulte he had committed in leading of his armie, of selfe will to remaine there so longe by the sea side, his enemies beeing the stronger by sea: considering that he had before him a goodly contrie, riche and plentifull of all thinges, and goodly cities of MACEDON and THESSALY, and had not the witte to bringe the warre from thence, but to lose his tyme in a place, where he was rather beseeged of his enemyes for lacke of vittells, then that he did beseege them by force

Cæsars daungers & troubles in the Realme of Epirus.

Cæsars armie fled from Pompey.

Cæsars wordes of Pompeys victory.

Cæsar troubled in mind, after his losse.

A force of armes. Thus, fretting and chafing to ſee him ſelfe ſo ſtrayghted with vittells, and to thinke of his yll lucke, he rayſed his campe, intending to goe ſette vppon *Scipio*, making accompt, that either he ſhould drawe *Pompey* to battell againſt his will, when he had not the ſea at his backe to furniſh him with plentye of vittells: or els that he ſhould eaſily ouercome *Scipio*, finding him alone, vnles he were ayded. This remoue of *Cæſars* campe, did much encourage *Pompeys* armie and his captaines, who would needes in any caſe haue followed after him, as though he had bene ouercome, and had fled. But for *Pompey* him ſelfe, he would in no reſpect hazard battell, which was a matter of ſo great importance. For finding him ſelfe wel prouided of all thinges neceſſary to tary tyme, he thought it better to drawe this warre out in length, by tract of time, the rather to conſume this litle ſtrength that remayned in *Cæſars* armie: of the which, the beſt men were marueilous well trayned and good ſouldiers, and for valiantnes, at one daies battell, were incomparable. But on thother ſide againe, to remoue here and there ſo ofte, and to fortifie their campe where they came, and to beſeege any wall, or to keepe watch all night in their armor: the moſt part of them could not doe it, by reaſon of their age, beeing then vnable to away with that paynes, ſo that the weakenes of their bodies did alſo take away the life and courage of their hartes. Furthermore, there fell a peſtilent diſeaſe amonge them that came by ill meates hunger draue them to eate: yet was not this the worſt. For beſides, he had no ſtore of money, neither could tell how to come by vittells: ſo that it ſemed in all likelihood, that in very ſhort tyme he would come to nothing. For theſe reſpectes, *Pompey* would in no caſe fight, and yet had he but *Cato* onely of his minde in that, who ſtucke in it the rather, bicauſe he would auoyde ſheding of his contry mens bloode. For when *Cato* had viewed the deade bodies ſlayne in the campe of his enemies, at the laſt skirmiſh that was betweene them, the which were no leſſe then a thowſand perſons: he couered his face, and went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, bycauſe he ſo long refrayned from battell: and ſome prickt him forward, and called him *Agamemnon*, and king of kinges, ſaying, that he delayed this warre in this ſort, bicauſe he would not leaue his authoritie to commaund them all, and that he was glad alwaies to ſee ſo many Captaines round about him, which came to his lodging to honor him, and waite vpon him. And *Faonius* alſo, a harebraynd fellowe, frantykly counterfeating the round and playne ſpeeche of *Cato*, made as though he was maruailous angry, and ſayd: is it not great pitie, that we ſhall not eate this yeare of TVSCVLVM figges, and all for *Pompeys* ambicious minde to raigne alone? and *Afranius*, who not long before was but lately come out of SPAYNE, (where, bicauſe he had but ill ſucceſſe, he was accuſed of treaſon, that for money he had ſolde his armie vnto *Cæſar*:) he went buſily asking, why they fought not with that Marchant, vnto whom they ſayde he had ſolde the prouince of SPAYNE? So that *Pompey* with theſe kinde of ſpeeches, againſt his will, was driuen to followe *Cæſar*, to fight with him. Then was *Cæſar* at the firſt, maruailouſly perplexed, and troubled by the waye: bicauſe he founde none that would giue him any vittells, beeing deſpiſed of euery man, for the late loſſe and ouerthrowe he had receyued. But after that he had taken the citie of GOMPHES in THESSALY, he did not onely meete with plentie of vittells to relieue his armie with: but he ſtraungely alſo did ridde them of their diſeaſe. For the ſouldiers meeting with plentie of wyne, drinking harde, and making mery: draue awaye the infection of the peſtilence. For they diſpoſed them ſelues vnto dauncing, masking, and playing the BACCHERIANS by the waye: inſomuch that drinking droncke they ouercame their diſeaſe, and made their bodies newe agayne. When they both came into the contry of PHARSALIA, and both campes laye before thother: *Pompey* returned agayne to his former determination, and the rather, bicauſe he had ill ſignes and tokens of misfortune in his ſleepe. For he thought in his ſleepe that when he entred into the Theater, all the ROMANES receyued him with great clapping of handes. Whereuppon, they that were about him grewe to ſuche boldnes and ſecuritie, aſſuring them ſelues of victorie: that *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, in a brauery contended betweene them ſelues, for the chiefe Biſhoppricke which *Cæſar* had. Furthermore, there were diuers that ſent vnto ROME to hyre the neareſt houſes vnto the market place, as beeing the fitteſt places for Prætors, and Conſuls: making their accompt already, that thoſe offices could not ſcape them,

Pompeys determination for the warre.

Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.

The citie of Gomphes in Theſſaly.

Pompeys dreame in Pharſalia.

The ſecuritie of the Pompeians.

incontinently after the warres. But beſides thoſe, the younge gentlemen, and ROMANE knightes were maruelous deſirous to fight, that were brauely mounted, and armed with gliſtering gilt armors, their horſes fat and very finely kept, and them ſelues goodly young men, to the number of ſeuen thowſand, where the gentlemen of *Cæſars* ſide, were but one thowſand onely. The number of his footemen alſo were much after the ſame reckoning. For he had fiue and forty thowſand againſt two and twenty thowſand. Wherefore *Cæſar* called his ſouldiers together, & told thē how *Cornificius* was at hande, who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteene enſignes led by *Calenus*, the which he made to ſtay about MEGARA & ATHENS. Then he asked them if they would tary for that ayde or not, or whether they would rather them ſelues alone venter battell. The ſouldiers cryed out to him, and prayed him not to deferre battell, but rather to deuiſe ſome fetche to make the enemy fight aſſoone as he could. Then as he ſacrificed vnto the gods, for the purifying of his armie: the firſt beaſt was no ſooner ſacrificed, but his Soothſayer aſſured him that he ſhould fight within three dayes. *Cæſar* asked him againe, if he ſaw in the ſacrifices, any lucky ſigne, or token of good lucke. The Soothſayer aunſwered, for that, thou ſhalt aunſwer thy ſelfe, better then I can doe: for the gods doe promiſe vs a maruelous great chaunge, and alteracion of thinges that are now, vnto an other cleane contrary. For if thou beeſt wel now, doeſt thou thinke to haue worſe fortune hereafter? and if thou be ill, aſſure thy ſelf thou ſhalt haue better. The night before the battell, as he went about midnight to viſite the watch, men ſaw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came ouer *Cæſars* campe, and fell downe in *Pompeys*. In the morning alſo when they releeued the watche, they heard a falſe alarom in the enemies campe, without any apparant cauſe: which they commonly call, a ſodaine feare, that makes men beſides them ſelues. This notwithſtāding, *Cæſar* thought not to fight that day, but was determined to haue raiſed his camp from thence, and to haue gone towards the citie of SCOTVSA: and his tents in his campe were already ouerthrowen when his skowtes came in with great ſpeede, to bringe him newes that his enemies were preparing them ſelues to fight. Then he was very glad, & after he had made his prayers vnto the gods to helpe him that day, he ſet his men in battell ray, & deuided them into three ſquadrons: giuing the middle battell vnto *Domitius Caluinus*, and the left winge vnto *Antonius*, and placed him ſelfe in the right winge, chooſing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But ſeeing that againſt that, his enemies had ſet all their horſemen: he was halfe affraid when he ſaw the great number of them, and ſo braue beſides. Wherefore he cloſely made ſix enſignes to come from the rerewarde of his battell, whom he had layd as an ambuſhe behind his right winge, hauing firſt appointed his ſouldiers what they ſhould do, when the horſemen of the enemies came to giue them charge. On thother ſide, *Pompey* placed him ſelf in the right winge of his battell, gaue the left winge vnto *Domitius*, and the middle battell vnto *Scipio* his father in law. Now all the ROMANE knightes (as we haue told you before) were placed in the left winge, of purpoſe to enuyrone *Cæſars* right wing behinde, and to giue their hotteſt charge there, where the generall of their enemies was: making their accompt, that there was no ſquadron of footemen how thicke ſoeuer they were, that could receiue the charge of ſo great a trowpe of horſemen, and that at the firſt onſet, they ſhould ouerthrow them all, and marche vpon their bellies. When the trompets on either ſide did ſound the alarom to the battell, *Pompey* commaunded his footemen that they ſhould ſtande ſtill without ſturring, to receyue the charge of their enemies, vntill they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore *Cæſar* afterwardes ſayde, that *Pompey* had committed a fowle faulte, not to conſider that the charge which is giuen ronning with furie, beſides that it giueth the more ſtrength alſo vnto their blowes, doth ſette mens hartes alſo a fire: for the common hurling of all the ſouldiers that ronne together, is vnto them as a boxe of the eare that ſettes men a fire. Then *Cæſar* making his battell marche forwarde to giue the onſette, ſawe one of his Captaines (a valiant man, and very skillfull in warre, in whome he had alſo greate confidence) ſpeaking to his ſouldiers that he had vnder his charge, encouraging them to fight lyke men that daye. So he called him alowde by his name, and ſayde vnto him: well, *Caius Craſſinius*, what hope ſhal we haue to day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully? Then *Craſſinius* caſting vp his hand, aunſwered him alowd: this day, O *Cæſar*, we ſhall haue a noble victory, and I promiſe the:

Pompeys armie as great againe as Cæſars.

A wonder ſeene in the element, before the battell in Pharſalia.

Cæſars armie and his order of battell, in the fieldes of Pharſalia.

Pompeys armie, and his order of battel

An ill counſel and fowle faults of Pompey.

A thee ere night thou ſhalt prayſe me alyue or dead. When he had told him ſo, he was him ſelfe the foremoſt man that gaue charge vpon his enemies, with his band following of him, beeing about ſix ſcore men, and making a lane through the foremoſt rankes, with great ſlaughter he entred farre into the battell of his enemies: vntill that valiantly fighting in this ſort, he was thruſt in at length in the mouth with a ſworde, that the poynt of it came out agayne at his necke. Nowe the footemen of both battells being come to the ſworde, the horſemen of the left winge of *Pompey*, did marche as fiercely alſo, ſpreading out their trowpes, to compaſſe in the right winge of *Cæſars* battell. But before they beganne to giue charge, the ſix enſignes of footemen which *Cæſar* had layed in ambuſhe behinde him, they beganne to runne full a-pon them, not throwing away their dartes farre of as they were wont to doe, neyther ſtriking B their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to ſeeke to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as *Cæſar* had taught them. For he hoped that theſe luſty younge gentle-men that had not bene often in the warres, nor were vſed to ſee them ſelues hurt, & the which, beeing in the pryme of their youth and beautie, would be affrayd of thoſe hurtes, aſwell for the feare of the preſent daunger to be ſlayne, as alſo for that their faces ſhould not for euer be deformed. As in deede it came to paſſe, for they coulde neuer abyde that they ſhoulde come ſo neare their faces, with the poyntes of their dartes, but honge downe their heades for feare to be hitte with them in their eyes, and turned their backes, couering their face, bi-cauſe they ſhoulde not be hurt. Then, breaking of them ſelues, they beganne at length co-wardly to flye, and were occaſion alſo of the loſſe of all the reſt of *Pompeys* armie. For they C that had broken them, ranne immediatly to ſette vpon the ſquadron of the footemen behind, and ſlue them. Then *Pompey* ſeeing his horſemen from the other winge of his battell, ſo ſcat-tered and diſperſed, flying away: forgate that he was any more *Pompey* the great which he had bene before, but rather was like a man whoſe wittes the goddes had taken from him, be-ing affrayde and amazed with the ſlaughter ſent from aboue, and ſo retyred into his tent ſpea-king neuer a worde, and ſate there to ſee the ende of this battell. Vntill at length all his army beeing ouerthrowen, and put to flight, the enemies came, and gotte vp vpon the rampers and defence of his campe, and fought hande to hande with them that ſtoode to defende the ſame. Then as a man come to him ſelfe agayne, he ſpake but this onely worde: What, e-uen into our campe? So in haſte, caſting of his coate armor and apparell of a generall, he D ſhifted him, and put on ſuch, as became his miſerable fortune, and ſo ſtale out of his campe. Furthermore, what he did after this ouerthrowe, and howe he had put him ſelfe into the handes of the ÆGYPTIANS, by whome he was miſerably ſlayne: we haue ſette it forthe at large in his life. Then *Cæſar* entring into *Pompeys* campe, and ſeeing the bodies layed on the grounde that were ſlayne, and others alſo that were a killing, ſayde, fetching a great ſighe: it was their owne doing, and againſt my will. For *Caius Cæſar*, after he had wonne ſo many fa-mous conqueſts, and ouercome ſo many great battells, had beene vtterly condemned not-withſtanding, if he had departed from his armie. *Aſinius Pollio* writeth, that he ſpake theſe wordes then in Latyn, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke, and ſayeth furthermore, that the moſte parte of them which were put to the ſworde in the campe, were ſlaues and bond-E men, and that there were not ſlayne in all at this battell, aboue ſix thowſand ſouldiers. As for them that were taken priſoners, *Cæſar* did put many of them amongeſt his legions, and did pardon alſo many men of eſtimation, amonge whome *Brutus* was one, that afterwardes ſlue *Cæſar* him ſelfe: and it is reported, that *Cæſar* was very ſory for him, when he could not imme-diatly be founde after the battell, and that he reioyced againe, when he knewe he was alyue, and that he came to yeelde him ſelfe vnto him. *Cæſar* had many ſignes and tokens of victorie before this battell: but the notableſt of all other that hapned to him, was in the citie of TRAL-LES. For in the temple of victorie, within the ſame citie, there was an image of *Cæſar*, and the earth all about it very hard of it ſelfe, and was paued beſides with hard ſtone: and yet ſome ſay that there ſprange vppe a palme hard by the baſe of the ſame image. In the citie of PADVA, F *Caius Cornelius* an excellent Soothſayer, (a contry man and friende of *Titus Liuius* the Hiſto-riographer) was by chaunce at that time ſet to beholde the flying of birdes. He (as *Liuie* re-porteth) knewe the very tyme when the battell beganne, and tolde them that were preſent,

The battell in the fieldes of Pharſalia.

Cæſars ſtrata-gem.

Cæſar ouer-commeth Pompey.

Pompeys flighs.

Brutus that ſlue Cæſar, ta-ken priſoner at the battell of Pharſalia.

Signes & to-kens of Cæ-ſars victory.

A ſtraunge tale of Corne-lius an ex-cellent Progno-ſticator.

euen now they gaue the onſet on both ſides, and both armies do meete at this inſtant. Then ſitting downe againe to conſider of the birdes, after he had bethought him of the ſignes: he ſodainely roſe vp on his feete, and cryed out as a man poſſeſſed with ſome ſpirit, oh, *Cæſar*, the victory is thine. Euery man wondring to ſee him, he tooke the crowne he had on his heade, and made an othe that he would neuer put it on againe, till the euent of his prediction had proued his arte true. *Liuie* teſtifieth, that it ſo came to paſſe. *Cæſar* afterwards giuing freedom vnto the THESSALIANS, in reſpect of the victory which he wanne in their contry, he followed after *Pompey*. When he came into ASIA, he gaue freedom alſo vnto the GVIDIANS for *Theopompus* ſake, who had gathered the fables together. He did releaſe ASIA alſo, the thirde part of the tribute which the inhabitants payd vnto the ROMANES. Then he came into ALEXANDRIA, after *Pompey* was ſlaine: and deteſted *Theodotus*, that preſented him *Pompeys* heade, and turned his head at toe ſide bicauſe he would not ſee it. Notwithſtanding, he tooke his ſeale, and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he curteouſly vſed all *Pompeys* friendes and familiers, who wandring vp and downe the contry, were taken of the king of ÆGYPT, and wanne them all to be at his commaundement. Continuing theſe curteſies, he wrote vnto his friendes at ROME, that the greateſt pleaſure he tooke of his victorie, was, that he dayly ſaued the liues of ſome of his contry men that bare armes againſt him. And for the warre he made in ALEXANDRIA, ſome ſay, he needed not haue done it, but that he willingly did it for the loue of *Cleopatra*: Wherein he wanne litle honor, and beſides did put his perſon in great daunger. Others doe lay the fault vpon the king of ÆGYPTS Miniſters, but ſpecially on *Pothinus* the Euenuke, who bearing the greateſt ſwaye of all the kinges ſeruaunts, after he had cauſed *Pompey* to be ſlaine, and driuen *Cleopatra* from the Court, ſecretly layd waite all the wayes he could, how he might likewiſe kill *Cæſar*. Wherefore *Cæſar* hearing an inckling of it, beganne thenceforth to ſpend all the night long in feaſting and bancketing, that his perſon might be in the better ſafetie. But beſides all this, *Pothinus* the Euenuke ſpake many thinges openly not to be borne, onely to ſhame *Cæſar*, and to ſtirre vp the people to enuie him. For he made his ſouldiers haue the worſt and oldeſt wheate that could be gotten: then if they did complayne of it, he told them, they muſt be contented, ſeeing they eate at anothers mans coſte. And he would ſerue them alſo at the table in treene and earthen diſhes, ſaying, that *Cæſar* had away all their gold and ſiluer, for a debt that the kings father (that then raigned) did owe vnto him: which was, a thowſand ſeuen hundred and fiftie Miriades, whereof *Cæſar* had before forgiuen ſeuen hundred & fiftie thowſand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a Myllion to paye his ſouldiours withall. Thereto *Pothinus* aunſwered him, that at that tyme he ſhould doe better to follow his other cauſes of greater importance, and afterwardes that he ſhould at more leyſure recouer his dette, with the kinges good will and fauor. *Cæſar* replyed vnto him, and ſayd, that he would not aske counſell of the ÆGYPTIANS for his affayres, but would be payd: and thereupon ſecretly ſent for *Cleopatra* which was in the contry to come vnto him. She onely taking *Apollodorus* SICILIAN of all her friendes, tooke a litle bote, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foote of the caſtell. Then hauing no other meane to come in to the court, without being knowen, ſhe laid her ſelfe downe vpon a mattreſſe or flockbed, which *Apollodorus* her frend tied & bound vp together like a būdel with a great leather thong, and ſo tooke her vp on his backe, and brought her thus hamperd in this fardell vnto *Cæſar*, in at the caſtell gate. This was the firſt occaſion, (as it is reported) that made *Cæſar* to loue her: but afterwards, when he ſawe her ſweete conuerſation and pleaſaunt entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, & did reconcile her again vnto her brother the king, with condition, that they two ioyntly ſhould raigne together. Apon this newe reconciliation, a great feaſt being prepared, a ſlaue of *Cæſars* that was his barber, the fearefulleſt wretch that liued, ſtil buſily prying and liſtening abroad in euery corner, being miſtruſtfull by nature: found that *Pothinus* and *Achillas* did lie in waite to kill his Maiſter *Cæſar*. This beeing proued vnto *Cæſar*, he did ſette ſuch ſure watch about the hall, where the feaſte was made, that in fine, he ſlue the Euenuke *Pothinus* him ſelfe. *Achillas* on thother ſide, ſaued him ſelfe, and fled vnto the kinges campe, where he rayſed a maruelous daūgerous & difficult warre for *Cæſar*: bicauſe he hauing then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight againſt a great & ſtrong city. The firſt

daunger

Cæſars clemēcy in victory.

The cauſe of Cæſars warre in Alexandria.

Pothinus the Euenuke cauſed Pompey to be ſlayne.

Cleopatra came to Cæſar.

Cleopatra truſſed vp in a mattreſſe, and ſo brought to Cæſar, vpon Apollodorus backe.

A daunger he fell into, was for the lacke of water he had: for that his enemies had ſtopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conueyed the water vnto the caſtell. The ſeconde daunger he had, was, that ſeeing his enemies came to take his ſhippes from him, he was driuen to repulſe that daunger with fire, the which burnt the arſenall where the ſhippes lay, and that notable librarie of ALEXANDRIA withall. The third daunger was in the battell by ſea, that was fought by the tower of Phar: where meaning to helpe his men that fought by ſea, he lept from the peere, into a boate. Then the ÆGYPTIANS made towardes him with their owers, on euerie ſide: but he leaping into the ſea, with great hazard ſaued him ſelfe by ſwimming. It is ſayd, that then holding diuers bookes in his hand, he did neuer let them go, but kept them alwayes vpon his head aboue water, & ſwamme with the other hand, notwithſtanding that they ſhot B maruelouſly at him, and was driuen ſomtime to ducke into the water: howbeit the boate was drowned preſently. In fine, the king comming to his men that made warre with *Cæſar*, he went againſt him, and gaue him battell, and wanne it with great ſlaughter, and effuſion of blood. But for the king, no man could euer tell what became of him after. Thereuppon *Cæſar* made *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, Queene of ÆGYPT, who being great with childe by him, was ſhortly brought to bedde of a ſonne, whom the ALEXANDRIANS named *Cæſarion*. From thence he went into SYRIA, and ſo going into ASIA, there it was told him that *Domitius* was ouerthrowen in battell, by *Pharnaces*, the ſonne of king *Mithridates*, and was fled out of the realme of PONTE, with a few men with him: and that this king *Pharnaces* greedily following his victorie, was not contented with the winning of BITHYNIA, & CAPPADOCIA, but further would C needes attempt to winne ARMENIA the leſſe, procuring all thoſe kinges, Princes, and Gouernors of the prouinces thereabouts, to rebell againſt the ROMANES. Thereupon *Cæſar* went thither ſtraight with three legions, and fought a great battell with king *Pharnaces*, by the citie of ZELA, where he ſlue his armie, & draue him out of all the realme of PONTE. And bicauſe he would aduertiſe one of his frendes of the ſodainnes of this victorie, he onely wrote three words vnto *Anitius* at ROME: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: to wit, I came, I ſaw, I ouercame. Theſe three wordes ending all with like ſound and letters in the Latin, haue a certaine ſhort grace, more pleaſaunt to the eare, then can be well expreſſed in any other tongue. After this, he returned againe into ITALIE, and came to ROME, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictator the ſeconde time, which office before was neuer graunted for one whole yeare, but vnto D him. Then he was choſen Conſul for the yeare following. Afterwardes he was very ill ſpoken of, for that his ſouldiers in a mutine hauing ſlaine two Prætors, *Coſconius*, and *Galba*, he gaue them no other puniſhment for it, but in ſteade of calling them ſouldiers, he named them citizens, and gaue vnto euery one of them, a thowſand Drachmas a man, and great poſſeſſions in ITALIE. He was much miſliked alſo for the deſperate parts and madnes of *Dolabella*, for the couetouſnes of *Anitius*, for the dronkennes of *Antonius* and *Cornificius*, which made *Pompeys* houſe be pulled downe and builded vp againe, as a thing not bigge enough for him, wherewith the ROMANES were maruelouſly offended. *Cæſar* knew all this well enough, and would haue bene contented to haue redreſſed them: but to bring his matters to paſſe he pretended, he was driuen to ſerue his turne by ſuch inſtrumentes. After the battell of Pharſalia, *Cato* and E *Scipio* being fled into AFRICKE, king *Iuba* ioyned with them, & leauied a great puiſant army. Wherefore *Cæſar* determined to make warre with them, & in the middeſt of winter, he tooke his iorney into SICILE. There, bicauſe he would take all hope from his Captaines and ſouldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged vpon the very ſandes by the ſea ſide, and with the next gale of winde that came, he tooke the ſea with three thowſand footemen, and a few horſemen. Then hauing put them a land, vnwares to them, he hoyſed ſayle againe, to goe fetche the reſt of his armie, being afrayed leaſt they ſhould meete with ſome daunger in paſſing ouer, and meeting them midde way, he brought them all into his campe. Where, when it was tolde him that his enemies truſted in an auncient Oracle, which ſayd, that it was predeſtined vnto the family of the *Scipioes* to be conquerors in AFRICKE: either of purpoſe F to mocke *Scipio* the Generall of his enemies, or otherwiſe in good earneſt to take the benefit of this name (geuen by the Oracle) vnto him ſelfe, in all the skirmiſhes & battells he fought, he gaue the charge of his army, vnto a man of meane quality and accompt, called *Scipio Sal-*

The great librarie of Alexãdria burnt.

Cæſars ſwimming with bookes in his hand.

Cæſar made Cleopatra Queene of AEgypt.

Cæſarion, Cæſars ſonne, begotte of Cleopatra.

Cæſars victorie of king Pharnaces.

Cæſar wryteth three wordes to certifie his victory.

Cæſars iorney into Africke, againſt Cato and Scipio.

Iutius, who came of the race of *Scipio* AFRICAN, and made him alwayes his Generall when he fought. For he was eftſoones compelled to weary and harrie his enemies: for that neither his men in his campe had corne enough, nor his beaſts forrage, but the ſouldiers were driuen to take ſea weedes, called Alga: and (waſhing away the brackiſhnes thereof with freſh water, putting to it a litle erbe called dogges tooth) to caſt it ſo to their horſe to eate. For the NVMIDIANS (which are light horſemen, and very ready of ſeruice) being a great number together, would be on a ſodaine in euery place, and ſpred all the fieldes ouer thereabout, ſo that no man durſt peepe out of the campe to goe for forrage. And one day as the men of armes were ſtaying to beholde an AFRICAN doing notable thinges in dauncing, and playing with the flute: they being ſet downe quietly to take their pleaſure of the viewe thereof, hauing in the meane time geuen their ſlaues their horſes to hold, the enemies ſtealing ſodainly vpon them, compaſſed them in round about, and ſlue a number of them in the field, and chaſing the other alſo that fled, followed them pell mell into their campe. Furthermore had not *Cæſar* him ſelfe in perſon, and *Aſinius Pollio* with him gone out of the campe to the reſcue, and ſtayed them that fled: the warre that day had bene ended. There was alſo an other skirmiſh where his enemies had the vpper hande, in the which it is reported, that *Cæſar* taking the enſigne bearer by the coller that caried the Eagle in his hande, ſtayed him by force, and turning his face, tolde him: ſee, there be thy enemies. Theſe aduantages did lift vp *Scipioes* hart aloft, and gaue him corage to hazard battell: and leauing *Afranius* on the one hand of him, and king *Iuba* on the other hande, both their campes lying neere to other, he did fortifie him ſelfe by the citie of THAPSACVS, aboue the lake, to be a ſafe refuge for them all in this battell. But whileſt he was buſie intrenching of him ſelfe, *Cæſar* hauing maruelous ſpeedily paſſed through a great contrie full of wod, by bypathes which men would neuer haue miſtruſted: he ſtale vpon ſome behinde, and ſodainly aſſailed the other before, ſo that he ouerthrewe them all, and made them flie. Then following this firſt good happe he had, he went forthwith to ſet apon the campe of *Afranius*, the which he tooke at the firſt onſet, and the campe of the NVMIDIANS alſo, king *Iuba* being fled. Thus in a litle peece of the day only, he tooke three campes, & ſlue fifty thowſand of his enemies, and loſt but fifty of his ſouldiers. In this ſorte is ſet downe theffect of this battell by ſome wryters. Yet others doe wryte alſo, that *Cæſar* ſelfe was not there in perſon at thexecution of this battell. For as he did ſet his men in battell ray, the falling ſickeneſſe tooke him, whereunto he was geuen, and therefore feeling it comming, before he was ouercome withall, he was caried into a caſtell not farre from thence, where the battell was fought, and there tooke his reſt till thextremity of his diſeaſe had left him. Now, for the Prætors & Conſulls that ſcaped from this battell, many of them being taken priſoners, did kill them ſelues, and others alſo *Cæſar* did put to death: but he being ſpecially deſirous of all men elſe to haue *Cato* aliue in his hands, he went with all poſſible ſpeede vnto the citie of VTICA, whereof *Cato* was Gouernor, by meanes whereof he was not at the battell. Notwithſtanding being certified by the way that *Cato* had ſlaine him ſelfe with his owne handes, he then made open ſhew that he was very ſory for it, but why or wherfore, no man could tell. But this is true, that *Cæſar* ſayd at that preſent time: O *Cato*, I enuy thy death, bicauſe thou diddeſt enuy my glory, to ſaue thy life. This notwithſtanding, the booke that he wrote afterwardes againſt *Cato* being dead, did ſhew no very great affection nor pitiefull hart towardes him. For how could he haue pardoned him, if liuing he had had him in his handes: that being dead did ſpeake ſo vehemently againſt him? Notwithſtanding, men ſuppoſe he would haue pardoned him, if he had taken him aliue, by the clemencie he ſhewed vnto *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and diuers others that had borne armes againſt him. Some reporte, that he wrote that booke, not ſo much for any priuate malice he had to his death, as for a ciuil ambition, apon this occaſion. *Cicero* had written a booke in praiſe of *Cato*, which he intituled, *Cato*. This booke in likelyhoode was very well liked of, by reaſon of the eloquence of the Orator that made it, and of the excellent ſubiect thereof. *Cæſar* therewith was maruelouſly offended, thinking that to praiſe him, of whoſe death he was author, was euen as much as to accuſe him ſelf: & therfore he wrote a letter againſt him, & heaped vp a number of accuſations againſt *Cato*, and intituled the booke *Anticaton*. Both theſe bookes haue fauorers vnto this day, ſome defending the one for the loue they bare to *Cæſar*, and

Cæſars troubles in Africke.

Alga, and doggestooth, geuen to the horſe to eate.

Cæſars daungers in Africke.

Cæſars great victorie and ſmall loſſe.

Cæſar troubled with the falling ſickenes.

Cæſar was ſory for the death of Cato.

Cæſar wrote againſt Cato being dead.

Cicero wrote a booke in praiſe of Cato being dead.

A and others allowing the other for *Catoes* ſake. *Cæſar* being now returned out of AFRICKE, firſt of all made an oration to the people, wherein he greatly praiſed and commended this his laſt victorie, declaring vnto them, that he had conquered ſo many contries vnto the Empire of ROME, that he coulde furniſhe the common wealth yearely, with two hundred thowſande buſſhells of wheate, & twenty hundred thowſand pound weight of oyle. Then he made three triumphes, the one for ÆGYPT, the other for the kingdom of PONTE, and the third for AFRICKE: not bicauſe he had ouercome *Scipio* there, but king *Iuba*. Whoſe ſonne being likewiſe called *Iubâ*, being then a young boy, was led captiue in the ſhowe of this triumphe. But this his impriſonment fel out happily for him: for where he was but a barbarous NVMIDIAN, by the ſtudy he fell vnto when he was priſoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the
B wiſeſt hiſtoriographers of the GRÆCIANS. After theſe three triumphes ended, he very liberally rewarded his ſouldiers: and to curry fauor with the people, he made great feaſts & common ſportes. For he feaſted all the ROMANES at one time, at two and twenty thowſand tables, and gaue them the pleaſure to ſee diuers ſword players to fight at the ſharpe, and battells alſo by ſea, for the remembraunce of his daughter *Iulia*, which was dead long afore. Then after all theſe ſportes, he made the people (as the manner was) to be muſtered: and where there were at the laſt muſters before, three hundred and twenty thowſande citizens, at this muſter only there were but a hundred and fifty thowſand. Such miſery and deſtruction had this ciuill warre brought vnto the common wealth of ROME, and had conſumed ſuch a number of ROMANES not ſpeaking at all of the miſchieues and calamities it had brought vnto all the reſt of
C ITALIE, and to the other prouinces pertaining to ROME. After all theſe thinges were ended, he was choſen Conſul the fourth time, and went into SPAYNE to make warre with the ſonnes of *Pompey*: who were yet but very young, but had notwithſtanding raiſed a maruelous great army together, and ſhewed to haue had manhoode and corage worthie to commaunde ſuch an armie, inſomuch as they put *Cæſar* him ſelfe in great daunger of his life. The greateſt battell that was fought betwene them in all this warre, was by the citie of MVNDA. For then *Cæſar* ſeeing his men ſorely diſtreſſed, and hauing their hands full of their enemies: he ranne into the preaſe among his men that fought, and cried out vnto them: what, are ye not aſhamed to be beaten and taken priſoners, yeelding your ſelues with your owne handes to theſe young boyes? And ſo, with all the force he could make, hauing with much a doe put his enemies to
D flight: he ſlue aboue thirty thowſand of them in the fielde, and loſt of his owne men a thowſand of the beſt he had. After this battell he went into his tent, and told his frends, that he had often before fought for victory, but this laſt time now, that he had fought for the ſafety of his owne life. He wanne this battell on the very feaſt day of the BACCHANALIANS, in the which men ſay, that *Pompey* the great went out of ROME, about foure yeares before, to beginne this ciuill warre. For his ſonnes, the younger ſcaped from the battell: but within few dayes after, *Diddius* brought the heade of the elder. This was the laſt warre that *Cæſar* made. But the triumphe he made into ROME for the ſame, did as much offend the ROMANES, and more, then any thing that euer he had done before: bicauſe he had not ouercome Captaines that were ſtraungers, nor barbarous kinges, but had deſtroyed the ſonnes of the nobleſt man in ROME,
E whom fortune had ouerthrowen. And bicauſe he had plucked vp his race by the rootes, men did not thinke it meete for him to triumphe ſo, for the calamities of his contrie, reioycing at a thing for the which he had but one excuſe to alleage in his defence, vnto the gods and men: that he was compelled to doe that he did. And the rather they thought it not meete, bicauſe he had neuer before ſent letters nor meſſengers vnto the common wealth at ROME, for any victorie that he had euer wonne in all the ciuill warres: but did alwayes for ſhame refuſe the glorie of it. This notwithſtanding, the ROMANES inclining to *Cæſars* proſperity, and taking the bit in the mouth, ſuppoſing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good meane for them to take breth a litle, after ſo many troubles and miſeries as they had abidden in theſe ciuill warres: they choſe him perpetuall Dictator. This was a plaine tyranny: for to this ab-
F ſolute power of Dictator, they added this, neuer to be affraied to be depoſed. *Cicero* propounded before the Senate, that they ſhould geue him ſuch honors, as were meete for a man: howbeit others afterwardes added to, honors beyonde all reaſon. For, men ſtriuing who ſhoulde

Iuba, the ſonne of king Iuba, a famous hiſtoriographer.

Cæſars feaſting of the Romanes.

The muſter taken of the Romanes.

Cæſar Conſull the fourth time.

Battell fought betwext Cæſar and the young Pompeyes, by the citie of Munda.

Cæſars victory of the ſonnes of Pompey.

Cæſars triumphe of Pompeis ſonnes.

Cæſar Dictator perpetuall.

moſt honor him, they made him hatefull and troubleſome to them ſelues that moſt fauored him, by reaſon of the vnmeaſurable greatnes and honors which they gaue him. Thereuppon, it is reported, that euen they that moſt hated him, were no leſſe fauorers and furtherers of his honors, then they that moſt flattered him: bicauſe they might haue greater occaſions to riſe, and that it might appeare they had iuſt cauſe and colour to attempt that they did againſt him. And now for him ſelfe, after he had ended his ciuill warres, he did ſo honorably behaue him ſelfe, that there was no fault to be founde in him: and therefore me thinkes, amongeſt other honors they gaue him, he rightly deſerued this, that they ſhould builde him a temple of clemency, to thanke him for his curteſie he had vſed vnto them in his victorie. For he pardoned many of them that had borne armes againſt him, and furthermore, did preferre ſome of them to honor and office in the common wealth: as amongeſt others, *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, both the which were made Prætors. And where *Pompeys* images had bene throwen downe, he cauſed them to be ſet vp againe: whereupon *Cicero* ſayd then, that *Cæſar* ſetting vp *Pompeys* images againe, he made his owne to ſtand the ſurer. And when ſome of his frends did counſell him to haue a gard for the ſafety of his perſon, and ſome alſo did offer them ſelues to ſerue him: he would neuer conſent to it, but ſayd, it was better to dye once, then alwayes to be affrayed of death. But to win him ſelfe the loue and good will of the people, as the honorableſt gard and beſt ſafety he could haue: he made common feaſts againe, & generall diſtributions of corne. Furthermore, to gratifie the ſouldiers alſo, he repleniſhed many cities againe with inhabitantes, which before had bene deſtroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repaire vnto: of the which the nobleſt & chiefeſt cities were theſe two, CARTHAGE, & CORINTHE, and it chaunced ſo, that like as aforetime they had bene both taken and deſtroyed together, euen ſo were they both ſet a foote againe, and repleniſhed with people, at one ſelfe time. And as for great perſonages, he wanne them alſo, promiſing ſome of them, to make them Prætors and Conſulls in time to come, and vnto others, honors and preferrements, but to all men generally good hope, ſeeking all the wayes he coulde to make euerie man contented with his raigne. Inſomuch as one of the Conſulls called *Maximus*, chaunceing to dye a day before his Conſulſhippe ended, he declared *Caninius Rebilius* Conſull onely for the day that remained. So, diuers going to his houſe (as the manner was) to ſalute him, & to congratulate with him of his calling and preferrement, being newly choſen officer: *Cicero* pleaſauntly ſayd, come, let vs make haſt, and be gone thither, before his Conſulſhippe come out. Furthermore, *Cæſar* being borne to attempt all great enterpriſes, & hauing an ambitious deſire beſides to couet great honors: the proſperous good ſucceſſe he had of his former conqueſtes bred no deſire in him quietly to enioy the frutes of his labours, but rather gaue him hope of thinges to come, ſtill kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterpriſes, and deſire of new glory, as if that which he had preſent, were ſtale and nothing worth. This humor of his was no other but an emulation with him ſelfe as with an other man, and a certaine contencion to ouercome the thinges he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, & made preparacion alſo, to make warre with the PERSIANS. Then when he had ouercome them, to paſſe through HYRCANIA (compaſſing in the ſea Caſpium, and mount Caucaſus) into the realme of PONTVS, and ſo to inuade SCYTHIA: and ouerrunning all the contries, and people adioyning vnto high GERMANY, and GERMANY it ſelfe, at length to returne by GAVLE into ITALIE, and ſo to enlarge the ROMANE Empire round, that it might be euery way compaſſed in with the great ſea Oceanum. But whileſt he was preparing for this voiage, he attempted to cut the barre of the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, in the place where the city of CORINTHE ſtandeth. Then he was minded to bring the riuers of Anienes and Tiber, ſtraight from ROME, vnto the citie of CIRCEES, with a deepe channell and high banckes caſt vp on either ſide, and ſo to fall into the ſea at TERRACINA, for the better ſafety and commodity of the marchants that came to ROME to trafficke there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and ſeawe all the water of the mariſſes betwext the cities of NOMENTVM and SETIVM, to make it firme land, for the benefit of many thowſandes of people: and on the ſea coaſt next vnto ROME, to caſt great high bankes, and to clenſe all the hauen about OSTIA, of rockes and ſtones hidden vnder the water, and to take away all other impedimentes that made the harborough daungerous

The temple of clemency, dedicated vnto Cæſar, for his curteſie.

Caſſius and Brutus Prætors.

Cæſars ſaying of death.

Good will of ſubiectes, the beſt gard and ſafety for Princes.

Caninius Rebilius Conſull for one day.

Anienes. Tiber. flu.

A B C D E F

for

for shippes, and to make new hauens and arsenalls meete to harbor such shippes, as did continually trafficke thither. All these thinges were purposed to be done, but tooke no effect. But, the ordinaunce of the kalender, and reformation of the yeare, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commoditie vnto all men. For the ROMANES vsing then the auncient computacion of the yeare, had not only such incertainty and alteracion of the moneth and times, that the sacrifices and yearely feasts came by litle and litle to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the reuolution of the sunne (which is called Annus Solaris) no other nation agreed with them in account: and of the ROMANES them selues, only the priests vnderstood it. And therefore when they listed, they sodainly (no man being able to controll them) did thrust in a moneth, aboue their ordinary number, which they called in old time,* Mercedonius. Some say, that *Numa Pompilius* was the first, that deuised this way, to put a moneth betwene: but it was a weake remedy, and did litle helpe the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But *Cæsar* committing this matter vnto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time, did set foorth an excellent and perfect kalender, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the ROMANES doe vse vntill this present day, and doe nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that enuied his greatnes, did not sticke to finde fault withall. As *Cicero* the Orator, when one sayd, to morow the starre Lyra will rise: yea, sayd he, at the commaundement of *Cæsar*, as if men were compelled so to say and thinke, by *Cæsars* edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the couetous desire he had to be called king: which first gaue the people iust cause, and next his secret enemies, honest colour to beare him ill will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honor & dignity, gaue it out among the people, that it was written in the Sybilline prophecies, how the ROMANES might ouercome the PARTHIANS, if they made warre with them, and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were vnconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that *Cæsar* returning to ROME from the citie of ALBA, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and *Cæsar* also angry, he said he was not called king, but *Cæsar*. Then euery man keeping silence, he went his way heauy and sorowfull. When they had decreed diuers honors for him in the Senate, the Consulls and Prætors accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went vnto him in the market place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honors they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting still in his maiesty, disdaining to rise vp vnto them when they came in, as if they had bene priuate men, aunswered them: that his honors had more neede to be cut of, then enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteeme of the Magistrates of the common wealth: insomuch as euery man that might lawfully goe his way, departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also *Cæsar* rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his doblet coller, making his necke bare, he cried out alowde to his frendes, that his throte was readie to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwardes to excuse this folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, that their wittes are not perfit which haue his disease of the falling euil, when standing of their feete they speake to the common people, but are soone troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sodaine dimnes and guidines. But that was not true. For he would haue risen vp to the Senate, but *Cornelius Balbus* one of his frendes (but rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: what, doe you not remember that you are *Cæsar*, and will you not let them reuerence you, and doe their dueties? Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproache, abusing the Tribunes of the people in this sorte. At that time, the feast Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in olde time men say was the feast of sheapheards or heard men, and is much like vnto the feast of the LYCÆIANS in ARCADIA. But howesoeuer it is, that day there are diuers noble mens sonnes, young men, (and some of them Magistrats them selues that gouerne then) which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meete in their way, with leather thonges, heare and all on, to make them geue place. And many noble women, and gentle women also, goe of purpose

Cæsar reformed the inequality of the yeare.

* *Mercedonius, mensis intercalaris.*

Why Cæsar was hated.

The feast Lupercalia.

to ſtand in their way, and doe put forth their handes to be ſtriken, as ſchollers hold them out to their ſchoolemaſter, to be ſtriken with the ferula: perſwading them ſelues that being with childe, they ſhall haue good deliuerie, and alſo being barren, that it will make them to conceiue with child. *Cæſar* ſate to beholde that ſport apon the pulpit for orations, in a chayer of gold, apparelled in triumphing manner. *Antonius*, who was Conſull at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy courſe. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to runne at libertie, and he came to *Cæſar*, and preſented him a Diadeame wreathed about with laurell. Whereuppon there roſe a certaine crie of reioycing, not very great, done onely by a few, appointed for the purpoſe. But when *Cæſar* refuſed the Diadeame, then all the people together made an outcrie of ioy. Then *Antonius* offering it him againe, there was a ſecond ſhoute of ioy, but yet of a few. But whē *Cæſar* refuſed it againe the ſecond time, then all the whole people ſhowted. *Cæſar* hauing made this proofe, found that the people did not like of it, and thereuppon roſe out of his chayer, and commaunded the crowne to be caried vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitoll. After that, there were ſet vp images of *Cæſar* in the city with Diadeames vpon their heades, like kinges. Thoſe, the two Tribunes, *Flauius* and *Marullus*, went and pulled downe: and furthermore, meeting with them that firſt ſaluted *Cæſar* as king, they committed them to priſon. The people followed them reioycing at it, and called them *Brutes*: bicauſe of *Brutus*, who had in old time driuen the kings out of Rome, & that brought the kingdom of one perſon, vnto the gouernment of the Senate and people. *Cæſar* was ſo offended withall, that he depriued *Marullus* and *Flauius* of their Tribuneſhippes, and accuſing them, he ſpake alſo againſt the people, and called them *Bruti*, and *Cumani*, to witte, beaſtes, and fooles. Hereuppon the people went ſtraight vnto *Marcus Brutus*, who from his father came of the firſt *Brutus*, and by his mother, of the houſe of the *Seruilians*, a noble houſe as any was in Rome, and was alſo nephew and ſonne in law of *Marcus Cato*. Notwithſtanding, the great honors and fauor *Cæſar* ſhewed vnto him, kept him backe that of him ſelfe alone, he did not conſpire nor conſent to depoſe him of his kingdom. For *Cæſar* did not onely ſaue his life, after the battell of Pharſalia when *Pompey* fled, and did at his requeſt alſo ſaue many moe of his frendes beſides: but furthermore, he put a maruelous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorſhippe for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Conſul, the fourth yeare after that, hauing through *Cæſars* frendſhippe, obtained it before *Caſſius*, who likewiſe made ſute for the ſame: and *Cæſar* alſo, as it is reported, ſayd in this contention, in deede *Caſſius* hath alleaged beſt reaſon, but yet ſhall he not be choſen before *Brutus*. Some one day accuſing *Brutus* while he practiſed this conſpiracy, *Cæſar* would not heare of it, but clapping his hande on his bodie, told them, *Brutus* will looke for this skinne: meaning thereby, that *Brutus* for his vertue, deſerued to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions ſake, he woulde not ſhewe him ſelfe vnthankefull nor diſhonorable. Nowe they that deſired chaunge, and wiſhed *Brutus* only their Prince and Gouernour aboue all other: they durſt not come to him them ſelues to tell him what they woulde haue him to doe, but in the night did caſt ſundrie papers into the Prætors ſeate where he gaue audience, and the moſt of them to this effect. Thou ſleepeſt *Brutus*, and art not *Brutus* in deede. *Caſſius* finding *Brutus* ambition ſturred vp the more by theſe ſeditious billes, did pricke him forwarde, and egge him on the more, for a priuate quarrell he had conceiued againſt *Cæſar*: the circumſtance whereof, we haue ſette downe more at large in *Brutus* life. *Cæſar* alſo had *Caſſius* in great gelouzie, and ſuſpected him much: whereuppon he ſayed on a time to his frendes, what will *Caſſius* doe, thinke ye? I like not his pale lookes. An other time when *Cæſars* frendes complained vnto him of *Antonius*, and *Dolabella*, that they pretended ſome miſchiefe towardes him: he aunſwered them againe, as for thoſe fatte men and ſmooth combed heades, q he, I neuer reckon of them: but theſe pale viſaged and carian leane people, I feare them moſt, meaning *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. Certainly, deſtenie may eaſier be foreſeene, then auoyded: conſidering the ſtraunge & wonderfull ſignes that were ſayd to be ſeene before *Cæſars* death. For, touching the fires in the element, and ſpirites running vp and downe in the night, and alſo theſe ſolitarie birdes to be ſeene at noone dayes ſittinge in the great market place: are not all theſe ſignes perhappes worth the noting, in ſuch a wonderfull chaunce as happened. But *Strabo* the Philoſopher wryteth,

Antonius being Conſull, was one of the Lupercalians.

Antonius preſented the Diademe to Cæſar.

Cæſar ſaued Marcus Brutus life, after the battell of Pharſalia.

Brutus conſpireth againſt Cæſar.

Caſſius ſtirreth vp Brutus againſt Cæſar.

Predictions, & foreſhewes of Cæſars death.

A wryteth, that diuers men were ſeene going vp and downe in fire: and furthermore, that there was a ſlaue of the ſouldiers, that did caſt a maruelous burning flame out of his hande, inſomuch as they that ſaw it, thought he had bene burnt, but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. *Cæſar* ſelfe alſo doing ſacrifice vnto the goddes, found that one of the beaſtes which was ſacrificed had no hart: and that was a ſtraunge thing in nature, how a beaſt could liue without a hart. Furthermore, there was a certaine Soothſayer that had geuen *Cæſar* warning long time affore, to take heede of the day of the Ides of Marche, (which is the fifteenth of the moneth) for on that day he ſhoulde be in great daunger. That day beng come, *Cæſar* going vnto the Senate houſe, and ſpeaking merily to the Soothſayer, tolde him, the Ides of Marche be come: ſo be they, ſoftly aunſwered the Soothſayer, but yet are they not paſt. And

Cæſars day of his death prognoſticated by a Soothſayer.

B the very day before, *Cæſar* ſupping with *Marcus Lepidus*, ſealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the bord: ſo talke falling out amongeſt them, reaſoning what death was beſt: he preuenting their opinions, cried out alowde, death vnlooked for. Then going to bedde the ſame night as his manner was, and lying with his wife *Calpurnia*, all the windowes and dores of his chamber flying open, the noyſe awooke him, and made him affrayed when he ſaw ſuch light: but more, when he heard his wife *Calpurnia*, being faſt a ſleepe, weepe and ſigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable ſpeaches. For ſhe dreamed that *Cæſar* was ſlaine, and that ſhe had him in her armes. Others alſo doe denie that ſhe had any ſuche dreame, as amongeſt other, *Titus Liuius* wryteth, that it was in this ſorte. The Senate hauing ſet vpon the toppe of *Cæſars* houſe, for an ornament and ſetting foorth of the ſame, a certaine pinnacle: *Calpurnia*

The dreame of Calpurnia, Cæſars wife.

C dreamed that ſhe ſawe it broken downe, and that ſhe thought ſhe lamented and wept for it. Inſomuch that *Cæſar* riſing in the morning, ſhe prayed him if it were poſſible, not to goe out of the dores that day, but to adiorne the ſeſſion of the Senate, vntill an other day. And if that he made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he woulde ſearche further of the Soothſayers by their ſacrifices, to knowe what ſhould happen him that day. Thereby it ſeemed that *Cæſar* likewiſe did feare and ſuſpect ſomewhat, bicauſe his wife *Calpurnia* vntill that time, was neuer geuen to any feare or ſuperſticion: and then, for that he ſaw her ſo troubled in minde with this dreame ſhe had. But much more afterwardes, when the Soothſayers hauing ſacrificed many beaſtes one after an other, tolde him that none did like them: then he determined to ſende *Antonius* to adiorne the ſeſſion of the Senate. But in the meane time came *Decius Bru-*

D *tus*, ſurnamed *Albinus*, in whom *Cæſar* put ſuch confidence, that in his laſt will and teſtament he had appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conſpiracie with *Caſſius* and *Brutus*: he fearing that if *Cæſar* did adiorne the ſeſſion that day, the conſpiracie woulde out, laughed the Soothſayers to ſcorne, and reproued *Cæſar*, ſaying: that he gaue the Senate occaſion to miſlike with him, and that they might thinke he mocked them, conſidering that by his commaundement they were aſſembled, and that they were readie willingly to graunt him all thinges, and to proclaime him king of all the prouinces of the Empire of ROME out of ITALIE, and that he ſhould weare his Diadeame in all other places, both by ſea and land. And furthermore, that if any man ſhould tell them from him, they ſhould departe for that preſent time, and returne againe when *Calpurnia* ſhoulde haue better dreames: what would his ene-

Decius Brutus Albinus perſwaſion to Cæſar.

E mies and ill willers ſay, and how could they like of his frendes wordes? And who could perſwade them otherwiſe, but that they would thinke his dominion a ſlauerie vnto them, and tirannicall in him ſelfe? And yet if it be ſo, ſayd he, that you vtterly miſlike of this day, it is better that you goe your ſelfe in perſon, and ſaluting the Senate, to diſmiſſe them till an other time. Therewithall he tooke *Cæſar* by the hand, and brought him out of his houſe. *Cæſar* was not gone farre from his houſe, but a bondman, a ſtraunger, did what he could to ſpeake with him: and when he ſawe he was put backe by the great preaſe and multitude of people that followed him, he went ſtraight vnto his houſe, and put him ſelfe into *Calpurniaes* handes to be kept, till *Cæſar* came backe againe, telling her that he had great matters to imparte vnto him. And one *Artemidorus* alſo borne in the Ile of GNIDOS, a Doctor of Rethoricke in the Greeke

Decius Brutus brought Cæſar into the Senate houſe.

The tokens of the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar.

F tongue, who by meanes of his profeſſion was verie familliar with certaine of *Brutus* confederates, and therefore knew the moſt parte of all their practiſes againſt *Cæſar*: came & brought him a litle bill wrytten with his owne hand, of all that he ment to tell him. He marking howe

Cæſar receiued all the ſupplications that were offered him, and that he gaue them ſtraight to his men that were about him, preſſed neerer to him, and ſayed: *Cæſar*, reade this memoriall to your ſelfe, and that quickely, for they be matters of great waight and touche you neerely. *Cæſar* tooke it of him, but coulde neuer reade it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did ſalute him: but holding it ſtill in his hande, keeping it to him ſelfe, went on withall into the Senate houſe. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was ſome man elſe that gaue him that memoriall, and not *Artemidorus*, who did what he could all the way as he went to geue it *Cæſar*, but he was alwayes repulſed by the people. For theſe things, they may ſeeme to come by chaunce: but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were aſſembled, and where alſo there ſtoode vp an image of *Pompey* dedicated by him ſelfe amongeſt other ornamentes which he gaue vnto the Theater: all theſe were manifeſt proofes that it was the ordinaunce of ſome god, that made this treaſon to be executed, ſpecially in that verie place. It is alſo reported, that *Caſſius* (though otherwiſe he did fauour the doctrine of *Epicurus*) beholding the image of *Pompey*, before they entred into the action of their traiterous enterpriſe: he did ſoftely call vpon it, to aide him. But the inſtant daũger of the preſent time, taking away his former reaſon, did ſodainly put him into a furious paſſion, and made him like a man halfe beſides him ſelfe. Now *Antonius*, that was a faithfull frende to *Cæſar*, and a valliant man beſides of his handes, him, *Decius Brutus Albinus* entertained out of the Senate houſe, hauing begon a long tale of ſet purpoſe. So *Cæſar* comming into the houſe, all the Senate ſtoode vp on their feete to doe him honor. Then parte of *Brutus* companie and confederates ſtoode rounde about *Cæſars* chayer, and parte of them alſo came towardes him, as though they made ſute with *Metellus Cimber*, to call home his brother againe from baniſhment: and thus proſecuting ſtill their ſute, they followed *Cæſar*, till he was ſet in his chayer. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after an other, bicauſe the more they were denied, the more they preſſed vpon him, and were the earneſter with him: *Metellus* at length, taking his gowne with both his handes, pulled it ouer his necke, which was the ſigne geuen the confederates to ſette apon him. Then *Caſca* behinde him ſtrake him in the necke with his ſword, howbeit the wounde was not great nor mortall, bicauſe it ſeemed, the feare of ſuch a deueliſhe attempt did amaze him, and take his ſtrength from him, that he killed him not at the firſt blowe. But *Cæſar* turning ſtraight vnto him, caught hold of his ſword, and held it hard: and they both cried out, *Cæſar* in Latin: O vile traitor *Caſca*, what doeſt thou? And *Caſca* in Greeke to his brother, brother, helpe me. At the beginning of this ſturre, they that were preſent, not knowing of the conſpiracie were ſo amazed with the horrible ſight they ſawe: that they had no power to flie, neither to helpe him, not ſo much, as once to make any outcrie. They on thother ſide that had conſpired his death, compaſſed him in on euerie ſide with their ſwordes drawen in their handes, that *Cæſar* turned him no where, but he was ſtriken at by ſome, and ſtill had naked ſwords in his face, and was hacked and mangeled amonge them, as a wilde beaſte taken of hunters. For it was agreed among them, that euery man ſhould geue him a wound, bicauſe all their partes ſhould be in this murther: and then *Brutus* him ſelfe gaue him one wounde about his priuities. Men reporte alſo, that *Cæſar* did ſtill defende him ſelfe againſt the reſt, running euerie waye with his bodie: but when he ſawe *Brutus* with his ſworde drawen in his hande, then he pulled his gowne ouer his heade, and made no more reſiſtaunce, and was driuen either caſually, or purpoſedly, by the counſell of the conſpirators, againſt the baſe whereupon *Pompeys* image ſtoode, which ranne all of a goare bloude, till he was ſlaine. Thus it ſeemed, that the image tooke iuſt reuenge of *Pompeys* enemie, being throwen downe on the ground at his feete, and yelding vp his ghoſt there, for the number of wounds he had vpon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twenty wounds apon his body: and diuers of the conſpirators did hurt them ſelues, ſtriking one body with ſo many blowes. When *Cæſar* was ſlaine, the Senate (though *Brutus* ſtood in the middeſt amongeſt them as though he would haue ſayd ſomwhat touching this fact) preſently ran out of the houſe, and flying, filled all the city with maruelous feare and tumult. Inſomuch as ſome did ſhut to their dores, others forſooke their ſhops & warehouſes, and others ranne to the place to ſee what the matter was: and others alſo that had ſeene it,

The place where Cæſar was ſlaine.

Antonius, Cæſars faithfull frend.

Caſca, the firſt that ſtrake at Cæſar.

Cæſar ſlaine and had 23. wounds apon him.

ran

A ran home to their houſes againe. But *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, which were two of *Cæſars* chiefeſt frends, ſecretly conueying them ſelues away, fled into other mens houſes, and forſooke their owne. *Brutus* and his confederats on thother ſide, being yet hotte with this murther they had committed, hauing their ſwordes drawen in their hands, came all in a troupe together out of the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men that made countenaunce to flie, but otherwiſe boldly holding vp their heades like men of corage, and called to the people to defende their libertie, and ſtayed to ſpeake with euery great perſonage whome they met in their way. Of them, ſome followed this troupe, and went amongeſt them, as if they had bene of the conſpiracie, and falſely chalenged parte of the honor with them: among them was *Caius Octauius*, and *Lentulus Spinther*. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their vaine B couetouſnes of honor, by *Antonius*, and *Octauius Cæſar* the younger: and yet had no parte of that honor for the which they were put to death, neither did any man beleue that they were any of the confederates, or of counſell with them. For they that did put them to death, tooke reuenge rather of the will they had to offend, then of any fact they had committed. The next morning, *Brutus* and his confederates came into the market place to ſpeake vnto the people, who gaue them ſuch audience, that it ſeemed they neither greatly reproued, nor allowed the fact: for by their great ſilence they ſhowed, that they were ſory for *Cæſars* death, and alſo that they did reuerence *Brutus*. Nowe the Senate graunted generall pardonne for all that was paſte, and to pacifie euery man, ordained beſides, that *Cæſars* funeralls ſhoulde bee honored as a god, and eſtabliſhed all thinges that he had done: and gaue certaine prouinces alſo, and C conuenient honors vnto *Brutus* and his confederates, whereby euery man thought all things were brought to good peace & quietnes againe. But when they had opened *Cæſars* teſtamēt, and found a liberall legacie of money, bequeathed vnto euery citizen of Rome, and that they ſaw his body (which was brought into the market place) al bemangled with gaſhes of ſwords: then there was no order to keepe the multitude and common people quiet, but they plucked vp formes, tables, and ſtooles, and layed them all about the body, & ſetting them a fire, burnt the corſe. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the firebrandes, and went vnto their houſes that had ſlaine *Cæſar*, to ſet them a fire. Other alſo ranne vp and downe the citie to ſee if they could meete with any of them, to cut them in peeces: howbeit they could meete with neuer a man of them, bicauſe they had locked them ſelues vp ſafely in their houſes.

The murtherers of Cæſar doe gee to the Capitoll.

Cæſars funeralls.

D There was one of *Cæſars* frends called *Cinna*, that had a maruelous ſtraunge & terrible dreame the night before. He dreamed that *Cæſar* bad him to ſupper, & that he refuſed, and would not goe: then that *Cæſar* tooke him by the hand, and led him againſt his will. Now *Cinna* hearing at that time, that they burnt *Cæſars* body in the market place, notwithſtanding that he feared his dreame, and had an agew on him beſides: he went into the market place to honor his funeralls. When he came thither, one of the meane ſorte asked what his name was? He was ſtraight called by his name. The firſt man told it to an other, and that other vnto an other, ſo that it ranne ſtraight through them all, that he was one of them that murdered *Cæſar*: (for in deede one of the traitors to *Cæſar*, was alſo called *Cinna* as him ſelfe) wherefore taking him for *Cinna* the murderer, they fell vpon him with ſuch furie, that they preſently diſpatched him in E the market place. This ſturre and furie made *Brutus* and *Caſſius* more affrayed, then of all that was paſt, and therefore within fewe dayes after, they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they ſuffered till their deathes, we haue wrytten it at large, in the life of *Brutus*. *Cæſar* dyed at ſix and fifty yeres of age: and *Pompey* alſo liued not paſſing foure yeares more then he. So he reaped no other frute of all his raigne & dominion, which he had ſo vehemently deſired all his life, and purſued with ſuch extreame daunger: but a vaine name only, and a ſuperficiall glory, that procured him the enuy and hatred of his contrie. But his great proſperitie and good fortune that fauored him all his life time, did continue afterwards in the reuenge of his death, purſuing the murtherers both by ſea & land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of al them that were actors or counſellers in the con-F ſpiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chaunces that happen vnto men vpon the earth, that which came to *Caſſius* aboue all other, is moſt to be wondred at. For he being ouercome in battell at the iorney of Philippes, ſlue him ſelfe with the ſame ſworde, with the which he

Cinnaes dreame of Cæſar.

The murther of Cinna.

Cæſar 56 yere olde at his death.

The reuenge of Cæſars death.

Caſſius being ouerthrowen at the battell

of Philippes, slue himselfe with the selfe same sword wherewith he strake Cæsar.

strake *Cæsar*. Againe, of signes in the element, the great comet which seuen nightes together A
was seene very bright after *Cæsars* death, the eight night after was neuer seene more. Also the
brightnes of the sunne was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, and shi-
ned not out, whereby it gaue but small heate: therefore the ayer being very clowdy & darke,
by the weakenes of the heate that could not come foorth, did cause the earth to bring foorth
but raw and vnrype frute, which rotted before it could rype. But aboue all, the ghost that ap-
peared vnto *Brutus* shewed plainly, that the goddes were offended with the murther of *Cæsar*.
The vision was thus. *Brutus* being ready to passe ouer his army from the citie of ABYDOS, to
the other coast lying directly against it, slept euery night (as his manner was) in his tent, and
being yet awake, thinking of his affaires: (for by reporte he was as carefull a Captaine, and
liued with as litle sleepe, as euer man did) he thought he heard a noyse at his tent dore, & look- B
ing towards the light of the lampe that waxed very dimme, he saw a horrible vision of a man,
of a wonderfull greatnes, and dreadfull looke, which at the first made him maruelously afraid.
But when he sawe that it did him no hurt, but stoode by his bedde side, and sayd nothing: at
length he asked him what he was. The image aunswered him: I am thy ill angell, *Brutus*, and
thou shalt see me by the citie of PHILIPPES. Then *Brutus* replied againe, and sayd: well, I
shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time *Bru-*
tus being in battell neere vnto the citie of PHILIPPES, against *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæsar*, at
the first battell he wan the victorie, and ouerthrowing all them that withstoode him, he draue
them into young *Cæsars* campe, which he tooke. The second battell being at hand, this spirit
appeared again vnto him, but spake neuer a word. Thereuppon *Brutus* knowing he C
should dye, did put him selfe to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could
not be slaine. So seeing his men put to flight and ouerthrowen, he
ranne vnto a litle rocke not farre of, and there setting his
swordes point to his brest, fell vpon it, and slue
him selfe, but yet as it is reported,
with the helpe of his frend,
that dispatched him.

Vvonders seene in the element after Cæsars death.

A great Comet.

Brutus vision.

A spirit appeared vnto Brutus.

The second appearing of the spirit, vnto Brutus.

The end of Cæsars life.

THE LIFE OF *Phocion.*

A THE Orator *Demades* on a time floriſhed in ATHENS, bicauſe in all his doings and ſayings in the adminiſtration and gouernment of the common wealth, he alwayes fauored the MACEDONIANS and *Antipater:* in reſpect whereof he was eftſoones compelled, both in his counſell and lawes, to preferre many things to the diſhonor of his city, ſaying, that they muſt pardon him, bicauſe he gouerned the ſhippewrackes of his contrie. This was an arrogant ſpeache: but yet referring it to the gouernment of *Phocion* he ſayd truely. For in deede *Demades* ſelfe was the ſhippewracke of the common weale, bicauſe he liued ſo inſolently, and gouerned ſo lewdly. Inſomuch as *Antipater* ſayd of him, after he was very old: that there B was nothing left of him, no more then of a beaſt ſacrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of *Phocion*, which had to fight againſt the cruell and bitter enemy of the time, were ſo obſcured by the calamities of GRÆCE: that his fame was nothing ſo great as he deſerued. For we muſt not credit *Sophocles* words, making vertue of it ſelfe but weake, in theſe verſes.

Demades arrogãs ſayings.

VVhen ſtormes of ſore aduerſities (o king) doe men aſſaile,
It dauntes their corage, cuts their combs, and makes their harts to quaile.

But we muſt onely geue place to fortune, who when ſhe frowneth vppon any good and vertuous men, her force is ſo great, that where they deſerue honor and fauor, ſhe violently heapeth falſe & malicious accuſations againſt them, which maketh their vertue lame, & not of that credit which in dede it deſerueth. And yet it ſeemeth to many, that free cities are moſt C cruel vnto their good citizens in time of proſperity: bicauſe they flow in wealth & liue at eaſe, which maketh them of hauty mindes. But it is cleane contrary. For aduerſity commonly maketh mens maners ſower, chollericke, and very haſty: beſides, ſlow to heare, churliſh, and offended with euery litle ſharpe word. For he that correcteth them that offend, ſeemeth to caſt their aduerſitie in their teeth: and he that telleth them plainly of their faultes, ſeemeth alſo to deſpiſe them. For like as honnie ſweete by nature, applied vnto woundes, doth bring both ſmart and paine: euen ſo, ſharpe wordes, though profitable, doe bite the vnfortunate man, if they be not tempered with diſcretion & curteſie. And therefore *Homer* the Poet calleth ſwete

The power of vertue and fortune.

Aduerſitie maketh men haſty.

and pleasaunt thinges μετοχῆ, as yeelding and not striuing with contrariety, against that parte A
of the minde, whereby we be angrie and froward. For euen as sore eyes doe like to looke on
blacke and darke colours,and can not abide the bright and glaring:so in a city,where for want
of foresight and gouernment,things goe not well,men be so diuers and vnwilling to heare of
their owne fault and estate, that they had rather continue in their follie and daunger, then by
sharpnes of words to be rebuked and restored. So that it being impossible to amend one fault
with a greater,that common wealth must be in great daunger,that when it hath most nede of
helpe,is lothest to receiue any: and he also hazardeth him selfe,that plainly telleth them their
faultes. Like as therefore the Mathematician sayth,that the sunne doth not altogether follow
the motion of the highest heauen,nor yet is moued directly contrary,but fetching a compase
a litle ouerthwart, maketh an oblique circle, and by variety of approching and departing pre- B
serueth all things,& kepeth the world in good temperature. Euen so,too seuere gouernment,
contrarying the peoples mindes,in all things,is not good: as also it is maruelous daungerous,
not to correct offendors when they offend,for feare of the peoples displeasure.But the meane,
sometime to yeelde vnto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to graunt
them things of pleasure, to demaund of them againe things profitable: that is a good way to
gouerne men the better by. For, by gentle meanes they are brought to doe many profitable
things,when they seeke it not of them,by rigor & authority. In deede this meane is very hard
to be obserued, bicause authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meete toge-
ther,there is no harmony more musicall,nor concordance more perfit then that:and therfore
it is said,that thereby God doth gouerne the world, working rather a voluntary,then a forced C
obediēce in men. But this fault of seuerenes was in *Cato* the younger, for he could not fashion
him selfe to the peoples maners, neither did they like his:neither did he win his estimacion in
Ciceroes saying of Cato, & the common wealth as Rome. the common wealth by flattering of them. And therefore *Cicero* sayd, that he was put by the
Consulship,for that he behaued him selfe as though he liued in the common wealth deuised
by *Plato*, & not amongest the disordered and corrupt posterity of *Romulus*. Me thinketh I can
liken him properly vnto vntimely frute: the which though men doe take pleasure to see and
Catoes plaine maner, became not the corrupt and fustie time. wonder at,yet they eate them not.Euen so,the auncient simplicity of *Catoes* maner(hauing so
long time bene out of vse, & comming then to shew it selfe in that corrupt time & ill maners
of the city) was in deede much praiseworthy:but yet not the conuenientest, nor the fittest for
him,bicause it aunswered nor respected not the vse and maners of his time. For he found not D
his contry(as *Phocion* did)vtterly destroyed,but tossed in a daungerous tempest: & being not
of authority like the pilot to take the sterne in hand,& gouerne the shippe: he tooke him selfe
to tricking the sailes,and preparing the tacle,so to assist men of greater power. And yet being
in no greater place,he so thwarted fortune (which seemed to haue sworne the ouerthrowe of
the estate of Rome)that with much a doe,with great difficulty,& a long time after,she execu-
ted her malice. And yet the common wealth had almost gotten the victory of her,by meanes
of *Cato* & his vertue:with whom I doe compare the vertue of *Phocion*,who yet in my opinion,
were not in all thinges alike, neither in their honesty, nor policy of gouernment. For there is
difference betwext manhood & manhood,as there was betwext that of *Alcibiades*,and that of
Epaminondas: betwext wisedom & wisedom, as betwext that of *Aristides*, & that of *Themisto-* E
cles: & betwext iustice & iustice,as betwext that of *Numa*,& that of *Agesilaus*.But the vertues
of these men(to him that shall superficially regard, & slightly consider them)seeme all one in
quality, in maner, & vse, both alike in temperance of curtesie with seuerity,& manhood with
wisdom:a vigilant care for others,with presence of corage & security of mind for them selues,
abhorring all filthines & corruption,& imbrasing cōstancy & loue of iustice: that for any man
to discerne the difference betwene thē,it requireth an excellent good wit & iudgement.Now
touching *Cato*,euery man knoweth that he was of a noble house,as we wil shew you hereafter
The parētage of Phocion. in his life:but for *Phocion*,I gesse he came of no base parentage.For if he had bene the sonne of
a spoonemaker,as *Idomeneus* testifieth:*Glaucippus* the sonne of *Hyperides*,hauing in an inuectiue
he wrote against him,rehersed all the mischiefes he could of him,he would not haue forgottē F
to haue vpbraid him with his base parētage,neither he him self also(if that had bene true)had
bene so well brought vp as he was.For when he was but a young man,he was *Platoes* scholler,

and

A and afterwards *Xenocrates* ſcholler, in the ſchoole of Academia: and ſo, euen from his firſt beginning, he gaue him ſelfe to followe them that were learned. For as *Duris* writeth, neuer ATHENIAN ſaw him weepe nor laugh, nor waſhe him ſelfe in any common bathe, nor his hands out of his ſleeues when he ware a long gowne. For when he went to the warres, he would alwaies goe afoote, and neuer wore gowne, vnles it were extreame cold: and then the ſouldiers to mocke him withall, would ſay it was a ſigne of a ſharpe winter, when they ſawe *Phocion* in his gowne. Nowe, though in deede he was very curteous and gentle of nature, yet he had ſuch a grymme looke withall, that no man had any deſire to talke with him, but ſuch as were of his familliar acquaintance. And therefore when *Chares* the Orator one day mocked him for the bending of his browes, and that the ATHENIANS fell in a laughter withall: My Maiſters, ꝙ *Phocion*, the bending of my browes haue done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of theſe flatterers, haue made ye oftentymes to weepe. Furthermore, his maner of ſpeech was very profitable, for the good ſentences and counſells he vttered: but it was mixed with an imperious, auſtere, and bitter ſhortnes. For as *Zeno* the Philoſopher ſayeth, that the wiſe man ſhould temper his wordes with witte and reaſon, before he vtter them: euen ſo was *Phocions* ſpeech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it ſeemeth that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN ſayd, that *Demoſthenes* was an excellent Orator, but in ſpeech, *Phocion* was very wittie. For like as coynes of gold or ſiluer, the lighter they waye, the finer they be of goodnes: euen ſo the excellencie of ſpeeche conſiſteth in ſignifying much, by fewe wordes. And touching this matter, it is reported, that the Theater being full of people, *Phocion* walked all alone vpon the ſcaffold where the players played, and was in a great muſe with him ſelfe: whereuppon, one of his friendes ſeeing him ſo in his muſes, ſaid vnto him, Surely *Phocion*, thy minde is occupied about ſomewhat. In deede ſo is it, ſayd he: for I am thinking with my ſelfe, if I could abridge any thing of that I haue to ſay to the people. For *Demoſthenes* ſelfe litle eſteming all other Orators, when *Phocion* roſe vp to ſpeake, he would round his friendes in their eares, and told them: See, the cutter of my wordes riſeth. Peraduenture he ment it by his maners alſo: For when a good man ſpeaketh, not a word onely, but a wincke of an eye, or a nod of his head, doth counteruaile many artificiall words & ſpeeches of Rethoritians. Furthermore, when he was a young man, he went to the warres vnder Captaine *Chabrias*, and followed him: of whom he learned to be a perfit ſouldier, and in recompence thereof, he reformed many of his Captaines imperfections, and made him wiſer then he was. For *Chabrias* otherwiſe beeing very dull and ſlothfull of him ſelfe, when he came to fight, he was ſo hotte and corageous, that he would thruſt himſelfe into daunger, with the deſperateſt perſons: & therefore for his raſhnes, it afterwards coſt him his life, in the citie of CHIO, where launching out with his gally before the reſt, he preſſed to land in deſpite of his enemies. But *Phocion* being wiſe to loke to him ſelfe, and very quicke to execute: on the one ſide quickned *Chabrias* ſlownes, and on the other ſide alſo, by wiſedom cooled his heate and furie. *Chabrias* therefore, being a good man & curteous, loued *Phocion* very well, and did preferre him in matters of ſeruice, making him famous amongeſt the GRÆCIANS, and employed him in his hardieſt enterpriſes. For by his meanes he atchieued great fame and honor in a battell by ſea, which he wanne by the Ile of NAXOS, giuing him the left winge of his armie: on which ſide the fight was ſharpeſt of all the battell, and there he ſooneſt put the enemies to flight. This battel being the firſt which the citie of ATHENS wanne with their owne men onely, after it had bene taken: gaue the people cauſe to loue *Chabrias*, and made them alſo to make accompt of *Phocion*, as of a noble ſouldier, & worthy to haue charge. This victory was gotten on the feaſt day of the great miſteries, in memory whereof, *Chabrias* did yearly, on the ſixtenth day of the moneth Boedromion (now called Auguſt) make all the people of ATHENS drinke. After that time, *Chabrias* ſending *Phocion* to receiue the tribute of the Ilanders, their confederats, and the ſhippes which they ſhould ſend him: he gaue him twenty gallies to bringe him thither. But *Phocion* then (as it is reported) ſaid vnto him: if he ſent him to fight with his enemies, he had neede to haue moe ſhippes: but if he ſent him as an Ambaſſador vnto his friendes, then, that one ſhippe would ſerue his turne. So he went with one gallie onely: and after he had ſpoken with the cities, and curteouſly dealt with the gouernors of euery one of them, he returned backe, furniſhed of their confederats,

Phocion neuer wept, nor laughed.

Phocions maners.

Wherein excellencie of ſpeech conſiſteth.

Phocions firſt ſouldierſare.

The victory of Chabrias and Phocion, in the Ile of Naxos.

with a great fleete of shippes and money, to cary vnto ATHENS. So *Phocion* did not onely reuerence *Chabrias* while he liued, but after his death also he tooke great care of his friendes and kinsmen, and sought to make his sonne *Cteſippus*, an honest man: whom, though he sawe very wilde and vntoward, yet he neuer left to reforme him, and hide his fault. It is sayde also, that when this young man did trouble him much with vaine friuolous questions, seruing then vnder him, he being Captaine, and taking vpon him to giue him counsell, to reproue him, and to teache him the dutie of a Captaine: he could not but say, O *Chabrias*, *Chabrias*: now doe I paye for the loue thou didest beare me when thou wert aliue, in bearing with the folly of thy sonne. But when he saw that the heads of the citie of ATHENS had as it were by lot deuided amonge them selues the offices of warre and peace, and that some of them, as *Eubulus*, *Aristophon*, *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, and *Hyperides* were common speakers and preferrers of matters in counsells and Senate: and that others, as *Diopithes*, *Menestheus*, *Leosthenes*, and *Chares*, became great men by the warres, and had charge of armies: he determined rather to follow the manner of gouernment, of *Pericles*, *Aristides*, & *Solon*, as being mingled of both. For either of them, seemed (as the Poet *Archilocus* sayth)

To bee both Champions stowt, of Marsis vvarlyke band,
And of the Muses eke, the artes to vnderstand.

He knew also, that *Pallas* the goddesse and protector of ATHENS, was called *Polemica*, and *Politica*: to wit, skilfull to rule both in warre and peace. So, hauing thus disposed of him selfe in gouernment, he alwaies perswaded peace and quietnes, and yet was often chosen Captaine, and had charge of armies, being the onely man that of all the Captaines afore him, and in his time, did neuer sue for charge, neither yet refused it at any time, when he was called to serue the common wealth. It is certen that he was chosen fiue and forty times Prætor, and was alwaies absent at the elections, but yet sent for. Whereuppon all the wise men wondred to see the manner of the people towards him, considering that *Phocion* had neuer done nor sayd any thing to flatter them withall, but commonly had bene against their desires: and how they vsed other gouernours notwithstanding, that were more pleasant and delightfull in their orations, like men to sport at, as it is sayd of kings, who after they haue washed their handes to goe to their meate, doe vse to haue Iesters and flatterers to make them mery: but on thother side when they had occasion of warres in deede, how then like wise men they could bethinke them selues, and choose the wisest and stowtest man of the citie, & that most would withstand their mindes and desires. For on a time an oracle of *Apollo Delphias*, beeing openly red before them, which sayd, that all the other ATHENIANS being agreed, yet there was one amonge them that was contrary to all the rest of the citie: *Phocion* stepping forth before them all, bad them neuer seeke further for the man, for it was he that liked none of all their doings. Another time he chaunced to say his opinion before all the people, the which they all praised and approued: but he saw they were so sodeinly become of his minde, he turned backe to his friendes, and asked them: alas, hath not some euill thing slipped my mouth vnwares? Another time a generall collection being gathered of the people at ATHENS, towardes the solemnizing of a sacrifice: other men of his estate hauing payd their part, he was often also called vpon to pay his. But he aunswered them againe, aske them that be rich, for it were a shame for me to giue you any thing, being yet in this mans debt: pointing to *Callicles* the Vserer, who had lent him money. But when they left him not for all this, to cry out apon him for the contribution, he began to tell them this tale: that on a time there was a coward preparing to goe to the warres, and as he was ready to depart, he heard the Rauens what a crying they made, and taking it for an ill signe, he put of his harnes, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harnes againe, & went on his way towards the campe: the Rauens beganne againe to make a goodlier cry behind him. But thereuppon he staied straight, and at length sayd: ye shall crooke as lowd as ye list, before ye feede of my carkas. An other time the ATHENIANS being in warre vnder his charge, would needes haue him to leade them to giue charge vppon their enemies, but he would not: thereuppon they called him coward, and sayd he durst not. Well, sayd he againe, it is not you can make me valiant, no more then my selfe can make you cowards: and yet one of vs know an other. Another time in a maruelous daungerous time, the people handled him very

Phocions notable sayings.

A very churlishly, and would needes haue him presently deliuer accompt of his charge: but he aunswered them, O my friendes, first saue your selues. Furthermore, the people beeing very lowly and humble, for feare, in time of warres: and presently in peace againe waxing braue in wordes against *Phocion*, charging him that he had taken the victorie out of their handes: he onely sayd this to them, you are happy that haue a Captaine that knowes you, els you would singe a new songe. Another time there was a quarrell betwixt the BOEOTIANS, and them, about their bounds and fronters: the which they would not try by lawe, but by battel. But *Phocion* told them, they did they wist not what, & counselled them rather to fight it out in words, in which they were the stronger, and not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another time they so much misliked his opinion in the assembly, that they woulde not abide to heare
B him, nor suffer him to speake. Wel, my Maisters, q he then, you may make me doe that which is not to be done: but you shall neuer compell me, against my minde, to say that which is not to be spoken. He would as gallantly also gird the Orators his aduersaries, when they were busie with him. As on a time he aunswered *Demosthenes*, that sayd vnto him: the people, *Phocion*, will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heades. Yea thee, q he, if they be wise. Agayne, when *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN, in a hotte day perswaded the people of ATHENS to make warre with king *Philip*, sweating, and with much a doe fetching his breath, being a fatte man, that he was driuen oftentymes to drinke water, to ende his oration: surely sayd *Phocion*, ye shall doe maruelous wisely, to make warre at such a mans motion. Why, what thinke ye will he doe, when he hath his curats and his target vpon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that
C now in making an oration onely before you, which he hath studied long before, is almost stifled? Another time also whē *Lycurgus* in his oration had openly reproued him for many things before the people, and among the rest, for that *Alexander* demaunding tenne Citizens of ATHENS to do with them what he thought good, that he had counselled them to deliuer them: *Phocion* aunswered him, I haue oftentimes counselled them for the best, but they would neuer follow my councell. There was one *Archibiades* at that time in ATHENS, that counterfeated the LACEDÆMONIAN, with a maruelous long beard, a beggerly cloke, and a sower looke. *Phocion* being checkt one day before the people, appealed vnto *Archibiades* for a witnes, to confirme that he spake. But he rising vp, counselled the people contrarily, to flatter them withall. *Phocion* perceiuing it, tooke him by the beard, and sayd vnto him: alas *Archibiades*, why diddest
D thou not then clippe thy beard, seeing thou wouldest needes flatter? There was another great pleader, one *Aristogiton*, that in all assemblies of the citie, did nothing but busse warres continually in their eares. Afterwards when men were to be leauied and mustered, and their names entred that should goe to the warres: *Aristogiton* came halting into the market place with a staffe in his hand, and both his legges bound vp, to make the people beleeue that he was sicke and diseased. *Phocion* spying *Aristogiton* farre of, cryed out to the Clearke that wrote the bills: put in *Aristogiton*, lame, and impudent. So that oftentymes it makes me muse, howe, or wherefore so sharpe and seuere a man (as by these examples it appeareth he was) could come to the surname of good. Notwithstanding, in the ende I find it a hard thing, but not impossible, that a man should be like wine, both sweete and sharpe together: as there are others to the contra-
E ry, that at the first sight, seeme very curteous and gentle of conuersation, and apon better acquaintance, proue churlishe and dogged. It is reported also, that *Hyperides* the Orator one day should say to the ATHENIANS: I pray you (my Lords) note me not for my sharpenes, but consider if my sharpenes be without profit. As who should say, men were not troublesom, but for couetousnes onely, and as if the people did not rather feare and hate them, that of insolencie & malice did abuse & contemne their authority. *Phocion* on thother side, he neuer did Citizen hurt, for any priuate malice he bare him: but was euer sharpe and cruell to them, which were against any matter he preferred for the benefit of the common wealth. For in all other things, he shewed him self maruelous lowly and curteous to euery body, and would be familliar with his aduersaries, and helpe them if they wanted, or were otherwise in daunger of displeasure
F with the state. Insomuch as his friendes therefore reproued him on a time, when he spake in the behalfe of a naughty man, an offender: O, sayd he, honest men neede no helpe. An other time, *Aristogiton* the Sycophant, beeing clapped vp in prison, sent vnto *Phocion* to pray him to

Aristogiton, a Sycophant, & coward.

Phocion called by surname, good.

come and ſpeake with him, after he was condemned. *Phocion* went into the priſon to him, though his friendes perſwaded him the contrary, and aunſwered them: O, let me alone, ſayd he, for where could I ſee *Ariſtogiton* more gladly then in priſon? Furthermore, when there went any army to ſea out of ATHENS, if there were any other choſen generall but *Phocion*: the townes and Ilandes all alongeſt the ſea coaſt, (which were friendes and confederats of the ATHENIANS) fortified their walls, filled vp their hauens, and brought their wiues, ſlaues, and cattell, and all their goods into their townes and cities, as if they had bene enemies, & open warre proclaimed. Contrarily alſo, if *Phocion* had bene Capteine and generall: they would ſend out their ſhippes to the ſea to meete him farre of, crowned with garlands in token of common ioy, and ſo would bringe him to their cities. King *Philip* ſecretly ſeking to winne the Ile of EVBOEA, ſent an armie thither out of MACEDON, and intiſed the townes by tyrannes to rebell: whereuppon, *Plutarke* ERETRIAN praied in ayde of the ATHENIANS, to take this Iland from the MACEDONIANS, which they daily wanne more and more, if they came not preſently to ayde them. So *Phocion* was ſent general thither, but with a fewe men onely, bicauſe they made account the men of that contry would ſtraight ioyne with him, for the good will they bare him. But when he came thither, he found them all traytors, and rebells, and brybed with king *Philippes* money, which he lauiſhed out amonge them: ſo that he was brought into great daunger. Thereupon he retyred to a litle hill that is ſeuered from the fieldes of Tamynes, with a great large valley, and there fortified him ſelfe with that litle armie he had. Then he perſwaded his Captaines not to care for all thoſe rebels, pratlers, and cowards which fled out of their tents, and forſooke their enſignes and Captaines, but that they ſhould let them goe out of the campe where they would. For, ſayd he, ſuch diſobedient ſouldiers here will doe vs no ſeruice, and moreouer will hinder them that haue good will to ſerue well: and at home alſo, knowing them ſelues in faulte, for that they forſooke the campe without licence, they dare not complayne apon vs. Afterwards when the enemies came to ſet apon him, he commaunded his men to arme, and put them ſelues in readines, and not to ſturre, vntill he had done ſacrifice: but he ſtayed long before he came, either bicauſe he could haue no lucky ſignes of the ſacrifices, or els for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereuppon *Plutarke* ERETRIAN ſuppoſing he deferred to marche for feare, went him ſelfe firſt into the field, with certen light horſemen he had in pay. Then the men of armes ſeeing them giue charge, could hold no lenger, but followed him alſo, ſtragling out of the campe one after an other diſorderly, and ſo did ſet apon their enemies. The firſt being ouerthrowen, all the other diſperſed them ſelues, and *Plutarke* him ſelf fled. Then certen bandes of the enemies thinking all had bene theirs, followed them euen into their campe, and came to throw downe their rampiers. In the meane time, *Phocion* hauing ended his ſacrifice, the ATHENIANS came out of their campe, and ſet apon them, and made part of them flie immediatly, and part of them alſo they ſlue hard by the trenches of their campe. Then *Phocion* commaunded that the battell ſhould ſtand ſtill, to receiue their men that were ſcattered vp and downe the fieldes: and in the meane ſpace, he him ſelfe, with the choyceſt men of his armie, gaue charge apon the enemies. The fight was cruell betwene them. For the ATHENIANS fought very valiantly, ventring their perſons: but of them all, two young men fighting by their generall, (*Glaucus*, the ſonne of *Polymedes*, and *Thallus*, the ſonne of *Cineas*) caried the praiſe away. And ſo did *Cleophanes* that daye alſo ſhewe him ſelfe very valiant. For he crying out ſtill apon the horſemen that fled, & perſwading them to come and helpe their generall that was in daunger: brought them backe againe, and thereby gotte the footemen the victorie. After this battell he draue *Plutarke* out of ERETRIA, and tooke the caſtell of ZARETRA, ſtanding in a very commodious place for this warre, where the Ile draweth to a ſtraightnes, enuyronned on either ſide with the ſea: and would not ſuffer his men to take any GRÆCIANS priſoners, fearing leaſt the Orators at ATHENS might moue the people ſodeinly in a rage, to put them to death. After all theſe thinges were done, *Phocion* returned backe to ATHENS. But then did the confederats of the ATHENIANS ſtraight wiſhe for his iuſtice and curteſie: and the ATHENIANS them ſelues alſo knewe his skilfulnes and manhood. For his ſucceſſor *Moloſſus*, that was generall for the reſt of the warre, delt ſo vndiſcreetely: that he him ſelfe was taken priſoner there. Then king *Philip* beeing put in maruailous great hope, went

Phocions iorney into Euboea.

Phocion perſwadeth his Captaines, to ſuffer the mutinous ſouldiers & cowards to depart the campe.

Phocions victory in Euboea.

A went with all his armie into HELLESPONT, perſwading him ſelfe, that he ſhould ſtraight take all CHERRONESVS, the cities of PERINTHE and BIZANTIVM. The ATHENIANS thereuppon determining to ſend ayde, to preuent king *Philips* comming: the Orators made great ſute, that *Chares* might be choſen Captaine. But he being ſent thither with a good number of ſhippes, did no ſeruice worthy commendacion, neither would the cities receiue his nauie into their hauens: but being ſuſpected of euery man, and deſpiſed of his enemies, he was driuen to ſayle vp and downe, and to get money of the allyes. The people being incenſed by the Orators, were maruelouſly offended, & repented them ſelues that they had ſent ayde vnto the BIZANTINES. Then *Phocion* riſing vp, ſpake vnto the people, & told them, that it was no reaſon that miſtruſting their confederats they ſhould be offended with them: but to be angry with their Captaines that deſerued to be miſtruſted. For they, ſaid he, doe make your confederats affraide of you, who without you notwithſtanding can not ſaue themſelues. The people chaunging their mindes by his oration, made *Phocion* againe their Captaine, and ſent him with an armie into HELLESPONT to helpe their confederats there, which was of great importance to ſaue the citie of BYZANTIVM. Furthermore, *Phocions* fame was ſo great, that *Cleon*, the greateſt man of vertue and authoritie in BIZANTIVM, and had before bene *Phocions* companion and familiar in the Academy: he made ſute for him vnto the citie. Then the BYZANTINES would not ſuffer him (though he deſired it) to campe without the walls of their citie, but opening their gates, receiued him in, and mingled the ATHENIANS amongeſt them. Who, perceiuing how much the Citizens truſted them, did ſo honeſtly behaue them ſelues in their conuerſation amongeſt them, that they gaue them no maner of cauſe to complaine of them: and ſhewed them ſelues ſo valiant beſides in all battells and conflicts, that *Philip* (which before was thought dreadfull and inuincible, euery man beeing affraid to fight any battell with him) returned out of HELLESPONT without any thing done, and to his great diſcredit: where *Phocion* wanne ſome of his ſhippes, and recouered againe the ſtrong holdes, in the which he had placed his garriſons. Furthermore, making diuers inuaſions into his contries, he deſtroyed his borders: till that at length he was ſore hurt there, and ſo driuen to returne home againe, by meanes of a great armie that came againſt him, to defend the contry: Shortly after, the MEGARIANS ſecretly ſent vnto him, to deliuer their citie into his hands. *Phocion* fearing if the BOEOTIANS vnderſtood it, that they would preuent him: he called a common aſſembly earely in the morning, & told the people what meſſage the MAGARIANS had ſent vnto him. The people apon his motion being determined to ayde them: *Phocion* ſtraight ſounding the trumpet at the breaking vp of the aſſembly, gaue them no further leyſure, but to take their weapons, and ſo led them incontinently to MEGARA. The MEGARIANS receiuing him, *Phocion* ſhut vp the hauen of NISÆA, and brought two long walls from the citie vnto it, and ſo ioyned it vnto the ſea: Whereby he ſtood not greatly in feare of his enemies by land, and for the ſea, the ATHENIANS were Lordes of it. Now when the ATHENIANS had proclaimed open warre againſt king *Philip*, and had choſen other Captaines in his abſence, and that he was returned from the Iles: aboue all thinges, he perſwaded the people (king *Philip* requiring peace, and greatly fearing the daunger) to accept the condicions of peace. Then one of theſe buſy Orators that was ſtill accuſing one or other, ſaid vnto him: why, *Phocio*, how dareſt thou attẽpt to turne the ATHENIANS frõ warre, hauing now their ſwordes in their hands? yes truely, ſaid *Phocion:* though in warre I know I ſhal commaund thee, & in peace thou wilt commaund me. But when the people would not harken to him, and that *Demoſthenes* caried them away with his perſwaſions, who counſelled them to fight with king *Philip*, as farre from ATTICA as they could: I pray thee friend, q̃ *Phocion* vnto him, let vs not diſpute where we ſhall fight, but conſider how we ſhall ouercome, the which if we can ſo bring to paſſe, be ſure we ſhall put the warre farre enough from vs. For men that are ouercome, be euer in feare and daunger, whereſoeuer they be. When the ATHENIANS had loſt a battell againſt *Philip*, the ſeditious Orators that hunted after innouacion, preferred *Charidemus* to be choſen generall of the ATHENIANS: whereuppon, the Magiſtrates & Senatours being affraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the AREOPAGITS, they made ſuch earneſt ſute to the people, with the teares in their eyes, that at laſt (but with much a doe) they obteyned, that the affaires of the citie might be put into *Phocions* handes & gouernment.

Phocion ſaued the citie of Byzantium.

Phocio driue Philip out of Helleſpont.

Phocion ioyned Megara vnto Athens.

He thought good to accept the articles and gentle condicions of peace which *Philip* offered them. But after that the Orator *Demades* moued that the citie of ATHENS would enter into the common treatie of peace, & common assembly of the states of GRÆCE, procured at king *Philips* requeſt: *Phocion* would not agree to it, vntill they might vnderſtand what demaunds *Philip* would make at the assembly of the GRÆCIANS. When his opinion through the peruersnes of time could not be liked of them, & that he saw the ATHENIANS soone after repented them that they did not followe his counsell, when they heard they should furnish king *Philip* with shippes and horsemen: then he told them, the feare whereof ye now complaine, made me to withstand that, which now ye haue consented vnto. But sithence it is so that you haue nowe past your consents, you must be contented, and not be discoraged at it: remembring that your aunceſtors in times past haue sometyme commaunded, and other while obeyed others, and yet haue so wisely and discreetely gouerned them selues in both fortunes, that they haue not onely saued their citie, but all GRÆCE besides. When newes came of king *Philips* death, the people for ioy would straight haue made bonfires and sacrifices to the goddes for the good newes: but *Phocion* would not suffer them, and sayd, that it was a token of a base minde, to reioyce at any mans death, & besides that, the armie which ouerthrew you at CHÆRONEA, hath not yet lost but one man. And when *Demosthenes* also would commonly speake ill of *Alexander*, and specially when he was so neare THEBES with his armie: *Phocion* rehearsed vnto him these verses of *Homer*:

To reioyce at any mans hurt, sheweth a base mind, & vile nature.

Howv great a folly is it for to stand
Against a cruell king,
VVhich beeing armd and hauing svvord in hand,
Seekes fame of euery thing?

What, when there is such a great fire kindled, wilt thou cast the citie into it? for my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not suffer them to cast them selues away: for to that ende haue I taken vpon me this charge and gouernment. And afterwards also, when *Alexander* had raſed the citie of THEBES, and had required the ATHENIANS to deliuer him *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, and *Caridemus*, and that the whole assembly and counsell not knowing what aunswer to make, did all cast their eyes vppon *Phocion*, and cryed vnto him to say his opinion: he then rose vppe, and taking one of his friendes vnto him called *Nicocles*, whome he loued and trusted aboue all men els, he sayd thus openly vnto them. These men whome *Alexander* requireth, haue brought this citie to this extremitie, that if he required *Nicocles* here, I would giue my consent to deliuer him: For I would thinke my selfe happy to lose my life, for all your safetie. Furthermore, though I am right hartely sory (sayd he) for the poore afflicted THEBANS, that are come into the citie for succour: yet I assure ye, it is better one citie mourne, then two. And therefore I thinke it is best to intreate the Conqueror for both, rather then to our certeine destruction to fight with him that is the stronger. It is sayd also that *Alexander* refused the first decree which the people offered him vppon *Phocions* requeſt, and sent awaye the Ambassadors, and would not speake with them. But the second, which *Phocion* him selfe brought, he tooke: beeing tolde by his fathers olde seruaunts, that king *Philip* made great accompt of him. Whereuppon, *Alexander* did not onely giue him audience, and graunt his requeſt, but further followed his counsell. For *Phocion* perswaded him, if he loued quietnes, to leaue warre: if he desired fame, then, that he should make warre with the barbarous people, but not with the GRÆCIANS. So *Phocion* feeding *Alexanders* humor with such talke and discourse as he thought would like him beſt: he so altered and softened *Alexanders* disposition, that when he went from him, he willed him that the ATHENIANS should looke to their affayres, for if he should dye, he knewe no people fitter to commaund then they. Furthermore, bicause he would be better acquainted with *Phocion*, and make him his friend: he made so much of him, that he more honored him, then all the rest of his friends. To this effect, *Duris* the historiographer writeth, that when *Alexander* was growen very great, and had ouercome king *Darius*: he left out of his letters this worde Chærin (to wit, ioy, and health) which he vsed commonly in all the letters he wrote, and would no more honor any other with that maner of salutacion, but *Phocion*, & *Antipater*. *Chares* also writeth the same. And

Alexander pacified with the Athenians, by Phocions meanes.

they

A they all doe confeſſe, that *Alexander* ſent *Phocion* a great gift out of ASIA, of a hundred ſiluer talents. This money being brought to ATHENS, *Phocion* asked them that brought it, why *Alexander* gaue him ſuch a great reward, aboue all the other Citizens of ATHENS. Bicauſe, ſayd they, he onely eſteemeth thee to be a good, and honeſt man. *Phocion* replied againe, then let him giue me leaue to be that I ſeeme, & am, whileſt I liue. The Meſſengers would not ſo leaue him, but followed him home to his houſe, where they ſaw his great husbandrie, & thriftines: For they found his wife her ſelfe baking, and he him ſelfe drewe water before them, out of the well, to waſh his feete. But then they were more earneſtly in hand with him than before, and prayed him to take the kings preſent, and were offended with him, ſaying it was a ſhame for *Alexanders* friend to liue ſo miſerably and beggerly as he did. Then *Phocion* ſeeing a poore old
B man goe by, in a threede bare gowne, asked them, whether they thought him worſe then he? No, God forbid, aunſwered they againe. Then replied he againe, he liues with leſſe then I do, and yet is contented, and hath enough. To be ſhort, ſaid he, if I ſhould take this ſumme of money and occupy it not, it is as much as I had it not: on thother ſide, if I occupy it, I ſhall make all the citie ſpeake ill of the king and me both. So this great preſent was ſent backe from ATHENS, whereby he ſhewed the GRÆCIANS, that he was richer that needed not ſuch golde & ſiluer, then he that gaue it him. But when *Alexander* wrote againe vnto *Phocion*, that he did not reckon them his friendes, that would take nothing of him: *Phocion* notwithſtanding would not take the money, but onely requeſted him for his ſake, that he would ſet theſe men at libertie, which were kept priſoners in the citie of SARDIS, for certeine accuſations layde againſt
C them: *Echecratides* the Rhetorician, *Athenodorus* borne in the citie of IMBROS, and two CORINTHIANS, *Demaratus* and *Spartus*. *Alexander* preſently ſet them at libertie, and ſent *Craterus* into MACEDON, commaunding him to giue *Phocion* the choyce of one of theſe foure cities of ASIA, which he liked beſt: CIOS, GERGITHA, MYLASSIS, ELEA: ſending him worde, that he would be much more angrier with him now, if he did refuſe this offer, then he was at the firſt. But *Phocion* would neuer accept any one of them: and *Alexander* ſhortly after dyed. *Phocions* houſe is ſeene yet at this day in the village of MELITA, ſet forth with plates of copper, but otherwiſe very meane, and without curioſitie. For his wiues he maryed, there is no mention made of the firſt, ſauing that *Cephiſodotus* the image grauer was her brother. But for his ſecond wife, ſhe was no leſſe famous at ATHENS, for her honeſtie, and good houſewiuerie: then *Pho-*
D *cion*, for his iuſtice and equitie. And for proofe thereof, it is reported, that the ATHENIANS beeing one daye aſſembled in the Theater, to ſee newe tragedies played, one of the players when he ſhoulde haue comen apon the ſcaffolde, to haue played his parte, asked the ſetter forth of the playes, the apparell of a Queene, and certeine Ladyes to wayte vppon her, bycauſe he was to playe the parte of the Queene. The ſetter forth of the playes denying him, the player went awaye in a rage, and left the people ſtaring one at another, and woulde not come out vpon the ſtage. But *Melanthius* the ſetter forth of the playes, compelling him, brought him by force on the ſtage, and cryed out vnto him: Dooſt thou not ſee *Phocions* wife, that goeth vppe and downe the citie, with one mayde onely wayting on her? and wilt thou playe the foole, and marre the modeſtie of the women of ATHENS? The people hea-
E ring his wordes, filled all the Theater with ioye and clapping of handes. The ſame Ladye, when a certaine gentlewoman of IONIA came to ATHENS to ſee her, and ſhewed her all her riche iewells and precious ſtones ſhe had: ſhe aunſwered her agayne, all my riches and iewells, is my husband *Phocion*, who theſe twenty yeares together, hath continually beene choſen generall for the ATHENIANS. *Phocions* ſonne telling his father on a tyme, that he was deſirous to contend with other younge men for the victorie, who ſhould cunninglieſt leape out, and gette vppe agayne into the charretts or coches, running their full courſe, at the feaſtes Panathenæa at ATHENS: his father was contented he ſhoulde, not that he was deſirous his ſonne ſhoulde haue the honor of the victorie, but bicauſe by this honeſt exerciſe he
F ſhould growe to better manner, for that he was a diſſolute younge man, and much giuen to wine. Yet he wanne the victorie at that tyme, and there were diuers of his fathers friendes, that prayed him to doe them that honour, that they might keepe the feaſt of this victorie in their houſes. *Phocion* denyed them all, but one man, and him he ſuffered to ſhewe his good

Phocions vertue and integrity, refuſing of Alexanders money.

Phocions houſe and wiues.

Phocus, Phocions ſonne, what he was.

will vnto his house, and went thither him selfe to supper to him. Where amongest many fine and superfluous thinges prepared, he found passing bathes of wine and sweete smelling spices to washe the feete of the bydden guestes as they came to the feast: Whereuppon he called his sonne to him, and asked him, howe canst thou abyde *Phocus*, that our friend should thus disgrace thy victorie with excesse? But bicause he would withdrawe his sonne from that licentious life, he brought him to SPARTA, and placed him there amonge younge boyes brought vppe after the LACONIAN discipline. The ATHENIANS were much offended at it, to see that *Phocion* did so much despise his owne contrie manner and facions. Also when *Demades* the Orator one daye sayde vnto *Phocion*: why doe we not perswade the ATHENIANS to liue after the LACONIAN manner? As for me (sayde he) if thou wilt make one to sette it forwarde: I am ready to be the first man to moue the matter. In deede, q. *Phocion*, thou art a meete man to perswade the ATHENIANS to liue LACONIAN like, in common together at their meales, and to prayse *Lycurgus* straight lawe: that art thy selfe commonly so perfumed, and fine in thy apparell. Another tyme when *Alexander* wrote letters vnto ATHENS to sende him some shippes, and that the Orators perswaded them not to graunt him, the people called vppon *Phocion* chiefly to saye his opinion: then *Phocion* tolde them plainely, me thinkes ye must eyther make your selues the strongest in warres, or beeing the weaker, procure to be friendes vnto the stronger. *Pythias*, a newcome Orator, beeing full of tongue, and impudent, would still make one to speake in euery matter: Wherefore *Phocion* sayde vnto him, good goddes, will this noues neuer leaue babling? And when *Harpalus* king *Alexanders* Lieuetenant of the prouince of BABYLON, fledde out of ASIA, and came to ATTICA with a greate summe of golde and siluer: straight these men that solde their tongues to the people for money, flocked about him like a sight of swallowes. And he stucke not to giue euery one of them a peece of money to baste them with: for it was a trifle to him, considering the great summes of money he brought. But to *Phocion* him selfe, he sent vnto him seuen hundred talents, and offered him selfe and all that he had into his handes of trust. But *Phocion* gaue him a sharpe aunswer, and tolde him, that he woulde make him repent it, if he corrupted the citie of ATHENS in that manner. So *Harpalus* beeing amated therewith, left him at that tyme, and went vnto them that had taken money of him. But shortly after, when the ATHENIANS sate in counsell about him, he perceiued that those which had taken his money, were shronke from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should haue excused him, to bleere the world, that men should not suspecte them they had beene corrupted: and that *Phocion* on thother side which had refused his money, hauing respect to the common wealth, had also some regarde to saue his life: he once more attempted all the wayes he could to wynne him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could cary the man. Then *Harpalus* falling in friendshippe with *Charicles* (*Phocions* sonne in lawe) he made him to be ill spoken of, and greatly suspected, bicause men sawe that he trusted him in all thinges, and employed him in all his affayres. As, in committing to his trust the making of a sumptuous tombe for *Pythonicé*, the famous Curtisan that was deade, whom he loued, and by whome he had a Daughter: the taking apon him whereof was no lesse shame vnto *Charicles*, then the finishing thereof was disgrace vnto him. This tombe is seene vnto this daye in a place called Hermium, in the hie waye from ATHENS to ELEVSIN: the workemanshippe thereof being nothing like neare the charge of thirtie talents, which was reported to bee giuen by *Harpalus* vnto *Charicles*, for the finishing of the same. Furthermore, after *Harpalus* death, *Charicles* and *Phocion* tooke his Daughter, and carefully brought her vppe. Afterwardes also, *Charicles* beeing accused for the money he had taken of *Harpalus*, he besought his father in lawe *Phocion*, to helpe to ease him in his iudgement. But *Phocion* flatly denyed him, and sayde: *Charicles*, I tooke thee for my sonne in lawe, in all honest and iust causes onely. Furthermore, when *Asclepiades*, the sonne of *Hipparchus*, brought the first newes of the deathe of Kinge *Alexander*, *Demades* the Orator woulde not beleeue him: for, sayde he, if it were true, all the earthe woulde smell of the sauour of his corse. *Phocion* then perceyuing the people beganne to bee highe minded, and sought innouacion: he went about to brydle and pacifie them. But when many of the Orators gotte vppe to

Phocion despiseth Harpalus money.

Phocion refused to defend his sonne in law in an ill cause.

A to the pulpitte for orations, and cryed out, that *Aſclepiades* newes were true of *Alexanders* deathe: well then, q. *Phocion*, if it bee true to daye, it ſhall be true alſo to morrowe, and the next day after. And therefore my Maiſters, bee not too haſty, but thinke of it at better leyſure, and ſette your affayres at a ſure ſtaye. When *Leoſthenes* alſo by his practiſe had brought the citie of ATHENS into the warre called the GREEKES warre, and in skorne asked *Phocion*, that was offended at it, what good he had done to the common wealth ſo many yeares together as he had beene Generall ouer the ATHENIANS: *Phocion* aunſwered him, no ſmall good, ſayde he, for all my contrye men haue beene buryed at home in their owne graues. Another tyme *Leoſthenes* ſpeaking prowdely and inſolently to the people, *Phocion* one daye ſayde vnto him: younge man my friende, thy wordes are
B lyke to a Cypres tree, which is highe and greate, but beareth no frute. Then *Hyperides* riſing vppe, asked *Phocion*: when wilt thou then counſell the ATHENIANS to make warre? when I ſhall ſee younge men, ſayde he, not forſake their rancks, riche men liberall, and Orators leaue to robbe the common wealth. When the ATHENIANS wondred to ſee ſuche a goodly greate armie as *Leoſthenes* had leauied: and that they asked *Phocion* howe he lyked it: A goodly armie, q. he, for a furlonge, but I feare their returne, and the continuance of this warre: for I doe not ſee the citie able to make any more money, nor moe ſhippes, neyther yet any moe ſouldiers than theſe. The which proued true, as it fell out afterwardes: For at the firſt, *Leoſthenes* did notable exployts. He ouercame the BOEOTIANS in battell, and draue *Antipater* into the citie of LAMIA: the which did put the ATHENIANS in ſuche a hope and
C iolitie, that they made continuall feaſtes and ſacrifices through the citie, to thanke the gods for theſe good newes. And there were ſome amonge them, that to take *Phocion* in a trippe, asked him if he did not wiſh that he had done all thoſe things? yes in deede, aunſwered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not haue giuen the counſel to haue done them. Another tyme alſo when letters came, dayly, one after an other, bringing good newes, good gods, ſayde he, when ſhall we leaue to ouercome. When *Leoſthenes* was deade in this voyage, they that feared *Phocion* ſhoulde bee appoynted Captayne in his place, and that he woulde pacifie the warre: did thruſt in a man of meane hauior, and vnknowen, that ſayde in the aſſemblie, he was *Phocions* friende and ſchoolefellowe, and therefore beſought the people that they woulde ſpare *Phocion*, bicauſe they had not ſuche another man as he, and that they
D woulde make *Antiphilus* Generall of their armie. The people were contented withall. But then *Phocion* ſtoode vppe, and ſayde, that this man was neuer ſcholler with him, neyther did he euer knowe him before that tyme: but nowe ſayde he, from henceforth I will take thee for my friende, for thou haſt giuen the people the beſt counſell for me. The people notwithſtanding determining to make warre with the BOEOTIANS, *Phocion* ſpake agaynſt it all he coulde. Thereuppon, his friendes bidding him beware of ſuche ſpeeches, howe he did offende the people, leaſt they killed him: he aunſwered them, they ſhall wrongefully put me to death, q. he, ſpeaking for the benefitte of my contrye, but otherwiſe they ſhall haue reaſon to doe it, if I ſpeake to the contrarye. But when he ſawe nothing woulde pacifie them, and that they went on ſtill with their intent: then he commaunded the Herawlde
E to proclayme by ſownde of trompet, that all Citizens from fourteene yeares to three ſcore, able to cary weapon, ſhould preſently vppon breaking vp of thaſſembly, arme them ſelues, and followe him with fiue dayes prouiſion for vittells. Then was there greate ſturre amonge them in the citie, and the olde men came and complayned vnto him, for his ouer ſtraight commaundement. He tolde them agayne, I doe you no wronge: for I am foure skore my ſelfe, and yet will goe with you. By this meanes he pacified them at that tyme, and quenched their fond deſire of warre. But when all the ſea coaſt was full of ſouldiers, both of the MACEDONIANS, and other ſtraungers which were ledde by *Micion* their Captaine, that landed in the territorie of the village RHAMNVS, and ſpoyled the contry thereaboutes: then *Phocion* ledde the ATHENIANS thither. But when he was there, diuers taking vpon them the
F office of a Lieuetenant, and going about to counſell him, ſome to lodge his campe vpon ſuch a hill, and others to ſend his horſemen to ſuch a place, and others to campe here: O *Hercules*, q. he, how many Captaines doe I ſee, and how fewe ſouldiers? Afterwardes when he had ſet

his footemen in battell raye, there was one amonge them that left his rancke, and ſtepped A
out before them all. Thereuppon one of his enemies alſo made towardes him, to fight with
him: but the ATHENIANS hart failed him, and he went backe againe to his place. Then ſayd
Phocion vnto him: art thou not aſhamed young lowte to haue forſaken thy rancke twiſe? the
one, where thy Captaine had placed thee, and the other in the which thou haddeſt placed thy
ſelfe? So *Phocion* giuing charge apon the enemies, he ouerthrew them, and ſlue *Micion* their
Phocions victory of the Macedonians Captaine, with diuers others. Furthermore, the armie of the GRÆCIANS being at that time
in THESSALY, wanne a battell againſt *Antipater*, and *Leonatus*, that ioyned with him with the
MACEDONIANS which he had brought out of ASIA: where *Leonatus* was ſlaine in the field,
Antiphilus beeing generall of the footemen, and *Menon* THESSALIAN, Colonell of the horſe-
The Græcians ouercome by Antipater. men. Shortly after, *Craterus* comming out of ASIA into EVROPE with a great armie, they B
fought a battell by the citie of CRANON, where the GRÆCIANS were ouerthrowen: yet was
not the ouerthrowe nor ſlaughter greate, although it came through the diſobedience of the
ſouldiers to their Captaines, which were but young men, and vſed them ouer gently. More-
uer, when *Antipater* practiſed to make their cities reuolt, they betrayed them, and ſhamefully
forſooke to defend their common libertie: Whereuppon *Antipater* marched forthwith with
his armie, to the citie of ATHENS. *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* vnderſtanding that, forſooke the
citie. Then *Demades*, that was in diſgrace and defamed for lacke of payment of ſuch fynes as
were ſet vpon his head (being ſeuen ſeuerall times condemned, bicauſe he had ſo many tymes
moued matters contrary to the law) and could not therefore be ſuffered any more to ſpeake in
the aſſembly, was then diſpenſed withall, and licenſed to ſpeake: whereuppon he moued the C
people to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto *Antipater*, with full commiſſion & authoritie to treate with
him of peace. The people fearing to put to any mans truſt this abſolute authoritie to treate of
peace: they called for *Phocion*, ſaying, that he onely was to be truſted with the ambaſſade. Then
Phocion aunſwered them: if you had beleeued my former counſells I alwaies gaue you, ſuch
weighty matters ſhould not now haue troubled you at all. So the decree being confirmed by
Phocion Ambaſſador vnto Antipater. the people, *Phocion* was ſent Ambaſſador vnto *Antipater*, that laye then in the caſtell of Cad-
mea, being ready at that time to inuade the contrye of ATTICA. *Phocion* firſt requeſted him,
that before he remoued from thence, he would make peace with the ATHENIANS. *Craterus*
preſently aunſwered him: *Phocion*, thy requeſt is vnreaſonable, that lying here we ſhould eate
out our friendes, and deſtroy their contry: when we may liue of our enemies, and enriche our D
ſelues with their ſpoyle. But *Antipater* taking *Craterus* by the hand, tolde him: we muſt needes
doe *Phocion* this pleaſure. And for the reſt, touching the capitulacions of peace, he willed that
the ATHENIANS ſhould ſend them a blancke, and referre the condicions of peace vnto them:
like as he him ſelfe being beſeeged in the citie of LAMIA, had referred all capitulacions and ar-
ticles of peace, vnto the diſcreſſion of *Leoſthenes* their generall. So when *Phocion* was come
backe to ATHENS, the ATHENIANS ſeeing there was no remedie, were compelled to be con-
tented with ſuch offer of peace, as the enemie made them. Then *Phocion* was ſent back againe
to *Antipater* at THEBES, with other Ambaſſadors ioyned in commiſſion with him: amongeſt
Xenocrates authoritie. whom alſo, was that famous Philoſopher *Xenocrates*. The eſtimation of his vertue was ſo great
with all men, that it was thought there was no liuing man ſo prowd, cruel, diſdainful, nor haſty E
of nature, but that the onely looke of *Xenocrates* would ſoften and qualifie him, and make him
Xenocrates deſpiſed of Antipater. to reuerence him. But yet with *Antipater* it fell out contrary, by his peruerſe nature, which ha-
ted all vertue: for he imbraced all the reſt, & would not once ſalute *Xenocrates*. Whereuppon,
ſome ſay, that *Xenocrates* ſaid then: *Antipater* doth well to be aſhamed, to ſee me a witnes of
the diſcurteſie and euill he meaneth vnto the ATHENIANS. So when *Xenocrates* beganne to
ſpeake, *Antipater* would not abide to heare him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in
the ende commaunded him to holde his peace. When *Phocion* had ſpoken, *Antipater* aunſwe-
red them: that he would make peace with the ATHENIANS, ſo they deliuered him *Demoſthenes*
and *Hyperides*: that they ſhould keepe their auncient lawes and gouernment, that they ſhould
receiue a garriſon into the hauen of Munychia, that they ſhould defray the charges of this F
warre, and alſo paye a raunſome beſides. All the other Ambaſſadors but *Xenocrates*, willing-
ly accepted theſe condicions of peace, as very reaſonable and fauourable: but he ſayde,

that

A that for ſlaues, *Antipater* did handle them fauorably: but for free men, he delt too hardly with them. Then *Phocion* beſought him that he would yet releaſe them of their garriſon. But *Antipater* (as it is ſayde) aunſwered him: *Phocion*, we would gladly graunt thee any thing, ſauing that which ſhould vndoe thee, and vs both. Some other write notwithſtanding, that *Antipater* ſayd not ſo, but asked him, if he would become ſuertie for the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould attempt no alteracion, but faithfully keepe the articles and conditions of this peace, if he did releaſe them of this garriſon. *Phocion* then holding his peace, & delaying aunſwer, there was one *Callimedon* ſurnamed *Carabos*, (a bolde man, and hated the libertie of the people) that brake forth in theſe words: if *Phocion* were ſo fond to giue his word for the ATHENIANS, wouldeſt thou, *Antipater*, beleue him therefore, and leaue to doe that thou haſt determined? Thus
B were the ATHENIANS driuē to receiue the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS, of the which *Menyllus* was captaine, an honeſt man, and *Phocions* friend. This commaundement to receiue the garriſon within the hauen of Munichya, was found very ſtately, and done by *Antipater*, rather of a vaine glory to boaſt of his power: then for any profit could otherwiſe come of it. For not long after, on that day when he tooke poſſeſſion of the caſtell, he further increaſed their griefe: bicauſe the garriſon entred the twenty day of Bœdromion (to wit, the moneth of Auguſt) on the which the feaſt day of their miſteries was celebrated, at what time they make their proceſſion called Iacchus, from the citie of ATHENS, vnto ELEVSIN. Therefore the ſolemnitie of this holy feaſt beeing thus confuſed, many beganne to conſider, that in olde tyme when their Realme did flouriſhe, there were heard and ſeene voyces and images of the goddes on that
C day, which made the enemies both afraid, and amazed: and nowe in contrary manner, in the very ſelfe ſame ſolemnitie of the gods, they ſawe the greateſt calamitie that could haue happened vnto GRÆCE. And the holieſt feaſt which was kept all the yere through before, became then too prophaned with the title of the greateſt misfortune and euent, that euer happened vnto the GRÆCIANS, which was, the loſſe of their libertie. For not many yeares before, there was brought an oracle from DODONE vnto ATHENS: that they ſhoulde looke well to the rockes of *Diana*, that ſtraungers ſhoulde not poſſeſſe them. And about that tyme alſo, the couerings with the which they doe adorne the holy beddes of the myſteries, beeing wette with water, became from a purple culler which they had before, to looke yellowe and pale, as it had beene the couering of a deade bodie. Yea, and that which was moſte to bee won-
D dered at of all other, was this: that taking other couerings which were not holy, and putting them in the ſame water, they did without chaunging keepe their culler they had before. When one of the Miniſters of the temple alſo did waſhe a litle pygge in the ſea, in a cleane place by the wharfe: there ſodainely came a greate fiſhe that bytte at it, and caryed the hinder partes of the pygge cleane awaye with it. Whereby men coniectured that the goddes did ſignifie vnto them, that they ſhould loſe the loweſt parte of their citie neareſt to the ſea, and ſhould keepe the higheſt partes thereof. This notwithſtanding, the garriſon did not offend nor trouble the ATHENIANS, bicauſe of the honeſtie of their Captaine *Menyllus*. Now there were aboue twelue thowſand Citizens, that for their pouertie loſt the benefit of their freedome: of the which, parte of them remayned at ATHENS, vnto whome it ſeemed they
E offered great wronge and iniurie: and parte of them alſo went into THRACIA, where *Antipater* aſſigned them townes and landes to inhabite. They ſeemed to be men like vnto them that had beene taken by aſſaulte, or by ſeege within a citie, which had beene compelled to forſake their contrie. Furthermore, the ſhamefull death of *Demoſthenes* in the Ile of CALAVRIA, and of HYPERIDES, by the citie of CLEONES, (whereof we haue written heretofore) were almoſt occaſion giuen them to lament the tymes of the raigne of king *Philip* and *Alexander*. As it is reported, that when *Antigonus* was ſlayne, they that had ouercomen him, were ſo cruell vnto their ſubiectes: that a laborer in the contrie of PHRYGIA digging the earthe, beeing asked what he ſought for, aunſwered, ſighing: I ſeeke for *Antigonus*. Then many men beganne to ſay as much, when they remembred the noble mindes of thoſe
F two great Princes, howe mercifull they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their diſpleaſure: not like *Antipater*, who craftily cloked his tyrannicall power which he vſurped, by beeing famillier, going ſimplely apparelled, and faring meanely: and yet ſhowed him

Preſages of the miſeries of the Athenians.

The crueltie of Antipater.

...e notwithstanding a more cruell Lorde and tyrant vnto them whome he had ouercome. A
Nettertheles, *Phocion* obtayned of him the restoring agayne of diuers men, whome he had
banished: and those whome he coulde not gette to bee restored, yet he procured that they
shoulde not be banished into so farre contries, as others which had beene sent beyonde the
Mountaines Acroceraunians, and the head of Tænarus out of GRÆCE, but that they had
libertie to remayne within the contrie of PELOPONNESVS: amonge the which, was one *Agnonides* a Sycophant, and false accuser. Furthermore, he gouerned them that remayned in
ATHENS with great iustice and lenitie, and such as he knewe to be good men and quiet, them
he alwayes preferred to some office: but such as he sawe were fantastyke people, and desirous of chaunge, he kept them from office, and tooke all occasion from them, so that they
vanished awaye of them selues, and learned in tyme to loue the contrye, and to followe til- B
lage. When he sawe *Xenocrates* also paye a certeine pension or tribute to the common
wealth, which all straungers dwelling in ATHENS did vse yearely to paye: he woulde haue
made him a free man, and offered to put his name amongest the number of free Citizens.
But *Xenocrates* refused it, saying, he woulde haue no parte of that freedome, for the hinderance whereof, he had beene sent Ambassador. And when *Menyllus* had sent *Phocion*
money, he made him aunswer: that *Menyllus* was no greater Lorde then *Alexander*
had beene, neyther had he at that tyme any greater occasion to receyue his present, then
when he had refused King *Alexanders* gyfte. *Menyllus* replying agayne, sayde: that if he
had no neede of it for him selfe, yet he might let his sonne *Phocus* haue it. But *Phocion* aun- C
swered: if my sonne *Phocus* will leaue his naughtye lyfe, and become an honest man, that
which I will leaue him, shall serue his turne very well: but if it bee so that he will still holde
on the course he hath taken, there is no riches then that can suffice him. An other tyme also he aunswered *Antipater* more rowndely, when he woulde haue had him done an vnhoneste thinge: *Antipater*, sayde he, can not haue me his friende, and flatterer both. *Antipater* selfe was wont to saye, that he had two friendes in ATHENS, *Phocion* and *Demades*:
of the which, he coulde neuer make the one to take any thinge of him, and the other, he
coulde neuer satisfie him. And truely *Phocions* pouertye was a greate glorye of his vertue,
sythe he was growen olde, continuing in the same, after he had beene so many tymes gene-
rall of the ATHENIANS, and had receyued suche friendshippe and curtesie, of so many
Kinges and Princes. Where *Demades* to the contrarye delighted to shewe his riches in D
thinges that were contrarye to the lawes of the citie. For, a decree beeing made at ATHENS,
commaunding that no straunger, vppon forfeyture of a thowsand Drachmas to bee payed
by the defrayer of the daunces to the citie, shoulde bee any of the Dauncers that daunced
at any common playes or sportes: *Demades* one daye making certeyne games and sportes
at his owne charges, brought a hundred Dauncers of straungers at one tyme, and with-
all, brought also a hundred thowsand Drachmas to paye the forfeyture thereof. Another
tyme when he maryed his sonne *Demas*, he sayde vnto him: sonne, when I maryed thy
mother, there was so small roste, that my next neyghbour knewe not of it: where nowe at
thy maryage, Kinges and Princes are at the charge of the feaste. Furthermore, when the
ATHENIANS were importunate with *Phocion* to goe to *Antipater*, to intreate him to take E
his garrison out of their citie: he still refused the ambassade, eyther bycause he had no hope
to obtayne it, or for that he sawe the people more obedient vnto reason, for feare of the
garrison. Howebeit he obtayned of *Antipater*, that he shoulde not bee too hastye in de-
maundinge of his money, but shoulde deferre it tyll a further tyme. So the ATHENIANS
perceiuing they could doe no good with *Phocion*, they intreated *Demades*, who willingly tooke
the matter vpon him, and went with his sonne into MACEDON, whether doubtles his destinie
caried him to his vtter destruction, euen at that very time when *Antipater* was fallen sicke of a
dissease whereof he dyed: Whereby the affayres of the Realme went through the handes of
Cassander his sonne, who had intercepted a letter of this *Demades*, which he had sent vnto *Antigonus* in ASIA, willing him to come in all possible speede to winne GRÆCE and MACEDON, F
which hong but of an old rottē threde, mocking *Antipater* in this maner. Wherfore *Cassander*
being aduertised of his arriual, he made him presently to be apprehended, & setting his sonne

Phocion refuseth Menyllus gyftes.

Phocion loued pouertie. The insolencie of Demades the Orator

Cassander king Antipaters sonne.

hard

A hard by him, ſlue him before his father, ſo neere him, that the blood of his ſonne ſprang vpon him: ſo that the father was all bloodied with the murther of his ſonne. Then *Caſſander* caſting in *Demades* teeth his ingratitude, and trecherous treaſon againſt his father, geuing him all the reproachfull words he could deuiſe: at the length he ſlue him with his owne hands. Now *Antipater* before his death, had eſtabliſhed *Polyperchon* General of the armie of the MACEDONIANS, & *Caſſander* his ſonne, only Colonell of a thowſand footemen. He notwithſtanding, after his fathers deceaſe, taking vpon him the gouernment of the realme: ſent *Nicanor* with ſpeede to ſucceede *Menillus* in the Captaineſhip of the garriſon of ATHENS, before his death ſhould be reuealed, commaunding him firſt in any caſe, to take the caſtell of Munychia, which he did. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS vnderſtanding of the death of *Antipater*, they accuſed B *Phocion*, for that he had knowen of his death long before, and yet kept it ſecret to pleaſe *Nicanor*. But *Phocion* regarded not this accuſation, but fell in acquaintance notwithſtanding with *Nicanor*: whom he handled ſo wiſely, that he made him not only frēdly vnto the ATHENIANS, but furthermore perſwaded him to be at ſome charge to geue the people the paſtime of common playes, which he made to be done at his coſt. In the meane time, *Polyperchon*, who had the gouernment of the kings perſon, meaning to geue *Caſſander* a ſlampant and blurt, he ſent letters pattentes vnto the people at ATHENS, declaring how the young king did reſtore vnto them their popular ſtate againe, and commaunded that all the ATHENIANS ſhould vſe their former auncient lawes of their citie. This was a wile & craftie fetche againſt *Phocion*. For *Polyperchon* deuiſing this practiſe to get the city of ATHENS into his hands (as it fel out afterwards C by proofe) had no hope to obtaine his purpoſe, vnles he found meanes firſt to baniſh *Phocion*: and thought that he ſhoulde eaſily bring that to paſſe, when ſuche as had before bene put of their freedom, by his meanes, ſhould come againe to haue voyces in thaſſembly, and that the ſeditious Orators and accuſers might be turned at liberty againe, to ſay what they would. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the contentes of theſe letters pattentes, beganne to be ſomewhat quickened, and moued withall: whereupon *Nicanor* deſiring to ſpeake with the ATHENIANS in their Senate, which was aſſembled in the hauen of Piræa: he went and hazarded his perſon amongeſt them, apon *Phocions* faith and word. *Dercyllus* Captaine for the king, being ſecretly aduertiſed thereof, and in the field, not farre from the citie, did what he could to take *Nicanor*: but *Nicanor* hauing warning of it in time, ſaued him ſelfe. Then it appeared, that *Ni*- D *canor* would preſently be reuenged of the citie, and they accuſed *Phocion* bicauſe he kept him not, but did let him goe. Whereunto he aunſwered: that he truſted *Nicanors* word, and that he did not thinke he would offer the citie any hurt, but if it ſhould fall out otherwiſe, he had rather the world ſhould know, that he had the wrong offred him, then that he ſhould offer any. This truely appeared to be nobly ſpoken, in reſpect of him ſelfe. But conſidering that he being then Generall, did thereby hazard the ſafety of his contrie: I can not tell whether he did not breake a greater faith which he ought to haue had, to the ſafetie of his contriemen. Neither coulde he alſo alleage for his excuſe, that he did not laye handes on *Nicanor*, for feare to bring the city into manifeſt warre: but that for a colour he did preferre the faith which he had ſworne and promiſed vnto him, and the iuſtice that he would obſerue in his behalfe: that for E his ſake, *Nicanor* ſhould afterwards keepe him ſelfe in peace, and doe no hurte to the ATHENIANS. Howbeit in troth it ſeemed, that nothing deceiued *Phocion*: but by the ouer truſt he had in this *Nicanor*. The which ſeemeth to be ſo, bicauſe when diuers came to him to complaine of *Nicanor*, that he ſought all the ſecret meanes he coulde to ſurpriſe the hauen of Piræa, and that he dayly paſſed ouer ſouldiers in the Ile of SALAMINA, and practiſed to bribe certaine of the inhabitants within the precinct of the hauen: he would neuer heare of it, and muche leſſe beleue it. Furthermore, when *Philomedes* LAMPRIAN made a motion, that the ATHENIANS ſhould prepare to be in readines to waite apon their Captaine *Phocion*, to do as he commaunded them: he made no account of it, vntill he ſaw *Nicanor* come out with his ſouldiers from the fort of Munychia, and that he beganne to caſt trenches to compaſſe in the ha- F uen of Piræa. But then, when *Phocion* thought to lead out the people to preuent him: he foūd they mutined againſt him, and no man would obey his commaundement. In the meane time, *Alexander* the ſonne of *Polyperchon* came with an armie, pretending to aide them of the citie

The vnfortunate end of Demades.

Polyperchon Generall of the armie of the Macedonians.

Polyperchons conſpiracie againſt Phocion.

Better to receiue then to offer an iniury.

Alexander, the ſonne of Polyperchon, practiſeth treaſon againſt the Athenians.

againſt *Nicanor*, where in deede he ment (if he could) to get the reſt of the city into his hands, then ſpecially, when they were in greateſt bralle one againſt an other, and the rather, bicauſe the baniſhed men entred hand ouer head with him, and diuers ſtraungers alſo, and other defamed men: ſo that there was a confuſed counſel and aſſembly of Omnigatherum kept within the citie, without any order, in the which *Phocion* was depriued of his office of Generall, and others were alſo choſen Captaines in his place. And had they not ſeene this *Alexander* talking alone with *Nicanor*, and returning many times hard to the walles of the citie, which made the ATHENIANS affrayed and miſtruſtfull: they had neuer ſaued it from taking. At that time *Phocion* was preſently accuſed of treaſon by the Orator *Agnonides*: the which *Callimedon* and *Pericles* fearing, got them out of the citie betimes. And *Phocion* alſo with his frends that were not fled, went vnto *Polyperchon*: with whom alſo *Solon* PLATÆIAN, and *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN, went for company, who thought to haue found frendſhippe and familiarity with *Polyperchon*. Howbeit *Dinarchus* falling ſicke by the way, in the citie of ELATIA, they ſtayed there many dayes, hoping of his recouerie. But in the meane time, the people at the perſwaſion of the Orator *Agnonides*, and at the requeſt of *Archeſtratus*, ſtabliſhed a decree, to ſende Ambaſſadors vnto *Polyperchon*, to accuſe *Phocion*: inſomuch as both parties met at one ſelfe time, and found him in the field with the king about a village of the contrie of PHOCIDE, called PHARYGES, ſtanding at the foote of the mountaine Acrorion, which they ſurname alſo Galaten. There *Polyperchon* commaunded a cloth of gold to be ſet vp, and cauſed the king to be ſet vnder the ſame, and all his chiefeſt frendes about him. But to beginne withall, he made *Dinarchus* to be taken, and commaunded them to put him to death after they had racked him: then he willed the ATHENIANS to tell what they had to ſay. Then they beganne to quarrell, and to be lowde one with an other, accuſing one an other in the preſence of the king and his counſell: vntill *Agnonides* at length ſtepped forth, and ſayd: my Lordes of MACEDON, put vs all in priſon, and then ſend vs bound handes and feete to ATHENS, to geue accompt of our doinges. The king laughed to heare him ſay ſo. But the noble men of MACEDON that were preſent then, and diuers ſtraungers beſides to heare their complaints: made ſigne to the Ambaſſadors to vtter their accuſations before the king, rather then to referre them to the hearing of the people at ATHENS. Howbeit both parties had not alike indifferent hearing: for *Polyperchon* checked vp *Phocion* oftentimes, and did ſtill cut of his tale, as he thought to purge him ſelfe: inſomuch as in anger, he bet his ſtaffe he had in his hand againſt the ground, and commaunded him at length to hold his peace, & to get him thence. And when *Hegemon* alſo told *Polyperchon*, that he him ſelfe could beſt witneſſe, howe *Phocion* had alwayes faithfully ſerued and loued the people: he angrily aunſwered him, come not hether to lye falſely vpon me, in the preſence of the king. Therewith the king roſe out of his ſeate, and tooke a ſpeare in his hand, thinking to haue killed *Hegemon*: had not *Polyperchon* ſodainly embraced him behinde, and ſtayed him. So the counſell roſe, and brake vp, but preſently *Phocion* was apprehended, and they that ſtoode by him. Certaine of his frends ſeeing that, which ſtoode further of, muffeled their faces, and ſtraight conueyed them ſelues away. The reſt were ſent priſoners to ATHENS by *Clitus*, not ſo muche to haue their cauſes heard there, as to haue them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carying of them to ATHENS was ſhamefull. For they were caried vpon cartes through the great ſtreete Ceramicum, vnto the Theater: where *Clitus* kept them, vntill the Senate had aſſembled the people, excepting no bondman, no ſtraunger, nor defamed perſon out of this aſſemblie, but left the Theater wide open to all comers in whatſoeuer they were, and the pulpit for Orations free for euerie man that would ſpeake againſt them. So firſt of all, the kings letters were read openly, by the which he did aduertiſe the people, that he had found theſe offendors conuicted of treaſon: notwithſtanding, that he referred the ſentence of their condemnation vnto them, for that they were free men. Then *Clitus* brought his priſoners before the people, where the noble men when they ſaw *Phocion*, were aſhamed, and hiding their faces, wept to ſee him. Howbeit, there was one that roſe vp, and ſayd: my Lordes ſith the king referreth the iudgement of ſo great perſons vnto the people, it were great reaſon all the bondmen and ſtraungers which are no free citizens of ATHENS, ſhould be taken out of this aſſembly. The people would not agree to it, but cried

Phocion accuſed of treaſon.

Polyperchon did put Dinarchus to death.

Phocion ſent priſoner to Athens to be condemned.

A cried out, that ſuch traitors ſhould be ſtoned to death, that fauor the authoritie of a few, and are enemies of the people: whereupon ſilence was made, and no man durſt ſpeake any more for *Phocion*. Neuertheleſſe when *Phocion* with muche a doe had obteyned audience, he asked them: my Lords, will ye iuſtly, or wrongfully put vs to death? Some aunſwered him: iuſtly. Howe then can ye doe it, q he, that will not heare our iuſtifications? Yet coulde they not be heard for all this. Then *Phocion* comming neerer, ſayd vnto them. For my ſelfe, my Lordes, I confeſſe I haue done you wrong, & haue in gouernment committed faults deſeruing death: but for theſe priſoners with me, what haue they done, why you ſhoulde put them to death? The common people aunſwered him: bicauſe they are thy frends. With this aunſwere *Phocion* departed, and ſpake neuer a word more. Then the Orator *Agnonides* holding a decree in B his hand ready wrytten, red it openly to the people, declaring how they ſhould be iudged by voyces, whether the offendors had deſerued death or not: and if it were found they had, then that they ſhould all be put to death. And there were that when this decree was red, cried out, that they ſhould adde further vnto the decree, that before *Phocion* ſhould be put to death, they ſhould firſt torment him: & therewithall commaundement was geuen that the wheele ſhould be ſette vp to breake his ioints apon it, and alſo that the hangman ſhould be ſent for. But then *Agnonides* perceiuing that *Clitus* was offended with it, and thinking beſides it were too beaſtly and barbarous a parte to vſe him in that ſorte, he ſayd openly: my Lordes, when you ſhall haue ſuch a varlet in your handes as *Callimedon*, then you may caſt him on the wheele: but againſt *Phocion*, I would not wiſh ſuch cruelty. Then roſe vp a noble man among them, and ad- C ded to his words: thou haſt reaſon to ſay ſo, *Agnonides*: for if *Phocion* ſhould be layed on the wheele, what ſhould we then doe with thee? The decree being confirmed, according to the contents thereof, iudgement was geuen by voyces of the people, no man ſitting but all ſtanding vp, and moſt of them with garlandes on their heades, for the ioy they had to condemne theſe priſoners to death. With *Phocion* there were condemned, *Nicocles*, *Thudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Pythocles*: but *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Callimedon*, and *Charicles*, were alſo in their abſence condemned to dye. Now when the aſſembly was broken vp, and that the perſons condemned were caried backe to priſon, from thence to be conueyed to execution: others imbracing their frends, and taking their laſt leaue of them as they went, wept, and lamented their curſed fortune. But *Phcion* looking as cheerefully of it as he was wont to doe being Generall, when D they honorably waited on him to his houſe, from the aſſembly: he made many of them pitie him in their harts, to conſider his conſtancie, and noble corage. On thother ſide alſo, there were many of his enemies that came as neere vnto him as they could, to reuile him, amongſt whom there was one that ſtepped before him, and did ſpit in his face. Then *Phocion* turning him vnto the Magiſtrates, ſayd: will you not cauſe this impudent fellow to leaue his rayling? When they were in priſon, *Thudippus* ſeeing the hemlocke which they brayed in a morter to geue them to drinke: he beganne deſperatly to curſe and banne, ſaying, that they wrongfully put him to death with *Phocion*. Why, ſayd *Phocion* againe: and dooſt thou not rather reioyce to dye with me? When one that ſtoode by asked *Phocion*, if he would any thing to his ſonne *Phocus*: yes, q he, that I will: bid him neuer reuenge the wrong the ATHENIANS do me. Then E *Nicocles* one of *Phocions* deareſt frendes, prayed him to let him drinke the poyſon before him. *Phocion* aunſwered him, thy requeſt is grieuous to me, *Nicocles*: but bicauſe I neuer denyed thee any thing in my life, I wil alſo graunt thee this at my death. When al the reſt had dronke, there was no more poyſon left, and the hangman ſayd he would make no more vnleſſe they gaue him twelue Drachmas, for ſo much the pound did coſt him. *Phocion* perceiuing thē that the hangman delayed time, he called one of his frends vnto him, and prayed him to geue the hangman that litle money he demaunded, ſith a man can not dye at ATHENS for nothing, without coſt. It was the nineteenth day of the moneth of Munichion, (to wit, Marche) on which day the Knights were wont to make a ſolemne proceſſion in the honor of *Iupiter*: how- F beit ſome of them left of the garlandes of flowers which they ſhoulde haue worne on their heades, and others alſo looking towards the priſon dore as they went by, burſt out a weeping. For, they whoſe harts were not altogether hardned with crueltie, & whoſe iudgements were not wholly ſuppreſſed with enuie, thought it a grieuous ſacriledge againſt the goddes, that

The furie of the Athenians againſt Phocion.

The crueltie of the Athenians vnto Phocion.

Phocion condemned to death.

The conſtancy and corage of Phocion, being condemned to dye.

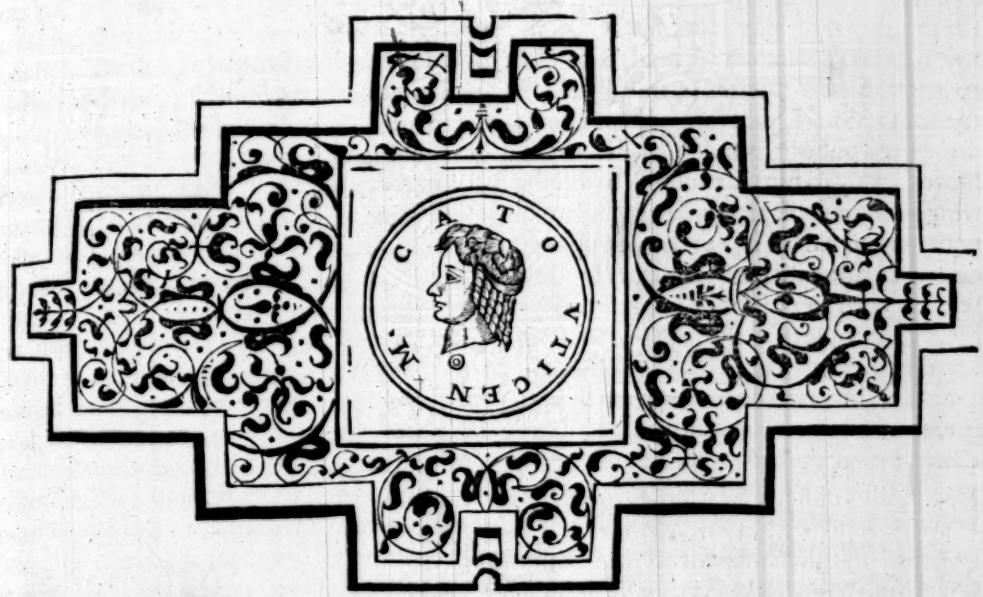
Phocion geue money to be put to death.

they did not let that day passe, but that they did defile so solemne a feast, with the violēt death of a man. His enemies notwithstanding, continuing still their anger against him, made the people passe a decree, that his bodie should be banished, and caried out of the bondes of the contry of ATTICA, forbidding the ATHENIANS that no fire should be made for the solemnising of his funeralls. For this respect no frend of his durst once touch his body. Howebeit a poore man called *Conopion*, that was wont to get his liuing that way, being hyered for money to burne mens bodies: he tooke his corse, and caried it beyond the city of ELEVSIN, and getting fire out of a womans house of MEGARA, he solemnised his funeralls. Furthermore, there was a gentlewoman of MEGARA, who comming by chaunce that way, with her gentlewomen, where his body was but newly burnt: she caused the earth to be cast vp a litle where the body was burnt, and made it like to a hollow tombe, whereupon she did vse such sprincklings and effusions, as are commonly done at the funeralls of the dead: & then taking vp his bones in her lappe in the night, she brought them home, and buried them in her harth, saying: O deare harth, to thee I bequeath the relikes of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keepe them faithfully, to bring them one day to the graue of his auncesters, when the ATHENIANS shall come to confesse the fault & wrong they haue done vnto him. And truly it was not long after, that the ATHENIANS found by the vntowardnes of their affaires, that they had put him to death, who only maintained iustice, and honesty at ATHENS. Whereupon they made his image to be set vp in brasse, and gaue honorable buriall to his bones, at the charges of the citie. And for his accusers, they condemned *Agnonides* of treason, and put him to death themselues. The other two, *Epicurus* and *Demophilus* being fled out of the citie, were afterwardes met with by his sonne *Phocus*, who was reuenged of them. This *Phocus* as men reporte, was otherwise no great good man, who fancying a young maide which a bawde kept, comming by chaunce one day into the schoole of Lycæum, he heard *Theodorus* the Atheist (to wit, that beleued not there were any goddes) make this argument. If it be no shame, sayd he, to deliuer a mans frend from bondage, no more shame is it to redeeme his leman which he loueth: euen so it is all one to redeeme a mans leman, as his frende. This young man taking this argument to serue his turne, beleuinge that he might lawefully doe it, got the young maide he loued from the bawde. Furthermore, this death of *Phocion* did also reuiue the lamentable death of *Socrates* vnto the GRÆCIANS: for men thought that it was a like hainous offence and calamitie vnto the citie of ATHENS.

Phocions funeralls.

The end of Phocions life.

THE LIFE OF
Cato Vtican.



THe family and houſe of *Cato*, tooke his firſt glorie and name of his great grandfather, *Cato* the Cenſor: who for his vertue (as we haue declared in his life) was one of the famouſeſt and worthieſt men of ROME in his time. This *Cato* whom we nowe wryte of, was left an orphan by his father and mother, with his brother *Cæpio*, and *Porcia* his ſiſter. *Seruilia* was alſo *Catoes* halfe ſiſter, by his mothers ſide. All theſe were brought vp with their vncle *Liuius Druſus*, at that time the greateſt man of the citie: for he was paſſing eloquent, and verie honeſt, and of as great a corage beſides, as any other ROMANE. Men report, that *Cato* from his childhood ſhewed him ſelfe both in word and countenaunce, and alſo in all his paſtimes and recreacions, verie conſtant, and ſtable. For he would goe through with that he tooke apon him to doe, and would force him ſelfe aboue his ſtrength: and as he could not away with flatterers, ſo was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh, and yet had euer a pleaſaunt countenance. He was not chollerike, nor eaſie to be angerd: but when the blood was vp, he was hardly pacified. When he was firſt put to ſchoole, he was very dull of vnderſtanding, and ſlow to learne: but when he had once learned it, he would neuer forget it, as all men elſe commonly doe. For ſuch as are quicke of conceite, haue commonly the worſt memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learne, doe keepe that better which they haue learned. For euery kinde of learning is a motion and quickening of the minde. He ſeemed beſides not to be light of credit, & that may be ſome cauſe of his ſlownes in conceite. For truely he ſuffereth ſomewhat that learneth, and thereof it commeth, that they that haue leaſt reaſon to reſiſt, are thoſe which doe giue lighteſt credit. For young men are eaſelyer perſwaded then old men, and the ſicke then the whole. And where a man hath leaſt reaſon for his douts: there he is ſooneſt brought to beleue any thing. This notwithſtanding, it is reported that *Cato* was obedient vnto his ſchoolemaiſter, and would doe what he commaunded him: howbeit he would aske him ſtill the cauſe and reaſon of euery thing. In deede his ſchoolemaiſter was very gentle, and readier to teach him, then to ſtrike him with his fiſt. His name was *Sarpedo*. Furthermore, when *Cato* was but a young boy, the people of ITALIE which were confederats of the ROMANES, ſued to be made free citizens of ROME. At that time it chaunced one *Pompedius Silo*, a valliant ſouldier, and of great eſtimacion among the confederats of

The parentage of Cato.

Liuius Druſus, Catoes vncle.

Catoes maners.

VVhy quicke wits haue neuer good memorie.

Sarpedo, Catoes ſcholemaiſter.

the ROMANES, and a great frend beſides of *Druſus*: to be lodged many dayes at his houſe. He in this time falling acquainted with theſe young boyes, ſayd one day vnto them: good boyes, intreate your vncle to ſpeake for vs, that we may be made free citizens of ROME. *Cæpio* ſmiling nodded with his head, that he would. But *Cato* making no aunſwere, looked very wiſely apon the ſtraungers that lay in the houſe. Then *Pompedius*, taking him aſide, asked him: and thou, my pretie boy, what ſayeſt thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine vncle, as well as thy brother, to be good to his gueſtes? *Cato* ſtill held his peace, and aunſwered nothing, but ſhewed by his ſilence and looke, that he would not heare their requeſt. Then *Pompedius* taking him vp in his armes, did put him out of the window, as if he would haue let him haue gone: and ſpeaking more ſharply to him then he did before, he caſt him many times out of his armes without the window, and ſayd, promiſe vs then, or elſe I will let thee fall. But *Cato* abid it a long time, and neuer quinched for it, nor ſhewed countenaunce of feare. Thereupon *Pompedius* letting him downe againe, told his frends that ſtoode by him: O what good happe doth this child promiſe one day vnto ITALIE, if he liue? ſure if he were a man, I beleue we ſhould not haue one voice of all the people of our ſide. An other time, there were ſome of *Catoes* neere kinſemen, that keeping the feaſt day of his birth, bad many young boyes to ſupper, & amongeſt others this *Cato*. The boyes to occupie them ſelues till ſupper was ready, gathered them ſelues together great and ſmall, into ſome priuate place of the houſe. Their play was, counterfeating pleadinges before the iudges, accuſing one an other, and carying them that were condemned to priſon. Amongeſt them, a goodly young boy was caried by a bigger boy into a litle chamber, bounde as a condemned perſon. The boy perceiuing he was locked vp, cried out vnto *Cato*: who miſtruſting what it was, went ſtraight to the chamber dore and putting them by by force that withſtoode him to come vnto it, he tooke out the young boy, and caried him very angrily with him to his owne houſe, and all the other young boyes followed him alſo. So *Cato* had ſuch name among the young boyes, that when *Sylla* made the game of young boyes running a horſebacke, which the ROMANES call Troia: to appoint them before that they might be ready at the day of the ſhow, he hauing gotten all the young boyes of noble houſes together, appointed them two Captaines. Of them, the boyes tooke the one, bicauſe of his mother *Metella*, which was the wife of *Sylla*: but they would none of the other called *Sextus*, who was nephewe to *Pompey* the great, neither would they be exerciſed vnder him, nor followe him. Wherefore *Sylla* asked them, which of them they would haue: they all cried then *Cato*, and *Sextus* him ſelfe did willingly geue him the honor, as the worthier of both. *Sylla* was their fathers frend, and therefore did ſend for them many times to come vnto him, & he would talke with them: the which kindnes he ſhewed to few men, for the maieſtie and great authority he had. *Serpedo* alſo (*Catoes* ſchoolemaiſter) thinking it a great preferrement and ſafetie for his ſchollers, did commonly bring *Cato* vnto *Syllaes* houſe, to waite vpon him: the which was rather like vnto a iayle or priſon, for the great number of priſoners which were dayly brought thither, and put to death. *Cato* being then but foureteene yeares of age, and perceiuing that there were many heades brought which were ſayed to be of great men, and that euery bodie ſighed and mourned to ſee them: he asked his ſchoolemaiſter, how it was poſſible the tyran ſcaped, that ſome one or other killed him not? Bicauſe, q. *Serpedo*, that all men feare him, more then they hate him. Why then, replyed *Cato* againe, diddeſt thou not geue me a ſword that I might kill him, to deliuer my contry of this ſlauery and bondage? *Serpedo* hearing the boy ſay ſo, and ſeeing his countenaunce and eyes on fire with choller, he maruelled muche at it, and afterwardes had a very good eye vnto him, leaſt raſhly he ſhould attempt ſome thing againſt *Sylla*. When he was but a litle boy, ſome asked him whom he loued beſt? My brother, ſayed he. Then the other continuing ſtil to aske him, & who next: he anſwered likewiſe, his brother. Then the third time againe, likewiſe his brother. Till at length he that asked him, was weary with asking him ſo oft. Yea and when he was comen of age alſo, he then confirmed the loue he bare to his brother in his deedes. For twenty yeares together he neuer ſupped without his brother *Cæpio*, neither went he euer out of his houſe into the market place, nor into the fields without him: but when his brother did noynt him ſelfe with ſweete oyles of perfume, he would none of that, and in all things elſe, he led a ſtraight and hard life. So that his brother

Catoes auſteritie.

The maruelous conſtancie of Cato when he was a child.

Syllaes loue vnto Cato, being but a boy.

Catoes hate being a boy againſt a tyran.

Catoes loue to his brother.

Cæpio

A *Capio* being commended of euery man for his temperaunce, honeſty, and ſober life: he graunted in deede that in reſpect of others, he led a ſober and temperate life: but when I doe (ſayd he) compare my life with my brother *Catoes*, me thinkes then there is no difference betwext me and *Sippius*. This *Sippius* was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious effeminate life. After that *Cato* was once choſen *Apolloes* Prieſt, he went from his brother and tooke his portion of the goods of his father, which amounted to the ſumme of a hundred and twentie talentes. Then he liued more hardly then he did before. For he fell in acquaintaunce with *Antipater* TYRIAN, a Stoicke Philoſopher, and gaue him ſelfe chiefly vnto the ſtudie of morall and ciuill Philoſophie, imbracing all exerciſe of vertue with ſuche an earneſt deſire, that it ſeemed he was prickt forward by ſome god: but aboue all other vertues, he loued the B ſeueritie of iuſtice, which he would not wreſt for any gift nor fauor. He ſtudied alſo to be eloquent, that he might ſpeake openly before the people, bicauſe he would there ſhould be certaine warlike forces entertained in ciuill Philoſophie, as alſo in a great citie. Notwithſtanding, he would not exerciſe it before any bodie, neither would he euer haue any man to heare him ſpeake when he did learne to ſpeake. For when one of his frends told him one day, that men did miſlike he ſpake ſo litle in company: it skilleth no matter, q. he, ſo they can not reproue my life, for I will beginne to ſpeake, when I can ſay ſome thing worthy to be ſpoken. Hard by the market place there was the common pallace or towne houſe of the citie, called Baſilica Porcia, the which *Porcius Cato* the elder had built, in the time of his Cenſorſhip. There the Tribunes were wont to keepe their audience: and bicauſe there was a piller that troubled their C ſeates, they would either haue taken it away, or elſe haue ſet it in ſome other place. That was the firſt cauſe that made *Cato* againſt his will to goe into the market place, and to get vp into the pulpit for orations, to ſpeake againſt them: where hauing geuen this firſt proofe of his eloquence and noble minde, he was maruelouſly eſteemed of. For his oration was not like a young man, counterfeating finenes of ſpeache and affectation, but ſtout, full of wit and vehemency: and yet in the ſhortnes of his ſentences, he had ſuch an excellent grace withall, that he maruelouſly delighted the hearers: and furthermore, ſhewing in nature a certaine grauetie beſides, it did ſo pleaſe them, that he made them laugh. He had a very full and audible voyce that might be heard of a maruelous number of people, and ſuch a ſtrong nature beſides, that he neuer fainted, nor brake his ſpeache: for many times he would ſpeake a whole day toge- D ther, and was neuer wearie. So when he had obtained his cauſe againſt the Tribunes, he returned againe to keepe his former great ſilence, and to harden his bodie with painefull exerciſes, as to abide heate, froſt, and ſnow bare headed, and alwayes to goe a foote in the fielde, where his frendes that did accompany him rode a horſebacke, and ſometime he would come and talke with one, ſomtime with an other, as he went a foote by them. He had a wonderfull pacience alſo in his ſickenes. For when he had any agew, he would be alone all day long, and ſuffer no man to come and ſee him, vntill he perceiued his fit was of him, and that he founde he was better. When he ſupped with his frendes and familiars, they drewe lottes who ſhould chooſe their partes. If he chaunced not to chooſe, his frendes notwithſtanding gaue him the preferrement to chooſe: but he refuſed it, ſaying it was no reaſon, ſith the goddeſſe *Venus* was E againſt him. At the firſt he did not vſe to ſitte long at the table, but after he had dronke one draught only, he would ſtraight riſe. But when he came to be elder, he ſate long at the table: ſo that oftentimes he would ſit it out all night with his frends, till the next morning. But they ſeeking to excuſe it, ſayd, that his great buſines and affaires in the common wealth was the cauſe of it. For following that all the day long, hauing no leaſure nor time to ſtudie when night came, he delighted to talke with learned men, and Philoſophers, at the bord. Wherefore when *Memmius* on a time being in company, ſayed, that *Cato* did nothing but drinke all night: *Cicero* taking his tale out of his mouth, aunſwered him, thou doeſt not adde this vnto it, that all the day he doth nothing but play at dyſe. To be ſhort, *Cato* thinking that the maners and facions of mens liues in his time were ſo corrupt, and required ſuch great chaunge F and alteracion: that to goe vprightly, he was to take a contrarie courſe in all thinges. For he ſaw that purple, red, & the lighteſt colours were beſt eſteemed of: he in contrarie maner deſired to weare blacke. And many times alſo after dinner he would goe abroade bare footed

Antipater the Stoicke, Catoes ſchoolemaiſter.

Catoes act for Baſilica Porcia.

Catoes exerciſes.

Catoes drinking.

Ciceroes ſaying of Cato.

without shooes, and without any gowne: not bicause he would be wondered at for any suche straungenes, but to acquaint him selfe to be ashamed only of shameles and dishoneſt things, and to despise those which were not reproued, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, land being left him to the value of an hundred talentes by the death of a cousin of his, that likewise was called *Cato*: he put it all into ready money, to lend to his frendes that lacked, and without vsury. And there were some of his frends also that would morgage his land, or his slaues, to the chamber of the city, for their owne priuate busines: the which he him selfe would either giue thē to morgage, or else afterwards confirme the morgage of them. Furthermore, when he was comen of age to marry, hauing neuer knowen womā before, he was made sure to *Lepida*. This *Lepida* had bene precontracted vnto *Metellus Scipio*: but afterwardes the precontract being broken, he forsooke her, so that she was free, when *Cato* was contracted to her. Notwithstanding, before *Cato* maried her, *Scipio* repenting him that he had refused her, made all the meanes he could to haue her againe: & so he had. *Cato* tooke it so grieuously, that he thought to goe to lawe for her: but his frendes disswaded him from it. Then seeing no other remedie, to satisfie his angrie minde, he wrote verses against *Scipio*, in the which he reuiled him all he coulde: vsing the bitter tauntes of *Archilocus* verses, but not suche impudent, lewde, and childishe reproaches as be there. After that, he maried *Attilia*, *Soranus* daughter, being the first woman he euer knewe: yet not the onely woman whome he did knowe, as is reported of *Lælius*, *Scipioes* frende, who therein was counted the happier, bicause all that long time wherein he liued, he neuer knewe other woman but his first wife. Furthermore, in the warre of the bondemen (otherwise called *Spartacus* warre) one *Gellius* was chosen Prætor of the armie vnder whom *Cato* serued of his owne good will, for the loue he bare vnto his brother *Cæpio*, who in that armie had charge of a thowsand footemen. Now *Cato* could not as he wished, shewe his valliantnesse and good seruice, bicause of the insufficiencie of the Prætor that gaue ill direction. This notwithstanding, in the middest of al the riot & insolency of them in the campe, he shewing him selfe a stayed man in all his doinges, valliant where neede was, and very wise also: all men esteemed him to be nothing inferior vnto *Cato* the elder. Whereuppon *Gellius* the Prætor gaue him many honors in token of his valliantnes, which are giuen in reward of mens good seruice: howebeit *Cato* refused them, and sayd, that he was nothing worthie of those honors. These thinges made him to be thought a maruelous straunge man. Furthermore, when there was a lawe made, forbidding all men that sued for any office in the common wealth, that they should haue no prompters in any of the assemblies, to blowe into their eares the names of priuate citizens: he alone making sute to be Colonell of a thowsand footmen, was obedient to the law, & committed all the priuate citizens names to memory, to speake vnto euery one of them, and to call them by their names: so that he was enuied euen of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deedes praiseworthie, by so muche more were they grieued, for that they could not followe them. So *Cato* being chosen Colonell of a thowsande footemen, he was sent into MACEDON, vnto *Rubrius*, Prætor there. Some say, that at his departure from thence, his wife lamenting, and weeping to see him go: one *Munatius* a frend of his sayd vnto her, take no thought *Attilia*, and leaue weeping, for I promise thee I will kepe thy husband for thee. It is well sayd, aunswered *Cato*. Then when they were a dayes iorney frō ROME, *Cato* after supper said vnto this *Munatius*: thou must looke well to thy promesse thou hast made *Attilia*, that thou wouldest keepe me for her, & therefore forsake me not night nor day. Thereupon he commaunded his men that from thence forth they should prepare two beds in his chamber, that *Munatius* also might lye there: who was rather pleasantly him selfe looked vnto by *Cato*, then *Cato* by him. He had fiftene slaues with him, two free men, & foure of his frends, which rode, & he himselfe went a foote, somtime talking with one, otherwhile with an other as he went. When he came to the campe, where there were many legions of the ROMANES, the Prætor immediatly gaue him charge of one of them: who thinking it final honor to him for himselfe only to be valliant, sith he was but one man, he practised to make all his souldiers vnder him, like vnto himselfe. The which he did not by feare & terror, but by lenitie & gentle perswasion, training & instructing thē in euery point what they should doe: adding to his gentle instruction and perswasions, reward to those that did well, and

Catoes maniages.

Attilia Catoes wife.

Lelius mariage.

Catoes first souldierfare, in the warre of the bondmen.

Cato chosen Tribunus militum.

Howe Cato trained his men, & made them valliant.

A and punishement to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to judge, whether he had made them more quiet, then warlicke: more valliant, then iust. So dreadfull they shewed them selues to their enemies, and curteous to their frendes: fearefull to doe euill, and readie to winne honor. Whereof followed that which *Cato* least accounted of, that is, he wanne fame, and good will: for his souldiers did greatly honor and loue him, bicause he him selfe would euer first set his hande to any thing he commaunded them, and bicause also both in his diet, in his apparrell, and in any iorney or paines, he was rather like vnto the meanest souldier, then any of the other Captaines. In contrarie maner also, in good nature, noble corage, and eloquence, he farre exceded all the other Colonells and Captaines. For the true loue of vertue, (to wit, the desire to followe it) taketh no roote in mens mindes, onlesse they haue a sin-

The loue of vertue from whence it proceedeth.

B gular loue and reuerence vnto the person, whome they desire to followe. When *Cato* vnderstoode that *Athenodorus* surnamed *Cordylion*, a Stoicke Philosopher, excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the city of PERGAMVM, being a very old man, and one that stiffely refused the frendship of kings, Princes, and noble men, desirous to haue him about them: to write to him, he thought it was but lost labor. Wherefore hauing two moneths liberty by the lawes of the ROMANES, to followe his owne affaires: he tooke sea, and went into ASIA to him, hoping he should not lose his iorney, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spoken with him, and talked of diuers matters together: at length he brought him from his first determination, and caried him to the campe with him, esteeming this victorie more, then all the conquestes of *Lucullus* or *Pompey*, who had conquered the most parte of all the prouinces

Athenodorus the stoicke, Catoes frend.

C and realmes of the East partes of the world. In the meane time, whilest he lay at his charge in the campe, being Colonell of a thowsand footemen: his brother preparing to go into ASIA, fell sicke in the citie of ÆNVS, in the contrie of THRACIA. *Cato* hauing speedie intelligence thereof, tooke sea presently, when it was maruelous rough and boysterous, and imbarked in a litle crayer of a marchaunts of THESSALIE, with two of his frends, and three bondmen only, and did scape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arriued safely, a litle after his brother *Cæpioes* death. He tooke his death more sorowfully, then became a Philosopher, not onely mourning and lamenting for him, imbracing the deade corse of his brother: but also for the exceding charge and sumptuous funerals, which he bestowed vpon him, in perfumes, sweete sauors, and sumptuous silkes that were burnt with his bodie: and furthermore, in the

The death of Cæpio, Catoes brother.

Catoes mourning for his brother Cæpioes death.

D stately tombe of THRACIAN marble which he made for him, and set vp in the market place of the ÆNIANS, that cost eight talents. Some did mislike this vaine charge that *Cato* bestowed, considering the modestie and temperance he vsed in all things else, not regarding with iudgement his tender loue and affection towards his kinsemen, which was mingled in him with his seuerity and hardnes, against all voluptuousnes, feare, and shameless requests. Diuers cities, Princes and noble men sent him many sundrie presents, to honor the funeralls of his brother *Cæpio*: howbeit he tooke no money of all them, sauing only spyces, and sweete sauors, & such other ornamentes, as honored the obsequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, vnto those that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the land that fell vnto him, and a litle daughter of his, by the death of his brother: notwithstanding the charge he had

E bene at, in his funeralls, he did not reckon it in the particion of the land, betwext him and his brother *Cæpioes* daughter. All the which things when they were solemnised, some * write notwithstanding, that he did clense the imbers where his brothers body had bene burnt, through a sieue or riddell, where through they clense corne, & all to get out the gold & siluer that was molten there. But suche thinke that their wrytinges should be as farre from controlement, as their doings. So when *Catoes* time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his departure, not only with ordinary praises, vowes, and prayers to the goddes for his health: but with imbracings, teares, and maruelous lamentations of the souldiers, which spred their garments on the ground as he went, and kissing of his hands, which honor the ROMANES did but to verie fewe of their Generalls. Furthermore, *Cato* being determined before he returned to

** It seemeth to be meant of Cæsar, which wrote the booke called Anticaton.*

Catoes iorney into Asia.

F ROME to deale in the affaires there, to go and see ASIA, partely to be an eye witnes of the maners, customes, and power of euery prouince as he went: and partely also to satisfie king *Deiotarus* requeste, who hauing bene his fathers frend, had earnestly intreated him to come and see

Catoes modestie.

him: he went the iorney, and vſed it in this ſorte. Firſt, by peepe of day, he ſent his baker and cooke before, where he ment to lye that night. They comming ſoberly into the city or village, inquiered if there were none of *Catoes* frends and acquaintance there, and if they found none, then they prepared his ſupper in an Inne, and troubled no man: but if there were no Inne, then they went to the Gouernors of the towne, and prayed them to helpe them to lodging, and did content them ſelues with the firſt that was offered them. Oftentimes the townes men did not beleue they were *Catoes* men, and made no accompt of them: bicauſe they tooke all things ſo quietly, & made no a do with the officers. Inſomuch as *Cato* ſomtime came himſelfe, & found nothing ready for him, & when he was come, they made as ſmall account of him, ſeeing him ſet apon his cariages, and ſpeake neuer a word: for they tooke him for ſome meane man, and a timerous perſon. Notwithſtanding, ſometime he called them vnto him, and tolde them. O poore men, learne to be more curteous to receiue trauelling Romanes that paſſe by you, and looke not alwayes to haue *Catoes* to come vnto you: and therefore ſee that you vſe them with ſuch curteſie & entertainment, that they may bridle the authority they haue ouer you: for you ſhall finde many that will deſire no better colour nor occaſion, by force to take from you that they would haue: bicauſe you vnwillingly alſo do graunt them the things they would, & nede.

A laughing matter happned vnto Cato.

There is a report of a pretie ieaſt happened him in Syria. When he came to Antioche, he found a great number of people deuided on either ſide of the ſtreete, ſtanding a row one by an other verie decently: the young men by them ſelues in fayer clokes, boyes by them ſelues in ſeemely aray, and prieſts & other officers of the city alſo, all in white garments, crowned with garlands. *Cato* thought ſtraight they had made this ſolemne preceſſion to honor him, and fell out with his men he had ſent before, bicauſe they did ſuffer thē to make ſuch preparacion for his comming. So he made his frends light from their horſes, & go a foote to accompany him. But when they came neere to the gate of the city, the maiſter of theſe ceremonies that had aſſembled all that company (an old man, hauing a rodde in his hand, and a crowne on his head) came to *Cato* without ſaluting of him, and asked him only, where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come. This *Demetrius* had bene one of *Pompeis* ſlaues, & bicauſe *Pompeis* fame was great with all men, his ſeruant *Demetrius* alſo was much honored and made of aboue his deſerte, for that he was in great credit with *Pompey*. *Catoes* frendes hearing what queſtion the olde man asked him, burſt out a laughing as they went through this preceſſion. *Cato* being aſhamed of it, ſayd no more then: but, O vnfortunate citie. Afterwards notwithſtanding, when he told it to any body, he would laugh at it him ſelfe. So *Pompey* rebuked them, that through ignorance had failed to honor *Cato*. When *Cato* came to the citie of Ephesvs, and was comming towardes *Pompey* to ſalute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignitie and eſtimacion then he, who at that time alſo was Generall of a great and puiſant armie: *Pompey* ſeeing him comming towards him a farre of, would not tary till he came to him, ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, but riſing vp went to meete him, as one of the greateſt and nobleſt perſons of Rome, and taking him by the hande, after he had imbraced and welcomed him, he preſently fell in praiſe of his vertue before his face, and afterwards alſo commended him in his abſence, when he was gone from him. Whereuppon, euerie man after that had him in great veneracion for thoſe things, which before they deſpiſed in him, when they conſidered better of his noble & curteous mind. For men that ſaw *Pompeis* entertainment towards him, knew well enough that *Cato* was a man which he rather reuerenced, & for a kinde of duty obſerued, more then for any loue he bare him: & they noted further, that he honored him greatly while he was with him, but yet that he was glad when *Cato* went from him. For he ſought to kepe backe all the young gentlemen of Rome that went to ſee him, & deſired them to remaine with him: but for *Cato*, he was nothing deſirous of his company, for that in his preſence he thought he could not cōmaund as he would, & therfore was willing to let him go, recommending his wife & his children to him, the which he neuer did before vnto any other Romane that returned to Rome: howbeit in dede *Cato* was partly allied vnto him. After that time, all the cities whereby he paſſed, deuiſed (in emulacion one of the other) which of thē ſhould honor him moſt, & made him great feaſts & bankets: in the which he prayd his frēds to haue an eye to him, leaſt vnwares he ſhold proue *Curioes* words true. For *Curio* ſomtime being his frēd, & a familiar of his, miſliking notwith-

Demetrius a ſlaue, great with Pompey.

Cato honored of Pompey in Aſia.

Pompey rather ſuſpected Cato, then loued him.

notwithſtanding his ſeuerity: asked *Cato* if he would go ſee ASIA, when his charge were expired. *Cato* anſwered againe, that it was his full determination. Oh well ſayd, quod *Curio*, I hope then thou wilt returne more pleaſaunt and ciuill. And theſe were *Curios* wordes. Furthermore, *Deiotarus* king of GALATIA, being a very old man, ſent for *Cato* to come into his contrie to recommend his ſonnes & houſe vnto him: who, when he arriued there, had great rich preſents of all ſortes offered him by the king, intreating him all he could to take them. This ſo muche miſliked and angered *Cato*, that he comming thither in the euening, (after he had taried there one whole day onely) the next morning he went his waye from thence at the thirde hower. Howbeit he had not gone one dayes iorney, but he found greater giftes that taried him, with *Deiotarus* letters, at the citie of PESSINVNTA: in the which he inſtantly requeſted him to take them, or at the leaſt if he would refuſe them him ſelfe, that then he would let them be deuided amongeſt his frendes, ſith euery way they did deſerue it, but ſpecially for his ſake, for that his goodes alſo were not ſo great, as could content all his frends. But *Cato* would not ſuffer them to take any iot of it more then before, although he ſaw well enough that there were ſome of them ſo tender harted, that they complayned of him, for that he woulde not ſuffer them to take any of it. For he tolde them, that otherwiſe, corruption and briberie could lacke no honeſt colour to take: and for his frends, they ſhould alwayes haue parte with him of that which was his owne iuſtly. So he returned king *Deiotarus* preſentes backe againe. Nowe when he was readie to imbarke, to paſſe ouer the ſea againe vnto BRVNDVSIVN: ſome of his frendes perſwaded him, that it was better to put the aſhes of his brother *Cæpioes* bones into an other ſhippe. But he aunſwered them, that he would rather loſe his owne life, then to leaue his brothers relikes. Thereuppon he preſently hoyſed ſayle, and it is reported that he paſſed ouer in great daunger, where other ſhippes arriued very ſafely. When he was returned vnto ROME, he was alwayes either talking Philoſophie with *Athenodorus* the Philoſopher, or elſe in the market place to pleaſure his frendes. When his turne came that he was to make ſute to be Quæſtor, he would neuer ſue for it, before he had firſt diligently peruſed all the ordinaunces touching the office of Quæſtor, and that he had particularly made enquierie of men of greateſt experience to knowe what the authoritie of the office was. So, he no ſooner came to his office, but he preſently made great alteracion amongeſt the clearkes and officers of the treaſurie: who hauing the lawes and recordes in their handes, and exerciſing the office commonly vnder young men which were choſen treaſurers (who for their ignoraunce and lacke of experience, ſtoode rather in neede of maiſters to teache them, then that they were able to correct others) they them ſelues were the officers, and controlled them. But *Cato* not contenting him ſelfe with the name and honor of the thing, did throughly vnderſtande what the clearkes and regiſters ſhoulde be, and therefore would haue them to be as they ought to be, miniſters vnder the Quæſtors only, telling them of their briberie and corruption which they committed, and reformed them alſo, that fauted through ignoraunce. And when he ſawe ſome inſolent and impudent perſons, that curried fauour with other treaſurers to be againſt him: he cauſed the chiefeſt of them to be condemned for falſehoode, in making diuiſion betwext two coheires, and conſequently turned him cleare out of his office, for euer doing any thing there any more. He accuſed an other alſo for forging of a will, whome *Catulus Luctatius* defending, being then Cenſor, and a man of great honor for the dignity of his office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the iuſteſt man one of them in his time at ROME, and one of thoſe alſo that highly commended *Cato*, & was conuerſant with him for his honeſt life: when he perceiued that he could not defend his man by no reaſon, he prayed them at his requeſt that they would pardon him. But *Cato* would in no wiſe graunt it. But *Catulus* earneſtly intreating ſtill for him: then *Cato* plainely ſayd vnto him, It is a ſhame for thee (*Catulus*) thou that art Cenſor, and ſhouldeſt reforme all our liues, thus to forget the duetie of thine office, to pleaſe our miniſters. *Catulus* looking at *Cato* when he had ſpoken, as though he would aunſwere him: whether it were for ſhame, or anger, he went his way, & ſayd neuer a word more. Yet was not the partie condemned, though there was one voyce more that did condemne then cleere him, bicauſe of the abſence of one of the Iudges. For *Marcus Lollius*, one of *Catoes* colleagues in the Quæſtorſhip, being ſicke at that time, and abſent, *Catulus* ſent vnto him,

Catoes iorney vnto king Deiotarus, and his abſtinence from giftes.

Cato made Quæſtor.

Catulus Luctatius whas he was.

to pray him to come and helpe the poore man. Thereuppon *Lollius* being brought thither in a litter after iudgement geuen, gaue his laſt voyce, which abſolutely cleared him. *Cato*, this notwithſtanding, would neuer vſe him as a clearke, nor pay him his wages, nor would count of *Lollius* voyce among others. Thus hauing pulled downe the pride and ſtomacke of theſe clearkes, and brought them vnto reaſon: in ſhort time he had all the tables and records at his commaundement, and made the treaſure chamber as honorable, as the Senate it ſelfe: ſo that euery man thought, and ſayd, that *Cato* had added vnto the Quæſtorſhippe the dignity of the Conſulſhip. For finding diuers men indetted before vnto the common wealth, and the common wealth alſo vnto diuers men: he ſette downe ſuch an order, that neither the common wealth ſhould be deceiued by any man, nor that any man alſo ſhould haue wrong of it. For being rough with thē that were indetted to the chamber, he compelled them to pay their det, and willingly & quickely alſo payed them to whom the chamber ought any thing: ſo that the people were aſhamed to ſee ſome pay which neuer thought to haue payed any thing, and on the contrary ſide alſo others payed, which neuer looked to haue had any parte of their dettes payed them. Furthermore, diuers men did before make falſe billes of their dets, and brought them ſo to be put into the cofer of the Quæſtors: and many times alſo his predeceſſors were wont of fauor and frendſhip to receiue falſe meſſages. For whileſt he was Quæſtor, he neuer did paſſe away matters ſo lightly. For one day, he being doubtfull of a meſſage that was ſent vnto him, to knowe whether it was true or no: albeit diuers men did witneſſe it was true, yet would he not beleue it, vntill ſuch time as the Conſulls them ſelues came in their owne perſons to iuſtifie it was true, and to ſweare, that it was ſo ordained. Now there were many vnto whom *Lucius Sylla* being Dictator, had appointed in his ſecond proſcription twelue thowſand ſiluer Drachmas for euery citizen and outlaw which they had ſlaine with their owne handes. Theſe men, though euery man did hate them, and knew them to be wicked people & cruell murtherers: yet no man durſt offer to be reuenged of them. *Cato* called theſe men in ſute, as thoſe that did wrongfully detaine the money of the common treaſure, and compelled them to repay it backe againe: ſharpely reprouing (and iuſtly) the wicked deueliſh fact they had committed. So when they had repayed the money, they were ſtraight accuſed by others for murder: & as if they had bene wrongfully condemned by one iudgement, they were brought into an other, to the great ioy of all the ROMANES, who then thought they ſaw all the tyranny of that time rooted out, and *Sylla* him ſelfe puniſhed. Beſides all this, *Catoes* continuall paines and care of the treaſure, was ſo well thought of, and liked of the people, as could be. For he was alwayes the firſt that came to the coffer of the treaſurers, and alſo the laſt that went from thence, and was neuer wearie of any paines. Furthermore, he neuer miſſed to be at any aſſembly of the people or Senate, fearing, and being alwayes carefull, leaſt lightly by fauor, any money due to the common wealth ſhould be forgiuen: or elſe that they ſhould abate the rent of the farmers, or that they ſhould geue no money but to thē that had iuſtly deſerued it. Thus hauing ridde all accuſers, and alſo filled the coffers with treaſure: he made men ſee, that the common wealth might be riche, without oppreſſing of any man. In deede at his firſt comming in to the office, his colleagues and companions founde him maruelous troubleſome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and ſeuere: howbeit they all loued him in the end, bicauſe he only withſtoode the complaints and cries of all men againſt them (which complained that they would not for any mans reſpect or fauor let go the money of the common treaſure) & was contented his companions ſhould excuſe them ſelues vnto their frends that were importunate, and lay the fault apon him, ſaying, that it was vnpoſſible for them to bring *Cato* vnto it. The laſt day that he went out of his office, being very honorably brought home to his houſe by the people: it was told him that *Marcellus*, being in the treaſure chamber, was attempted & enuironned with many of his frends, and men of great authoritie, that were earneſtly in hande with him to record a certaine gift of money, as a thing that had bene due by the common wealth. This *Marcellus* had bene *Catoes* frend euen from their childhood, & whileſt *Cato* was in office, he did orderly execute his office with him: but when he was left alone, he was of ſo gentle a nature, that he would eaſily be intreated, and was as much aſhamed to deny any man, as he was alſo ouerreadie to graunt euerie man that he required. *Cato* ſtraight

Cato made the Quæſtorſhippe of great dignity.

Cato was reuenged of Syllaes bloody murthers.

Catoes notable leauing of his office.

A straight returned backe vppon it, and finding that *Marcellus* had yeelded vnto their importunacye, and recorded the gift: he causéd the bookes to be brought vnto him, and did rase it out before his face, *Marcellus* speaking neuer a word to the contrary. After that, *Marcellus* brought *Cato* home, and neuer once repyned against that he had done, neither then, nor at any time after, but continued still friendshippe with him, as he had done before. But now, though *Cato* was out of his office of Quæstor, he was not without spialls of his men in the treasure chamber: who marked alwayes, and wrote what was done and passed in the treasurie. And *Cato* him self hauing bought the bookes of accompt for the summe of fiue talents conteyning the reuenue of the whole state of the common wealth, from *Syllaes* time vntill the very yeare of his Quæstorshippe: he euer had them about him, and was the first man that came to the B Senate and the last that went out of it. There many times the Senators tarying long before they came, he went and sate downe in a corner by him selfe, and red closely the booke he had vnder his gowne, clapping his gowne before it, and would neuer bee out of the citie on that day when he knew the Senate should assemble. After that, *Pompey* and his consorts perceiuing that it was vnpossible to compell *Cato*, and much lesse to winne or corrupt him, to fauor their vniust doings; they sought what meanes they could to keepe him from comming to the Senate, and defending certeine of his friends causes, & to occupy him some other wayes about matters of arbitrement. But *Cato* finding their wiles and craft, to encounter them, he tolde his friendes once for all, whom he would pleasure: that when the Senate did sit, no mans cause could make him be absent from thence. For he came not to serue the common wealth to en- C rich him selfe as many did, neither for any glorye or reputacion, nor yet at all aduenture: but that he had aduisedly chosen to serue the common wealth, like a iust and honest man, & therefore thought him selfe bound to be as carefull of his dutie, as the bee working her waxe in the honny combe. For this respect therefore, to performe his dutie the better, by the meanes of his friendes which he had in euery prouince belonging to the Empire of Rome: he gotte into his handes the copies of all the chiefest actes, edicts, decrees, sentences, & the notablest iudgements of the gouernors that remayned in recorde. Once *Cato* perceiuing that *Publius Clodius* a seditious Orator amongest the people, did make great sturre, and accused diuers vnto the assembly, as the Priestes and Vestall Nunnes: (amonge the which *Fabia Terentia*, *Ciceroes* wiues sister was accused) he taking their cause in hand, did so disgrace *Clodius* their accuser, that he D was driuen to flie the citie. *Cicero* therefore giuing *Cato* thankes, *Cato* tolde him, that he must thanke the common wealth, not him, for whose sake onely he both sayd and did that he had done. Hereby *Cato* wanne him great fame. For when a certein Orator or common counseller preferred one witnes vnto the Iudges, the counseller on thother side tolde them, that one witnes was not to be credited, though it were *Cato* him selfe. Insomuch as the people tooke it vp for a prouerbe among them, that when any man spake any straunge and vnlikely matter, they would say: Nay, though *Cato* him selfe said it, yet were it not to be beleued. When on a time a certaine prodigall man had made a long oration in the Senate, in praise and commendacion of sobrietie, temperãce, & thriftines: one *Amnæus* a Senator rising vp, said vnto him, alas, frend, what thinkest thou? who can abide to heare thee any lenger with pacience: that farest at thy E table like *Crassus*, buildest like *Lucullus*, & speakest to vs like *Cato*? So men commonly (in sport) called them *Catoes*, which were graue and seuere in their wordes, and dissolute in their deedes. When diuers of his friends were in hand with him to sue to be Tribune of the people, he told them he thought it not meete at that time: for such an office (q. he) of great authoritie as that, is not to be imployed, but like a stronge medicine in time of neede. So, the tearme and matters of lawe ceassing for that tyme, *Cato* went into the contry of Lvke to take his pleasure there, where he had pleasant houses: and tooke with him both his bookes & Philosophers to keepe him company. Bicause, meeting as he went, with diuers sumpters and great cariage, and a great traine of men besides, he asked them whose cariage it was: they told him it was *Metellus Nepos* that returned to Rome, to make sute to be Tribune. Thereuppon *Cato* stayed sodainely, F and bethinking him selfe, commaunded his men to returne backe againe. His friends maruailing at it, he aunswered them: Doe not you know that *Metellus* is to be feared of him selfe, for his rashnes and folly? & now that he commeth instructed by *Pompey*, like a lightning he would

Catoes care and integritie to the commõ wealth.

Catoes minde and determination to take charge in the commõ wealth

Cato draue Clodius out of Rome.

The authoritie and credit of Cato.

Cato tooke Philosophers with him whẽ he went into the contry.

set all the common wealth a fire? for this cause therefore, we must not now goe take our pleasure in the contry, but ouercome his folly, or otherwise dye honorably in defence of our libertie. Yet at his friendes perswasions, he went first vnto his house in the contry, but taried not long there, and returned straight againe to Rome. When he came thither ouernight, the next morning betimes he went into the market place, & sued to be Tribune of the people, purposely to crosse *Metellus* enterprise, bicause the power & authoritie of the Tribune cõsisteth more in hindring, then doing any thing: for if all men els were agreed of a matter, and that he onely were against it, the Tribune would cary it from them all. *Cato* at the first had not many of his friendes about him, but when they heard of his intent, why he made sute for the Tribuneship: all his friends and noble men straight tooke part with him, confirmed his determination, and incoraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to serue the common wealth, then his owne turne, considering, that where many times before he might (without resistance or denial) haue obteined the same, the state being toward no trouble, he then would neuer sue for it, but now that he saw it in daunger, where he was to fight for the common wealth, and the protection of her libertie. It is reported that there was such a number of people about him to fauor his sute, that he was like to haue ben stifled among them, & thought he should neuer haue comen to the market place, for the preasse of people that swarmed about him. Thus when he was chosen Tribune with *Metellus* and others, he perceiued how they bought & sold the voyces of the people when the Consuls were chosen: whereupon he made an oration, & sharply tooke them vp for this detestable marchãdise, and after his oration ended, solemnly protested by othe, that he would accuse him, & bewray his name, which had giuen money to be chosen Consul. Howbeit he spake nothing of *Syllanus*, whose sister, *Seruilia*, he had maried: but he flatly accused *Lucius Muræna*, that had obtained to be Cõsul with *Syllanus*, by meanes of his money. Now a law being prouided, that the party accused might haue a keeper or spiall to follow the accuser, to see what he would accuse the party with, that he might the better be able to defend him selfe, knowing what should be obiected against him: *Muræna* hauing one for him to waite vpon *Cato*, to consider throughly what course he tooke, when he saw that he went not maliciously to worke, but tooke a plaine common way of a iust accuser: he had so great confidence in *Catoes* vpright mind and integritie, that not regarding the narrow sifting of him otherwise, he did one day aske him him selfe in the market place, (or at home in his owne house) if that day he were determined to prosecute any matter against him touching his accusation. If *Cato* aunswered him that he did not: then he went his way and simply beleued him. When the day came in deed that his cause was to be heard, and pleaded vnto: *Cicero* being Consul that yere, defending *Muræna*, played so pleasantly with the Stoicke Philosophers, and their straunge opinions, that he made all the Iudges laughe: insomuch as *Cato* him selfe smiling at him, tolde them that were by him: see, we haue a pleasant Consul that makes men laugh thus. So *Muræna* beeing discharged by this iudgement, did neuer after malice *Cato* for that, but so long as he remained Consul, he was alwaies ruled by his counsel in all his affaires, and continued euer to honor him, following his counsell in all thinges touching his office. Hereof *Cato* him selfe was cause, who was neuer rough nor terrible, but in matters of counsell, and in his orations before the people, for the maintenance onely of equitie and iustice: for otherwse, he was very ciuil & curteous to al men. But before he entred into his Tribuneship, *Cicero* being yet Consul, he did helpe him in many things touching his office, but specially, in bringing *Catilins* conspiracie to good ende, which was a noble act done of him. For *Catilin* did practise a generall commotion and sturre in the common wealth, to ouerthrowe the whole state of Rome, by ciuill discorde within Rome, and open warres abroade: who beeing discouered and ouercome by *Cicero*, he was driuen in the ende to flie Rome. But *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other of the accomplices of this conspiracie, blamed *Catiline* for his faynt and cowardly proceeding in it. For their partes, they had determined to burne the whole citie of Rome, and to put all the Empire thereof in vprore, by straunge warres, and rebellions of forreine nations and prouinces. Howbeit this treason being discouered, as appeareth more largely in the life of *Cicero*, the matter was referred vnto the iudgement of the Senate, to determine what was to bee done therein. *Syllanus* beeing the first who was asked his opinion therein, sayde, that he thought it good

The office & authoritie of the Tribune, what it is.

Catoes Tribuneship.

Cicero defended Muræna against his accuser Cato.

The conspiracie of Catilin against Rome.

A good they ſhould ſuffer cruell paines: and after him alſo, all the reſt ſaid the like, vntill it came to *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* being an excellent ſpoken man, & that rather deſired to nouriſh ſtrife then to quench any ſuch ſturres or ſeditions in the common wealth, being fit for his purpoſe long determined of: made an oration full of ſweete pleaſant wordes, declaring vnto them, that to put ſuch men as them to death without lawfull condemnation, he thought it altogether vnreaſonable, and rather that they ſhould doe better to keepe them in priſon. This oration of *Cæſar* ſo altered all the reſt of the Senators minds, for that they were affraid of the people: that *Syllanus* ſelf mended his opinion againe, and ſaid, that he ment not they ſhould put them to death, but keepe thē faſt in priſon, bicauſe that to be a priſoner, was the greateſt paine a ROMANE Citizen could abide. Thus, the Senators minds being ſo ſodainly chaunged, & bent to a more fauorable ſen-

Catoes oration againſt Cæſar, touching Catilins conſpiracie.

B tence: *Cato* riſing vp to ſay his opinion, beganne very angrily with maruelous eloquence, grieuouſly to reproue *Syllanus* for chaunging his mind, & ſharply to take vp *Cæſar*, that vnder a puler ſemblance, & maske of ſweete ſugred words, he ſought vnder hand to deſtroy the common wealth, and alſo to terrifie and make the Senate affraid: where he him ſelfe ſhould haue bene affraid, and thinke him ſelfe happy, if he could ſcape from beeing ſuſpected, giuing ſuch apparant cauſe of ſuſpicion as he did, going about ſo openly to take the enemies and traytors of the common wealth out of the hands of iuſtice, ſeming to haue no pitie nor compaſſion of his naturall citie, of ſuch nobilitie and fame, being euen brought in maner to vtter deſtruction, but rather to lament the fortune of theſe wicked men, that it was pity they were euer borne, & whoſe death preſerued ROME from a thowſand murthers & miſchiefs. Of all the orations that

C euer *Cato* made, that only was kept: for *Cicero* the Conſul, that day had diſperſed diuers penne men in ſundry places of the Senate houſe, which had maruelous ſwift hands, and had further taught them how to make briefe notes and abridgements, which in fewe lines ſhewed many words. For vntill that time, writers were not knowen that could by figures & ciphers expreſſe a whole ſentence and word, as afterwards they could: being then the firſt time that euer they were found out. So *Cato* at that time preuailed againſt *Cæſar*, and made them all chaunge their mindes againe, that theſe men were put to death. But that we may not leaue out a iot of his maners, as the very pattern and impreſſion of his mind: It is reported, that when *Cato* that day was ſo whot, and vehement againſt *Cæſar*, that all the Senate could but looke at them, to heare them both: a letter was deliuered *Cæſar*, ſent him into the houſe. *Cato* began preſently to ſuſpect

Cicero taught them how to write briefly, by notes and figures.

D it, and ſo earneſtly miſliked of it, that many of the Senators being offended, commaunded his letter ſhould be ſeene & red openly. *Cæſar* thereupon reached his letter vnto *Cato*, that fate not farre from him. When *Cato* had red it, and found that it was a loue letter which his ſiſter *Seruilia* had written vnto *Cæſar*, whom ſhe loued, and had knowen: he caſt it againe to *Cæſar*, & ſaid, there, dronkard. After that he went on againe with his matter, which he had begon before. In fine, it ſeemeth that *Cato* was very vnfortunate in his wiues: for this *Seruilia*, as we haue ſayd, had an ill name by *Cæſar*. And the other *Seruilia* alſo, which was his ſiſter, was worſe defamed.

Cato vnfortunate in his wiues.

E For ſhe being maried vnto *Lucullus*, one of the greateſt men of ROME, by whō ſhe had a ſonne, was in the ende put away from him, for her naughty life. But worſt of all, his owne wife *Attilia* alſo was not altogether cleare without ſuſpicion: For though he had two ſonnes by her, yet he was driuen to be diuorced from her, ſhe was ſo naught and common. After that, he maried *Martia*, the Daughter of *Philip*, which by report ſeemed to be a very honeſt gentlewoman. It is ſhe that is ſo famous amonge the ROMANES. For in the life of *Cato*, this place (as a fable or comedy) is diſputable, and hard to be iudged. For thus it was, as *Thraſeas* writeth: who referreth all to the report and credit of one *Munatius*, *Catoes* very famillier friend. Amonge many that loued *Catoes* vertues, and had them in admiration, ſome of them did ſhew him more what he was, then other ſome did: amongeſt the which, was *Q. Hortenſius*, a man of great honeſtie and authoritie. He, deſiring not onely to be *Catoes* friend and famillier, but alſo to ioyne with him in alliance, and by affinitie to make both their houſes one: was not abaſhed to moue him, to let him haue his Daughter *Porcia* in mariage, (which was *Bibulus* wife, & had brought him

Martia Catoes wife.

F two children) that he might alſo caſt abroade the ſeede of goodly children, in that pleaſant fertile ground. And though to men this might ſeeme a ſtraunge mind and deſire, yet that in reſpect of nature, it was both honeſt and profitable to the common wealth, not to ſuffer a young

woman in the prime of her youth, to loſe the frute of her wombe, being apt to beare children: nor alſo that he ſhould impouerish his ſonne in lawe with moe children, then one houſe needed. And further, that communicating women in this ſort from one to another, ſpecially beeing beſtowed apon worthy and vertuous men: that vertue ſhould thereby bee increaſed the more, being ſo diſperſed in diuers families, & the citie likewiſe ſhould be the ſtronger, by making alliances in this ſort together. And if it be ſo, q. he, that *Bibulus* doe loue his wife ſo dearly, that he wil not depart from her altogether, then that he would reſtore her to him again, when he had a child by her, that therby he might be the more bound in frendſhip to him, by meanes of this communication of children with *Bibulus* ſelfe, and with him. *Cato* aunſwered him, that he loued *Hortenſius* well, and liked of his alliance: howbeit that he maruelled he would ſpeake to him to let him haue his Daughter to get children of, ſith he knew that ſhe was maried to an other. Then *Hortenſius* altering his tale, ſtucke not to tell him his mind plainly, and to deſire his wife of him, the which was yet a young woman, and *Cato* had children enough. But a man can not tell whether *Hortenſius* made this ſute, bicauſe he ſaw *Cato* make no reckoning of *Martia*, for that ſhe was then with child by him. In fine, *Cato* ſeeing the earneſt deſire of *Hortenſius*, he did not deny him her, but told him, that he muſt alſo get *Philips* good wil, the father of *Martia*. He knowing that *Cato* had graunted his good wil, would not therfore let him haue his daughter, before that *Cato* him ſelfe by his preſence did confirme the contract & mariage with him. Though theſe thinges were done longe after, yet hauing occaſion to talke of *Catoes* wiues, I thought it not amiſſe to anticipate the time. Now *Lentulus*, and his conſorts of *Catilines* conſpiracie being put to death: *Cæſar*, to cloke the accuſations wherewith *Cato* charged him in open Senate, did put him ſelf into the peoples hands, and gathering the rakehells and ſeditious perſons together, which ſought to ſet al at ſix and ſeuen, he did further encorage them in their miſchieuous intent & practiſes. Whereuppon, *Cato* fearing leaſt ſuch rabble of people ſhould put all the common wealth in vprore & daunger: he perſwaded the Senat to winne the poore needy people that had nothing, by diſtributing of corne amongeſt them, the which was done: For the charge thereof amounted yearely vnto twelue hundred and fifty talents. This liberalitie did manifeſtly drinke vp and quench all thoſe troubles which they ſtoode in feare of. But on thother ſide, *Metellus* entring into his Tribuneſhip, made certen ſeditious orations and aſſemblies, & preferred a law to the people, that *Pompey* the great ſhould preſently be called into ITALY with his armie, that he ſhould keepe the citie by his comming, from the preſent daunger of *Catilins* conſpiracie. Theſe were but words ſpoken for facions ſake, but in deede the law had a ſecret meaning, to put the whole common wealth and Empire of ROME into *Pompeys* hands. Hereuppon the Senate aſſembled, wherein *Cato* at his firſt comming, ſpake ſomewhat gently, and not to vehemently againſt *Metellus*, as his maner was to be ſharpe vnto them that were againſt him: but modeſtly perſwaded him, and fell to intreate him in the end, and highly to extoll his houſe, for that they had alwaies taken part with the Senate and nobilitie. But *Metellus* therewith tooke ſuch pride & conceit of him ſelfe, that he began to deſpiſe *Cato*, thinking he had vſed that mildnes, as though he had beene affraide of him: inſomuch as he gaue out prowd ſpeeches againſt him, and cruell threats, that in deſpite of the Senate he would do that which he had vndertaken. Then *Cato* chaunging his countenaunce, his voice and ſpeech, after he had ſpoken very ſharply againſt him: in the ende he roughly proteſted, that while he liued, he would neuer ſuffer *Pompey* to come into ROME with his armie. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both well in their witts, but that *Metellus* doings was a furie, which proceeding of a cancred ſtomake and extreame malice, would put all in hazard: & that which *Cato* did, was a rauiſhment and extacy of his vertue, that made him beſide him ſelfe, contending for iuſtice and equitie. When the day came that this law ſhould paſſe by voyces of the people, *Metellus* fayled not to be in the market place with a worlde of ſtraungers, ſlaues, and fenſers, armed, and ſet in battell raye, beſides a number of the common people that were deſirous to ſee *Pompeys* returne, hoping after chaunge. Beſides all thoſe, *Cæſar* then being Prætor, gaue ayde likewiſe with his men, in the behalf of *Metellus*. On the contrary part alſo, the noble men and Senators of the citie were as angry as *Cato*, and ſaid it was a horrible ſhame: howbeit they were his friendes, rather in miſliking the matter, then in defending the common wealth.

Platoes fellowſhip and communitie of women.

Cato perſwaded corne to be diſtributed vnto the people.

Cato reſiſteth Metellus, tribune of the people.

Iulius Cæſar Prætor.

Where-

A Whereuppon, all his friendes at home, and his whole family, were maruailously perplexed & sorowfull, that they both refused their meate, and also could take no rest in the night for feare of *Cato*. But he, as one without feare, hauing a good hart with him, did comfort his people, and bad them not sorow for him: and after he had supped, as he commonly vsed to doe, he went to bed, and slept soundly all night, till the morning that *Minutius Thermus*, his colleague & fellow Tribune, came & called him. So they both went together into the market place, accompanied with a very few after them: Whereuppon diuers of their friends came and met them by the way, & bad them take heede vnto them selues. When they were come into the market place, and that *Cato* saw the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* full of armed men, and the degrees or steppes kept by sword players and fensers, and *Metellus* on the top of them set by *Cæsar*: turning
B to his friends he sayd, see I pray you the cõward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, against one man naked, and vnarmed. Therewithall he straight went forward with his companion *Thermus* vnto that place, and they that kept the degrees, opened of them selues to let him passe, but they would let no other goe vp but him selfe: But *Cato* with much a doe, taking *Minutius* by the hand, got him vp with him, and when he was come vp, he sate him downe betwixt *Metellus* and *Cæsar*, to keepe them a sonder, that they should not whisper one in anothers eare. Neither of them both could tell what to say to him. Whereuppon the noble men that considered *Catoes* countenaunce and boldnes, wondring to see it, drew neare, and by their cryes willed him not to be affrayd, but encoraged one another to sticke by him, that stoode for defence of their libertie. So, there was a seruaunt that tooke the written law in
C his hand, and would haue red it to the people: but *Cato* woulde not let him. Then *Metellus* tooke it him selfe in his handes to reade it: but *Cato* also snatched it out of his handes. *Metellus* notwithstanding, hauing it perfect without booke, would needes declare the effect of it by harte. But *Thermus* clapped his hande before his mouthe to keepe him that he shoulde not speake. *Metellus* seeing these two men bent by all meanes to keepe this law from passing, and that the people did leane on their side: he beckned to his men to goe for the armed men which were at home in his house, that they should come with terror and cryes to make them affrayd, and so they did. The people thereuppon were dispersed here and there for feare, that *Cato* was left alone in the market place, and they threwe stones at him from beneath. But then *Muræna*, who had before accused *Cato* for buying of the Consulshippe, forsooke him not in
D that daunger, but holding his longe gowne before him, cryed out vnto them beneath, that threwe at *Cato*, to leaue. So shewing him the daunger he had brought him selfe vnto, holding him still by the armes, he brought him into the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. Then *Metellus* seing the pulpit for orations voyded, and his enemies flying out of the market place, he thought he had wonne the gole: Whereuppon commaunding his souldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to passe his lawe. But his enemies that fled for feare, being gathered againe together in the market place, beganne a freshe to cry out against *Metellus*, with greater boldnes and corage then before. Then *Metellus* and his adherents being affrayd and amazed, doubting that their enemies had gotten weapons, and were prouided, and therefore were the bolder: they fled, and all of them left the pulpit for orations. So, when *Metellus* and his
E company were gonne, *Cato* came agayne to the pulpit for orations, and greatly commended the people for the good will they had shewed, and perswaded them to continue in their well doing. Whereuppon the common people were then against *Metellus*, and the Senate also being assembled gaue order, that *Cato* should haue better ayde then he had before, and that by all meanes possible they should resist *Metellus* lawe, which onely tended to moue sedition & ciuill warre in Rome. For *Metellus* selfe, he was yet vehemently bent to followe his attempt and enterprise: but perceiuing that his friendes were maruelously affraide of *Cato*, as a man whom they thought inuincible, he sodainely came into the market place, and assembling the people, told them many reasons in his oration, supposing to bringe *Cato* in disgrace with the people, and amongest other thinges he sayd, that he would withdraw him selfe out of this ty-
F rannicall power of *Catoes*, and his conspiracie against *Pompey*, the which peraduenture the citie before it were long, should repent, for that they had shamed and defaced so noble a man. After that, he presently departed Rome, and went into Asia to informe *Pompey* of all this

Catoes noble courage and constancie.

matter. *Cato* on thother ſide was greatly eſtemed for his doings, for that he had freed the common wealth from the great trouble of ſuch a fooliſh Tribune, and by ouerthrowing *Metellus*, he had alſo ſuppreſſed the power of *Pompey*. But he was yet much more commended, when he was againſt the Senate, who would haue noted *Metellus* of infamie, and depriued him of his office, the which he would not ſuffer them to doe. The common people thought him of a curteous and gentle nature, bicauſe he would not treade his enemie vnder his foote, when he had the vpper hand of him, nor be reuenged of him when he had ouercome him: but wiſe mē iudged it otherwiſe, that it was wiſely done of him not to prouoke *Pompey*. About this time returned *Lucullus* from the warre, of the which it ſemed that *Pompey* had taken the honor & glory from him for the ending of it, & was likely alſo to haue bene put from his honor of triumph, for that *Caius Memmius* was his aduerſary, who layed many accuſations againſt him before the people, rather to pleaſe *Pompey*, then for any malice els he had towards him. But *Cato*, both for that *Lucullus* was his brother in law, and had maried his owne ſiſter *Seruilia*, as alſo for that he ſaw they did him wrong: reſiſted this *Memmius*, & defended many accuſations againſt him. So that in the end, though *Memmius* had labored that *Cato* ſhould be depriued of his office, as from a tyrannicall power: yet *Cato* compelled *Memmius* at the laſt to leaue of his accuſations, and to proſecute law no more againſt him. Thus *Lucullus* hauing obteined honor of triumph, did embrace *Catoes* friendſhip more then before, taking him for a ſure bulwarcke & defenſe againſt the power of *Pompey* the great. But *Pompey* ſhortly after returning home againe, with great honor from his conqueſts, truſting that for reſpect of his welcome he ſhould be denyed nothing at the peoples hands when he came home: ſent before vnto the Senate, to pray them for his ſake to deferre the election of the Conſuls, vntill he came to ROME, that being preſent he might fauor *Piſoes* ſute, ſuing to be Conſul. Thereunto the moſt part of the Senate gaue their conſent, but *Cato* on thother ſide was againſt it, not that the deferring of the time was a matter of ſuch importance, but to cut all hope from *Pompey* to goe about to attempt any newe deuiſes, inſomuch that he made the Senate chaunge opinion againe, and *Pompeys* requeſt was denied. *Pompey* being maruelouſly troubled withall, and perceiuing that *Cato* would be againſt him in all things if he found not ſome deuiſe to winne him: he ſent for his friend *Munatius*, by his meanes to demaund *Catoes* two Neces of him which were mariable: the eldeſt for him ſelf, & the yoūgeſt for his ſonne. Others ſay alſo, that they were not his Neces, but his own daughters. *Munatius* did *Pompeys* meſſage, & brake the matter vnto him, his wife, & to his ſiſters, who maruelouſly deſired *Pompeys* alliance, for the greatnes and dignitie of his perſon. But *Cato* making no farther delay, without other deliberation, as not greatly pleaſed with the motion, aunſwered him preſently. *Munatius*, goe thy way vnto *Pompey* againe, and tell him that *Cato* is not to be wonne by women, though otherwiſe I miſlike not of his friendſhip: and withall, that ſo long as he ſhall deale vprightly in all cauſes, & none otherwiſe, that he ſhall find him more aſſuredly his friend, then by any alliance of mariage: & yet, that to ſatisfie *Pompeys* pleaſure and will againſt his contry, he wil neuer giue him ſuch pledges. The women and his friends at that time were angry with his aunſwer & refuſall, ſaying, it was too ſtately and vncurteous. But afterwardes it chaunced, that *Pompey* ſuing to haue one of his friendes made Conſul, he ſent a great ſumme of money to brybe the voyces of the people, which liberalitie was noted, & ſpoken of, bicauſe the money was told in *Pompeys* owne garden. Then did *Cato* tell the women of his houſe, that if he had now bene bound by allyance of mariage vnto *Pompey*, he ſhould then haue bene driuen to haue bene partaker of *Pompeys* ſhamefull acts. When they heard what he had told them, they all confeſſed then that he was wiſer to refuſe ſuch alliance, then they were that wiſhed and deſired it. And yet, if men ſhould iudge of wiſedom, by the ſucceſſe and euent of things: I muſt needes ſay, that *Cato* was in great fault for refuſing of this allyance. For thereby he was the cauſe of *Pompeys* matching with *Cæſar*, who ioyning both their powers together, was the whole deſtruction of the Empire of ROME: Whereas peraduenture it had not fallen out ſo, if *Cato* fearing *Pompeys* light faultes, had not cauſed him by increaſing his power with another, to commit farre greater faultes. Howbeit thoſe thinges were yet to cōme. Furthermore, *Pompey* being at iarre with *Lucullus*, touching certain ordinances which he had made in the Realme of PONTVS, bicauſe both the one and the other would haue their ordinances to take

Catoes doings for Lucullus.

Cato reſiſteth Pompey.

Cato refuſeth allyance with Pompey.

take place: *Cato* fauoured *Lucullus*, who had open wronge. *Pompey* therefore seeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, tooke parte with the people, and put forthe the lawe for diuiding of the landes amongest the souldiers. But *Cato* stowtly resisting that lawe agayne, he put it by, and made *Pompey* thereby in a rage to acquaynte him selfe with *Publius Clodius*, the moste seditious and boldest person of all the Tribunes, and besides that, made allyance euen at that tyme with *Cæsar*, whereof *Cato* him selfe was the onely Author. *Cæsar* returning out of SPAYNE from his Prætorshippe, requyred the honour of tryumphe, and withall made sute to bee Consull. But beeing a lawe to the contrary, that they that sued to bee Consulls shoulde bee present them selues in the citie, and suche also as desired honour of triumphe, shoulde bee without the citie: he earnestly required the Senate, that he myght sue for the Consulshippe by his friendes. The moste parte of the Senate were willing vnto it, but *Cato* was flatly agaynst it. He perceyuing that the other Senatours were willing to gratifie *Cæsar*, when it came to him to deliuer his opinion, he spent all the whole daye in his oration, and by this polliçie preuented the Senate, that they coulde not conclude any thinge. Then *Cæsar* letting fall his tryumphe, made sute to be Consull, and entring the citie, ioyned friendshippe with *Pompey*. Hereuppon he was chosen Consull, and immediatly afterwards maryed his Daughter *Iulia* vnto *Pompey*: and so hauing made in manner a conspyracie agaynst the common wealth betweene them selues, *Cæsar* preferred the lawe Agraria, for distributing the landes vnto the Citizens, and *Pompey* was present to mainteyne the publicacion thereof. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* on thother side taking parte with *Bibulus* the other Consull, did what they coulde agaynst it, but specially *Cato*: who fearing muche this allyance of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, that it was a pacte and conspiracie to ouerthrowe the common wealth, sayde, that he cared not so muche for this lawe Agraria, as he feared the rewarde they looked for, who by suche meanes dyd intise and please the common people. Therewithall, the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and so were many other honest men of the people besides, that were none of the Senate, and tooke his parte: maruailing muche, and also beeing offended with *Cæsars* greate vnreasonablenes and importunitie, who by the authoritie of his Consulshippe did preferre suche thinges, as the moste seditiousest Tribunes of the people were wont commonly to doe, to currye fauour with the people, and by suche vile meanes sought to make them at his commaundement. Wherefore, *Cæsar* and his friends fearing so greate enemies, fell to open force. For to beginne withall, as the Consul *Bibulus* was going to the market place, there was a basket of donge powred vppon his heade: and furthermore, the Officers roddes were broken in their handes, which they caryed before him. In fine, dartes were throwen at them out of euery corner, and many of them beeing hurt, they all at length were driuen to flye, and leaue the market place. But *Cato*, he came laste of all, keeping his wonted pace, and often cast backe his heade, and cursed such Citizens. So, they did not onely passe this lawe Agraria by voyces of the people, but furthermore they added to it: that all the Senate shoulde bee sworne to stablishe that lawe, and bee bounde to defende the same, (if any attempted the alteracion thereof) vppon greate penalties and fines to bee sette on his heade, that shoulde refuse the othe. All the other Senators sware agaynst their wills, remembring the example of the mischiefe that chaunced vnto the olde *Metellus*, who was banished out of ITALY, bicause he would not sweare to suche a like lawe. Whereuppon, the women that were in *Catoes* house, besought him with the teares in their eyes, that he woulde yeelde and take the othe: and so did also diuers of his friendes besides. Howebeit, he that moste inforced and brought *Cato* to sweare, was *Cicero* the Orator: who perswaded him, that peraduenture he woulde bee thought vnreasonable, that beeing but one man, he shoulde seeme to mislike that, which all other had thought meete and reasonable: and that it were a fonde parte of him wilfully to put him selfe in so greate daunger, thinking to hynder a matter already paste remedie. But yet that besides all this, a greater inconuenience woulde happen, if he forsooke his contrye (for whose sake he did all these thinges) and left it a praye vnto them, which sought the vtter subuersion of the same, as if he were glad to bee ridde from the trouble of defending the common wealth. For, sayde he, though *Cato* haue

Lex agraria.

The allyance and frendshyp betwixt Cæsar and Pompey.

Cicero by his oration brake Catoes stifnes.

no neede of ROME, yet ROME hath neede of *Cato*, and ſo haue all his friendes: of the which, *Cicero* ſayde he was the chiefe, and was moſte maliced of *P. Clodius* the Tribune, who ſought to driue him out of the contrye. It is ſayde that *Cato* beeing wonne by theſe like wordes and perſwaſions at home, and openly in the market place, they ſo ſofetned him, that he came to take his othe laſte of all men, but one *Phaonius*, a very friende of his. *Cæſars* harte beeing then liſt vppe, for that he had brought his firſt purpoſe to paſſe: beganne nowe to preferre an other lawe, to diuide all CAMPANIA, and the contrye called TERRA DI LAVORO, (the lande of labour) vnto the poore needy people of ROME, and no man ſtoode againſt him but *Cato*. Whereuppon *Cæſar* made his officers to take him from the pulpit for orations, to cary him to priſon. All this made not *Cato* ſtowpe, nor leaue his franke ſpeeche, but as he went he ſtill ſpake againſt this edicte, and perſwaded the people to beware of them that preferred ſuche lawes. All the Senate, and the beſte ſorte of Citizens followed *Cato* with heauy hartes, ſhewing by their ſilence, that they were offended and angrye for the iniurye they did vnto him, beeing ſo worthy a man. Inſomuch as *Cæſars* ſelfe perceiued that the people were offended with it, and yet of ambition & ſtomacke, he looked alwayes when *Cato* would haue appealed vnto the people. So when he ſaw that *Cato* ment no ſuch matter, at length ouercomen with ſhame and diſhonor, he him ſelfe procured one of the Tribunes to take *Cato* from the Sergeaunts. In fine, all *Cæſars* practiſe tended to this ende, that when he had wonne the peoples fauor by ſuch lawes; they ſhould then graunt him the gouernment of all the GAVLES, (aſwell on this ſide, as beyond the mountaines) and all ILLYRIA, with an armie of foure legions, for the ſpace of fiue yeares, notwithſtanding that *Cato* told the people before, that they them ſelues with their own voyces did ſet vppe a tyrant, that one day would cut their throats. They did alſo chuſe *Publius Clodius* Tribune of the people, which was of a noble houſe: a thing directly contrary to the law. But this *Clodius* had promiſed them, ſo that they would helpe him to baniſh *Cicero* out of ROME, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made *Calphurnius Piſo* (*Cæſars* wifes father) and *Gabinius Paulus*, (a man wholly at *Pompeys* commaundement, as they write which knew his life and manners) Conſuls the next yeare following. Now, notwithſtanding they had the rule of the common wealth in their owne handes, and that they had wonne parte of the citie with brybes, and the other parte alſo with feare: yet they were both affraid of *Cato*, when they conſidered what trouble they had to ouercome him, which they did very hardly notwithſtanding, and to their great ſhame, beeing driuen to vſe force, and yet thought they ſhould neuer haue done it. Furthermore, *Clodius* vtterly diſpaired that he could poſſibly baniſh *Cicero*, ſo longe as *Cato* was there. So deuiſing wayes howe to doe it, when he had taken poſſeſſion of his office, he ſent for *Cato*, and beganne to tell him, that he thought him the honeſteſt and iuſteſt man of ROME, and that he was ready to performe it to him by deede. For, where many made ſute vnto him to be ſent into CYPRVS, to make warre with king *Ptolomy*: he thought none ſo worthy as him ſelfe, and therefore for the goodwill he bare him, he was very willing to offer him that pleaſure. *Cato* ſtrayght cryed out with open mowth, that this was a deuiſe to intrappe him, not to pleaſure him. Then *Clodius* prowdly and fiercely aunſwered him, well, ſeeing thou wilt not goe with good will, thou ſhalt goe then againſt thy will: and ſo he did. For at the firſt aſſemblye of the citie, he cauſed the people to graunt his commiſſion for his iorney thither: but they neyther appoynted him ſhippes, nor ſouldiers, nor any other Miniſters to goe with him, ſauing two Secretaries onely, of the which, the one of them was a very villayne and arrant theefe, and the other, one of *Clodius* followers. Beſides all this, as if they had appoynted him but litle to doe in CYPRVS againſt *Ptolomy*, he made them commaunde him after that, to goe and reſtore the outlawes and baniſhed men of the citie of BYZANTIVM, vnto their contrye and goodes agayne, of purpoſe onely to keepe *Cato* farre enoughe from ROME, whyleſt he continued Tribune. *Cato* beeing driuen by neceſſitie to obeye, he counſelled *Cicero* (whome *Clodius* purſued) to beware that he made no ſturre agaynſt him, for feare of bringing ROME into ciuill warre and murther for his ſake: but rather, to abſent him ſelfe, that he might an other tyme preſerue his contrye. After that, he ſent his friende *Canidius* before into CYPRVS, vnto *Ptolomye*, to perſwade

Cato committed to priſon by Cæſar.

P. Clodius, Tribune of the people. The craftie iugling betwixt Cæſar and Pompey with P. Clodius.

Cato ſent Ambaſſador into Cyprus.

A perſwade him to bee quiet without warre: declaring vnto him, that he ſhoulde nether lacke honour nor riches, for the Romanes woulde graunt him the prieſthoode of *Venus* in the citie of Paphos. *Cato* in the meane tyme remayned in the Ile of Rhodes, preparing him ſelfe there, and abyding his aunſwer. In the tyme of theſe ſturres, *Ptolomy* king of Ægypt, for a certen offence and diſcorde with his ſubiectes, departing out of Alexandria, ſayled towardes Rome, hoping that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* with a greate armie woulde reſtore him to his crowne and kingdome agayne. He beeing deſirous to ſee *Cato*, ſent vnto him, ſuppoſing he woulde come at his ſending for. *Cato* by chaunce was occupyed at that tyme about ſome buſines, and badde the Meſſenger will *Ptolomy* to come to him, if he woulde ſee him. So when *Ptolomy* came, he nether went to meete him, nor roſe vppe vnto him, but onely welB comed him, and badde him ſitte downe. It amazed the king at the firſt, to ſee vnder ſo ſimple and meane a trayne, ſuche a ſtatelines and maieſtie in *Catoes* behauior. But when he hearde him boldely talke with him of his affayres, and ſuche graue talke come from him, reprouing his follye he had committed, to forſake ſuche princely pleaſure and wealth, to goe and ſubiect him ſelfe vnto ſuche diſhonour, ſuche extreame paynes, and ſuche paſſing greate giftes and preſents, as he ſhoulde throwe awaye, to ſatisfie the couetouſnes of the rulers at Rome, the which was ſo vnſatiable, that if all the Realme of Ægypt were conuerted into ſiluer to giue amonge them, it woulde ſcarce ſuffice them: in reſpect whereof, he counſelled him to returne backe with his nauye, and to reconcile him ſelfe agayne with his ſubiectes, offering him ſelfe alſo to goe with him, to helpe to make his peace. Then *Ptolomy* C comming to him ſelfe, and repenting him of his follye, knowing that *Cato* tolde him truely, and wiſely: he determined to followe his counſell, had not his friendes turned his mynde to the contrarye. So when *Ptolomy* came to Rome, and was driuen to wayte at the gates of the Magiſtrates that were in authoritie: he ſighed then, and repented his follye, for that he had not onely deſpiſed the counſell of a wiſe man, but rather the Oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other *Ptolomy* that was in Cyprvs (a happye turne for *Cato*) poyſoned him ſelfe. *Cato* beeing alſo informed that he lefte a wonderfull ſumme of money behynde him, he determyned to goe him ſelfe vnto Byzantivm, and ſent his Nephewe *Brutus* into Cyprvs, bicauſe he durſt not truſte *Canidius* ſo farre. Then hauing reſtored the baniſhed men vnto the peoples fauour agayne, ſettinge agreement D betwixt them, he returned into Cyprvs. There he founde a maruailous greate treaſure, and plate bothe of golde and ſiluer, tables, precious ſtones, hanginges, and purple ſilkes, all the which he was to make readye money of. There he tooke greate care and paynes to rayſe all thinges to the vtmoſte and deareſt pryces that coulde bee, and he him ſelfe was preſent at all, to keepe reckoning of the laſte penney. Wherefore, to bringe this to paſſe, he woulde not ſtande to the common vſe of the ſale of the cryer, but ſuſpected them all, bothe cryers, prayſers, and his owne friendes, and therefore talked him ſelfe with the prayſers, and made them ſette highe pryſes vppon euery thinge that was to bee ſolde. And thus were the moſte parte of the goodes ſolde and caryed awaye, at the deareſt pryces. This did maruelouſly offende the moſte of his friendes E when they ſawe that he did miſtruſte them: but *Munatius* ſpecially, his deareſt friende, tooke it ſo inwardely, that he thought neuer to bee friendes with him agayne. Inſomuche as in the booke *Cæſar* wrote agaynſt *Cato*, in this place he forceth moſte the accuſation agaynſt him. *Munatius* notwithſtanding wryteth, that he was not angrye ſo muche with *Cato* for that he myſtruſted him, but for a certayne diſdayne he had him ſelfe of *Cato*, and for the emulacion betwixt him and *Canidius*. For *Munatius* wrote a booke of *Catoes* deedes and ſayinges, whome *Thraſeas* in his hiſtorye chiefly followed. In this booke he ſheweth that he came late into Cyprvs, and was very ill lodged. And furthermore alſo, that when he woulde haue comen into *Catoes* houſe, they kept him out of the gates, for that *Cato* was buſie, doing ſome thinge with *Canidius*. He modeſtly complay- F ning of it vnto *Cato*, had this churliſh aunſwer: ouermuch loue, ſayth *Theophraſtus*, oftentimes cauſeth hate. So fareth it with thee, who ouerlouing me, doeſt thinke that I eſteeme thee not as thou deſerueſt, and therefore art angry with me. And for *Canidius*, I muſt tell thee truely,

Ptolomy king of AEgypt, goeth vnto Cato.

Catoes diligence about money in Cyprus.

The enuy betwixt Cato & Munatius.

To much loue oftentymes cauſeth hate.

I doe rather employe him for his skill and faithfulnes in thinges, then any man els: for that he hath beene with me from the beginning, and as farre as I learne, was neuer brybed, but cleane handed ſtill. Theſe wordes *Cato* tolde *Munatius* ſecretly betweene them two: but afterwardes he knewe that he had alſo reported them vnto *Canidius*. When he ſawe that, he would no more go and ſuppe with *Cato* as he was wont, and when he was alſo called to counſell, he would not come there nether. Wherefore *Cato* threatned him, that he would ſeaſe vpon all his goods and cariage, as they vſe to handle them that are diſobedient vnto iuſtice. This notwithſtanding, *Munatius* cared not for it, but tooke ſea, and returned againe to Rome, bearing *Cato* grudge a long time. Then *Martia*, being at that time *Catoes* wife, ſpake with him, and were both bidden to ſupper together, vnto a friend of theirs, called *Barca*. Thereuppon *Cato* alſo arriued, and came thither, when they were all ſette at ſupper, and asked where he ſhould ſit, *Barca* tolde him agayne, where it pleaſed him. Then caſting his eyes about, he ſayd he would ſitte by *Munatius*: and ſo fetching a compaſſe about the borde, he went and ſate by him, but offered him no friendſhippe and familiaritie all ſupper tyme. Afterwardes notwithſtanding, at the requeſt of *Martia*, that was earneſtly in hande with *Cato* for him: he wrote vnto him, and willed him to come and ſpeake with him. *Munatius* went to *Catoes* houſe in the morning, where *Martia* ſtayed him, and kept him companie, vntill all the reſt that came to ſalute *Cato*, were departed. Then *Cato* comming to him, embraced him in his armes, and made very muche of him. We haue the willinglier dilated this matter at length, bicauſe mens natures and manners might be diſcerned euen in theſe ſmall matters of friendſhippe priuately, as otherwiſe in the greateſt publicke cauſes. Now touching *Catoes* commiſſion, he gotte together litle leſſe then ſeuen thowſand ſiluer talents. Furthermore, fearing the farreneſſe of the iorney he had to goe by ſea, he made diuers litle cofers, and put into euery one of them two talents, and fiue hundred Drachmas, and tyed vnto eache of them a longe rope, and a greate peece of corcke: bicauſe that if the ſhippe ſhould fortune to miſcarye, thoſe corckes might ſhewe where the cheſtes with money laye in the bottome of the ſea. Thus was all the money ſaued, ſauing a litle, and brought ſafely to Rome. *Cato* hauing made two bookes wherin he had noted all thinges done in his iorney, he could neither ſaue thone nor thother of them. For one of his bondmen made free, called *Philargyrus*, tooke the one away: who taking ſhippe at the hauen of Cenchrees, was him ſelfe drowned, and the booke he had alſo, loſt with him. The other booke which he him ſelfe had kept, vntill he came vnto Corfov: he lying in the market place of the citie in his tents, which he cauſed to be ſet vppe: the Mariners being very cold in the night, made ſo great a fire, that it burnt the tents, ſtuffe, booke and all. Notwithſtanding, he brought certaine of the late king *Ptolomyes* ſlaues with him, who while he liued, had the charge and cuſtodie of all his treaſure and riches, the which he brought as witneſſes, to ſtoppe the mouthes of his malicious enemies, that would haue accuſed him in any thinge. But yet the loſſe of them did grieue him, not ſo much for the greate care and paynes he had taken in ſetting downe the accompt of his charge, for the iuſtification and proofe of his fidelitie and good ſeruice: but alſo, for that they might haue ſerued for a good memoriall and example vnto all others, to haue bene a like carefull in their charge, as him ſelf. But the goddes denyed him this good happe. Newes beeing brought that he was come to Rome by water, when they vnderſtood that he was at hand, by and by all the Magiſtrats, the Prieſtes, the Senate, & the moſt part of the people alſo went out to meete him by the riuers ſide: ſo that both ſides of the riuer of Tyber were full of people, and the receiuing of him in, ſeemed not inferior to the entry of a triumphe. Notwithſtanding, ſome thought him very preſumptuous, that the Conſuls and Prætors comming out to meete him, he did not ſtay his gally, but rowed ſtill vp the ſtreame (beeing in a kinges galley of ſix owers to euery bancke) and neuer ſtayed, vntill all his fleete arryued in the hauen. This notwithſtanding, when the cofers with mony were caried thorough the market place into the treaſure chamber, the people wondred to ſee ſo great a quantitie of it. And thereuppon the Senate being aſſembled, with great and honorable words they gaue *Cato* an extraordinary Prætorſhip, and priuiledge alſo, at any common ſports to weare a purple gowne. *Cato* refuſed all theſe honours, and onely beſought the Senate to make *Nicias* a free man, Steward of the late diſeaſed king *Ptolomy*, being a witnes of his faith and

Money gotten togeather by Cato in Cyprus.

Cato receiued into Rome with great honor, of all the people.

A and great paynes he had taken in this ſeruice. *Philip* the father of *Martia*, was that yeare Conſul, ſo that after a ſorte, the authoritie of the Conſul was in *Cato*: bicauſe *Lentulus*, colleague and fellowe Conſul with *Philip*, did no leſſe reuerence *Cato* for his vertues, then *Philip* did for his allyance with him. Furthermore, when *Cicero* was reſtored agayne from his baniſhment, the which *Publius Clodius* (beeing then Tribune of the people) had put apon him, and beeing agayne growen to great credit: he went one day into the Capitoll, in the abſence of *Clodius*, by force to take awaye the tables which *Clodius* had conſecrated there, in the which were compriſed all his doings during the tyme he was Tribune. Thereuppon the Senate beeing aſſembled, *Clodius* did accuſe *Cicero* of this violent facte. *Cicero* aunſwered him agayne: that bicauſe *Clodius* was choſen Tribune, directly againſt the lawe, therefore all his doings were
B voyde, and of no validitie. Then ſtoode vppe *Cato*, and ſayde: he knewe that all that which *Clodius* did when he was Tribune, was ſcantly good and allowable, but yet if generally any man ſhoulde vndoe all that he had paſſed by that authoritie: then all that he him ſelfe had done likewiſe in CYPRVS, muſt of neceſſitie bee reuoked. For the commiſſion that was graunted vnto him (by vertue whereof he had done many thinges) ſhoulde be vnlawfull: bicauſe the Tribune alſo that did graunt it him, was not lawfully choſen. And therefore, that *Publius Clodius* was not made Tribune againſt the lawe, who by conſent of the lawe was taken out from a noble houſe, and made a populer perſon: howebeit, if he had behaued him ſelfe vnduetifully in his office, as other men that happely had offended: then he was to be accuſed to make him mend his faulte, and not to deſtroye the authoritie of the officer, which in
C it ſelfe was lawfull. After that, there fell miſliking betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, for this counter buffe he had giuen him: and *Cicero* continued a long tyme after, before he did ſhewe him any countenaunce of friendſhippe as he had at other tymes done. But afterwardes they were reconciled together agayne, by this occaſion. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* hauing bene with *Cæſar* to talke with him (who for that purpoſe came out of GAVLE beyond the Alpes) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demaund the ſecond Conſulſhip together, and when they had it, then to proroge *Cæſars* gouernment for fiue yeares more, and alſo they woulde haue the beſt prouinces and greateſt, for them ſelues, with great armies, and money enough to paye them with. This was in deede a playne conſpiracie to deuide the Empire of ROME betweene them, and vtterly to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth. At that time there were ma-
D ny noble men, which came to make ſute for the Conſulſhip. But when they ſawe *Pompey* and *Craſſus* offer to make ſute for it, all the reſte gaue ouer, but *Lucius Domitius* that had maryed *Porcia*, *Catoes* ſiſter: through whoſe perſwaſion he woulde not relinquiſhe his ſute, conſidering that it was not the office onely of the Conſulſhip that was the chiefeſt matter of importance, but the libertie of the Senate and people. Straight there ranne a rumor through the moſt parte of the people, that they were not to ſuffer *Pompeys* power to be ioyned with *Craſſus*, by meanes of this office: for then his authoritie woulde bee too great and ſtronge, and therefore, that of neceſſitie one of theſe two were to bee denyed. For this cauſe therefore, the good men tooke *Domitius* parte, and did encourage him to goe on with his ſute, aſſuring him of ayde vnder hande of diuers, which durſt not bee ſeene openly for feare of thoſe two
E great men, who at the daye of the election would procure him voyces in his fauour. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* miſtruſting this, made *Domitius* bee ſette vppon, going with torche light before daye into the fielde of *Mars*, where the election was alwayes made: and firſt ſtriking the torche bearer that went before him, they hurt him ſo ſore, that he fell downe deade at his feete. Then they layed at the reſt in like caſe, who finding them ſelues cruelly hurt, ranne awaye euery man of them, and left *Domitius* and *Cato* poſt alone. But *Cato*, notwithſtanding he was hurt in one of his armes, ſtill helde *Domitius* faſt, and prayed him to tary, and not to leaue to defende the libertie of their contrie, againſt tyrants, which playnely ſhewed after what manner they woulde gouerne, ſithe by ſuche wicked meanes they aſpyred to tyrannicall gouernment. All this notwithſtanding, *Domitius* woulde tarye no lenger, but betooke
F him to his legges, and ranne home. Thus were *Craſſus* and *Pompey* without denyall proclaymed Conſuls. *Cato* neuer yeelded therefore, but came and ſued to bee Prætor, bicauſe that thereby he might yet make it ſome ſtrength and countenaunce to him againſt their Conſul-

VVhy Cato ſued to be Prætor.

ſhippe, that beeing no priuate perſon, he ſhoulde haue ſome better authoritie to reſiſt them A
that were the chiefeſt perſons. But they fearing, that the Prætorſhippe by the eſtimation of
Cato, woulde come to equall their authoritie of the Conſulſhippe: firſt aſſembled the Senate
(the moſt parte of the Senators not hearing of it) and in that aſſemblye cauſed the Senate to
decree: that all ſuche as were choſen Prætors, ſhoulde preſently goe to their charge, not at-
tending the tyme and libertie appoynted by the lawe, during which tyme men might accuſe
thoſe which had bought the voyces of the people with money. Then hauing by this culler
and decree ſette yll doers at libertie, without feare of puniſhment, they pretending to vſe
corruption, did preferre ſome of their owne Miniſters to make ſute for the Prætorſhippe,
them ſelues giuing money to corrupt the people, and beeing preſent alſo at the election. But
notwithſtanding all theſe practiſes, the vertue and reputacion of *Cato* ouercame them. For B
the people had him in ſo great reuerence, that they thought it too ſhamefull a parte to ſell
Cato by voyces, who deſerued rather to bee hyered to take the Prætorſhippe apon him. Then
Cato put from the Prætorſhip by Pompey. the firſt Tribe beeing called to giue their voyces, declared him Prætor. *Pompey* ſeeing that,
ſtraight brake of the aſſemblye, making a ſhamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the
which the ROMANES doe maruelouſly deteſt, and will conclude nothing when it thunde-
reth. Howebeit afterwardes they gaue more money, then they had done before, and there-
by draue awaye the chiefeſt men out of the fielde of *Mars*, and by practiſe obtayned, that
Vatinius was choſen Prætor for *Cato*. And the reporte went, that they that had ſo wickedly
giuen their voyces, feeling them ſelues pricked in conſcience, fledde immediatly out of the
fielde: and the honeſt men that remayned, were both very ſory and angrie, for the iniurie C
they had offered *Cato*. At that tyme one of the Tribunes keeping an aſſemblye of the citie,
Cato ſtoode vppe, and tolde (as if he had prophecied) before them all, what woulde happen
to the common wealth by theſe practiſes, and ſtirred vppe the people agaynſt *Pompey*, and
Cæſar, ſaying: that they were giltye of thoſe thinges, and therefore procured them to bee
done, bicauſe they were affrayde that if *Cato* had beene Prætor, he would too narrowly haue
ſifted out their deuiſes. In fine, *Cato* going home to his houſe, had more companye to wayte
vppon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had beene choſen. When *Caius Trebonius*,
Tribune of the people, had preferred a lawe for the deuiding of the prouinces vnto the
newe Conſuls, SPAYNE and AFRICKE vnto the one, and ÆGYPT and SYRIA vnto the o-
ther, with full power to make warre as they thought good bothe by ſea and lande: all other D
men hauing no hope to keepe it backe, did let it alone, and ſpake nothing to contrarye it.
Cato was a-gainſt the law for the pro-uinces of Pompey and Craſſus. Then *Cato* getting vppe into the pulpit for orations, before the people beganne to giue their
voyces, coulde hardely haue two howers ſpace to ſpeake: but at length, they perceyuing
that he delayed tyme by foretelling thinges to come, woulde ſuffer him to ſpeake no longer,
but ſent a Sergeaunt to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was
beneath, and cryed out notwithſtanding, and diuers gaue good eare vnto him: the Serge-
aunt went to him agayne, and tooke him, and caryed him out of the market place. Howe-
beit the Officer had no ſooner left him, but he went ſtrayght towardes the pulpit for orati-
ons, and there cryed out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to haue an eye
to ayde the libertie of their common wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentymes toge- E
ther did this, *Trebonius* the Tribune being madde withal, commaunded his Sergeaunt to cary
him to priſon. The people followed him hard notwithſtanding, to heare what he ſayd vnto
them. Whereuppon *Trebonius* fearing ſome ſturre, was forced to commaund his Sergeaunt
to let *Cato* goe. So *Cato* draue of all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning
notwithſtanding, the contrary faction hauing partly put the ROMANES in feare, and wonne
the other parte alſo by fayre wordes and money, and by force of armes likewiſe kept *Aqui-
lius*, one of the Tribunes, from comming out of the Senate: and after they had alſo violent-
ly driuen *Cato* out of the market place, for ſaying that it thundred, and hauing hurt many men,
and alſo ſlayne ſome out of hande in the market place: in the ende they forcibly paſſed the
decree by voyces of the people. Many beeing offended therewith, went a company of them F
together to plucke downe *Pompeys* images: but *Cato* would not ſuffer them. And afterwardes
alſo, when they preferred an other law for the prorogacion of the prouinces & armies which

Cæſar

A *Cæsar* demaunded: *Cato* would speake no more to the people to hinder it, but protested vnto *Pompey* him selfe, that he saw not how he plucked *Cæsar* apon him, and that he should feele the weight of his force before he looked for it: and then when he could neither suffer nor remedy it, he would euen cast his burden and him selfe apon the common wealth, and too late would remember *Catoes* warnings, which were priuately as profitable for *Pompey*, as openly iust and reasonable for the cõmon wealth. *Cato* vsed many of these perswasions sundry times vnto him, but *Pompey* neuer made accompt of them: for he woulde not be perswaded that *Cæsar* would euer chaunge in that sorte, and besides he trusted too much to his owne power and prosperitie. Furthermore, *Cato* was chosen Prætor for the next yeare following, in the which it appeared (though he ministred iustice vprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the maiestie B and dignitie of his office, then that he gaue it grace and countenaunce by his doings: for he would oftentimes go a foote barelegged, and without any coate, vnto his Prætors chaire, and there geue sentence of life and death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And some report, that he would geue audience when he had dyned, and dronke wine: but that is vntrue. Now *Cato* perceiuing that the citizens of ROME were marred by bribes and gifts of those, which aspired vnto offices, and that the people made it an arte and facultie to gaine by: to roote this vice altogether out of the common wealth, he perswaded the Senate to make a law, that such as hereafter should be chosen Consulls or Prætors, should (if there were no man to accuse them) come and offer them selues before the iudges, and taking their othe, should truely declare what meanes they had vsed to attaine to their office. This offended the suters for the C offices, but muche more the mercenarie multitude. Whereuppon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his audience, and all cried out vpon him, reuiled him, and threw stones at him: insomuch as they that were there, were forced to flie thence, and him selfe also was driuen out of the place by the prease of people, and had much a doe to get to the pulpit for orations, where standing on his feete, he presently pacified the tumult of the people, by the boldnes and constancie of his countenaunce only. Then when all was pacified by the present perswasions he vsed, aptly spoken to purpose for the instant, they geuing attentiue eare, without sturre or vprore. The Senate geuing him great commendacion therefore, he told them roundly and plainly: but I haue no cause to praise you, to leaue a Prætor in such daunger of his life, offering no aide to helpe him. But the suters for the offices, they D were in a maruelous case: for one way, they were affrayed to geue money to buy the peoples voyces, and on thother side, they were affraied also if any other did it, that they should go without their sute. So they were all agreed together, euery man to put downe twelue Myriades & a halfe a peece, and then they should make their sute iustly & vprightly: and whosoeuer were taken fauty, and that had otherwise made his way by corruption, that he should lose the money he had layed downe. This agreement being concluded betwene them, they chose *Cato* (as it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the same money. This match was made in *Catoes* house, where they all did put in caution or sureties to aunswere the money: the which he tooke, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, *Cato* assisting the Tribune that gouerned the election, and carefully marking howe they did geue their voyces: he E spied one of the suters for the office breake the accord agreed vpon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture vnto the rest. But they greatly commending his iustice and integritie, forgaue the forfeiture, thinking it punishment enough vnto him that had fofeited, to be condemned by *Cato*. But therby *Cato* procured him selfe the displeasure of the other Senators, for that he seemed therein to take apon him the power and authoritie ouer the whole court, and election. For there is no vertue, whereof the honor and credit doth procure more enuy, then iustice doth: bicause the people doe commonly respect and reuerence that, more then any other. For they doe not honor them as they doe valliant men, nor haue them in admiration, as they do wise men: but they loue and trust them better. As for the two first, the one they are affrayed of, and the other they distrust: beside, they suppose that valliancy and wisdom com- F meth rather by the benefite of nature, then of our intent and choyce, esteeming wisedome, as a readines of conceit, and fortitude, a presence and courage of the minde. For euery man may be iust that will, and therefore iniustice is of all other vices most shamefull: for it is a wil-

Cato foreshewed Pompey the things which happened vnto him, by Cæsar.

Cato chosen Prætor.

Cato preserued a law for vnlawfull bribing.

The power of iustice.

full and malicious defaut, and therefore can not be excuſed. Loe this was the cauſe why all A
the noble men in manner were againſt *Cato*, as though he only had ouercome them. *Pompey*,
he thought that the eſtimacion of *Cato* was altogether the diſcountenaunce of his power and
greatneſſe, and therefore did dayly raiſe vp many railers againſt him. Of them *Publius Clodius*
that ſeditious Tribune, who was againe fallen in frendſhip with *Pompey*: he accuſed *Cato*, and
cried out vpon him, how he had robbed the common wealth of a wonderfull treaſure, by his
commiſſion in CYPRVS: and that he was enemy vnto *Pompey*, bicauſe he did refuſe to marry
his daughter. *Cato* thereto made aunſwere, that he had brought more golde and ſiluer out of
CYPRVS, into the treaſure of ROME, without the allowance of either horſe or ſouldier: then
Pompey had done with all his triumphes and warres, with the which he had troubled all the
world. And moreouer, that he did neuer ſeeke alliance with *Pompey*, not that he thought him B
vnworthie of it, but bicauſe he ſaw he delt not as vprightly in the common wealth as he him
ſelfe did. I, ſayd he, haue refuſed a prouince offred me when I came out of my Prætorſhippe:
but *Pompey* hath taken ſome by force, and geuen away vnto others. And to conclude, he lent
Cæſar not long ſince, an armie of ſix thowſand men to ſerue him in the warres in GAVLE: the
which he neuer required of vs, nor *Pompey* graunted them him by our conſent. But we ſee,
that ſo many armies, armors and weapon, ſo many men and horſes, by common pleaſures of
our priuate citizens, geuen and lent at our charge. And *Pompey* him ſelfe reſeruing onely the
name of Emperour, and Lieutenaunt generall, aſſigneth ouer his armies and prouinces to
the gouernment of others, whileſt he him ſelfe beſiegeth here the walls of the citie, with ſe-
ditious & tumultuous election of officers, craftily vnderminding therby the ſtate of the com- C
mon wealth, to bring all to confuſion, that he him ſelfe might be abſolute Prince, and rule a-
M. Faonius, Catoes frend. lone. Thus was he reuenged of *Pompey*. Among *Catoes* frends, he had one called *Marcus Faonius*, ſuch a one as *Apollodorus* PHALERIAN was ſayd to be in old time, vnto *Socrates*, who did
counterfeate to be an other him ſelfe, in doing all thinges as he did. This man would be farre
out of reaſon, and paſſionate in his talke, ſtorming like a dronkard. He one yere made ſute to
be Ædilis, but he was reiected. Howbeit *Cato* that furthered his ſute, marked, that the tables
wherein the voyces were wrytten, were all one hande. So, he finding out the falſehoode, ap-
pealed thereuppon vnto the Tribunes, and made the election voyde for that time. After that
Cato doth ſet forth the playes for Faonius AEdilis. *Faonius* was created Ædilis, *Cato* did helpe him forth in all the other charges of his office, and
ſpecially in ſetting foorth playes in the Theater, which are cuſtomably done at the comming D
in of euery ſuch new officer, to geue the people paſtime: and gaue vnto the common players
and dauncers in thoſe playes, no golden crownes, as other Ædiles did, but crownes of wilde
oliue twigges, as they commonly vſe in GRÆCE at the Olympian games. And where others
gaue vnto the poore rich gifts, he gaue the GRÆCIANS leekes, lettiſes, radiſhes, and peares:
and vnto the ROMANES, they had earthen pottes full of wine, porke, figges, cowcombres, and
fagots of wodde of ſmall value. Inſomuch as ſome thought ſcorne of thē they were ſo meane,
others were verie glad of them, ſeeing that *Cato* which was ſeuere and hard of nature, had a
doing in them, and by litle and litle they turned this auſteritie of his into pleaſure. In fine, *Fa-*
onius him ſelfe ſitting downe amongeſt the people, which looked apon the players, clapped
his hands for ioy at *Cato*: and cried out to him, that he ſhould geue them good rewardes that E
played well, alluring them alſo about him to doe the like, and told them that he had made *Ca-*
to the whole ruler of thoſes ſportes. At the ſelfe ſame time, *Curio*, *Faonius* colleague and com-
panion in the office of Ædilis, had likewiſe goodly playes in an other Theater: but all the peo-
ple forſooke his, and went to ſee *Faonius* playes, who ſate among them like a priuate man, and
Catoes wiſe counſell for playes. *Cato* as the maiſter of the playes. *Cato* did this in ſcorne and mockerie, of vaine charge and ex-
pences, which men are wont to beſtow in ſuch trifles, ſhewing thereby, that whoſoeuer will
make any playes, he ſhould make the charge but a ſport alſo, furniſhing it only with a conue-
nient grace, but with no vaine expence or charge about ſuch a trifle. Shortly after, when *Sci-*
pio, *Hypſeus* and *Milo*, ſued all three together to be Conſuls, not only by briberie of money (a
common fault then in ſuing for any of the offices in the common wealth) but by plaine force F
of armes, ſlaying and killing as in a ciuill warre, they were ſo deſperat and inſolent: ſome pre-
ferred a lawe, that they ſhould make *Pompey* Preſident in theſe elections, bicauſe men ſhould

moue

A moue their ſute after a lawfull ſorte. But *Cato* ſtraight was againſt it, ſaying, that the law could haue no ſafety by *Pompey*, but *Pompey* might haue ſafety by the lawe. Notwithſtanding, when he ſawe this trouble continewe of a long time, without any Conſuls in Rome, and that dayly there were three campes in the market place, that it was almoſt impoſſible to preuent the miſchiefe at hand, and to ſtay that it ſhould goe no further: then he thought it better, that the Senate of their owne good willes, rather then by compulſion, ſhould put the gouernment of the ſtate into *Pompeis* hands alone, chooſing the leſſer euill, to withſtand the greater, and ſo to yeeld to the abſolute gouernment, without conſtraint, which the ſedition would bring it vnto. Therefore *Bibulus Catoes* frend & kinſeman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would chooſe *Pompey* ſole Conſul. For, ſayd he, either the common wealth ſhall be well gouerned by
B him, or elſe Rome ſhall ſerue an ill Lord. *Cato* then riſing vp, beyonde all mens expectacion confirmed *Bibulus* opinion, and ſayd: that the citie were better to haue one ſoueraine Magiſtrate then none, and that he hoped *Pompey* cbuld geue preſent order for the pacifying of this confuſion, and that he would be carefull to preſerue the citie, when he ſawe that they truſted him with the gouernment thereof. Thus was *Pompey* by *Catoes* meanes choſen ſole Conſull. *Pompey was created ſole Conſul, by Catoes ſentence.* Then he ſent for *Cato* to come to his gardens to him, which were in the ſuburbes of the citie. *Cato* went thither, and was receiued with as great honor & curteſie of *Pompey*, as could be deuiſed: and in thend, after he had geuen him great thankes for the honors he had done him, he
C prayed him to afford him his aduiſe and counſell in his gouernment. *Cato* anſwered him thus, that he had not ſpoken any thing before that time in reſpect of any ill will he bare him, neither that he deliuered this laſt opinion of his in reſpect of his frendſhippe, but wholly for the common wealthes ſake: howbeit otherwiſe, that for his owne priuate affaires, if he thought good to vſe his aduiſe, whenſoeuer it pleaſed him to aske his opinion, he would tell him the beſt he could. But for common cauſes, that he would alwayes tell what he thought, though he neuer asked him: and in fine, he performed all he ſayd. For firſt of all, when *Pompey* did ſet grieuous penalties & new fines apon their heades, which had bought the peoples voyces for money: *Cato* counſelled him to prouide for thinges to come, and to let that alone which was already paſt. For ſayd he, it is a hard thing to determine any certaine time, in the which a man
D ſhould ſeeke to reforme the faults that are paſt: and furthermore, if the puniſhments appointed were newer then the offences committed, then they ſhoulde doe wrong vnto them that were already accuſed, to puniſh them by a new law which they had not offended. Afterwards alſo, certaine men of good calling (*Pompeis* frends) being accuſed, *Cato* perceiuing that *Pompey* grew remiſſe, and yeelded in many things: he ſharply reproued, and reformed him. Furthermore, where *Pompey* had by law taken away the praiſes which were wont to be ſpoken of the offenders that were accuſed: he him ſelfe notwithſtanding hauing wrytten an oration in the praiſe of *Munatius Plancus*, ſent it vnto the Iudges, whileſt his cauſe was a hearing. *Cato* being one of the Iudges at that time, ſtopped his eares with both his hands, and would not haue it red. Wherefore *Plancus* refuſed him for one of his Iudges, after his cauſe was pleaded vnto: howebeit he was condemned notwithſtanding. To conclude, *Cato* was ſuch a griefe and
E trouble vnto them that were accuſed, that they coulde not tell well howe to deale with him. For, once they durſt not lette him be any of their Iudges, neither could they well alſo refuſe him. For there were many that were condemned, which refuſing *Cato*, ſeemed vnto others that they were giltie: & many alſo were ſhamefully reproued, bicauſe they would not accept *Cato* for their Iudge, when he was offered them. Thinges proceeding in this ſorte at Rome, *Ceſar* remained in Gavle with his armie, where he made warres: neuertheleſſe he wanne him frends ſtill in Rome, by gifts and money, and made him ſelfe very ſtrong. Now appeared *Catoes* predictions and forewarnings true vnto *Pompey*, and began to quicken his ſpirits which had ſlept ſo long, and made him then to conſider of the daunger, the which before he could not be perſwaded to beleue. But perceiuing his ſlackenes and feare withall, douting howe to
F proceede: to preuent *Ceſars* practiſes, *Cato* determined to ſue to be Conſul, with intent either to make him leaue his army, or elſe to finde out the practiſe he entended. *Catoes* competitors, they were both of thē very honeſt men alſo, of the which, *Sulpitius* had receiued great honor & preferrement by *Catoes* credit and authoritie: in reſpect whereof, many thought that it was *Cato ſued to be Conſull, to reſiſt Ceſar.*

ſcant honeſtly done of *Sulpitius*, to ſhew himſelfe ſo vnthankfull, as to ſtand againſt *Cato* in this ſute. Howbeit *Cato* neuer complained of the matter, but ſayd, that it was no maruell he would geue place to no man in that, ſith it was the greateſt good happe that euer came vnto him. This notwithſtanding he perſwaded the Senate to make a law, that from thence forth, ſuch as ſued for any office, they ſhould them ſelues be ſuters to the people, and not preferre their ſute by others. This cauſed the people to be more offended with him, then before, bicauſe thereby he did not only take away their fingering of money, which they got by their voyces in elections: but tooke from them the meanes they had alſo to pleaſure many, bringing them now into pouertie and contempt. He therefore hauing no face to flatter the people and to currie fauor with them, but rather ſticking to his graue maner and modeſt life, then to ſeeke the dignitie of a Conſul by ſuche meanes: made ſute him ſelfe in perſon, and would not ſuffer his frends to take the ordinary courſe which might win the peoples harts, whereupon he was put from his Conſulſhippe. This denyall was wont not only to haue made the parties refuſed, very ſorowfull, but their frendes and kinſemen alſo greatly aſhamed a long time after. Howbeit *Cato* made no reckoning of that, but went the next morning, and played at tennis with his frends in the field of *Mars*, and after he had dyned, walked againe in the market place, as his maner was, without ſhooes on his feete, and coate. But *Cicero* blamed him much for that, bicauſe the common wealth requiring then ſuch a Conſul as he, he had not carefully endeuoted him ſelfe by curteſie and gentle meanes to winne the fauor of the people, neither woulde euer after make ſute for it, although at an other time he ſued to be Prætor. Thereunto *Cato* aunſwered, that for the Prætorſhip, he was not denyed it by the good will of the people, but rather for that they were bribed with money. And for the election of the Conſuls, where there was no deceit vſed, he knew plainly he went without it, for his maners which the people miſliked: the which he thought were no wiſe mans parte to chaunge for any mans pleaſure, nor yet by making the like ſute again, to hazard the refuſall. Furthermore, *Cæſar* making warre with very ſtowt nations, & hauing with no ſmall daunger & trauell ſubdued them: and hauing alſo ſet vpon the GERMAINES, with whom the ROMANES were at peace, and alſo ſlaine three hũdred thowſand perſons: his frends made ſute that the people ſhould do ſolemne ſacrifice to geue thankes vnto the gods. But *Cato* in open Senate was of opinion, that they ſhould deliuer *Cæſar* into their handes, whome he had iniured, to receiue ſuch puniſhment as they thought good: to thend the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be caſt vpon him, that the citie might be no partaker of it, ſith they could not do withall. Neuertheleſſe, ſayd he, we are to doe ſacrifices vnto the goddes, to geue them thankes, for that they turned not the reuenge of the fury and raſhnes of the Captaine, apon our poore ſouldiers which were in no fault, but haue pardoned the common wealth. *Cæſar* being aduertiſed thereof, wrote a letter vnto the Senate, contayning many accuſations againſt *Cato*. The letter being red, *Cato* roſe, not as a man put in a chafe with choller, nor pricked with enuie, but coldly and quietly (as if he had long before premeditated what he would ſay) declared that the accuſations which *Cæſar* heaped againſt him in his letters, were but pretie mockes and ſleytes which he had gathered together to make the people mery withall. But on thother ſide, when he beganne to vnrippe his whole intents and practiſes from the beginning, not as if he had bene his enemie, but rather a confederate with him in his conſpiracie, declaring that they were not the GERMAINES, nor the GAVLES, which they were to be affrayed of, but of him ſelfe, if they were wiſe: he thereupon ſo offended the Senate, and made ſuch ſturre among them, that *Cæſars* frends repented them they had cauſed his letters to be red in the Senate, giuing *Cato* thereby occaſion iuſtly to complaine of *Cæſar*, & to alleage much good matter againſt him. At that time therefore there was nothing decreed in the Senate againſt *Cæſar*, but this was ſayed onely, that it were good reaſon to let him haue a ſucceſſor. Then *Cæſars* frendes made ſute that *Pompey* ſhoulde put away his army, and reſigne vp the prouinces he kept, or elſe that they ſhould compell *Cæſar* no more then him to doe it. Then *Cato* opened his mouth, and ſayd, the thing was now come to paſſe, which he had euer told them of, and that *Cæſar* came to oppreſſe the common wealth, openly turning the armie againſt it, which deceitfully he had obtained of the ſame. All this preuailed not, neither could he thereby winne any thing of the Senate, bicauſe the people fa-

Cato was denied the Conſulſhippe.

Cicero blameth Cato.

Cæſars opinion againſt Cæſar.

Cato inueyeth againſt Cæſar.

uored

A uored *Cæsar*, and would alwayes haue him great: for the Senate did beleue all that he sayed, but for all that they feared the people. When newes was brought that *Cæsar* had wonne the citie of ARIMINVM, and was comming on with his armie towardes ROME: then euery man looked apon *Cato*, and the people and *Pompey* confessed, that he only from the beginning had found out the marke *Cæsar* shot at, and had hit the white of his slie deuise. Then sayd *Cato* vnto them, if you would haue beleued me, my Lordes, and followed my counsell: you should not now haue bene affrayd of one man alone, neither should you also haue put your only hope in one man. *Pompey* aunswered thereunto, that *Cato* in deede had gessed more truely, howbeit that he also had delt more frendly. Thereupon *Cato* gaue counsell, that the Senate should referre all vnto *Pompeys* order: for, sayd he, they that can doe great mischiefe, knowe also howe B to helpe it. *Pompey* perceiuing that he had no army conuenient about him to tary *Cæsars* comming, and that the men also which he had, were but faint harted: he forsooke the citie. *Cato* being determined to goe with him, sent his younger sonne before vnto *Munatius*, which laye in the contrie of the BRVTIANS, and tooke his eldest sonne with him. Now, bicause he was to prouide a stay and gouernor of his house and daughters, he tooke *Martia* againe, which was left a widowe and verie riche, for that *Hortensius* dying, made her his heire of all that he had. Therein *Cæsar* vpbraydeth *Cato* much, reprouing his couetousnes to marry for goodes. For, sayd he, if he had neede of a wife, why then did he before graunt her vnto an other? If he had no neede of a woman, why then did he take her afterwards againe? Vnlesse she were before a bayte vnto *Hortensius*, to keepe her whilest she was young, that he might haue her againe C when she was riche. But against that, me thinkes it is sufficient to recite these verses of *Euripides*:

Vnlikelyhoodes first I vvill disproue. For vvhy? vvhat man can say,
That euer feare made Hercules to turne his face avvay?

For I take it to be all one, to reproue *Hercules* cowardlines, and *Catoes* couetousnes. But if his mariage be to be reproued, peraduenture it is in an other sorte. For so soone as he had maried *Martia* againe, he left his house and his daughters to her gouernment, and followed *Pompey*. But after that time, men reporte that he neuer polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any garland, but to his dying day, lamented, and bewailed in his hart, the miserie and calamitie of his contrie, whether they had victorie, or were ouercome. So hauing the prouince of D SICILE allotted to him, he went vnto SYRACVSA. There vnderstanding that *Asinius Pollio* was arriued at MESSINA, with men of warre from his enemies: *Cato* sent vnto him, to knowe wherefore he came thither. *Pollio* againe asked of him, who was the causer of all this warre. Againe, when *Cato* was aduertised that *Pompey* had forsaken ITALIE, & that he lay in campe beyond the sea, by the citie of DYRRACHIVM, then he sayd, he saw a maruelous great chaunge and incerteintie in the prouidence of the goddes: that when *Pompey* did all things beyond reason, and out of course, he was inuincible: and now that he sought to preserue his contrie, he saw he lacked his former good happe. Nowe he knewe he was strong enough at that time, to driue *Asinius Pollio* out of SICILE if he would: but bicause there came a greater aide vnto him, he would not plague that Iland, with the miserie of warre. Then after he had aduised the SE RACVSANS to take the stronger part, and to looke to their safety: he tooke the sea and went towards *Pompey*. When he was come vnto him, he did alwaies coũsel him to prolong the warre, hoping still of some treaty of peace: & would in no case they should come to fight any battell, where the weaker parte should of necessity be put to the sword, by the stronger. Therefore he perswaded *Pompey* and the counsellers about him, to establishe certaine lawes to this effect. That they should sacke no citie in this warre, the which belonged vnto the Empire of ROME: and also, that they should kill no citizen of ROME, but in furie of battell, when their swordes were in their hands. Therby he wanne him selfe great honor, and brought many men to take *Pompeys* parte, by the lenity and clemency he vsed vnto them that were taken. Thereupon *Cato* being sent into ASIA, to aide them that had commission to presse shippes & men of warre, F he tooke his sister *Seruilia* with him, and the boy which *Lucullus* had by her: for all the time of her widowhoode, she had followed *Cato*, and thereby had worne out her ill name she had before, sith they saw she had so willingly geuen her selfe to follow him in his flying, and con-

Cato prignosticated Cæsars tyrannie.

Cato followeth Pompey.

Cæsar reproueth Catoes couetousnes.

Cato is sent into Sicile.

Cato leaueth Sicile.

Catoes lawes in Pompeys army.

tented her selfe with his straight maner of life. This notwithstãding, *Cæsar* did not let to shame her to *Cato*. *Pompeys* Captaines had no neede of *Cato* any where, but at the RHODES. For he wanne the people there with his curteous vsage & perswasion, leauing with them *Seruilia* and her litle sonne, and went from thence to *Pompeys* campe, who had leauied a great armie both by sea and land. There did *Pompey* most of all discouer his minde and intent. For first he ment to haue geuen *Cato* the charge of the armie by sea, which were aboue fiue hundred shippes of warre, besides an infinite number of foystes & pinases, & such small bottomes vncouered: but sodainly cõsidering better of it (or possibly being informed by some of his frends, that al *Catoes* regard & counsell in matters of gouernment was, to deliuer ROME from tyranny, & that if he had so great a charge vnder him, *Cæsar* being once ouercome, he would also force *Pompey* to leaue his army, & so make him subiect to the law) he chaunged his minde, notwithstanding he had already moued it to *Cato*; & leauing him, gaue *Bibulus* the charge of all his army by sea. But *Cato* therefore shewed no lesse good will vnto *Pompey*, then before. For it is reported, that in a certaine skirmish & cõflict before the city of DYRRACHIVM, *Pompey* encoraging his souldiers, & commaunding euery Captaine also to do the like in his quarter: the souldiers gaue but faint eare vnto them, & made no manner of show of men whose harts had bene any whit the more encoraged thereby. But when *Cato* after them all came and told them (as the time serued) the reason of Philosophie, and the effect of libertie, manhoode, death, and honor, and that with a great vehement affection: and last of all ending his oration, calling apon the gods, turning his speache vnto them, as if they had bene present to haue seene how valliantly the souldiers fought for the libertie of their contry: they gaue such a lustie crye, and had such a braue conceite & vehement desire to fight like men, that all the Captaines were filled with good hope, and so led them to battell, where they gaue such a cruell charge and fierce onset apon their enemies, that they ouerthrewe them, and put them that day to flight. Howebeit *Cæsars* good fortune tooke the finall ende of this victorie from *Pompey*, by his ouergreat feare and mistrust: who could not tell how to take the benefit of his victorie, as we haue wrytten more amply in his life. But when all the rest reioyced that they had done so noble an exployte, & made their vawnts of the great aduantage they had of their enemies: *Cato* to the contrarie bewailed the calamitie of his contrie, and lamented that cursed ambicion which caused so many good and valliant citizens of one selfe citie, so to kill and murther one an other. After this ouerthrowe, *Cæsar* taking his way into THESSALIE, *Pompey* raised his campe to followe him, and leauing a great power at DYRRACHIVM, of men, armor, munition and frends: he gaue *Cato* the charge of them all, and fifteene ensignes of footemen besides. The which he did for the feare and mistrust he had of him, being assured, that if by ill fortune he should lose the battell, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a trustier man then he: but on thother side if he wanne the victory, he douted sore that he could not commaund as he would, where *Cato* was. There were also many other noble men, as a man would say, cast away, and left at DYRRACHIVM, with *Cato*. In fine, the ouerthrow of the battell at Pharsalia being blowen abroad, *Cato* resolued with himselfe if *Pompey* were dead, that he would passe ouer all his men into ITALIE, and then like a banished man would him selfe alone wander as farre as he coulde from the tyrannie: and contrarily, if he were aliue, that then he would keepe his army together for him, as long as he could. With this determination, he passed ouer the sea into the Ile of CORFV, where *Pompeys* armie by sea lay. There *Cato* finding *Cicero*, he would haue surrendered vp his charge vnto him, as to a man of greater dignitie, for that he had bene Consul, and *Cato* only but Prætor. Howbeit *Cicero* would in no wise receiue it, but returned immediatly into ITALY. *Cato* then perceiuing that *Pompey* the younger (sonne vnto *Pompey* the great) of a rash & hawty minde, would haue punished all them that went into ITALIE, and left the armie by sea, and that specially he was bent first of all to begin with *Cicero*: *Cato* reproued him priuately for it, so that he certainly saued *Ciceroes* life, and many other moe besides. Now *Cato* supposing that *Pompey* the great had saued him selfe in ÆGYPT, or in AFRICKE, he determined to take the seas, to meete him with all his men: but before he tooke shippe, he gaue all men leaue to depart that were not willing to follow him. *Cato* being arriued in AFRICKE, sayling vp & downe the coast there, he met with *Sextus*, the youngest sonne of *Pompey*, who first told him, that his father

VVhy Pompey chaunged his minde for the gouernment of the army by sea.

VVhy Pompey left Cato at Dyrrachium.

Cato saueth Ciceroes life, from Pompeis sonne.

Cato went into Africke.

A father was slaine in Ægypt: when the souldiers heard it, they tooke it very heauely, and not one of them after the death of *Pompey* the great, would serue vnder any other Captaine then *Cato*. He therupon being ashamed,& thinking it pity also to leaue so many noble & good men that had serued so faithfully vnder him, without a Captaine, not knowing what way to take, nor whether to goe: at their request he was contented to take charge of them, and went first vnto the citie of Cyrenes, where not many dayes before, the citizens had shut the gates against *Labienus*. Being there, it was told him that *Scipio*, *Pompeys* father in law, was gotten vnto king *Iuba*, who had receiued him: and that *Actius Varus*, vnto whome *Pompey* had geuen the charge of the prouince of Africke, was in their company with an army, and determined to goe ioyne with them. So he went by lande in the winter time, and had gotten a maruelous B number of asses together, to cary water and vittels, which followed him with a great number of carts besides, and of those men, which the Africanes call Psilles, to wit, they that doe heale the stinging of serpents, and doe sucke out the poyson with their mouthes, and doe furthermore charme and enchaunt the snakes, that they haue no power to doe any hurt. He was seuen dayes together marching continually, and went a foote as a guide vnto his men, without helpe of horse or beast. From that day foorth, on the which he vnderstoode of the battell lost at Pharsalia, he neuer supped, but sitting,* and added that vnto the rest of his sorrow, that he neuer layed him downe, but when he went to bedde for all night. *Cato* hauing passed the winter in Lybia, he brought his souldiers into the fielde, which were about tenne thowsand persons. The affaires on their side had but hard successe, for the contencion and variance C betwext *Scipio*, and *Varus*, for the which, they both flattered king *Iuba* to winne his fauor: being a maruelous prowde man for his greatnes and riches: as he shewed the first time he spake with *Cato*. For when *Cato* came, he caused his owne chayre to be set betwext *Scipio* and *Cato*, to haue the honor to be in the middest. But *Cato* perceiuing it, tooke vp his owne chaire, and set it on thother side by *Scipio* to put him in the middest, notwithstanding that he was his enemie, and had wrytten a shamefull booke against him. Many make no accompt of this facte of *Cato*, but reproue him, bicause that walking one day with *Philostratus* in Sicile, he gaue him the vpper hande, honoring him for his Philosophie. Thus *Cato* did pull downe the pride of the king at that time, who before had vsed *Scipio*, and *Varus*, as his noble men and subiects: howebeit *Cato* did reconcile them together againe. Furthermore, when all the companie D prayed him to take charge of the whole armie, and that *Scipio* him selfe, and *Varus* both, did first geue him place, and willingly resigned vnto him the honor to commaunde the whole campe: he aunswered them, he woulde not offende the lawe, sith he made warre onely to preserue the authoritie and priuiledge thereof, neither would take vpon him to commaunde all, him selfe being but Vicepretor, where there was a Viceconsull present. For *Scipio* was created Proconsull, and furthermore, the people had a certayne confidence that their affaires woulde prosper the better, if they had but the name of a *Scipio* to leade them in Africke. Nowe when *Scipio* was Generall ouer them, he woulde straight, for *Iubaes* sake, haue put all the inhabitantes of the citie of Vtica (without respect of age) vnto the sworde, and haue rased the houses to the grounde as those that had taken *Cæsars* parte. Howebeit *Cato* woulde E not suffer him, but protesting vnto them that were present, and calling the gods to witnesse in open counsell, with great difficulty he saued the poore people of Vtica from that cruell tragedy and slaughter. Afterwards, partly at the request of the people, and partly also at *Scipioes* instance, *Cato* tooke apon him to keepe the city, fearing least by treason, or against their wills, it should come into *Cæsars* hands: bicause it was a strong place of scituacion, and well replenished with all things necessary for him that should kepe it. *Cato* did both furnish it, & also fortifie it. For he brought in great store of corne, he repaired the rampers of the walls, made great high towers, & cast depe trenches round about the city, paling thē in: & betwext the trenches and the towne, he lodged all the young men of Vtica, & compelled them to deliuer vp their armor & weapon and kept all the rest within the city it selfe, carefully prouiding, that neuer a F man of thē should be hurt by the Romanes, & besides, did also send corne, armor, munition & money vnto the campe: so that the city of Vtica was the staple & storehouse of the warres. Moreouer, as he had before counselled *Pompey* not to come to battell, the like counsell he now

Psilles, be men which heale the stinging of serpents.

** Men in olde time bathed and washed themselues, & then laied them downe in their bed to suppe.*

The modestie and noble minde of Cato.

Cato ioyneth with Scipio in Africke.

Cato was made Gouernor of the city of Vtica.

gaue alſo vnto *Scipio*: not to hazard battel againſt a man of great skill & experience in warres, A
but to take time, whereby, by litle and litle, he ſhould conſume the power & ſtrength of *Cæſars*
Scipio deſpiſeth Catoes counſell. tyranny. But *Scipio* was ſo ſtowt, that he regarded not *Catoes* coũſell, but wrote otherwhile vn-
to him, twitting him with his cowardlines in this maner: that it was enough for him to be ſafe
in a good city compaſſed about with walls, though otherwiſe he ſought not to hinder men to
be valliant, to execute any enterpriſe as occaſion was offred. *Cato* wrote againe vnto him, that
he was ready to goe into ITALIE with his footemen and horſemen which he had brought in-
to AFRICKE to draw *Cæſar* from them, and to turne him againſt him. *Scipio* made but a ſport
at it. Then *Cato* ſhewed plainly, that he did repent him he had geuen him the preferrement to
be generall of the army, bicauſe he ſaw he would but fondly proſecute this warre: & alſo, that
if he chaunced to ouercome, he could not moderately vſe the victory againſt his contry men. B
Then he beganne to miſtruſt the good ſucceſſe of this warre (and ſo he told his frendes) for
the Generalls haſtines and vnskilfulneſſe: and yet if beyonde expectacion it fell out well, and
that *Cæſar* were ouerthrowen, he would neuer dwell at ROME any more, but would flye the
crueltie and bitternes of *Scipio*, who euen at that preſent time did prowdly threaten many. But
in the ende, that fell out ſooner then looked for. For a poſte came to him late that night,
who but three dayes before departed from the campe, and brought newes that all was loſt,
in a great battell, by the citie of THAPSES, which *Cæſar* had wonne: that he had taken both
campes, that *Scipio* and king *Iuba* were fled with a fewe men, and that all the reſt of their armie
was ſlaine. Theſe newes did put the citizens in ſuch a feare and maze, (and ſpecially being in
the warre, and in the night time) that for very feare they could ſcant keepe them ſelues within C
Catoes conſtancy in extremity. the walles of their citie. But *Cato* meeting with them, ſtayed them that ranne vp and downe
crying in the ſtreetes, and did comfort them the beſt he could. Yet he tooke not all their feare
from them, though he brought them againe vnto them ſelues from the extaſie they were in,
declaring vnto them, that the loſſe was nothing ſo great as it was made, and that it was a
common matter to enlarge ſuche newes with wordes enowe. By theſe perſwaſions, he ſom-
what pacified the tumult and vprore, and the next morning by breake of day, he made pro-
clamacion, that the three hundred men which he had choſen for his counſellers, ſhould come
and aſſemble in the temple of *Iupiter*, they all being citizens of ROME, which for trafficke of
marchaundiſe lay in AFRICKE, and all the ROMANE Senators and their children alſo. Nowe
whileſt they gathered them ſelues together, *Cato* him ſelfe went verie grauely with a ſet mo- D
deſt countenaunce, as if no ſuche matter had happened, hauing a litle booke in his hande,
which he read as he went. This booke conteyned the ſtore and preparacion of munition he
had made for this warre, as corne, armor, weapons, bowes, ſlings and footemen. When they
Catoes oration vnto the Romanes at Vtica. were all aſſembled, he began greatly to commend the good loue and faithfulnes of theſe three
hundred ROMANES, which had profitably ſerued their contry with their perſons, money, and
counſell, and did counſell them not to depart one from an other, as men hauing no hope, or
„ otherwiſe ſeeking to ſaue them ſelues ſcatteringly. For remeining together, *Cæſar* would leſſe
„ deſpiſe them, if they would make warre againſt him: and would alſo ſooner pardon them, if
„ they craued mercie of him. Therefore he counſelled them to determine what they would do,
„ and for his owne parte, he ſayed he would not miſlike whatſoeuer they determined of: for if E
„ their mindes followed their fortune, he would thinke this chaunge to proceede of the neceſ-
„ ſitie of time. But if they were reſolued to withſtande their misfortune, and to hazard them
„ ſelues to defend their libertie: he then would not only commend them, but hauing their noble
„ corage in admiration, would him ſelfe be their chieftaine and companion, euen to proue the
„ fortune of their contrie to the vttermoſt. The which was not VTICA, nor ADRVMETVM, but
„ the citie ſelfe of ROME: the which oftentimes through her greatnes, had raiſed her ſelfe from
„ greater daungers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many waies to ſaue them ſelues,
„ & the greateſt meane of all was this: that they ſhould make warre with a man, who by reaſon
„ of his warres was compelled to be in many places. For SPAYNE of the one ſide was vp againſt
„ him, and tooke parte with the younger *Pompey*: and the citie of ROME alſo not being vſed to F
„ be brideled with the ſnaffle of ſuch inſolencie, could not abide it, but would rather riſe with
„ any other chaunge. Furthermore, that they were not to refuſe any daunger, but to take exãple

of

A of their enemy: who, to worke his miſchieuous intent, ſpareth not his perſon in any daunger. And contrarily alſo, that vnto them, the incertaintie of the warre, if victorie followed, would make them happy: as alſo in being ouerthrowen, their death would turne to immortall glory. Notwithſtanding, they were to thinke of the matter among thēſelues, & to make their praiers to the gods, that in recōpence of their vertue & good ſeruice which they had ſhewed thitherunto, they would graūt thē grace to determine for the beſt. After *Cato* had ended his oration, there were diuers of thē that were ſtirred vp by his liuely perſwaſions, but the moſt part of thē were incoraged by his conſtancy & noble minde, & alſo by his kindnes: ſo that they preſently forgate the daunger they were in, & prayd him to cōmaund their perſons, goods, & weapons, as he thought good, taking him for their only inuincible Captaine, of whom fortune had no

B power, thinking it better to dye obeying his counſell, then to ſaue them ſelues, forſaking ſo valliant and worthy a man. Then, when one of the aſſembly made a motion that they ſhoulde make their bondmen free, & that diuers alſo did confirme it, *Cato* ſayd he would by no meanes ſuffer it, becauſe it was neither meete nor lawfull: howbeit if their maiſters would manumiſe them, that he was cōtented to receiue thē for ſouldiers, that could weare any weapon. Diuers promiſed him to do it: & *Cato* commaunded their names ſhould be enrolled that would, & ſo went his way. Immediatly after, letters were brought him frō king *Iuba*, & *Scipio*: of the which, king *Iuba* was hidden in a moūtaine with few men with him, who ſent vnto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he ment to forſake VTICA, he would tary him there: & if otherwiſe he determined to kepe VTICA, then that he would come & helpe him with an army.

C *Scipio* on thother ſide riding at ancker, at a point of the land not farre from VTICA, ſtaid for the like aunſwere. Then *Cato* thought it beſt to ſtay the meſſengers which had brought him their letters, till he ſaw what was the determination of the three hundred. For all they that were Senators of ROME, were verie glad men, & did preſently make their bondmen free, & gaue them weapons. But the other three hundred which were marchant venterers, & that liued by vſury & exchaunge, who had the moſt parte of their goods in ſlaues & bondmen, did not long follow *Catoes* counſell: but like men, whoſe bodies ſoone receiue heate, & are ſoone cold againe, when they are once gone from the fire: euen ſo thoſe marchāts, while *Cato* was preſent among them, had ſome good prety will & deſire: but when by them ſelues they had caſt their accōpt, the feare they had of *Cæſar*, made them forget the reuerence they bare vnto *Cato*, & vnto their

D duety. For, ſayd they, what are we, & what is he whom we diſdaine to obey? Is it not *Cæſar* him ſelfe, who at this day is Lord & Emperor of ROME? Neuer a one of vs is *Scipio*, *Pompey*, nor *Cato*: & yet now, when all men for feare (& in maner compelled) do yeld & ſubmit thē ſelues, we will nedes take vpon vs within the wals of VTICA to fight for the liberty of ROME againſt him, for whom, *Cato* flying with *Pompey*, forſooke ITALIE: and we now make our bondmen free to fight with *Cæſar*, hauing no better liberty our ſelues, then it pleaſeth him to geue vs. Let vs therefore now know our ſelues whileſt we haue time, & craue mercie at his handes that is the ſtronger, & ſend vnto him, to pray him to pardon vs. The greateſt & wiſeſt men of thoſe three hundred marchants, had this ſpeache. But the moſt parte of them ſought meanes how to entrappe the Senators, hoping the better of mercy at *Cæſars* hand, if they did deliuer them vnto

E him. *Cato* did looke for this chaunge in them, but yet vttered not that he thought, & returned the meſſengers backe againe vnto king *Iuba*, and *Scipio*, and wrote vnto them: that they ſhould beware they came not neere VTICA, bicauſe he did miſtruſt theſe three hundred marchants. Now there were a great number of horſemen which had eſcaped from the battell, who comming towards VTICA, ſent three of their company vnto *Cato*, the which brought him not one ſelfe determination from all the company. For ſome of them went to go vnto king *Iuba*, others alſo to ioyne with *Cato*, & parte of them were affraid to come into VTICA. Theſe things being thus reported vnto *Cato*, he commaunded *Marcus Rubrius* to take care of theſe three hundred men, & to receiue the names of the bondmen which they willingly manumiſed, without compelling of any man. In the meane time, *Cato* with all the Senators went out of VTICA to meete

F with theſe horſemen, & there he ſpake to the Captaines, & praid them that they would not forſake ſo many noblemen & Senators of ROME as were there: & that they would not haue king *Iuba* for their Captaine before *Cato*, but to come into VTICA: where they might ſaue thē ſelues

The equity of Cato.

Cato forſaken of three hundred Romane marchans at Vtica.

Catoes pitie and regard vnto the Senators.

the citie was of ſuche ſtrength,and beſides,ſo well armed and vitteled for many yeres. The like A
requeſt did the Senators alſo make vnto them, with the teares running downe their cheekes.
Thereupon the Captaines went & ſpake with their ſouldiers. *Cato* in the meane time ſate him
downe on a litle hill, with the Senators, tarying for aunſwere. But then on the ſodaine came
Rubrius vnto him in great haſt, complaining of the tumult of theſe three hundred marchants,
which went about to make the city to rebell: whereupon,the reſt their harts failing them,fell
to bewaile their miſerable fortune. But *Cato* ſought to comfort them, and then ſent vnto the
three hundred marchantes, to pray them to haue a litle pacience. So the Captaines returned
againe with vnreaſonable demaundes of the horſemen. For they ſayd, that they cared not for
king *Iubaes* pay, neither were they affrayed of *Cæſars* malice, ſo that they had *Cato* for their ge-
nerall: yet to be pended vp within the walls of a citie with AFRICANES, that were PHOENICI- B
ANS,and a traiterous nation as could be: that grieued them moſt of all. For,ſayd they,though
now they ſturre not, and be quiet: yet when *Cæſar* comes,they will be the firſt that will betray
vs, and cut our throates. And therefore, if *Cato* woulde haue them to ioyne with him in this
warre: that he ſhould either kill or driue away all the VTICANS out of the citie, and then that
they would come into it, when it was cleere of all thoſe barbarous people their enemies. *Cato*
thought this a cruell and barbarous condicion, neuertheles he told them that he would talke
with the three hundred: and ſo returning againe into VTICA, he ſpake vnto them. But they
then not regarding the reuerẽce vnto *Cato*,diſſembling no lenger,ſaid openly,that they would
not like of him whatſoeuer he were,that ſhould compel them to make warre with *Cæſar*,both
bicauſe they would not,nor could not doe it. Further,there were ſome of them that mumbled C
to themſelues, that the Senators ſhould be kept there, till *Cæſar* came. *Cato* ouerheard them,
for in deede his hearing was not very quicke. At that very inſtant one came to him, and tolde
him,that the horſemen were going their way. *Cato* therefore fearing leaſt theſe three hundred
marchants would lay hands apon the Senators: he went vnto them him ſelfe with his frends,
and perceiuing they were gone a great way of, he tooke his horſe and rode after them. They
reioycing to ſee him come,receiued him among them, and prayed him to ſaue him ſelfe with
Cato an earneſt ſuter for the Senators. them. But *Cato* prayed them againe to ſaue the Senators, & that with ſuch affection,as it for-
ced teares in him,beſides, he held vp his hands vnto them,tooke their horſes by the bridles,&
them ſelues by their weapons, that at length he obtained of them, that they woulde remaine
there one daye at the leaſt, to helpe the Senators to ſaue them ſelues. So *Cato* returning with D
them into the city, he appointed ſome of them to ward at the gates, & put others alſo in gar-
riſon into the caſtell: ſo that the three hũdred marchants quaked for feare,leaſt he would haue
bene reuenged of them, bicauſe of their returne with him. Thereuppon they ſent vnto *Cato*,
humbly to praye him tõ come vnto them in any caſe. But the Senators flocking about him,
would not ſuffer him to go,& ſaid,that they would not caſt away their ſauior and protector,to
The ſinceritie of Cato. put him into traitors hands. Then doutles,all that were within VTICA,plainly ſaw the vertue
& ſimplicity of *Cato*, and found that there was no frawde nor deceite in him: who hauing long
time reſolued to kill him ſelfe,he only tooke that extreame paines & care for others that their
liues being ſaued, he might then rid him ſelfe of his owne. For men might eaſely ſee, though
he diſſembled it,that he was reſolued to dye. Whereupon,hauing comforted the Senators,he E
yeelded vnto the requeſts of the three hundred marchants,& went him ſelfe alone vnto them.
Then they thanked him much for his cõming,and prayed him to commaund them,& boldly
to truſt them: ſo that he would pardon them if they could not be all *Catoes*,and would take pi-
ty of their faint harts,though they were not ſo conſtant & noble minded as he. For they were
determined to ſend vnto *Cæſar*,ſpecially to intreate him for him: and if that they could not ob-
teine pardon for him,then they were aſſured they could haue none for them ſelues,and ther-
fore would fight for the ſafety of him,while they had any breath in their bodies. *Cato* thanking
them for their good wills, anſwered: that they ſhould ſend quickely to craue pardon for them
Catoes minde vnconquerable. ſelues,but to aske none for him. For ſayd he,men that be ouercome,& haue offended, it ſtan-
deth them vpon to make humble ſute,and to craue pardon: but for him ſelfe,he was neuer o- F
uercome in his life,and yet had ouercome as much as he deſired,and had alwayes bene better
then *Cæſar* in iuſtice, who only (not him ſelfe)was now taken and ouercome: the thing being
apparantly

A apparantly proued in ſight againſt him, which he had alwaies denied to haue practiſed againſt his contry. When he had made this anſwere vnto the three hundred marchants, he departed from them. Newes being brought that *Cæſar* was in his way with all his armie, comming towards VTICA: O goddes, ſayd he, then he commeth againſt vs, as againſt men. Then turning vnto the Senators, he gaue them counſell quickely to ſaue them ſelues, whileſt the horſemen were yet in the city. So ſhutting all the gates of the city, ſauing that towards the hauen he appointed ſhippes for them all, and ſet euery thing at a ſtay, without tumult or diſorder, no man hauing iniurie offered him, and gaue euerie one money to make way for their ſafetie. When *Marcus Octauius* (who came with two legions, and camped hard by VTICA) ſent vnto *Cato*, to determine which of them two ſhould be Generall: he made no aunſwere, but turning to his
B frends ſaid: How can we wonder any more that all goeth to wracke with vs, ſith there is ſuche ambition amongſt vs for the gouernmēt, euen now, when we are at the laſt caſt? In the meane time word was brought him, how the horſemen going their way were ſpoyling of the citizens goods, as a lawfull pray in warre. He ſtraight ran thither him ſelfe, and the firſt he met withall, he tooke from them that they had gotten. The reſt, before he came vnto them, threw downe that they were carying away, & hanging downe their heades for ſhame, they went their way, and ſaid nothing. Then *Cato* calling all the citizens of VTICA together, prayed them not to incenſe nor moue *Cæſar* againſt the three hundred, but rather to craue of him pardon for thē all. Then he went againe to the peere, and there imbracing his frends, & taking his leaue of them all, he brought them to their ſhippes. Now for his ſonne, he did not coūſell him to go, neither
C did he thinke it mete to vrge him to forſake his father. Furthermore, there was one *Statilius* a young man in his companie, of a noble corage, that was determined to follow the inuincible conſtancy of *Cato*: who counſelled him to take the ſea, and to ſaile away with the reſt, bicauſe he knew he was *Cæſars* mortall enemy. *Statilius* ſaid he would not go. Then *Cato* turning him vnto *Apollonides* a Stoick Philoſopher, & vnto *Demetrius* a Peripatetick Philoſopher, ſaid: you muſt take this ſtowt young man, to perſwade him to obey vnto neceſſity. *Cato* him ſelfe in the meane time ſent away the reſt, & did miniſter iuſtice vnto them that required it: ſpending all that night, & the next day, about thoſe matters. Then *Lucius Cæſar*, the kinſeman of *Iulius Cæſar* the conqueror, being choſen by the three hundred, to goe & make ſute vnto him for them all, came and prayed *Cato* to help him to make his oration, which he ſhould ſay vnto *Cæſar* for
D them all: and as for thee, *Cato*, ſaid he, I will kiſſe his hands, and fall downe on my knees before him to intreate him for thee. Nay ſaid *Cato*, thou ſhalt not do ſo. For if I would ſaue my life by *Cæſars* grace, I could do it, if I would but go vnto him: howbeit I will not be bound to a tyran for iniuſtice. For it is an iniuſtice in him to take vpō him, as a Lord & ſoueraine to ſaue a mans life, when him ſelfe hath no authority to commaund. But yet let vs conſider if thou wilt, what thou ſhalt ſay, to craue pardon for the three hundred. So they were a while together conſidering the matter, and in fine, *Lucius Cæſar* being ready to departe, *Cato* recommended his ſonne and frendes vnto him, and imbracing him, tooke his leaue of him. Then he returned vnto his lodging, and calling his ſonne and frends before him, and talking of many matters: among o-
thers he charged his ſonne in no caſe to meddle in thaffaires of the common wealth. For ſaid
E he, to deale vprightly like *Catoes* ſonne, the corruption of the time and ſtate will not abide it: and contrarily, obſeruing the time, thou canſt not do like an honeſt man. Towards euening he went into his bath to waſhe him ſelfe, and as he was a bathing, thinking apon *Statilius*, he cried out alowde: well *Apollonides*, thou haſt at length yet perſwaded *Statilius*, to goe his way and pulled downe his ſtowt courage he had: and is he gone without bidding vs farewell? Howe, gone ſayd *Apollonides*? Nay, his hart is now more ſtowt and couragious then euer it was, notwithſtanding all the perſwaſions we could vſe vnto him: for he is determined to tary, & to take ſuch part as thou doeſt. After he had bathed him ſelfe, he went to ſupper, & ſate at his meate, as he had alwaies vſed after the battell at Pharſalia, and neuer lay, but when he went to bed. So he had all his frends, & the chiefe Magiſtrats of VTICA to ſupper with him. After ſupper, they
F fell into graue talke and matters of Philoſophie: till at length they came vnto the ſtraunge opinion of the Stoick Philoſophers, which was this: that only the good man is free, and all the euill be ſlaues. The Peripatetick Philoſopher that was preſent there, was ſtraight againſt it.

Cato reproueth the ambition of men.

Statilius, a follower of Cato.

Cato would not haue pardon begged of Cæſar for him.

Cato forbad his ſonne to meddle with matters of State in a corrupt time.

The Paradoxes of the Stoicks.

But *Cato* was very earneſt againſt the Peripateticke, and argued the matter a long time, with a vehement ſpeach and contencion: inſomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to ende his life, & to rid him him ſelfe out of all thoſe troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and ſawe that euery man helde his peace, and looked ſadly of it: to comfort them againe, and to put the ſuſpicion of his death out of their heades: he beganne againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and ſeemed to be carefull of them, as though he had bene affrayed leaſt ſome misfortune were come vnto them apon the ſea, or vnto them that were gone by land, bicauſe they paſſed through deſertes, where there was no water to be had. Now when ſupper was done, and the ſtraungers gone, he walked as his manner was with his frends, and hauing taken order with the Captaines of the watch for matters of ſeruice, as the time required: going into his chamber he embraced his ſonne and his frendes more louingly then he was wont to doe, whereby he made them againe ſuſpect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his chamber and layed in his bedde, he tooke *Platoes* dialogues in his hand, treating of the ſoule, and red the moſt parte of it. Then looking by his beds ſide, and miſſing his ſword (which his ſonne had taken from him when he was at ſupper) he called one of the groomes of his chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his ſword away: his man made him no aunſwere, & he fell againe to read his booke. Then a prety while after, not ſeeming to be importunate, or ouerhaſtie of the matter, but as though he woulde only know what became of it: he willed thē to bring him his ſword againe. They taried long, and he had red ouer all the booke, but yet his ſword was not brought him againe. Wherupon he called for all his men one after an other, & very angrily asked them his ſword, & gaue one of them ſuch a blow in the face, that his noſe fell a bleeding, & his hand was all bloody withal, and cried out that his ſonne and his ſeruaunts would deliuer him naked into the hands of his enemie: vntill his ſonne and frends at length ranne vnto him, & falling downe on their knees, lamented, and beſought him to be contented. *Cato* then riſing out of his bedde, looked grimly vpon them, and ſayd vnto them: O goddes, who euer ſaw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reaſon perſwade me, if they ſee me out of the way: & not to kepe me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doeſt thou not bind thy father (my ſonne) his hands behinde him, that when *Cæſar* commeth, he may finde me in caſe not to defend my ſelfe? I doe not deſire my ſworde to hurte my ſelfe, for if I had any ſuche minde, I neede but hold my breath a litle, or geue but a knocke of my head againſt the wall onely, and diſpatche my ſelfe quickely. When he had ſayd thus, his ſonne went out of his chamber weeping, and all his frends alſo, no man remayning with *Cato*, but *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, vnto whom he ſpake more gently, and reaſoned in this ſorte. What, doe you thinke to keepe an old man as I am, aliue by force? And haue you taried behinde but to ſit ſtaring apon me, and ſay nothing vnto me? If otherwiſe elſe, by reaſon you come to perſwade me, that it ſhall be no ſhame for *Cato*, diſpairing of the ſafetie of his life, to ſeeke it by the grace and mercy of his enemy: why then doe you not now tell me your reaſons to perſwade me, that forſaking all other fancies & determinatiōs which hetherunto we haue holden for good, being on a ſodaine become wiſer by *Cæſars* meanes, we ſhould be bound the more therefore to geue him thankes? I do not tell you this that I haue determined any thing of my life, but that it is in my power (if I liſt) to put the thing in execution I haue determined: but yet I will conſult with you, when I am ſo determined, to heare the reaſons and opinion of your bookes, which your ſelues doe vſe in diſcourſe and argument together. Goe your way therefore hardily vnto my ſonne, and tell him, that he muſt not thinke to compell his father vnto that, which he can not proue good vnto him by reaſon. After this talke, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides* being nothing comforted, weeping, departed out of his chamber. Then his ſword was brought him by a litle boy. When he had it, he drew it out, and looked whether the point and edge of his ſword was ſharpe and woulde cut: when he ſaw it was well, O, ſayd he, now I am where I would be, and ſo laying downe the ſword naked by him, he tooke his booke againe in his hand, and red it ouer (as they ſay) twiſe together. Then he ſlept ſo ſoundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber heard him ſnort againe. About midnight, he called for two of his freemen, *Cleanthes* his Phiſitian, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in his weightieſt affaires of the common wealth.

Platoes dialogues of the ſoule.

Catoes laſt wordes vnto the Philoſophers his frends.

Cato conſidered his ſworde wherewith he killed him ſelfe.

So

A So he ſent him vnto the hauen to ſee, if all his men that were imbarked were vnder ſaile: and gaue his hand vnto the Phiſitian to be bound vp, bicauſe it was ſwollen with the blow he gaue one of his ſlaues when he hit him on the face. All his ſeruaunts were glad to heare of that, hoping then that he deſired to liue. Soone after came *Butas* backe againe from the hauen, and brought him word that all were gone but *Craſſus*, who ſtayed about ſome buſines he had, and yet that he was going to take ſhippe: howbeit that the ſea was very roughe, and winde exceeding great. *Cato* hearing this, ſighed, being ſory for them that were apon the ſea: and ſent *Butas* backe againe to the hauen, to ſee if any man came backe for any matter they had to ſay vnto him. The litle birdes began to chirpe, and *Cato* fel againe in a litle ſlumber. But thereuppon *Butas* returned, & brought him word that all was quiet in the hauen, & there was no ſturre. Then
B *Cato* bad him goe his way, and ſhut to the dore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had ment to haue ſlept out all the reſt of the night. *Butas* backe was no ſooner turned, but *Cato* taking his naked ſword in his hand, thruſt it into his breaſt: howbeit the ſwelling of his hand made the blowe ſo weake, that it killed him not preſently, but drawing on to his latter ende, he fell downe vpon his bedde, and made ſuch a noyſe with his fall (ouerthrowing a litle table of geometry hard by his bedde, that his ſeruaunts hearing the noyſe, gaue a great ſhreeke for feare. Thereuppon his ſonne and his friendes ranne into the chamber, and found him all of a gore bloud, and the moſt part of his bowells comming out of his bodye, him ſelfe being yet aliue, and ſeeing them. They were all ſtriken with ſuch ſorow to behold it, that at the firſt they were ſo amaſed, as they could not tel what to ſay to it. His Phiſitiā comming to him,
C he went about to put in his bowels againe which were not periſhed, and to ſow vp his wound. But *Cato* comming to him ſelfe, thruſt backe the Phiſitian, and tare his bowells with his owne handes, and made his wound very great, and immediatly gaue vp the ghoſt. Whereuppon the three hundred ROMANES (in leſſe time then a man would haue thought *Catoes* owne houſhold ſeruaunts could haue knowen of his death) were at his dores, and immediatly after, all the people of VTICA alſo came thither, and with one voyce called *Cato* their benefactor and ſauior, and ſayd he onely was a free man, and had an inuincible minde: and this was done, when they heard ſay that *Cæſar* was not farre from VTICA. Furthermore, nether feare of the preſent daunger, nor the deſire to flatter the Conqueror, nether any priuate quarrell amongeſt them ſelues, could keepe them from honoring *Catoes* funeralls. For, ſumptuouſly ſetting out his bo-
D dy, and honorably accompanying his funeralls as might be, they buryed him by the ſea ſide, where at this preſent time is to be ſeene his image, holding a ſworde in his hande. After that, they made their beſt way to ſaue them ſelues and their citie. Nowe *Cæſar* beeing aduertiſed by them that came vnto him, howe *Cato* ſturred not from VTICA, nor fled not, but ſent all others away, ſauing him ſelfe, and his ſonne, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing: he could not deuiſe what he ment by it. Therefore eſteeming *Cato* much, he made haſte with all the ſpeede he could with his armie, to come thether. But when he vnderſtoode that *Cato* had ſlaine him ſelfe, writers doe reporte he ſayd thus: O *Cato*, I enuy thy death, ſithe
E thou haſt enuied mine honor to ſaue thy life. For in deede, had *Cato* beene contented *Cæſar* ſhould haue ſaued his life, he had not ſo much impaired his owne honor, as he had augmented *Cæſars* glory. And yet what *Cæſar* would haue done, men make it doubtful, ſauing that they coniecture well of *Cæſars* clemencie. *Cato* dyed when he was but eight and forty yeare old. For
F his ſonne, *Cæſar* neuer did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him, that he was very idlely giuen, and laſciuious beſides. For when he lay in CAPPADOCIA, in a noble mans houſe of the kings bloud, called *Maphradates*, who had a fayre woman to his wife: he taried longer there then he might well with honeſtie, whereuppon he fell to be a laughing ſtocke to the people, and in mockery they ſayd, *Cato* will goe too morrow, a thirty dayes hence. And further, that *Maphradates* and *Porcius* are two good friendes, but they haue but one minde. And the reaſon was, bicauſe *Maphradates* wife was called *Pſyche*, which in the Greeke ſignifieth, minde: and *Cato* is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind, howbeit his famous death did ſtoppe this in-
famous ſpeech. For he valiantly fighting againſt *Auguſtus*, and *Antonius*, at the battell of *Philippes*, for the libertie of his contry: their armie being ouerthrowen and fled, he would neither flie nor hide him ſelfe, but running in amongeſt his enemies, he made them knowe what he

The death of Cato.

Catoes funeralls.

Cæſars ſaying vnto Cato the dead.

The ſonne of Cato what conditions he had.

Pſyche, ſignifieth mind.

But *Cato* was very earneſt againſt the Peripateticke, and argued the matter a long time, with a vehement ſpeach and contencion: inſomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to ende his life, & to rid him him ſelfe out of all thoſe troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and ſawe that euery man helde his peace, and looked ſadly of it: to comfort them againe, and to put the ſuſpicion of his death out of their heades: he beganne againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and ſeemed to be carefull of them, as though he had bene affrayed leaſt ſome misfortune were come vnto them apon the ſea, or vnto them that were gone by land, bicauſe they paſſed through deſertes, where there was no water to be had. Now when ſupper was done, and the ſtraungers gone, he walked as his manner was with his frends, and hauing taken order with the Captaines of the watch for matters of ſeruice, as the time required: going into his chamber he embraced his ſonne and his frendes more louingly then he was wont to doe, whereby he made them againe ſuſpect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his chamber and layed in his bedde, he tooke *Platoes* dialogues in his hand, treating of the ſoule, and red the moſt parte of it. Then looking by his beds ſide, and miſſing his ſword (which his ſonne had taken from him when he was at ſupper) he called one of the groomes of his chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his ſword away: his man made him no aunſwere, & he fell againe to read his booke. Then a prety while after, not ſeeming to be importunate, or ouerhaſtie of the matter, but as though he woulde only know what became of it: he willed thē to bring him his ſword againe. They taried long, and he had red ouer all the booke, but yet his ſword was not brought him againe. Wherupon he called for all his men one after an other, & very angrily asked them his ſword, & gaue one of them ſuch a blow in the face, that his noſe fell a bleeding, & his hand was all bloody withal, and cried out that his ſonne and his ſeruaunts would deliuer him naked into the hands of his enemie: vntill his ſonne and frends at length ranne vnto him, & falling downe on their knees, lamented, and beſought him to be contented. *Cato* then riſing out of his bedde, looked grimly vpon them, and ſayd vnto them: O goddes, who euer ſaw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reaſon perſwade me, if they ſee me out of the way: & not to kepe me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doeſt thou not bind thy father (my ſonne) his hands behinde him, that when *Cæſar* commeth, he may finde me in caſe not to defend my ſelfe? I doe not deſire my ſworde to hurte my ſelfe, for if I had any ſuche minde, I neede but hold my breath a litle, or geue but a knocke of my head againſt the wall onely, and diſpatche my ſelfe quickely. When he had ſayd thus, his ſonne went out of his chamber weeping, and all his frends alſo, no man remayning with *Cato*, but *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, vnto whom he ſpake more gently, and reaſoned in this ſorte. What, doe you thinke to keepe an old man as I am, aliue by force? And haue you taried behinde but to ſit ſtaring apon me, and ſay nothing vnto me? If otherwiſe elſe, by reaſon you come to perſwade me, that it ſhall be no ſhame for *Cato*, diſpairing of the ſafetie of his life, to ſeeke it by the grace and mercy of his enemy: why then doe you not now tell me your reaſons to perſwade me, that forſaking all other fancies & determinatiōs which hetherunto we haue holden for good, being on a ſodaine become wiſer by *Cæſars* meanes, we ſhould be bound the more therefore to geue him thankes? I do not tell you this that I haue determined any thing of my life, but that it is in my power (if I liſt) to put the thing in execution I haue determined: but yet I will conſult with you, when I am ſo determined, to heare the reaſons and opinion of your bookes, which your ſelues doe vſe in diſcourſe and argument together. Goe your way therefore hardily vnto my ſonne, and tell him, that he muſt not thinke to compell his father vnto that, which he can not proue good vnto him by reaſon. After this talke, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides* being nothing comforted, weeping, departed out of his chamber. Then his ſword was brought him by a litle boy. When he had it, he drew it out, and looked whether the point and edge of his ſword was ſharpe and woulde cut: when he ſaw it was well, O, ſayd he, now I am where I would be, and ſo laying downe the ſword naked by him, he tooke his booke againe in his hand, and red it ouer (as they ſay) twiſe together. Then he ſlept ſo ſoundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber heard him ſnort againe. About midnight, he called for two of his freemen, *Cleanthes* his Phiſitian, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in his weightieſt affaires of the common wealth.

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Cato conſidered his ſworde wherewith he killed him ſelfe.

So

A So he ſent him vnto the hauen to ſee, if all his men that were imbarked were vnder ſaile: and gaue his hand vnto the Phiſitian to be bound vp, bicauſe it was ſwollen with the blow he gaue one of his ſlaues when he hit him on the face. All his ſeruaunts were glad to heare of that, hoping then that he deſired to liue. Soone after came *Butas* backe againe from the hauen, and brought him word that all were gone but *Craſſus*, who ſtayed about ſome buſines he had, and yet that he was going to take ſhippe: howbeit that the ſea was very roughe, and winde exceeding great. *Cato* hearing this, ſighed, being ſory for them that were apon the ſea: and ſent *Butas* backe againe to the hauen, to ſee if any man came backe for any matter they had to ſay vnto him. The litle birdes began to chirpe, and *Cato* fel againe in a litle ſlumber. But thereuppon *Butas* returned, & brought him word that all was quiet in the hauen, & there was no ſturre. Then
B *Cato* bad him goe his way, and ſhut to the dore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had ment to haue ſlept out all the reſt of the night. *Butas* backe was no ſooner turned, but *Cato* taking his naked ſword in his hand, thruſt it into his breaſt: howbeit the ſwelling of his hand made the blowe ſo weake, that it killed him not preſently, but drawing on to his latter ende, he fell downe vpon his bedde, and made ſuch a noyſe with his fall (ouerthrowing a litle table of geometry hard by his bedde, that his ſeruaunts hearing the noyſe, gaue a great ſhreeke for feare. Thereuppon his ſonne and his friendes ranne into the chamber, and found him all of a gore bloud, and the moſt part of his bowells comming out of his bodye, him ſelfe being yet aliue, and ſeeing them. They were all ſtriken with ſuch ſorow to behold it, that at the firſt they were ſo amaſed, as they could not tel what to ſay to it. His Phiſitiã comming to him,
C he went about to put in his bowels againe which were not periſhed, and to ſow vp his wound. But *Cato* comming to him ſelfe, thruſt backe the Phiſitian, and tare his bowells with his owne handes, and made his wound very great, and immediatly gaue vp the ghoſt. Whereuppon the three hundred ROMANES (in leſſe time then a man would haue thought *Catoes* owne houſhold ſeruaunts could haue knowen of his death) were at his dores, and immediatly after, all the people of VTICA alſo came thither, and with one voyce called *Cato* their benefactor and ſauior, and ſayd he onely was a free man, and had an inuincible minde: and this was done, when they heard ſay that *Cæſar* was not farre from VTICA. Furthermore, nether feare of the preſent daunger, nor the deſire to flatter the Conqueror, nether any priuate quarrell amongeſt them ſelues, could keepe them from honoring *Catoes* funeralls. For, ſumptuouſly ſetting out his bo-
D dy, and honorably accompanying his funeralls as might be, they buryed him by the ſea ſide, where at this preſent time is to be ſeene his image, holding a ſworde in his hande. After that, they made their beſt way to ſaue them ſelues and their citie. Nowe *Cæſar* beeing aduertiſed by them that came vnto him, howe *Cato* ſturred not from VTICA, nor fled not, but ſent all others away, ſauing him ſelfe, and his ſonne, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing: he could not deuiſe what he ment by it. Therefore eſteeming *Cato* much, he made haſte with all the ſpeede he could with his armie, to come thether. But when he vnderſtoode that *Cato* had ſlaine him ſelfe, writers doe reporte he ſayd thus: O *Cato*, I enuy thy death, ſithe
E thou haſt enuied mine honor to ſaue thy life. For in deede, had *Cato* beene contented *Cæſar* ſhould haue ſaued his life, he had not ſo much impaired his owne honor, as he had augmented *Cæſars* glory. And yet what *Cæſar* would haue done, men make it doubtful, ſauing that they coniecture well of *Cæſars* clemencie. *Cato* dyed when he was but eight and forty yeare old. For his ſonne, *Cæſar* neuer did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him, that he was very idlely giuen, and laſciuious beſides. For when he lay in CAPPADOCIA, in a noble mans houſe of the kings bloud, called *Maphradates*, who had a fayre woman to his wife: he taried longer there then he might well with honeſtie, whereuppon he fell to be a laughing ſtocke to the people, and in mockery they ſayd, *Cato* will goe too morrow, a thirty dayes hence. And further, that *Maphradates* and *Porcius* are two good friendes, but they haue but one minde. And the reaſon was, bicauſe *Maphradates* wife was called *Pſyche*, which in the Greeke ſignifieth, minde: and
F *Cato* is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind, howbeit his famous death did ſtoppe this infamous ſpeech. For he valiantly fighting againſt *Auguſtus*, and *Antonius*, at the battell of *Philippes*, for the libertie of his contry: their armie being ouerthrowen and fled, he would neither flie nor hide him ſelfe, but running in amongeſt his enemies, he made them knowe what he

The death of Cato.

Catoes funeralls.

Cæſars ſaying vnto Cato the dead.

The ſonne of Cato what conditions he had.

Pſyche, ſignifieth mind.

was, by incoraging thoſe of his ſide, which yet did defend them ſelues, till he was ſlayne in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantnes. Furthermore, *Porcia*, the Daughter of *Cato*, gaue no place vnto her father, nether for chaſtitie, nor greatnes of mind. For ſhe being maried vnto *Brutus*, who ſlue *Cæſar*, was of the conſpiracie, and ſlue her ſelfe as corageouſly as became the vertue and nobilitie of her bloud from whence ſhe came, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Brutus*. *Statilius* alſo, who had ſayd he would ronne *Catoes* fortune (as we haue tolde you before) was kept from killing of him ſelfe by the Philoſophers, *Demetrius*, and *Apollonides*. But after that tyme hauing ſhewed him ſelfe very faithfull and ſeruiceable vnto *Brutus* in all his affayres, he was ſlayne in the field alſo at the battell of *Philippes*.

The death of Porcia, the Daughter of Cato the yõger, and wife of Brutus.

The death of Statilius.

The end of Catoes life.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

TRuely the fable of *Ixion* was not ill deuiſed againſt ambicious perſons: who imbracing a clowde for the goddeſſe *Iuno*, begot (as it is ſayd) the CENTAVRI. For euen ſo ambicious men, imbracing glory for the true image of vertue, doe neuer any acte that is good nor perfect: but beeing caried away with diuers fancies, and following others humors with deſire to pleaſe the people, they may, as the herdmen in the tragedy of *Sophocles* (ſpeaking of their cattell) ſay:

VVe vvayt vppon their beaſts, though vve their Maiſters bee,
And vvhereſoeuer they become, there alſo followve vvee.

The fable of Ixion againſt ambitious perſons.

Such in deede are they compared to, that gouerne common weales, after peoples luſt and fancy: who doubtles, are as their ſeruaunts obedient at call, bicauſe they onely may enioy the glorious title and name of an Officer. For like as in a ſhippe the Mariners that ſtande in the prowe, doe better ſee before them, then the Pilots that ſteere the helme in the poope, and yet lookes alwayes backe vnto them to ſee what they commaunde: euen ſo, they that gouerne in the common wealth for honors ſake, are no better thē honorable ſlaues of the people, hauing no more but the bare name of a gouernor. But in deede, the perfect good and honeſt man ſhould neuer couet outward glory, but as a meane to bringe him to noble attempts, whereby he

A he might procure the better credit of his doings. And for a younge man that coueteth honor by vertue, giue him leaue a litle to glory in his well doing: for, as *Theophraſtus* ſayth, vertue buddeth and floriſheth in youth, and taketh faſt roote by prayſes giuen, as wit & corage groweth in them. But ouermuch praiſe is daungerous in euery perſon, but chiefly in ambicious gouernors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many deſperat partes: for they wil not allow that honor proceedes of vertue, but that honor is vertue it ſelfe. But in deed they ſhould ſay as *Phocion* did vnto *Antipater*, that requeſted an vnlawfull matter of him: Thou canſt not, ſaid he, haue *Phocion* a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be ſayd vnto the people: you can not both haue one, a Maiſter and a ſeruaunt, that can commaunde and obey together. Or els the miſchiefe ſpoken of in the tale of the Dragon muſt needes hap-

Theophraſtus for the praiſe of vertue.

Immoderat praiſe very daungerous.

Phocions ſaying.

B pen, which was: the taile on a time fell out with the head, and complained, ſaying, it would an other while go before, & would not alwaies come behind. The head graunted the taile, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing howe to guide the heade, and beſides that the head thereby was tormented euery way, beeing compelled againſt nature to follow that part and member, which could nether heare, nor ſee how to guide it. The like matter haue we ſeene happen vnto many, which in the adminiſtracion of the common wealth, did ſeeke to pleaſe the humors of the multitude. For when they haue once put their heads vnder their girdles to pleaſe the common people, which without cauſe & reaſon doe ſoone rebell: they can by no poſſible meanes afterwards bridle their furie & inſolencie. Now the reaſon that made vs to enter into diſcourſe againſt the ambition and vaine glorye amongeſt the people: was the conſideracion I had of

The fable of the Dragons head and taile

Plutarch excuſeth the Gracchi.

C their greate power, remembring the misfortunes of *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*: bothe the which comming of a noble houſe, and hauing bene maruelous well brought vp, & maneging alſo the affayres of the common wealth with a good deſire, were notwithſtanding in the ende caſt away: not ſo much through couetouſnes of glorye, as for feare of diſhonor, which came alſo of no baſe mind. For they hauing receiued great pleaſures and friendſhips of the people, were aſhamed to be indetted to them, and therefore earneſtly ſought to exceede the people in good will, by new decrees and deuiſes, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people alſo for their partes contended to honor them the more, by how much they ſtriued to ſhewe them ſelues thankefull. So with like ſtriſe on either ſide, they to gratifie the common people, and the people alſo to honor them, were vnwares ſo entangled with publike cauſes,

D that they could no more follow the common prouerbe, which ſayth:

Although our deedes diſcent from equitie,
Yet can vve not deſiſt vvith honeſtie.

This thou ſhalt eaſily finde by the declaracion of the hiſtorie. With theſe we doe compare two other popular men, both kinges of LACEDÆMON, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they, as the *Gracchi*, ſeeking to increaſe the power of the common people, and to reſtore the iuſt and honeſt gouernment againe of the common wealth of LACEDÆMON, which of long time had bene out of vſe: did in like manner purchaſe the hate of the nobilitie, which were loth to loſe any part of their wonted couetouſnes. In deed theſe two LACONIANS were no brethrē borne, but yet did both follow one ſelfe courſe & forme of gouernment, which had beginning in this

E ſort. After that couetouſnes of gold and ſiluer crept againe into the citie of SPARTA, and with riches, couetouſnes alſo and miſerie, and by vſe, voluptuouſnes and licentious life: SPARTA then was void of all honor and goodnes, and was long time drowned in ſhame and diſhonor, vntill king *Agis* and *Leonidas* came to raigne there. *Agis* was of the houſe of the *Eurytiontides*, the ſonne of *Eudamidas*, the ſixt of lineall deſcent after *Ageſilaus*, who had beene the greateſt Prince of all GRÆCE in his time. This *Ageſilaus* had a ſonne ſlaine in ITALY by the MESSAPIANS, called *Archidamus*, before the citie of MANDONIVM. *Archidamus* had iſſue two ſonnes, *Agis*, and *Eudamidas* that was king, who ſucceeded his brother *Agis*, whom *Antipater* ſlue before the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, and left no children behind him. *Eudamidas* begat *Archidamus*, which *Archidamus* begat another *Eudamidas*: which *Eudamidas* alſo begat *Agis*, whoſe life we

The lynage of Agis.

F now write of. *Leonidas* alſo, the ſonne of *Cleonymus*, was of the other familie of the *Agiades*, the eight of ſucceſſion after *Pauſanias*, who ſlue *Mardonius*, the kings Lieuetenant general of PERSIA, in a battell fought before the citie of PLATEES. This *Pauſanias* had a ſonne called *Pliſto-*

The lynage of Leonidas.

nax,and *Pliſtonax* alſo an other, called *Pauſanias*: who flying from SPARTA vnto the citie of TEGEA,his eldeſt ſonne *Ageſipolis* was made king in his fathers roome,who dying without iſſue,his yonger brother *Cleombrotus* ſucceeded him in the kingdō.*Cleombrotus* had two ſonnes, *Ageſipolis* and *Cleomenes*: of the which,*Ageſipolis* raigned not long king,and dyed without iſſue. Then *Cleomenes* his brother,who was king after him,had two ſonnes, *Acrotatus* the elder, that dyed in his fathers life time: and *Cleonymus* the yonger which ſuruiued him,and was not king, but one *Areus* his Nephewe,the ſonne of *Acrotatus*. This *Areus* dyed before the citie of CORINTHE: who hauing an other *Acrotatus* to his ſonne,he ſucceeded him in the kingdome. He alſo dyed at a battell before the citie of MEGALIPOLIS,and was ſlayne there by the tyrant *Ariſtodemus*,leauing his wife great with childe.She beeing brought to bedde after his death of a ſonne,whome *Leonidas* the ſonne of *Cleonymus* taught and brought vp: the childe dying very young,the crowne by his death was caſt apon *Leonidas* him ſelfe.Howbeit his maners & conditions neuer liked the people.For though all men generally were corrupted through the cōmon wealth,and cleane out of order: yet *Leonidas* of all other exceeded, deforming moſt the auncient LACONIAN life,bicauſe he had bene long time brought vp in Princes houſes,& followed alſo *Seleucus* Court, from whence he had brought all the pride and pompe of thoſe Courts into GRÆCE,where law & reaſon ruleth.*Agis* on the contrary part did not onely farre excel *Leonidas*,in honor and magnanimitie of mind: but all other almoſt alſo which had raigned in SPARTA,from the time of *Ageſilaus* the great.So that when *Agis* was not yet twenty yeare old,and being daintily brought vp with the finenes of two women,his mother *Ageſiſtrata*,and *Archidamia* his grandmother,which had more gold and ſiluer, then all the LACEDÆMONIANS els: he began to ſpurne againſt theſe womaniſh delights & pleaſures,in making him ſelfe fayer to be the better beliked,and to be fine and trimme in his apparell, and to caſt vpon him a plaine ſpaniſh cape,taking pleaſure in the dyet,bathes,and manner of the auncient LACONIAN life: and openly boaſted beſides,that he would not deſire to be king,but onely for the hope he had to reſtore the auncient LACONIAN life by his authority. Then began the ſtate of LACEDÆMON firſt to be corrupted, and to leaue her auncient diſcipline,when the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing ſubdued the Empire of the ATHENIANS,ſtored them ſelues & contry both, with plenty of gold & ſiluer.But yet reſeruing ſtill the lands left vnto them by ſucceſſion from their fathers,according vnto *Lycurgus* firſt ordinaunce & inſtitucion,for diuiſion of the landes amongeſt them: which ordinaunce, and equalitie being inuiolably kept amongeſt them,did yet preſerue the common wealth from defamation of diuers other notorious crimes.Vntil the time of the authoritie of *Epitadeus*,one of the Ephores,a ſeditious man, and of prowde conditions: who bitterly falling out with his own ſonne,preferred a law,that euery man might lawfully giue his landes and goods whileſt he liued,or after his death by teſtament, vnto any man whom he liked or thought well of.Thus this man made this law to ſatisfie his anger, & others alſo did confirme it for couetouſnes ſake,and ſo ouerthrew a noble ordinaunce. For the riche men then began to buy lands of numbers,and ſo transferred it from the right & lawful heires: whereby a few men in ſhort time being made very riche, immediatly after there fell out great pouertie in the citie of SPARTA,which made all honeſt ſciences to ceaſe,& brought in thereuppon vnlawfull occupacions,who enuyed them that were wealthy.Therefore,there remayned not aboue ſeuen hundred naturall Citizens of SPARTA in all,& of them,not aboue a hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the reſt were poore people in the citie,and were of no countenaunce nor calling,& beſides that,went vnwillingly to the warres againſt their enemies,looking euery day for ſturre and chaunge in the citie.*Agis* therefore thinking it a notable good acte (as in deede it was) to repleniſh the citie of SPARTA againe,and to bringe in the old equalitie, he moued the matter vnto the Citizens. He found the youth (againſt all hope) to giue good eare vnto him,and very well giuen vnto vertue, eaſily chaunging their garments & life,to recouer their libertie againe.But the oldeſt men,which were now euen rotten with couetouſnes and corruption, they were affraid to returne againe to the ſtraight ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*,as a ſlaue and ronneagate from his Maiſter,that trembleth when he is brought backe againe vnto him.Therefore they reproued *Agis*,when he did lament before them their preſent miſerable eſtate, and wiſhe alſo for the former auncient honor and true dignitie of SPARTA.

Ariſtodemus, tyrant of Megalipolis.

Leonidas brought ſuperfluitie and exceſſe into Sparta.

The continency of Agis

The firſt beginning of the Lacedemonians fall, from their auncient diſcipline.

Lycurgus rhetra, for partition of landes, broken by Epitadeus law. Epitadeus law for deuiſe of landes by will.

Agis goeth about to reduce the common wealth to her auncient eſtate.

Howbeit

A Howbeit *Lyſander* the ſonne of *Lybis*, and *Mandroclidas* the ſonne of *Ecphanes*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, greatly commended his noble deſire, and perſwaded him to goe forward withall. This *Lyſander* was of great authoritie and eſtimation amongeſt them in the citie: *Mandroclidas* was alſo very wiſe, and carefull, about any matter of counſell, and with his wiſedom and policy, very valiant: *Ageſilaus* in like manner, the kings Vncle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and couetous, and yet prickt forward to giue his furtherance to this attempt as it appeared, by his ſonne *Hippomedon*, who was a notable good ſouldier, and could doe very much, by meanes of the loue and good will the younge men did beare him. But in deede, the ſecret cauſe that brought *Ageſilaus* to conſent vnto this practiſe, was the greatnes of his dette which he ought, of the which he hoped to be diſcharged by chaunging of the ſtate and common B wealth. Now when *Agis* had wonne him, he ſought by his meanes to drawe his mother alſo vnto the matter, which was *Ageſilaus* ſiſter. She could doe very much by the number of her friendes, followers, and detters in the citie, by whoſe meanes ſhe ruled the moſt part of the affayres of the citie after her owne pleaſure. But the young man *Hippomedon* making her priuie vnto it, at the firſt ſhe was amaſed withall, and bad him hold his peace if he were wiſe, and not medle in matters vnpoſſible and vnprofitable. But when *Ageſilaus* had told her what a notable acte it would be, and how eaſily it might be brought to paſſe, with maruelous great profit: and that king *Agis* beganne alſo to ſtrayne her with great intreatie, that ſhe would willingly depart with her goods to winne her ſonne honor and glory: who, though he could not in money and riches come to be like vnto other kinges (bicauſe the ſlaues and factors onely of the kinges C *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, had more money then all the kings of SPARTA had together that euer raigned) yet if in temperance, thriftines, & noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to reſtore the LACEDÆMONIANS againe vnto equalitie: that then in deede he ſhould be counted a noble king. Theſe women being ſtirred vp with ambition by theſe perſwaſions of the younge man, ſeeing him ſo nobly bent, as if by the goddes their mindes had ſecretly bene inflamed with the loue of vertue: did preſently alter their mindes in ſuch ſort, that they them ſelues did pricke forward *Agis*, and ſent for their friends to pray and intreate them to fauor his enterpriſe: and furthermore, they brought on other women alſo, knowing that the LACEDÆMONIANS did euer heare and beleue their wiues, ſuffering them to vnderſtand more of the affayres of the ſtate, then they them ſelues did of their priuate eſtate at home. Herein is to be D conſidered, that the moſt part of the riches of LACEDÆMON was in the handes of the women, and therefore they were againſt it, not onely bicauſe thereby they were cut of from their fineneſ and exceſſe, in the which being ignorant of the true good in deede, they put all their felicitie: but alſo, bicauſe they ſawe their honor and authoritie which they had by their riches, cleane troden vnder foote. Therefore they comming to *Leonidas*, they did perſwade him to reproue *Agis*, bicauſe he was elder man then he, and to let that this enterpriſe went not forward. *Leonidas* did what he could in fauour of the riche, but fearing the common people, who deſired nothing but alteracion, he durſt not openly ſpeake againſt him, but ſecretly he did the beſt he could to hinder *Agis* practiſe, talking with the Magiſtrates of the citie, and accuſing *Agis* vnto them, he told them how he did offer the riche mens goods vnto the poore, the diuiE ſion of their landes, and the aboliſhing of all detts, for reward to put the tyrannie into his handes, and that thereby he got him a ſtronge gard vnto him ſelfe, but not many Citizens vnto SPARTA. This notwithſtanding, king *Agis* hauing procured *Lyſander* to be choſen one of the Ephores, he preſently preferred his lawe vnto the counſell. The articles whereof were theſe: That ſuch as were in debt, ſhould be cleered of all their debts, and that the landes alſo ſhould be diuided into equall partes: ſo that from the valley of Pallena vnto mount Taugetus, and vnto the cities of MALEA, and SELASIA, there ſhould be foure thowſand fiue hundred partes, and without thoſe boundes, there ſhould be in all the reſt, fifteene thowſand partes, the which ſhould be diſtributed vnto their neighbours meete to cary weapon: and the reſt vnto the natural SPARTANS. The number of them ſhould be repleniſhed with their neighbours and F ſtraungers in like manner, which ſhould be very well brought vp, and be able men beſides to ſerue the common wealth: all the which afterwards ſhould be diuided into fifteene companies, of the which, ſome ſhould receiue two hundred, & others foure hundred men, & ſhould

How louing the Lacedæmonians were vnto their wiues.

Agis law.

liue according to the olde auncient institucion obserued by their aunceſtors. This lawe being preferred vnto the Senate, the Senators grewe to diuers opinions apon it. Whereuppon *Lyſander* him ſelfe aſſembled the great counſell of all the people, and there ſpake vnto them him ſelfe, and *Mandroclidas*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, praying them not to ſuffer the honor of SPARTA to be troden vnder foote, for the vanitie of a fewe: but that they would remember the auncient oracles of the goddes, warning them to beware of auarice, as of the plague and deſtruction of the common wealth: and of the late oracle alſo brought vnto them, from the temple of *Paſiphaé*. The temple and oracle of *Paſiphaé*, was famous at the citie of THALAMES: and ſome ſay, that *Paſiphaé* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, which was gotten with child by *Iupiter*, & was deliuered of a ſonne called *Hammon*. Other thinke that it was *Caſſandra*, one of king *Priamus* Daughters that died there, which was ſurnamed *Paſiphaé*, bicauſe ſhe gaue all the aunſwers & oracles of things to come. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Daphné* the Daughter of *Amycla*, flying from *Apollo* that would haue rauiſhed her, was turned into a lawrell tree, and honored by *Apollo* with the gift of prophecie. So, they ſaid that this oracle of the god commaunded them, that the SPARTANS ſhould againe returne vnto their former auncient equalitie, ſtabliſhed firſt by *Lycurgus* lawe. When euery man els had ſpoken, king *Agis* riſing vp, briefly ſpeaking vnto the people, ſayd: that he would beſtowe great contributions for the reformation of this common wealth, which he was deſirous to reſtore againe. For firſt of all, he would make common all his errable and paſture he had, and beſides that, he would adde to ſix hundred talents in ready money, and ſo much ſhould his mother, grandmother, kinſemen and friendes, all the which were the richeſt and wealthieſt in SPARTA. When the people heard what he ſayd, they maruelled much at the noble minde of this younge king, and were very glad of it, ſaying: that for three hundred yeares ſpace together, the citie of SPARTA had not ſo worthy a king as he. But *Leonidas* contrarily aſſayed with all his power he could to reſiſt him, thinking with him ſelfe, that if king *Agis* purpoſe tooke place, he ſhould alſo be compelled to doe as he did, and yet he ſhould haue no thankes, but king *Agis*: bicauſe that all the SPARTANS indifferently ſhould be compelled to make their goods in common, but the honor ſhould be his onely that firſt beganne it. So he asked *Agis*, whether he thought *Lycurgus* had bene a good and iuſt man or not. *Agis* aunſwered, that he had bene. Then replyed *Leonidas*, did you euer ſee that he had taken away and aboliſhed any detts, or had receyued ſtraungers into the number of the Citizens of SPARTA? Who contrarily thought his common wealth vnperfect, if all ſtraungers were not baniſhed the citie. *Agis* agayne aunſwered him: that he maruelled not that *Leonidas* beeing brought vp in a ſtraung contry, and alſo maryed there in a noble mans houſe, he ſhould be ignorant of *Lycurgus* lawes, who baniſhing gold and ſiluer out of his citie, did therewithall exile dette and lending. And for ſtraungers, he hated them that woulde not conforme them ſelues vnto the manners and facions of life which he inſtituted, and thoſe they were which he baniſhed: not for any ill will he bare vnto their perſons, but bicauſe he feared their manners of life, leaſt that mingling them with the Citizens, they ſhould make them runne after vanitie and couetouſnes to be riche. For otherwiſe, *Terpander*, *Thales*, and *Pherecydes*, which were all ſtraungers, were maruelouſly reuerenced and honored in SPARTA in olde tyme, bicauſe they did ſinge in their writings, the ſelfe ſame thinges which *Lycurgus* had eſtabliſhed in his lawes. And thou thy ſelfe alſo doeſt commend *Ecprepes*, being one of the Ephores, bicauſe he did cut with a hatchet the two ſtringes which *Phrynis* the Muſitian had added vnto the Citherne, more then the ſeuen common ſtringes, and thoſe alſo which did the like vnto *Timotheus*: and yet thou reproueſt me, bicauſe I goe about to roote out all exceſſe and pride out of SPARTA, as though thoſe men did not farre of preuent that theſe ſuperfluous ſtringes of the muſicke, delighting the Citizens mindes too much with their ſonges, ſhould not cauſe them fall vnto ſuch trade and manner of life, as ſhould make the citie at diſcord with it ſelfe. After this contencion, the common people did ſticke vnto king *Agis*, and the riche men followed *Leonidas*, praying and perſwading him not to forſake them: and further, they did ſo intreate the Senators, in whom conſiſteth the chiefe authority, to determine and diſgeſt all matters before they be propownded vnto the people, that they ouerthrew the law, by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore *Lyſander* who was yet in office, attempted to accuſe *Leonidas* by an auncient

Paſiphaé, the Daughter of Atlas.

Agis maketh his goods common.

Leonidas reſiſteth king Agis.

A ent lawe, forbidding that none of the race of *Hercules* ſhould mary with any ſtraung woman, nor beget children of her: and ſayde further, that no man vpon payne of death ſhould dwell any where, but in SPARTA. When he had inſtructed others to obiect theſe thinges againſt *Leonidas*, he with other of his colleagues obſerued a ſigne in the element, the ceremony wherof was in this ſorte: Euery nyneth yeare, the Ephori chuſing a bright night without moonelight, did ſit downe in ſome open place, and beheld the ſtarres in the element, to ſee if they ſaw any ſtarre ſhoote from one place to another: if they did, then they accuſed their kinges that they had offended the goddes, and did depriue them of their kingdom, vntill ſome oracle came from DELPHES or *Olympus*, to reſtore them againe. *Lyſander* then declaring that he had ſeene a ſtarre flie in the element, did therefore accuſe king *Leonidas*, and brought forth witneſ- *King Leonidas accuſed by Lyſander.*
B ſes againſt him: how he had maried a woman of ASIA, the which one of king *Seleucus* Lieuetenants had giuen him in mariage, & that he had two children by her: & afterwards being forſaken of his wife that refuſed him, he returned againe into his contry againſt his will, & ſo had poſſeſſed the kingdom for lacke of lawful heire. So following his accuſation in this manner againſt him, he allured *Cleombrotus* his ſonne in law, being alſo of the kings blood, to make title to the crowne. *Leonidas* being affraid of the ſucceſſe hereof, tooke ſanctuary in the temple of *Iuno*, ſurnamed *Chalceæcos*, & his Daughter with him, who forſooke her husband *Cleombrotus*. *Leonidas* then being cited to appeare in perſon, & making default, they depoſed him, & made *Leonidas deprimed of his kingdom.*
Cleombrotus king. In the meane time *Lyſanders* office expired, & the new Ephori which ſucceC ded him, did deliuer *Leonidas* againe, and accuſed *Lyſander* & *Mandroclidas*, bicauſe againſt the law, they had aboliſhed all debts, & had againe made newe diuiſion of lands. When they ſawe they were openly accuſed, they incenſed both the kinges, that ioyning together, they ſhoulde make the Ephores ordinaunces of no effect: declaring, that their authority was onely erected for the diſcord of the two kings, bicauſe they ſhould giue their voices vnto that king that had the beſt iudgemēt & reaſon, whē the other would wilfully withſtand both right & reaſon. And therfore, that they two agreing together, might lawfully do what they would, without cōtrolment of any perſon: & that to reſiſt the kings was a breaking of the lawe, ſith that by right the Ephori had no other priuileage & authority, but to be iudges & arbitrators betwene thē, when there was any cauſe of iarre or controuerſie. Both the kings being caried away by this perſwaſion, went into the market place accōpanied with their frends, plucked the Ephores from their
D ſeates, & put others in their roomes, of the which *Ageſilaus* was one. Furthermore, they armed a great number of yong men, & opening the priſons, did ſet the priſoners at liberty: the which made their aduerſaries affraid of thē, doubting ſome great murther would haue followed vpon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For *Ageſilaus* being bent to kill *Leonidas*, who fled vnto the ci- *Leonidas flyeth vnto Tegea.*
ty of TEGEA, & hauing alſo laid men in waite for him by the way: king *Agis* hearing of it, ſent thither other frends of his in whom he put great confidence, & they did accōpany *Leonidas*, & brought him ſafely vnto the city of TEGEA. Thus their purpoſe taking effect, & no man cōtra- *King Agis deceiued by Ageſilaus.*
rying thē: one man only *Ageſilaus* ouerthrew all, & daſhed a noble LACONIAN law by a ſhamful vice, which was couetouſnes. For he being a great landed man, & hauing the beſt lands of any man in the contry, & owing a great ſumme of money beſides: would nether pay his detts,
E nor let go his land. Wherfore he perſwaded king *Agis*, that if he wēt about to ſtabliſh both together, he ſhould raiſe a great vprore in the city, & withall, if he did firſt winne them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting of of dets only: then that they would eaſily & willingly alſo accept the law for partition of lands. *Lyſander* was alſo of his opinion: wher- *New lawes ſtabliſhed by the Lacedæmonians.*
by king *Agis* & he both were deceiued by *Ageſilaus* ſubtlety. So they cōmaunded al the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, & bils of det (which the LACEDÆMONIANS do cal Claria) into the market place, and there laying them on a heape together, they did ſet fire of them. When the vſurers & creditors ſaw their writings obligatory afire, they departed thence with heauy harts: but *Ageſilaus* mocking thē ſaid, he neuer ſaw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands alſo ſhould be preſently deuided, & the kings likewiſe commaū-
F ding it: *Ageſilaus* ſtil interpoſing ſome cauſe of let, delaied time, vntill oportunitye ſerued, that king *Agis* ſhould go to the warres, for that the ACHAIANS their confederats had praied aide of LACEDÆMON, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed betwene them, bicauſe they

looked daily that the Ætolians cõming through the contry of Megara, would inuade Peloponnesvs. *Aratus* general of the Achaians had leauied a great army to withstãd their inuasion, & had also written vnto the Ephores, that they should send thẽ aide. Wheruppon, they presently sent king *Agis*, perceiuing also the readines and good wil of the souldiers which were appointed to go with him. For the most of thẽ were young men & needy, who seing thẽ selues discharged of the feare of their dets, & hoping also at their return, that the lãds likewise should be deuided among thẽ: they went with glad harts, & were obedient vnto king *Agis*. So that the cities where through they passed, wondred how they came through all Peloponnesvs, from the one side to the other, very quietly, without noyse or offence to any man. Likewise many Græcians calling to mind the aũcient times, told one another, that it was a noble sight then to see the army of Lacedæmon, whẽ they were led by *Agesilaus*, *Lysander*, & *Leonidas*, famous captaines: sith now they saw so great obedience vnto *Agis* by his souldiers, who was in maner the yõgest mã of all his campe. Who also glorying to be cõtẽt with litle, to away with paines, & not to be more costly apparelled & armed thẽ any priuat souldier he had: he wanne him self therby a maruelous loue of the people. Howbeit the rich mẽ liked not this chaung, & were afraid lest *Agis* should giue other people example to rise also, & to do the like with theirs, as he had done. *Agis* meting with *Aratus* by the city of Corinthe, euen as he was consulting whether he should fight with his enemy or not: shewed him self in his coũsel, then no rash, but a resolute & valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, & not to suffer the warre to come any further, leauing the entry into Peloponnesvs free to their enemy: neuertheles, that he would do what *Aratus* thought good, bicause he was the elder, and general also of the Achaians, whom he came not to cõmaund, but to aide thẽ. But *Baton* Sinopian writeth, that king *Agis* would not fight, though *Aratus* was willing: howbeit he had not red that which *Aratus* had writtẽ for his excuse & iustificatiõ, alleaging there, that the farmers & husbãdmẽ hauing brought all the corne into their barnes, he thought it better to suffer the enemies to come further into the contry, rather then to hazard battel, to the losse of the whole cõtry of Peloponnesvs, & that therfore he licenced al the confederats to depart, & brake vp his army. So king *Agis* returned home again, greatly honored of al thẽ that serued with him in this iorney, finding the city of Sparta thẽ in great broile & trouble. For *Agesilaus* at that time being one of the Ephores, finding him self rid of the feare which before kept him vnder: cared not what iniury or mischief he did to any citizen, so he might get money. For amongest other things, that very yere he made thẽ pay beyond al reason the tallages & taxes due vnto the cõmõ wealth for thirtene moneths, adding to the thirteth moneth, aboue the ordinary time of the yere. Wherfore perceiuing euery mã hated him, & being affraid of thẽ he had offended: he kept souldiers about him, armed with their swords, & so came downe into the market place among thẽ. And for the two kings, he made no accõpt of the one: but of the other that was *Agis*, he semed outwardly to make good accõpt, rather for kinreds sake, thẽ for his dignity of a king, & furthermore gaue it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephores the next yere following. Wheruppõ, his enemies spedely to preuent the daũger, gathered force together, & opẽly brought king *Leonidas* from Tegea, to restore him again to his kingdõ. The people were glad to see that, bicause they were angry they had bene mocked in that sort, for that the landes were not deuided according vnto promise. Furthermore, *Hippomedon* was so welbeloued for his valiantnes of euery mã, that intreating the people for his father *Agesilaus*, he saued his life, & got him out of the city. But for the two kings, *Agis* tooke sanctuary in the tẽple of *Iuno Chalcœcos*. And *Cleõbrotus* the other king fled into the tẽple of *Neptune*: for it semed that *Leonidas* being much more offẽded with him, did let king *Agis* alone, & wẽt against him with certẽ souldiers armed. Thẽ he sharply taunted him, that being his sonne in law, he had conspired against him to depriue him of his kingdõ, & had driuẽ him out of his contry. But then *Cleombrotus* not hauing a word to say, sate stil, & made him no answer. Wheruppõ his wife *Chelonis*, the daughter of *Leonidas*, who before was offended for the iniury they did her father, & had left her husband *Cleõbrotus*, that had vsurped the kingdõ from him, to serue her father in his aduersity, and while he was in sanctuary tooke part with him also of his misery, & afterwards whẽ he wẽt vnto the city of Tegea, ware blacks for sorow, being offẽded with her husbãd: she contrarily thẽ

chaunging

Aratus is generall of the Achaians.

King Agis iorneyeth into Achaia.

King Agis gaue place vnto Aratus.

King Leonidas returneth from exile into Sparta.

The naturall loue of Chelonis Leonidas daughter, vnto her father and husband.

A chaũging her anger with her husbãds fortune & misery, became also an hũble suter with him sitting down by him,& imbracing him,hauing her two litle sonnes on either side of them. All mẽ wõdering,& weping for pity,to see the goodnes & natural loue of this Lady,who shewing her mourning apparell,& heare of her head flaring about her eyes, bare headed: she spake in this sort vnto her father.O father mine,this sorowfull garmẽt & countenance is not for pity of *Cleombrotus*,but hath long remained with me,lamenting sore your former misery & exile: but now,which of the two should I rather choose,either to cõtinue a mourner in this pitiful state, seing you again restored to your kingdom,hauing ouercome your enemies: or els putting on my princely apparel,to see my husband slain,vnto whom you maried me a maid? who, if he can not moue you to take cõpassiõ of him,and to obtein mercy,by the teares of his wife and B childrẽ:he shal then abide more bitter paine of his euil counsel,then that which you intend to make him suffer.For he shal see his wife die before him,whom he loueth more derely then any thing in the world.Also,with what face can I loke apon other ladies, whẽ I could neuer bring my father to pity,by any intercessiõ I could make for my husband,neither my husband,intreating him for my father:& that my hap is to be borne,a daughter & wife,alwaies most vnfortunat,& despised of mine owne?And for my husbãd,if he had any reason to do that he did, I thẽ tooke it from him,by taking your parte,and protesting against him: and contrarily,your selfe doth giue him honest culler to excuse his faulte, when he seeth in you the desire of the kingdom so great,that for the loue thereof,you thinke it lawfull to kill your sonnes in law, and also not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her sake. *Chelonis* pitifully complayning in this C sorte, putting her face vpon *Cleombrotus* head, cast her swollen and blubbering eyes apon the standers by.Wherefore *Leonidas* after he had talked a litle with his friendes, he commaunded *Cleombrotus* to get him thence, and to leaue the citie as an exile: and prayed his Daughter for his sake to remayne with him,and not to forsake her father, that did so dearely loue her,as for her sake he had saued her husbands life.This notwithstanding, she would not yeelde to his request,but rising vp with her husband,gaue him one of his sonnes, and her self tooke the other in her armes: and then making her prayer before the altar of the goddesse,she went as a banished woman away with her husband.And truely the example of her vertue was so famous,that if *Cleombrotus* mind had not bene too much blinded with vain glory,he had cause to thinke his exile farre more happy,to enioye the loue of so noble a wife as he had, then for the kingdom D which he possessed without her. Then *Leonidas* hauing banished king *Cleombrotus* out of the city,& remouing the first Ephores,had substituted other in their place: he presẽtly bethought him howe he might craftily come by king *Agis*. First,he perswaded him to come out of the sanctuary,& to gouerne the kingdom safely with him,declaring vnto him that his citizens had forgiuen him all that was past,bicause they knew he was deceiued,& subtely circumuented by *Agesilaus* craft,being a young man,ambitious of honor.*Agis* would not leaue the sanctuary for *Leonidas* cunning perswasion, but mistrusted all that he said vnto him: Wherefore, *Leonidas* would no more beguile him with faire words.But *Amphares*,*Demochares*,& *Arcesilaus*,did oftẽtimes go to visit king *Agis*, & otherwhile also they got him out of the sanctuary with them vnto the bath,& brought him backe againe into the temple,when he had bathed. But *Amphares* E hauing borowed not long before,certein rich apparel & plate of *Agesistrata*,bicause he would not redeliuer thẽ againe,he determined to betray king *Agis*,his mother,& grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefly did serue *Leonidas* turne,& prouoked the Ephores(of which number he was one)against *Agis*.Now therefore, *Agis* keping all the rest of his time within the tẽple,sauing when he went apon occasion to the bath: they determined to intercept him by the way,& to take him when he was out of the sanctuary. So they watched him one day when he bathed,& came & saluted him as their maner was, & seemed to accompany him,sporting, & being mery with him,as with a young man their familliar.But when they came to the turning of a streete that went towardes the prison,*Amphares* laying hold on him,beeing one of the Ephores,said vnto him:I arrest thee *Agis*,& wil bring thee before the Ephores,to giue accompt F of thy doings in the common wealth. Then *Demochares*, which was a great mighty man cast his gowne ouer his eares,& pulled him forward: others also thrust him forward behind him, as they had agreed together.So no man being neare them to help *Agis*, they got him into pri-

The cration of Chelonis the Daughter of Leonidas.

The banishment of king Cleombrotus.

The great vertue and loue of Chelonis,to her husband Cleombrotus.

Amphares betrayed king Agis.

King Agis caried vnto prison.

son. Then came *Leonidas* incontinently with a great number of souldiers that were straungers, A
& beset the prison round about. The Ephores wēt into the prison, & sent vnto some of the Se-
nate to come vnto them, whom they knew to be of their mind: then they cōmaunded *Agis*, as
if it had bene iudicially, to giue accompt of the alteracion he had made in the cōmon wealth.
The younge man laughed at their hypocrisie. But *Amphares* told him that it was no laughing
sport, & that he should pay for his folly. Then another of the Ephores seeming to deale more
fauorably with him, & to shew him a way how he might escape the condēnation for his fault:
asked him, if he had not bene intised vnto it by *Agesilaus*, and *Lysander*. *Agis* aunswered, that no
man compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the steppes of the auncient *Lycurgus*, to
bring the common wealth vnto the former estate of his graue ordinaunce & institution. Then
the same Senator asked him againe, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The younge B
man boldly aunswered him, that he would neuer repent him of so wise and vertuous an enter-
prise, though he ventred his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commaunded
the Sergeants to cary him into the Decade, which was a place in the prison where they were
strangled, that were condemned to dye. *Demochares* perceiuing the Sergeaunts durst not lay
hold of him, & likewise that the souldiers which were straungers, did abhorre to commit such
a fact, contrary to the law of God and man, to lay violent hands vpon the person of a king: he
threatned & reuiled them, and dragged *Agis* perforce into that place called the Decade. Now
the rumor ranne straight through the citie, that king *Agis* was taken, & a multitude of people
were at the prison dores with lights & torches. Thither came also king *Agis* mother & grand-
mother, shreeking out, & praying that the king of SPARTA might yet be heard and iudged by C
the people. For this cause, they hastned his death the sooner, and were afraid besides, least the
people in the night would take him out of their hands by force, if there came any more people
thither. Thus king *Agis* being led to his death, spied a Sergeaūt lamenting & weeping for him,
vnto whom he said: good fellowe, I pray thee weepe not for me, for I am honester man then
they that so shamefully put me to death, & with those words he willingly put his head into the
halter. *Amphares* then going out of the prison into the street, found *Agesistrata* there, king *Agis*
mother, who straight fel downe at his feete: but he taking her vp againe, in old familiar man-
ner, as being her very friend, told her that they should doe king *Agis* no hurt, & that she might
if she would, goe & see him. Then she prayed, that they would also let her mother in with her.
Amphares sayde, with a good will: and so put them both into the prison house, and made the D
dores be shut after them. But when they were within, he first gaue *Archidamia* vnto the Serge-
aunts to be put to death, who was a maruelous olde woman, and had liued more honorably
vnto that age, then any Lady or Matrone beside her in the citie. She being executed, he com-
maunded *Agesistrata* also to come in. Who when she sawe the bodye of her dead sonne layed
on the ground, & her mother also hanging on the gallowes: she did her selfe helpe the hang-
man to plucke her downe, and layed her body by her sonnes. Then hauing couered her in de-
cent manner, she layed her downe on the ground by the corps of her sonne *Agis*, and kissing
his cheeke sayd: out, alas my sonne, thy great modestie, goodnes and clemencie, brought thee
and vs vnto this deathe. Then *Amphares* peeping in at the dore to see what was done, hea-
ring what she sayde, came in withall in a greate rage, and sayde: I perceyue thou hast also E
beene of counsell with thy sonne, and sithe it is so, thou shalt also followe him. Then she
rising likewise to be strangled, sayd: the goddes graunt yet that this may profit SPARTA. This
horrible murther beeing blowen abroad in the citie, and the three dead bodies also brought
out of prison: the feare though it were great amongest the people, could not keepe them back
from apparant show of griefe, and manifest hate against *Leonidas* and *Amphares*, thinking that
there was neuer a more wicked and crueller fact committed in SPARTA, since the DORIANS
came to dwell in PELOPONNESVS. For the very enemies them selues in battell, would not wil-
lingly lay hands vpon the kings of LACEDÆMON, but did forbeare as much as they could pos-
sible, both for feare & reuerence they bare vnto their maiestie. For in many great battels & cō-
flicts which the LACEDÆMONIANS had against the GRÆCIANS, there was neuer any king of F
LACEDÆMON slain, before *Philips* time, but *Cleōbrotus* only, who was slain with a dart at the bat-
tell of LEVCTRES. Some write also, that the MESSENIANS hold opiniō, that their *Aristomenes*
slue

Note the reuerent regard of the heathē, vnto the person of a king, abhorring to lay violent handes vpon him.

King Agis, his mother, & grandmother, all three strāgled.

The enemies did not willingly kill any king of Lacedæmon.

A slue king *Theopompus*: howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS sayde, that he was but hurt, not slayne. But hereof there are diuers opinions: but it is certain that *Agis* was the first king whom the Ephores euer put to death: for that he had layd a plat of a noble deuise, and worthy of SPARTA, being of that age when men doe easily pardon them that offend: and was rather to be accused of his friendes and enemies, bicause he had saued *Leonidas* life, & had trusted other men, as the best natured younge man that could be.

Now *Agis* hauing suffered in this sort, *Leonidas* was not quicke enough to take *Archidamus* his brother also, for he fled presently. Yet he brought *Agis* wife out of her house by force, with a litle boy she had by him, and maried her vnto his sonne *Cleomenes*, who was yet vnder age to marye: fearing least this younge Ladye should be bestowed els where, beeing in deede a great B heire, and of a riche house, and the Daughter of *Gylippus*, called by her name *Agiatis*, besides that she was the fayrest woman at that tyme in all GRÆCE, and the vertuousest and best condicioned. Wherefore, for diuers respects she praied she might not be forced to it. But now being at length maried vnto *Cleomenes*, she euer hated *Leonidas* to the death, and yet was a good and louing wife vnto her young husband: Who immediatly after he was maried vnto her, fell greatly in fancy with her, and for compassions sake (as it seemed) he thanked her for the loue she bare vnto her first husband, and for the louing remembraunce she had of him: insomuch as he him selfe many times would fall in talke of it, and would be inquisitiue how thinges had passed, taking great pleasure to heare of *Agis* wise counsell and purpose. For *Cleomenes* was as desirous of honor, and had as noble a minde as *Agis*, and was borne also to temperancie and C moderation of life, as *Agis* in like manner was: howbeit, he had not that shamefast modestie and lenitie which the other had, but was somewhat more sturring of nature, and readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it greate honestie to bringe the Citizens if he could, to be contented to liue after an honest sorte: but contrarily, he thought it no dishonestie to bringe them vnto good life, by compulsion also. Furthermore, the manners of the Citizens of SPARTA, giuing them selues ouer to idlenes and pleasure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the king did suffer the common wealth to be ruled as they listed, so no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did let him alone: insomuch no man regarding the profit of the common wealth, euery man was for him self, and his familie. And contrarily, it was not lawfull for any man to speake for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperanD cie, and for the restoring againe of equality of life, the preferment whereof was the only cause of the late death of *Agis*. They say also, that *Cleomenes* being a young stripling, had heard some disputacion of Philosophie, when the Philosopher *Sphærus*, of the contry of BORYSTHENES came to LACEDÆMON, and louingly stayed there to teache younge men and children. He was one of the chiefest schollers of *Zenon* CITIAN, and delighted (as it seemed) in *Cleomenes* noble minde, and had a great desire to pricke him forward vnto honor. For, as it is reported, that the auncient *Leonidas* beeing demaunded what Poet he thought *Tyrtæus* to be, aunswered he was good to flatter younge mens myndes: for he sette their hartes a fire by his verses, when they beganne to fight any battell, fearing no daunger, they were so incoraged by them. So the Stoicke discipline is somewhat daungerous, for the stowte and valiant myndes, which E otherwise doth make them desperate: but when they are ioyned vnto a graue and gentle nature, first it lyfteth vp his hart, and then maketh him taste the profit thereof. Nowe *Leonidas* (the father of *Cleomenes*) beeing deceased, and he him selfe comen vnto the crowne, finding that the Citizens of SPARTA at that tyme were very dissolute, that the riche men followed their pleasure and profit taking no care of the common weale, that the poore men also for very want and neede went with no good life and courage to the warres, nether cared for the bringing vp of their children, and that he him selfe had but the name of a king, and the Ephori the absolute authoritie to doe what they listed: at his first comming to his kingdome, he determined to alter the whole state and gouernment of the common wealth. Who hauing a friend called *Xenares*, that had beene his louer in his youth (which the LACEDÆMONIF ANS called Empnistæ, as much as inspired) he beganne to sownd his opinion, asking what maner of man king *Agis* had bene, and by what reason, and whose aduise he had followed in his attempt for the reformation of the common wealth. *Xenares* at the first did not willingly re-

Here beginneth Cleomenes life.

Cleomenes the sonne of Leonidas.

Agiatis the Daughter of Gylippus, and wife to king Agis.

Agiatis, king Agis wife, maryed vnto Cleomenes.

Sphærus, a Philosopher of Borysthenes

hearse these things vnto him, declaring euery thing what had passed. But when he found that A
Cleomenes was affected vnto king *Agis* intent, & still desired to heare of it: then *Xenares* sharply and angrily reproued him, and tolde him he was not wise, nor well aduised, and at length would no more come and talke with him as he was wont, yet making no man priuye why he absteyned from comming to him, but told them that asked him, he knewe a cause well enough why. *Xenares* nowe hauing thus refused him, and thinking all the rest woulde doe the like: to bringe this matter to passe, he tooke this resolution with him selfe. Bicause he thought he might the rather doe it in warre, then in peace, he set the citie of SPARTA and the ACHAIANS at variance together: who did them selues giue the first occasion to be complayned vpon. For *Aratus* beeing President and chiefe of all the ACHAIANS, had practised a longe tyme to bringe all PELOPONNESVS into one bodye: and had therefore onely susteyned great B
troubles in warres, and at home in peace: thinking that there was no other waye to deliuer them from forreyne warres. Nowe when he had wonne all the other people to be of his opinion: there remained no more but the ELIANS, the LACEDÆMONIANS, and a few of the ARCHADIANS, which were subiect vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. When king *Leonidas* was deade, *Aratus* beganne to inuade the ARCHADIANS, those specially that bordered apon the ARGIVES: to proue how the LACEDÆMONIANS would take it, making no accompt of *Cleomenes*, being but a young king, & had no experience of warres. Thereuppon the Ephori sent *Cleomenes* vnto ATHÆNIVM (a temple of *Minerua* hard by the citie of BELBINA) with an armie to take it: bicause it was a passage & entry into the contry of LACONIA, howbeit the place at that time was in question betwixt the MEGALOPOLITANES, and the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Cleomenes* got C
it, and fortefied it. *Aratus* making no complaint otherwise of the matter, stale out one night with his army to set apon the TEGEANS, and ORCHOMENIANS, hoping to haue taken those cities by treason. But the traitors that were of his confederacy, their harts failed them when they should haue gonne about it: so that *Aratus* returned, hauing lost his iorney, thinking that this secret attempt of his was not discouered. But *Cleomenes* finely wrote vnto him as his friend, and asked him, whether he had led his armie by night: *Aratus* returned aunswer againe, that vnderstanding *Cleomenes* ment to fortifie BELBINA, he went forth with his armye, thinking to haue let him. *Cleomenes* wrote againe vnto him, and said he did beleeue that which he spake was true: howbeit he earnestly requested him, (if it were no trouble to him) to aduertise him why he brought schaling ladders and lightes after him. *Aratus* smiling at this mocke, asked D
what this young man was. *Democritus* LACEDÆMONIAN being a banished man out of his cõtry, aunswered: if thou hast any thing to doe against the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou hadst neede make haste, before this young Cockerel haue on his spurres. Then *Cleomenes* being in the field in the contry of ARCHADIA, with a few horsemen and three hundred footemen onely: the Ephori being affraid of warres, sent for him to returne againe. His backe was no sooner turned, obeying their commaundement: but *Aratus* sodainly tooke the citie of CAPHYES. Thereuppon, the Ephori incontinently sent *Cleomenes* backe again with his armie: who tooke the fort of Methydrium, and burnt the borders of the ARGIVES. The ACHAIANS came against him with an army of twenty thowsand footemen, and a thowsand horsemen, led by *Aristomachus*: *Cleomenes* met with them by the city of PALANTIVM, and offred battell. But *Aratus* quaking at E
the hardines of this young man, would not suffer *Aristomachus* to hazard battell, but went his way, derided by the ACHAIANS, and despised by the LACEDÆMONIANS: who in all were not aboue fiue thowsand fighting men. *Cleomenes* corage beeing now lift vp, and brauely speaking to his citizens: he remembred them of a saying of one of their auncient kings, that the LACEDÆMONIANS neuer inquired what number their enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after, the ACHAIANS making warre with the ELIANS, *Cleomenes* was sent to ayde them, & met with the armie of the ACHAIANS by the mountaine Lyceum, as they were in their returne: he setting apon them, gaue them the ouerthrowe, slue a great number of them, and tooke many also prisoners, that the rumor ranne through GRÆCE, how *Aratus* selfe was slaine. *Cleomenes* wisely taking the occasion which this victory gaue him: he went straight to the citie of MANTINEA, and taking it vpon a sodaine, when no man knew of his comming, he put a strong garrison into it. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS harts failing them, and resisting *Cleomenes* enterpri- F

ses,

Cleomenes did ses the Lacedæmonians and Achaians together by the eares.

Cleomenes iorney into the contry of the Argiues.

The victorie of Cleomenes against Aratus.

The saying of the kings of Lacedæmon touching their enemies.

A ſes, ouerwearying them with warres: he went about to ſende for *Archidamus*, king *Agis* brother, being then at MESSENA, vnto whom the kingdom of right belonged by the other houſe, ſuppoſing that he ſhoulde eaſely weaken the power of the Ephores, by the authoritie of the two kinges, if both of them ioyned together. Which when the murtherers of king *Agis* vnderſtoode, being affraid that *Archidamus* returning from exile, he would be reuenged of them: they ſecretly receiued him into the citie, and founde the meanes to bring him into SPARTA. But when they had him, they put him ſtraight to death, whether it was vnwitting to *Cleomenes* (as *Phylarchus* plainly teſtifieth) or elſe with his priuitie, ſuffring them to make him away, by perſwaſion of his frends. But it is a cleere caſe, the citie was burdened withall, bicauſe probable matter fell out that they had compelled *Cleomenes* to doe it. Neuertheleſſe, he holding
B ſtill his firſt determination, to alter the ſtate of the common wealth of SPARTA, as ſoone as he could poſſible: he ſo fed the Ephores with money, that he brought them to be contented he ſhould make warre. He had alſo won many other citizens by the meanes of his mother *Crateſiclea*, who furniſht him with money, that he lacked not to honor him withall: and further, maried as it is reported, (being otherwiſe not ment to mary) for her ſonnes ſake, vnto one of the wealthieſt men of all the citie. So *Cleomenes* leading his army into the field, wanne a place within the territorie of MEGALOPOLIS, called LEVCTRA. The ACHAIANS alſo being quickly come to their aide, led by *Aratus*: they ſtraight fought a battell by the citie ſelfe, where *Cleomenes* had the worſt on the one ſide of his armie. Howbeit *Aratus* woulde not ſuffer the
C ACHAIANS to follow them, bicauſe of bogges and quauemyres, but ſounded the retreate. But *Lyſiadas* a MEGALOPOLITAN being angrie withall, cauſed the horſemen he had about him to follow the chaſe, who purſued ſo fiercely, that they came amongeſt vines, walls, and ditches, where he was driuen to diſperſe his men, and yet coulde not get out. *Cleomenes* perceiuing it, ſent the light horſemen of the TARENTINS & CRETANS againſt him: of whom *Lyſiadas* valiantly fighting was ſlaine. Then the LACEDÆMONIANS being couragious for this victorie, came with great cries, & geuing a fierce charge apon the ACHAIANS, ouerthrew their whole armie, and ſlue a maruelous number of them: but yet *Cleomenes* at their requeſt ſuffered them to take vp the dead bodies of their men to burie them. For *Lyſiadas* corps, he cauſed it to be brought vnto him, and putting a purple robe apon it, and a crowne on his head, ſent it in this aray vnto the very gates of the city of MEGALOPOLIS. It was that ſelfe *Lyſiadas*, who geuing
D ouer the tyranny and gouernment of MEGALOPOLIS, made it a popular ſtate, and free city, and ioyned it to the ACHAIANS. After this victorie, *Cleomenes* that determined greater matters and attempts, perſwaded him ſelfe that if he might once come to ſtabliſhe the affaires of the common wealth at SPARTA to his mind, he might then eaſely ouercome the ACHAIANS: brake with his father in law *Megiſtonus*, and told him that it was neceſſary to take away the authoritie of the Ephores, and to make diuiſion of the landes among the SPARTANS, and then being brought to equalitie, to encorage them to recouer the Empire of GRÆCE againe vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, which their predeceſſors before them, held and enioyed. *Megiſtonus* graunting his good will and furtherance, ioyned two or three of his frendes more vnto him.
It chaunced at that time that one of the Ephores lying in the temple of *Paſiphaé*, had a marue-
E lous dreame in the night. For he thought he ſawe but one chaire ſtanding where the Ephori did vſe to ſit to geue audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, were taken away: and that maruelling at it, he heard a voyce out of the temple that ſaid, that was the beſt for SPARTA. He declaring this dreame the next morning vnto *Cleomenes*, it ſomewhat troubled him at the firſt, thinking that he came to feele him, for that he had heard ſome inckling of his intent. But when he perſwaded him ſelfe that the other ment good faith, and lyed not vnto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpoſe, and taking with him vnto the campe all thoſe SPARTANS which he ſuſpected to be againſt his enterpriſe, he went and tooke the cities of HERÆA and ALSEA, confederats of the ACHAIANS, and vitteled ORCHOMENA, and went and camped before the citie of MANTINEA. In fine, he ſo wearied
F & ouerharried the LACEDÆMONIANS by long iorneys, that at length they beſought him he would let them remaine in ARCADIA, to repoſe them ſelues there. In the meane time, *Cleomenes* with his ſtraungers which he had hyred, returned againe vnto SPARTA, and imparted

Archidamus king Agis brother ſlaine.

Lyſiadas ſlaine. Cleomenes victorie of the Achaians.

Lyſiadas, tyranne of Megalopolis, gaue ouer his tyrannie, and made it a popular ſtate.

The dreame of one of the Ephores.

his intent by the way vnto them he truſted beſt, and marched at his owne eaſe, that he might take the Ephores at ſupper. When he came neere vnto the city, he ſent *Euryclidas* before, into the halle of the Ephores, as though he brought them newes out of the campe from him. After him, he ſent alſo *Thericion* & *Phœbis*, and two other that had bene brought vp with him, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS called the SAMOTHRACIANS, taking with them a fewe ſouldiers. Nowe whileſt *Euryclidas* was talking with the Ephores, they alſo came in apon them with their ſwordes drawen, and did ſet apon the Ephores. *Ageſilaus* was hurt firſt of all, and falling downe, made as though he had bene ſlaine, but by litle & litle he crept out of the halle, and got ſecretly into a chappell conſecrated vnto *Feare*, the which was wont euer to be kept ſhut, but then by chaunce was left open, when he was come in, he ſhut the dore faſt to him. The other foure of the Ephores were ſlaine preſently, and aboue tenne moe beſides, which came to defende them. Furthermore, for them that ſate ſtill and ſturred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keepe any man that was deſirous to goe out of the citie: but moreouer, they pardoned *Ageſilaus*, who came the next morning out of the chappell of *Feare*. Amongeſt the LACEDÆMONIANS in the citie of SPARTA, there are not onely temples of feare and death, but alſo of laughter, and of many other ſuch paſſions of the minde. They do worſhippe *Feare*, not as other ſpirites and deuills that are hurtfull: but bicauſe they are perſwaded, that nothing preſerueth a common wealth better then feare. Wherefore the Ephori (as *Ariſtotle* witneſſeth) when they are created, doe by publicke proclamacion commaunde all the SPARTANS to ſhaue their chinnes, and to obey the law, leaſt they ſhould make them feele the rigour of the law. They brought in the ſhauing of their chinnes, in my opinion, to inure youg men to obey the Magiſtrates euen in trifles. Moreouer it ſeemes that men in olde time did eſteeme fortitude to be no taking away of feare, but rather a feare & lothnes to incurre ſhame. For commonly thoſe that are moſt affrayed to offend the law, are in the field moſt valliant againſt their enemie: and ſhunne no perill to winne fame and honeſt reputacion. And therefore it was wiſely ſayd of one,

Cleomenes ſlue the Ephores.

Diuers ſiples at Sparta, of feare, death, & ſuch other fancies.

The valliantest men are moſt affrayed to offend the law.

That feare can not be vvithout shamefastnes.

And ſo *Homer* in a certaine place made *Hellen* ſay vnto king *Priamus:*

Of trueth I doe confeſſe deere father in lavv,
You are the man of vvhom I ſtand in avv,
And reuerence moſt of all that ere I ſavv.

And in an other place, ſpeaking of the GRÆCIAN ſouldiers, he ſayth thus:

For feare of their Captaines they ſpake not a vvord.

The chappell of feare, ioyned to the halle of the Ephores.

For men do vſe to reuerence them whom they feare. And this was the cauſe why the chappell of *Feare* was by the halle of the Ephores, hauing in maner a princely and abſolute authoritie. The next morning *Cleomenes* baniſhed by trompet, foure ſcore citizens of SPARTA, and ouerthrew all the chaires of the Ephores but one only, the which he reſerued for him ſelfe to ſit in to geue audience. Then calling the people to counſell, he gaue them an account of his doings, and told them that *Lycurgus* had ioyned the Senators with the kings, & how the citie had bene gouerned a long time by them, without helpe of any other officers. Notwithſtanding, afterwards the city hauing great warres with the MESSENIANS, the kings being alwaies employed in that warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the common wealth at home, did chooſe certaine of their frendes to ſitte in iudgement in their ſteades, to determine controuerſies of lawe: which were called Ephores, and did gouerne long time as the kinges miniſters, howbeit that afterwards, by litle and litle, they tooke apon them abſolute gouernment by thē ſelues. And for manifeſt proofe hereof, you ſee that at this preſent time when the Ephori do ſend for the king, the firſt and ſecond time, they refuſe to come, but the third time he riſeth and goeth vnto them. The firſt man that gaue the Ephores this authoritie, was *Aſteropus*, one of the Ephores many yeares after the firſt inſtitucion of the kinges: and yet if they had gouerned diſcreetely, peraduenture they might haue continued lenger. But they licentiouſly abuſing their authoritie, by ſuppreſſing the lawfull Gouernors inſtituted of old time, taking apon them to baniſh ſome of their kings, and putting other of them alſo to death, without law and iuſtice, and threatning others that deſire to reſtore that noble and former bleſſed gouern-

The oration of king Cleomenes, touching the firſt originall of the Ephores.

Aſteropus, the firſt man that gaue authoritie to the Ephores.

A gouernment vnto SPARTA againe: all theſe things I ſay, are in no wiſe to be ſuffered any lenger. And therefore, if it had bene poſſible to haue baniſhed all theſe plagues of the common wealth out of SPARTA, brought from forreine nations: (I meane, pleaſures, paſtimes, money, dets, and vſuries, and others yet more auncient, pouerty and riches) he might then haue eſteemed him ſelfe the happieſt king that euer was, if like a good Phiſitian he had cured his contrie of that infection, without griefe or ſorrow. But in that he was conſtrained to beginne with blood, he followed *Lycurgus* example: who being neither king nor other Magiſtrate, but a priuate citizen only, taking apon him the authoritie of the king, boldly came into the market place with force and armed men, and made king *Charilaus* that then raigned, ſo affrayed, that he was driuen to take ſanctuarie in one of the temples. But the king being a Prince of a B noble nature, and louing the honor of his contrie: tooke parte with *Lycurgus*, adding to his aduiſe and counſell, for the alteracion of the ſtate of the gouernment of the common wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that *Lycurgus* ſaw it was a hard thing to alter the common wealth without force and feare: the which he notwithſtanding had vſed with as great modeſtie and diſcretion, as might be poſſible, baniſhing them that were againſt the profit and wealth of LACEDÆMON, geuing all the lands of the contrie alſo to be equally deuided amongeſt them, and ſetting all men cleere that were in dette. And furthermore, that he would make a choyſe and proofe of the ſtraungers, to make them free citizens of SPARTA, whom he knew to be honeſt men, thereby to defende their citie the better by force of armes: to thend that from henceforth we may no more ſee our contrie of LACONIA ſpoyled by the C ÆTOLIANS and ILLYRIANS, for lacke of men to defende them ſelues againſt them. Then he beganne firſt him ſelfe to make all his goods common, and after him *Megiſtonus* his father in law, and conſequently all his other frendes. Then he cauſed the lands alſo to be deuided, and ordeined euery baniſhed man a part, whom he him ſelfe had exiled, promiſing that he would receiue them againe into the city, when he had eſtabliſhed all things. So when he had repleniſhed the number of the citizens of SPARTA, with the choyceſt honeſt men their neighbours: he made foure thowſand footemen well armed, and taught them to vſe their pykes with both handes, in ſteade of their dartes with one hande, and to carie their targets with a good ſtrong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwardes he tooke order for the education of children, and to reſtore the auncient LACONIAN diſcipline againe: and did all theſe things D in maner by the helpe of *Sphærus* the Philoſopher. Inſomuch as he had quickely ſet vp againe ſchoole houſes for children, and alſo brought them to the old order of dyet: and all, but a very fewe, without compulſion were willing to fall to their old inſtitucion of life. Then bicauſe the name of one king ſhould not offend any man, he made his brother *Euclidas* king with him. But this was the firſt time that euer the two kings were of one houſe but then. Furthermore, vnderſtanding that the ACHAIANS and *Aratus* were of opinion, that he durſt not come out of LACEDÆMON, for feare to leaue it in perill of reuolting, bicauſe of the late chaunge and alteracion in the common wealth: he thought it an honorable attempt of him, to make his enemies ſee the readines and good will of his armie. Thereupon he inuaded the territories of the MEGALOPOLITANS, and brought away a great praye and booty, after he had done great hurt E vnto his enemies. Then hauing taken certaine players and minſtrells that came from MESSINA, he ſette vp a ſtage within the enemies contrie, made a game of 40. Minas for the victor, and ſate a whole day to looke apon them, for no pleaſure he tooke in the ſight of it, but more to deſpite the enemies withall, in making them ſee how muche he was ſtronger then they, to make ſuch a Mayegame in their owne contrie, in deſpite of them. For of all the armies otherwiſe of the GRÆCIANS, or kinges in all GRÆCE, there was no armie onely but his, that was without players, minſtrells, fooles and iugglers: for his campe only was cleane of ſuch rabble and foolerie, and all the young men fell to ſome exerciſe of their bodies, and the old men alſo to teache them. And if they chaunced to haue any vacant time, then they would pleaſauntly be one merie with an other, in geuing ſome pretie fine mocke after the LACONIAN manner. F And what profit they got by that kinde of exerciſe, we haue written it at large in *Lycurgus* life. But of all theſe things, the king him ſelfe was their ſchoolemaiſter and example, ſhewing him ſelfe very temperate of life, and plaine without curioſitie, no more then any priuate ſouldier

Cleomenes reformeth the ſtate of the cõmon wealth of Lacedæmon.

Cleomenes inuadeth the borders of the Megalopolitans.

King Cleomenes, the teacher and example of temperancy.

of all his campe: the which were great helpes vnto him in his enterprises he made in GRÆCE. A
For the GRÆCIANS hauing cause of sute and negociacion with other kings and Princes, did not wonder so much at their pompe and riches, as they did abhorre and detest their pride and insolencie: so disdainfully they would aunswere them that had to doe with them. But contrarily when they went vnto *Cleomenes*, who was a king in name and deede as they were, finding no purple robes nor stately mantells, nor rich imbrodered beddes, nor a Prince to be spoken to but by messengers, gentlemen vshers, and supplications, and yet with great a doe: and seeing him also come plainly apparelled vnto them, with a good countenaunce, and curteously aunswering the matters they came for: he thereby did maruelously win their harts and good wills, that when they returned home, they said he only was the worthy king, that came of the race of *Hercules*. Now for his dyet at his bord, that was very straight and LACONIAN like, keping only three bords: and if he chaunced to feast any Ambassadors or other his frendes that came to see him, he then added to two other bords, and besides, made his men to see that his fare should be amended, not with pastrie and conserues, but with more store of meate, and some better wyne then ordinarie. For he one day reproued one of his frendes, that bidding straungers to supper, he gaue thē nothing but blacke broth, & browne bread only, according to their LACONIAN maner. Nay, said he, we may not vse straungers so hardly after our maner. The bord being taken vp, an other litle table was brought with three feete, whereupon they set a bolle of copper full of wyne, and two siluer cuppes of a pottell a peece, and certaine other fewe siluer pottes besides: so euery man dranke what they listed, and no man was forced to drinke more then he woulde. Furthermore, there was no sporte, nor any pleasaunt song, C
soung, to make the companie merie, for it needed not. For *Cleomenes* selfe would entertaine them with some pretie questions, or pleasaunt tale: whereby, as his talke was not seuere and without pleasure, so was it also pleasaunt without insolencie. For he was of opinion, that to winne men by gifts or money, as other kings and Princes did, was but base and cloynelike: but to seeke their good wills by curteous meanes, and pleasauntnes, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought most fit and honorable for a Prince. For this was his minde, that there was no other difference betwext a frend and hyerling: but that the one is wonne with money, and the other with ciuility & good entertainment. The first therefore that receiued king *Cleomenes* into their citie, were the MANTINIANS, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to driue out the garrison of the ACHAIANS, they yeelded them selues vnto him. D
But he referring them to the vse and gouernment of their owne lawes and libertie, departed from thence the same day, and went vnto the citie of TEGEA. Shortly after, he compassed about ARCADIA, and came vnto PHERES in ARCADIA determining one of the two, either to geue the ACHAIANS battell, or to bring *Aratus* out of fauor with the people, for that he had suffred him to spoyle and destroy their contry. *Hyperbatas* was at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, but *Aratus* did beare all the sway and authoritie. Then the ACHAIANS comming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the citie of DYMES, neere vnto the temple of *Hecatombæum*: *Cleomenes* going thither, laye betwext the citie of DYMES that was against him, and the campe of his enemies, which men thought a verie vnwise parte of
him. Howebeit valliantly prouoking the ACHAIANS, he procured them to the battell, ouer- E
threw them, made them flie, and slue a great number in the field, and tooke many of them also prisoners. Departing from thence, he went and set apon the citie of LANGON, and draue the garrison of the ACHAIANS out of it, and restored the citie againe vnto the ELIANS. The ACHAIANS being then in verie hard state, *Aratus* that of custome was wont to be their Generall, (or at the least once in two yeares) refused now to take the charge, notwithstanding the ACHAIANS did specially pray and intreate him: the which was an ill act of him, to let an other steere the rudder, in so daungerous a storme and tempest. Therefore the ACHAIANS sent Ambassadors vnto *Cleomenes* to treate peace, vnto whome it seemed he gaue a verie sharpe aunswere. After that, he sent vnto them, and willed them only to resigne the signiorie of GRÆCE
vnto him: and that for all other matters he would deale reasonably with them, and presently F
deliuer them vp their townes & prisoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The ACHAIANS being glad of peace with these condicions, wrote vnto *Cleomenes* that he shoulde come

vnto

Cleomenes moderate dyet.

Cleomenes curteous entertainment at his bord.

Cleomenes leadeth his army against Aratus, and the Achaians.

The victory of Cleomenes against the Achaians.

A vnto the citie of LERNA, where the dyet and generall assemblie shoulde be kept to consult thereupon. It chaunced then that *Cleomenes* marching thither, being very hotte, dranke cold water, and fell of suche a bleeding withall, that his voyce was taken from him, and he almost stifled. Wherefore he sent the ACHAIANS their chiefest prisoners home againe, proroging the parlament till an other time, and returned backe to LACEDÆMON. It is supposed certainly, that this let of his comming to the dyet, was the onely cause of the vtter destruction of GRÆCE: the which otherwise was in good way to haue risen againe, and to haue bene deliuered from the present miseries, and extreame pride and couetousnes of the MACEDONIANS. For *Aratus*, either for that he trusted not *Cleomenes*, or for that he was affrayed of his power, or that he otherwise enuied his honor & prosperitie, to see him risen to such incredible great-
B nes in so short a time, and thinking it also too great shame and dishonor to him, to suffer this young man in a moment to depriue him of his great honor & power which he had possessed so long time, by the space of thirtie yeares together, ruling all GRÆCE: first, he sought by force to terrifie the ACHAIANS, and to make them breake of from this peace. But in fine, finding that they litle regarded his threats, & that he could not preuaile with them, for that they were affrayed of *Cleomenes* valliantnesse and corage, whose request they thought reasonable, for that he sought but to restore PELOPONNESVS into her former auncient estate againe: he fell then into a practise farre vnhoneſt for a GRÆCIAN, verie infamous for him selfe, but most
C dishonorable for the former noble acts he had done. For he brought *Antigonus* into GRÆCE, and in his age filled the contrie of PELOPONNESVS with MACEDONIANS, whom he himselfe in his youth had driuen thence, had taken from them the castell of CORINTHE, and had alwayes bene an enemie of the kinges (but specially of *Antigonus*, of whom before he had spoken all the ill he coulde, as appeareth in his wrytings, saying that he tooke maruelous paines, and did put him selfe into many daungers, to deliuer the city of ATHENS from the garrison of the MACEDONIANS) and yet notwithstanding he brought them armed with his owne hands, not into his contrie only, but into his owne house, yea euen into the Ladies chambers & closets: disdaining that the king of LACEDÆMON, discending of the blood royall of *Hercules* (who setting vp againe the auncient maner of life of his contrie, did temper it as an instrument of musicke out of tune, and brought it to the good, auncient and sober discipline and DORICAN life instituted by *Lycurgus*) should be called and wrytten, king of the SICYONIANS, and of the
D TRICCÆIANS. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with browne bread, and with the plaine course capes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that went about to take awaye riches (which was the chiefest matter they did accuse *Cleomenes* for) and to prouide for the poore: he went and put him selfe and all ACHAIA vnto the crowne and diadeame, the purple robe, and prowde imperious commaundementes of the MACEDONIANS, fearing least men should thinke that *Cleomenes* coulde commaunde him. Furthermore his follie was such, that hauing garlands of flowers on his head, he did sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, & sing songs in praise of his honor, as if he had bene a god, where he was but a rotten man, consumed away. This that we haue written of *Aratus* (who was indued with many noble vertues, & a worthy GRÆCIAN) is not so much to accuse him, as to make vs see the frayelty and weakenes of mans na-
E ture: the which, though it haue neuer so excellent vertues, can not yet bring forth such perfit frute, but that it hath euer some mayme and bleamishe. Now, when the ACHAIANS were met againe in the citie of ARGOS, to hold the session of their parlament before proroged, and *Cleomenes* also being come from TEGEA, to be at that parlament: euerie man was in hope of good peace. But *Aratus* then, who was agreed before of the chiefest articles of the capitulacions with *Antigonus*, fearing that *Cleomenes* by fayre words or force would bring the people to graunt that he desired: sent to let him vnderstand, that he should but come him selfe alone into the citie, and for safetie of his person, they would geue him three hundred ostages: or o-
F therwise, if he would not leaue his armie, that then they would geue him audience without the citie, in the place of exercises, called Cyllarabium. When *Cleomenes* had heard their aunswere, he told them that they had done him wrong: for they should haue aduertised him of it before he had taken his iorney, and not now when he was almost hard at their gates, to sende him backe againe, with a flea in his eare. Thereuppon he wrote a letter vnto the counsell of

Aratus treason to his contrie.

the ACHAIANS, altogether full of complaintes againſt *Aratus*. On thother ſide alſo, *Aratus* in his oration to the counſell, inueyed with bitter wordes againſt *Cleomenes*. Thereuppon *Cleomenes* departing with ſpeede, ſent a Herauld to proclaime warres againſt the ACHAIANS, not in the city of ARGOS, but in the city of ÆGION, as *Aratus* wryteth, meaning to ſet apon them being vnprouided. Hereuppon all ACHAIA was in an vprore: for diuers cities did preſently reuolt againſt the ACHAIANS, bicauſe the common people hoped after the diuiſion of lands, and the diſcharging of their dettes. The noble men alſo in many places were offended with *Aratus*, bicauſe he practiſed to bring the MACEDONIANS into the contrie of PELOPONNESVS, *Cleomenes* therefore hoping well for all theſe reſpectes, brought his armie into ACHAIA, and at his firſt comming tooke the citie of PALLENA, and draue out the garriſon of the ACHAIANS: and after that, wanne alſo the cities of PHENEVM, and PENTELIVM. Now the ACHAIANS fearing ſome treaſon in CORINTHE and SYCIONE, ſent certaine horſemen out of the citie of ARGOS, to keepe thoſe cities. The ARGIVES in the meane time, attending the celebracion of the feaſt at the games Nemeea, *Cleomenes* thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to ARGOS, he ſhould finde the citie full of people that were come to ſee the feaſtes and games, and that aſſailing them vppon the ſodaine, he ſhoulde put them in a maruelous feare: brought his armie in the night hard to the walls of the citie of ARGOS, and at his firſt comming wanne a place they call Aſpis, a verie ſtrong place aboue the Theater, and ill to come vnto. The ARGIVES were ſo amazed at it, that no man would take apon him to defende the citie, but receiued *Cleomenes* garriſon, and gaue him twentie oſtages, promiſing thenceforth to be true confederates vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, vnder his charge and conduct. The which doubtles wanne him great fame, and increaſed his power: for that the auncient kings of LACEDÆMON, could neuer before with any policie or deuiſe, winne the citie of ARGOS. For king *Pyrrhus* one of the moſt valliantest and warlikeſt Prince that euer was, entring the citie of ARGOS by force, could not keepe it, but was ſlaine there, and the moſt parte of his armie: wherby, euery man wondred greatly at the diligence & counſell of *Cleomenes*. And where euery man did mocke him before, when *Cleomenes* ſayd that he would follow *Solon*, and *Lycurgus*, in making the citizens goods common, and diſcharging all dets: they were then clerely perſwaded that he onely was the cauſe and meane of that great chaunge, which they ſawe in the corage of the SPARTANS: who were before ſo weake and out of hart, that they hauing no corage to defend them ſelues, the ÆTOLIANS entring LACONIA, with an armie, tooke away at one time, fiftie thowſand ſlaues. Whereuppon an old man of SPARTA pleaſauntly ſayd at that time, that their enemies had done them a great pleaſure, to ridde their contrie of LACONIA of ſuche a rabble of raſcalls. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former auncient diſcipline of *Lycurgus*, as if *Lycurgus* ſelfe had bene aliue to haue trained them vnto it: they ſhewed them ſelues verie valliant, and obedient alſo vnto their Magiſtrates, whereby they recouered againe the commaundement of all GRÆCE, and the contrie alſo of PELOPONNESVS. After *Cleomenes* had taken the citie of ARGOS, the cities alſo of CLEONES, and PHLIVNTA, did yeelde them ſelues vnto him. *Aratus* in the meane time remayned at CORINTHE, & there did buſily accuſe them which were ſuſpected to fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS. But when newes was brought him that ARGOS was taken, & that he perceiued alſo the citie of CORINTHE did leane vnto *Cleomenes* parte, and draue away the ACHAIANS: he then calling the people to counſell in CORINTHE, ſecretly ſtale to one of the gates of the citie, and cauſing his horſe to be brought vnto him, tooke his backe, and gallopped for life vnto the citie of SICYONE. When the CORINTHIANS heard of it, they tooke their horſebackes alſo, ſtriuing who ſhoulde be there ſooneſt, and poſted in ſuche haſt vnto *Cleomenes* at the citie of ARGOS, that many of them (as *Aratus* wryteth) killed their horſes by the waye: howebeit *Cleomenes* was verie muche offended with them, for that they had let him ſcape their handes. But *Aratus* ſayth further, that *Megiſtonus* came vnto him from *Cleomenes*, and offered him a great ſumme of money to deliuer him the caſtell of CORINTHE, wherein there was a great garriſon of the ACHAIANS. But he aunſwered againe, that thinges were not in his power, but rather that he was ſubiect to their power. Now *Cleomenes* departing from the city of ARGOS, ouercame the TROEZENIANS, the EPIDAVRIANS, & the HERMIONIANS. After that, he came vnto

Cleomenes winneth the citie of Argos.

King Pyrrhus ſlaine at the citie of Argos.

The force of Lycurgus lawes.

A vnto CORINTHE, and presentlie entrenched the castell there rounde about, and sendinge for *Aratus* frendes and factors, commaunded them to keepe his house and goodes carefullie for him, and sent *Tritymallus* MESSENIAN againe vnto him, to praye him to be contented that the castell might be kept indifferentlie betwext the ACHAIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, promisinge him priuately to double the pencion that kinge *Ptolomy* gaue him. But *Aratus* refusinge it, sent his sonne vnto *Antigonus* with other ostages, and perswaded the ACHAIANS to deliuer vppe the castell of CORINTHE, vnto *Antigonus* handes. *Cleomenes* vnderstandinge it, entred with his armie into the contrie of the SICYONIANS, and destroyed it as he went, and tooke *Aratus* goodes and money, of the gift of the CORINTHIANS by decree. Nowe *Antigonus* in the meane tyme, beinge passed the mount-
B tayne of Gerania with a greate power: *Cleomenes* determined not to fortifie the Isthmus or straight of PELOPONNESVS, but the wayes of the mountaynes Onienes, determininge to keepe euerie one of them against the MACEDONIANS, with intent to consume them rather by tyme, then to fight a battell with an armie, so good souldiers and well trayned as they were. *Cleomenes* followinge this determination, did putte *Antigonus* to greate trouble, bicause he had not in time prouided for corne: and coulde not winne the passage also by force, for that *Cleomenes* kept it with suche garde and souldiers. Then *Antigonus* stealinge secretely into the hauen of Lechæum, he was stowtly repulsed, and lost a number of his men: whereuppon *Cleomenes* and his men beinge couragious for this victorie, went quietly to supper. *Antigonus* on thother side fell into dispaire, to see him
C selfe brought by necessitie into suche harde termes. Wherefore he determined to goe to the temple of *Iuno*, and from thence to passe his armie by sea into the citie of SICYONE, the which required a longe tyme, and greate preparacion. But the same night there came some of *Aratus* frendes of the ARGIVES, who comminge from ARGOS by sea, brought newes that the ARGIVES were rebelled against *Cleomenes*. The practiser of this rebellion, was one *Aristoteles*, who easelie brought the people vnto it, that were alreadie offended with *Cleomenes*, that had promised to passe a lawe for the clearinge of dettes, but performed it not accordinge to their expectacion. Wherefore, *Aratus* with a thowsande fiue hundred men which *Antigonus* gaue him, went by sea vnto EPIDAVRVM. Howebeit *Aristoteles* taried not his comminge, but takinge them of the citie with him, went and
D besieged the garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS within the castell, beinge ayded by *Timoxenus*, with the ACHAIANS that came from SICYONE. *Cleomenes* receiuinge aduertisement hereof, about the seconde watche of the night, sent for *Megistonus* in haste, and commaunded him in anger speedilie to goe and ayde their men that were in the citie of ARGOS. For it was *Megistonus* him selfe that promised *Cleomenes* the fidelitie of the ARGIVES, and that kept him from driuinge them out of the citie, which he suspected. So sendinge him awaye foorthwith with two thowsande men, he attended *Antigonus*, and comforted the CORINTHIANS the best he coulde: aduertisinge them that it was but a litle mutinie of a fewe, that chaunced in the citie of ARGOS. *Megistonus* beinge come to ARGOS, and slayne in battell, fightinge for the LACEDÆMONIANS in garrison there (who be-
E inge in greate distresse, scant able to keepe the castell against the enemies) sent sundrie messengers vnto *Cleomenes*, to praye him to sende them immediate ayde. *Cleomenes* then beinge affrayed that the enemies hauinge taken ARGOS, woulde stoppe his way to returne backe into his contrie, who hauinge oportunitie safelie to spoyle LACONIA, and also to besiege the citie selfe of SPARTA, that had but a fewe men to defende it: he departed with his armie from CORINTHE. Immediatly after came *Antigonus*, and tooke it from him, and put a stronge garrison into it. When *Cleomenes* came before the citie of ARGOS, he scaled the walles, and breakinge the vawtes and arches of the place called Aspis, entred into the citie, and ioyned with his garrison there, which yet resisted the ACHAIANS: and takinge other partes of the same also, assaulted the walles, and cleared the streetes in suche
F sorte, that not an enemie durst be seene, for feare of the archers of the CRETANS. In the meane time, when he sawe *Antigonus* a farre of, comminge downe the hilles into the valley with his footemen, and that his horsemen also came apon the spurre into the citie:

The Argiues doe rebell against Cleomenes.

Cleomenes lost the citie of Corinthe.

Cleomenes lost the citie of Argos.

disspayringe then that he coulde any lenger keepe it, he gathered all his men together, and safelie goinge downe by the walles retyred without losse of any man. So, when in shorte tyme he had conquered muche, and had almost wonne all within PELOPONNESVS: in shorter space also, he lost all againe. For, of the confederates that were in his came, some did presentlie forsake him: others also immediatly after surrendered vp the townes vnto *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* beinge thus oppressed with the fortune of warre, when he came backe to TEGEA with the rest of his armie, newes came to him in the night from LACEDÆMON, which grieued him as muche as the losse of all his conquestes: for he was aduertised of the death of his wife *Agiatis*, whome he loued so dearelie, that in the middest of his chiefest prosperitie and victories, he made often iorneys to SPARTA to see her. It coulde not but be a maruelous griefe vnto *Cleomenes*, who beinge a younge man, had loste so vertuous and fayer a younge Ladie, so dearelie beloued of him: and yet he gaue not place vnto his sorowe, neither did griefe ouercome his noble courage, but he vsed the selfe same voyce, apparell, and countenaunce, that he did before. Then taking order with his priuate Captaines, about his affayres, and hauinge prouided also for the safetie of the TEGEANS: he went the next morninge by breake of daye vnto SPARTA. After he had priuately lamented the sorowe of his wiues death, with his mother and children: he presentlie bent his minde againe to publike causes. Nowe *Cleomenes* had sent vnto *Ptolomy* kinge of ÆGYPT, who had promised him ayde, but apon demaunde, to haue his mother and children in pledge. So he was a longe tyme before he woulde for shame make his mother priuie vnto it, and went oftentymes of purpose to lette her vnderstande it: but when he came, he had not the harte to breake it to her. She first suspectinge a thinge, asked *Cleomenes* frendes, if her sonne had not somewhat to saye vnto her, that he durst not vtter. Whereuppon, in fine he gaue the venter, and brake the matter to her. When she hearde it, she fell a laughinge, and tolde him: why, howe commeth it to passe, that thou hast kept it thus long, and wouldest not tell me? Come, come, sayed she, put me straight into a shippe, and sende me whither thou wilt, that this bodie of myne may doe some good vnto my contrie, before crooked age consume my life without profitte. Then all thinges beinge prepared for their iorney, they went by lande, accompanied with the armie, vnto the heade of Tænarus. Where *Crateſiclea* beinge readie to imbarke, she tooke *Cleomenes* aside into the temple of *Neptune*, and imbracinge and kissinge him, perceiuinge that his harte yerned for sorowe of her departure, she sayed vnto him: O kinge of LACEDÆMON, lette no man see for shame when we come out of the temple, that we haue wept and dishonored SPARTA. For that onely is in our power, and for the rest, as it pleaseth the goddes, so lette it be. When she had spoken these wordes, and facioned her countenaunce againe: she went then to take her shippe, with a litle sonne of *Cleomenes*, and commaunded the maister of the shippe to hoyse sayle. Nowe when she was arriued in ÆGYPT, and vnderstoode that kinge *Ptolomy* receiued Ambassadours from *Antigonus*, and were in talke to make peace with him: and hearinge also that *Cleomenes* beinge requested by the ACHAIANS to make peace with them, durst not hearken to it, and ende that warre, without king *Ptolomyes* consent, and bicause of his mother: she wrote vnto him, that he shoulde not spare to doe any thinge that shoulde be expedient for the honour of SPARTA, without feare of displeasing *Ptolomy*, or for regarde of an olde woman, and a younge boye. Suche was the noble minde of this worthie Ladie in her sonne *Cleomenes* aduersitie. Furthermore, *Antigonus* hauing taken the citie of TEGEA, and sacked the other cities of ORCHOMENVM, and MANTINEA: *Cleomenes* seeinge him selfe brought to defende the borders onely of LACONIA, he did manumise all the ILOTES, (which were the slaues of LACEDÆMON) payinge fiue Attica Minas a man. With that money he made the summe of fiue hundred talentes, and armed two thowsande of these freed slaues after the MACEDONIAN facion to fight against the LEVCASPIDES: (to witte, the white shieldes of *Antigonus*) and then there fell into his minde a maruelous greate enterprise, vnlooked for of euery man. The citie of MEGALIPOLIS at that time being as great as SPARTA, & hauing the aide of the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* at hand, (whom the ACHAIANS as it seemed had brought in, chiefly at the request of the MEGALOPOLITANS) *Cleomenes* determininge to

The death of Agiatis, king Cleomenes wife.

The noble minde of Crateſiclea, Cleomenes mother.

Cleomenes sendeth his mother and children hostages vnto Ptolomy king of AEgypt.

A to ſacke this citie, and knowing that to bring it to paſſe, nothing was more requiſite then celeritie: he commaunded his ſouldiers to vittell them ſelues for fiue dayes, and marching with the choyce of all his armie towardes SELASIA, as though he had ment to haue ſpoyled the ARGIVES, ſodainly turning from thence, he inuaded the contrie of the MEGALOPOLITANS, and ſupping by ROETIVM, went ſtraight by ELICVNTA vnto the citie. When he was come neere vnto it, he ſent *Panteas* before with ſpeede, with two bandes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded him to take a certeine pece of the wall betwene two towers, which he knewe was not kept nor garded: and he followed him alſo with the reſt of his armie comming on fayer and ſoftly. When *Panteas* came thither, finding not onely that place of the wall without gard or watche which *Cleomenes* had told him of, but alſo the moſt parte of that B ſide without defence: he tooke ſome parte of the wall at his firſt comming, and manned it, and ouerthrew an other peece of it alſo, putting them all to the ſword that did defend it, and then came *Cleomenes*, and was within the citie with his armie, before the MEGALOPOLITANS knewe of his comming. At length, the citizens vnderſtanding that the citie was taken, ſome fled in haſt, conueying ſuche light things as came to hande, in ſo great a feare: and the others alſo arming them ſelues, ranne together to reſiſt the enemies. But though they valliantly fought to repulſe them out of the citie, and yet preuayled not: they gaue the reſt leiſure thereby to flye and ſaue them ſelues, ſo that there remayned not behinde, aboue a thowſande men. For all the reſt were fled with their wiues and children, into the citie of MESSENA. The moſt parte of them alſo that fought with the enemies, ſaued them ſelues, and verie C fewe were taken, the chiefeſt whereof, were *Lyſandridas*, and *Thearidas*, the nobleſt perſons that were amongeſt the MEGALOPOLITANS: wherefore when the ſouldiers had taken them, they brought them vnto *Cleomenes*. *Lyſandridas*, when he ſaw *Cleomenes* a good way of, cried out alowde vnto him: O king of LACEDÆMON, this day thou haſt an occaſion offered thee to doe a more famous princely acte, then that which thou haſt alreadie done, and that will make thy name alſo more glorious. *Cleomenes* muſing what he woulde requeſt: well (ꝙ he) what is that thou requireſt? One thing I will tell thee before hande, thou ſhalt not make me reſtore your citie to you againe. Yet, ꝙ *Lyſandridas*, lette me requeſt thus muche then, that ye doe not deſtroy it, but rather repleniſhe it with frendes and confederates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you: and that ſhall you doe, geuing the MEGALOPOLITANS D their citie againe, and preſeruing ſuche a number of people as haue forſaken it. *Cleomenes* pawſing a while, aunſwered, it was a hard thing to beleue that: but yet ꝙ he, let honor take place with vs, before profit. After that he ſent a Heraulde ſtraight vnto MESSENA vnto them that were fledde thither, and tolde them that he was contented to offer them their citie againe, ſo that they would become good frendes and confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, forſaking the alliance of the ACHAIANS. *Philopæmen* would by no meanes ſuffer the MEGALOPOLITANS to accept this gracious offer of *Cleomenes*, nor alſo to leaue their alliance with the ACHAIANS: telling them, that he ment not to geue them their citie againe, but to take them alſo with their citie: and therefore draue *Thearidas* and *Lyſandridas* out of MESSENA, that moued this practiſe. It was that *Philopæmen* that afterwardes was the chiefeſt man of E the ACHAIANS, and that wanne ſuche fame and honor among the GRÆCIANS, as we haue particularly declared in his life. This worde being brought to *Cleomenes*, who had kept the city from ſpoyling vntill that time: he was then ſo thorowly offended, that he gaue the goods in praye to the ſouldiers, ſent away their goodly tables, images, and pictures vnto SPARTA, and defaced the chiefeſt partes of the citie, and then returned home againe, being afFrayed of *Antigonus*, and the ACHAIANS. Howebeit they ſturred not, bicauſe of the parlament that was kept at that time in the citie of ÆGIVM, where *Aratus* being in the pulpit for orations, and holding his gowne a long time before his face, the people maruelling at it, willed him to tell what he ayled: he anſwered them, MEGALIPOLIS is taken, and raſed by *Cleomenes*. The ACHAIANS being amazed at the ſodainnes of this great loſſe, ſtraight brake of their F parlament and aſſemblie. But *Antigonus* thinking to ayde them, ſent preſently for all his garriſons, who being long a comming, he willed them to ſtay where they were, and he himſelfe taking a fewe ſouldiers with him, went vnto the citie of ARGOS. Therefore the ſeconde

Cleomenes wanne the citie of Megalipolis.

Cleomenes noble ſaying.

Cleomenes raſed the citie of Megalipolis.

enterprise of *Cleomenes*, seemeth at the first sight a verie rashe and desperate attempt: howe- A
beit *Polybius* wryteth, that it was an attempt of greate wisedome and policie. For *Cleomenes*
vnderstanding that the MACEDONIANS were dispersed in garrisons in diuers places, and
that *Antigonus* lay all the winter in the citie of ARGOS, with a certeyne number of foote-
men that were straungers: he inuaded the contrie of the ARGIVES with his armie, perswa-
ding him selfe, that either *Antigonus* woulde for shame come and fight with him, or if he
did not, that then he shoulde put him in disgrace with the ARGIVES: which in deede came
so to passe. The ARGIVES seeinge their contrie spoyled by *Cleomenes*, were in a maruelous
rage, and gatheringe togethere at *Antigonus* lodginge, they cryed out vnto him, either to
goe into the fielde, and fight with the enemie: or else if he were affrayed, to resigne his of-
fice of Generall of GRÆCE, vnto others that were vallianter than him selfe. But *Antigo-* B
nus like a wise and excellent Captayne, thinkinge it a dishonour to him rashely to put him
selfe in daunger, and his frendes also, though he were prouoked with many iniuries and
opprobrious wordes: woulde not goe into the fielde, but stoode constant in his first deter-
mination. Then *Cleomenes* hauing brought his armie hard to the walles of the citie of AR-
GOS, and spoyled and destroyed the contrie rounde about: without lette or daunger he
safely returned home againe. Within a while after, *Cleomenes* beinge aduertised that *An-*
tigonus was come vnto TEGEA, with intent to inuade the contrie of LACONIA: he goinge
an other way with his armie, (vnwitting to his enemies) they wondered when they saw him
in the morning by the citie of ARGOS, spoylinge their contrie, and cuttinge downe their
corne, not with sickles and knyues as other doe vse, but with long poles in forme of Sythes, C
that the souldiers as they went sportingewise, did ouerthrowe and spoyle it. But when
they came to the place of exercises in the suburbes, called Cyllabaris, certaine of the soul-
diers goinge about to haue sette it afire, *Cleomenes* woulde not suffer them, and tolde them,
that what he had done at MEGALIPOLIS, it was rather angrily then honestlie done. Now
Antigonus, presentlye returninge backe againe, beinge minded first to haue gone direct-
ly to the citie of ARGOS, but sodainely alteringe his minde, did campe vpon the toppe
of hilles and mountaynes. *Cleomenes* seeminge not to be affrayed of him, sent Herauldes
to him to desire the keyes of the temple of *Iuno*, and then after he had done sacrifice,
he woulde departe his waye. Thus mockinge *Antigonus*, after he had sacrificed vnto
the goddesse, vnder the temple that was shut vp, he sent his armie vnto PHLIVNTA, D
and hauinge driuen awaye the garrison out of OLOGVNTA, he came vnto the citie of
ORCHOMENVM, hauinge not onely incouraged his citizens, but gotten euen amongest
the enemies them selues, a fame also to be a noble Captaine, and worthie to manage
greate affaires. For euerie man iudged him to be a skillfull souldier, and a valliant Cap-
taine, that with the power of one onely citie, did mainteine warre against the kingdom of
MACEDON, against all the people of PELOPONNESVS, and against the treasure of so
greate a king: and withall, not onely to keepe his owne contrie of LACONIA vnfoyled,
but farre otherwise to hurte his enemies contries, and to take so many greate cities of
theirs. But he that sayed first, that money was the sinewe of all thinges, spake it chiefly
in my opinion, in respect of the warres. *Demades* the Orator sayed on a time, when the E
ATHENIANS commaunded certaine gallies shoulde be put out of the arsenall into the
sea, and presently rigged and armed with all possible speed, though they lacked money: he
that rules the prowe, must first see before him. Meaning, munition and vittells must be
prouided, before the shippes be sette out. And it is reported also, that the auncient *Ar-*
chidamus, when the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS at the beginninge of the
warre of PELOPONNESVS required, that they might be sessed at a certeine rate, aun-
swered: the charges of warre haue no certeyne stinte. For like as wrestlers that exercise
their bodies continuallie in games, are better able to wrestle, and ouerthrowe them with
tyme, that haue no strength, but onely arte and slight: euen so Kinge *Antigonus*,
who by the greatnesse of his kingdome did defraye the charge of this warre, did wea- F
rie and ouercome *Cleomenes* at the length, bicause he lacked money bothe to paye the
straungers that serued him, and also to mayntayne his owne citizens. For otherwise,

Cleomenes stratageame.

A wise Captaine should not rashly put him selfe in hazard.

The moderacion of Cleomenes to his enemies.

Money, the sinewe of warres.

The saying of Archidamus.

Cleomenes ouercomen by Antigonus, for lacke of money to pay his souldiers.

doublesse

A doubtleſſe the time ſerued his turne well, bicauſe the troubles that fell apon *Antigonus* in his realme, did make him to be ſent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his abſence did ſpoyle and deſtroye the realme of MACEDON, and ſpeciallie the ILLYRIANS of the high contrie that came downe then with a greate armie: whereupon, the MACEDONIANS being ſpoyled and harried on all ſides by them, they ſent poſte vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come home. If theſe letters had bene brought him but a litle before the battell, as they came afterwardes: *Antigonus* had gone his waye, and left the ACHAIANS. But fortune, that alwayes ſtriketh the ſtroke in all weightieſt cauſes, gaue ſuche ſpeede and fauour vnto time: that immediatly after the battell was fought at SELASIA, (where *Cleomenes* loſt his armie and citie) the verie meſſengers arriued that came for *Antigonus* to come home, B the which made the ouerthrowe of king *Cleomenes* ſo muche more lamentable. For if he had delayed battell but two dayes lenger, when the MACEDONIANS had bene gone, he might haue made what peace he would with the ACHAIANS: but for lacke of money, he was driuen (as *Polybius* wryteth) to geue battell, with twentie thowſande men, againſt thirtie thowſande: where he ſhewed him ſelfe an excellent and skilfull Captaine, and where his citizens alſo fought like valliant men, and the ſtraungers in like caſe did ſhewe them ſelues good ſouldiers. But his onely ouerthrowe was, by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force of their battell of footemen. But *Phylarchus* wryteth, that treaſon was the cauſe of his ouerthrowe. For *Antigonus* had appointed the ACARNANIANS, and the ILLYRIANS which he had in his armie, to ſteale vppon the winge of his enemies armie, where *Euclidas*, king C *Cleomenes* brother was, to compaſſe him in behinde, whileſt he did ſette the reſt of his men in battell. When *Cleomenes* was got vp vpon ſome hill to looke about him, to ſee the countenaunce of the enemie, and ſeeing none of the ACARNANIANS, nor of the ILLYRIANS: he was then affrayed of *Antigonus*, that he went about ſome ſtratageame of warre. Wherefore he called for *Demoteles*, whoſe charge was to take heede of ſtratageames and ſecret ambuſhes, and commaunded him to looke to the rerewarde of his armie, and to be verie circumſpect all about. *Demoteles*, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, tolde him that all was cleere in the rerewarde, and bad him looke to ouerthrowe his enemies before him. *Cleomenes* truſting this reporte, ſette forward againſt *Antigonus*, and in the ende, his citizens of SPARTA which he had about him, gaue ſuche a fierce charge apon the ſqua- D dron of the MACEDONIAN footemen, that they draue them backe fiue furlonges of. But in the meane time, *Euclidas* his brother, in the other wing of his armie, being compaſſed in behinde, *Cleomenes* turning him backe, and ſeeing the ouerthrowe, cried out alowde: alas, good brother, thou art but ſlaine, yet thou dyeſt valliantlie, and honeſtlie, and thy death ſhall be a worthie example vnto all poſteritie, and ſhall be ſong by the praiſes of the women of SPARTA. So *Euclidas* and his men being ſlaine, the enemies came ſtraight to ſette vpon *Cleomenes* winge. *Cleomenes* then ſeeing his men diſcouraged, and that they durſt no lenger reſiſt the enemie, fledde, and ſaued him ſelfe. Many of the ſtraungers alſo that ſerued him, were ſlaine at this battell: and of ſixe thowſande SPARTANS, there were left aliue but onely two hundred. Now *Cleomenes* being returned vnto SPARTA, the citizens comming to ſee him, E he gaue them counſell to yeeld them ſelues vnto *Antigonus* the conqueror: and for him ſelfe, if either aliue or dead he could doe any thing for the honor and benefit of SPARTA, that he would willingly doe it. The women of the citie alſo, comming vnto them that flying had eſcaped with him, when he ſaw them vnarme the men, and bring them drinke to refreſh them with: he alſo went home to his owne houſe. Then a maide of the houſe, which he had taken in the citie of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had enterteined euer ſince the death of his wife) came vnto him as her maner was, to refreſh him comming hot from the battell: howbeit he would not drinke though he was extreame drie, nor ſit being verie wearie, but armed as he was, layed his arme a croſſe apon a piller, and leaning his head apon it, repoſed himſelfe a litle, and caſting in his minde all the wayes that were to be thought of, he tooke his frendes F with him, and went to the hauen of Gythium, and there hauing his ſhippes which he had appointed for the purpoſe, he hoyſed ſayle, and departed his way. Immediatly after his departure, came *Antigonus* into the citie of SPARTA, and curteouſly intreated the citizens and

The power of fortune.

Battell betwext Cleomenes and Antigonus at Selaſia.

The treaſon of Demoteles.

Cleomenes ouerthrowen by Antigonus.

Antigonus wanne the citie of Sparta.

inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor prowdly despise the auncient honor and dignitie of SPARTA: but referring them to their owne lawes and gouernment, when he had sacrificed to the goddes for his victorie, he departed from thence the thirde daye, newes being brought him that the warre was verie great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous people did spoyle his contrie. Now a disease tooke him, whereof he dyed afterwards, which appeared a tisicke, mixt with a sore catarre: but yet he yeelded not to his disease, and bare it out, that fighting for his contrie, and obteyning a famous victorie, with great slaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet dye honorably, as in deede he did, by *Phylarchus* testimonie, who sayth, that with the force of his voyce, fiercely crying out in the middest of his fight, he tare his lunges and lightes, worse then they were before. Yet in the schooles it is sayd, that after he had wonne the battell, he was so ioyfull of it, that crying out, O blessed day: he brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great feuer tooke him withall, that he dyed of it. Thus much touching *Antigonus*. Now *Cleomenes* departing out of the Isle of CYTHERA, went and cast ancker in an other Iland, called ÆGIALIA. Then determining to saile ouer to the citie of CYRENA, *Therycion*, one of *Cleomenes* frendes (a man that in warres shewed him selfe verie valliant, but a boaster besides of his owne doinges) tooke *Cleomenes* aside, and sayd thus vnto him: Truely O king, we haue lost an honorable occasion to dye in battell, though euery man hath heard vs vaunt and say, that *Antigonus* should neuer ouercome the king of SPARTA aliue, but dead. A seconde occasion yet is offered vs to dye, with much lesse honor and fame notwithstanding, then the first. Whether doe we saile to no purpose? Why doe we flie the death at hand, and seeke it so farre of? If it be no shame nor dishonor for the posteritie & race of *Hercules* to serue the successors of *Philip* and *Alexander*: let vs saue then our labor, and long daungerous sailing, and goe yeelde our selues vnto *Antigonus*, who in likelyhoode will better vse vs then *Ptolomy*, bicause the MACEDONIANS are farre more nobler persons then the ÆGYPTIANS. And if we disdaine to be commaunded by them which haue ouercommen vs in battell, why then will we make him Lord of vs, that hath not ouercomen vs: in steade of one, to make vs inferior vnto both, flying *Antigonus*, and seruing king *Ptolomy*? Can we say that we goe into ÆGYPT, in respect to see your mother there? A ioyfull sight no doubt, when she shall shew king *Ptolomyes* wiues her sonne, that before was a king, a prisoner, & fugitiue now. Were it not better for vs, that hauing yet LACONIA our contrie in sight, and our swordes besides in our owne hands, to deliuer vs from this great miserie, & so doing to excuse our selues vnto them that are slaine at SELASIA, for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly loosing our time in ÆGYPT, to inquire whom *Antigonus* left his Lieutenaunt and Gouernor in LACEDÆMON? *Therycion* ending his oration, *Cleomenes* aunswered him thus: Doest thou thinke it a glorie for thee to seeke death, which is the easiest matter, and the presentest vnto any man, that can be: and yet, wretche that thou art: thou fliest now more cowardly and shamefully, then from the battell. For diuers valliant men, and farre better then our selues, haue often yeelded vnto their enemies, either by some misfortune, or compelled by greater number and multitude of men: but he say I, that submitteth him selfe vnto paine and miserie, reproache and praise of men, he can not but confesse that he is ouercome by his owne vnhappinesse. For, when a man will willingly kill him selfe, he must not doe it to be rid of paynes and labour, but it must haue an honorable respect and action. For, to liue or dye for his owne respect, that can not but be dishonorable: the which now thou perswadest me vnto, to make me flie this present miserie we are in, without any honor or profitte in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we shoulde not yet cast of the hope we haue to serue our contrie in time to come: but when all hope fayleth vs, then we may easely make our selues awaye when we list. Thereunto *Therycion* gaue no aunswere, but as soone as he founde oportunitie to slippe from *Cleomenes*, he went to the sea side, and slewe him selfe. *Cleomenes* hoysinge sayle from the Ile of ÆGIALIA, went into AFRICKE, and was brought by the kinges seruauntes vnto the citie of ALEXANDRIA. King *Ptolomy* at his first comming, gaue *Cleomenes* no speciall good, but indifferent intertainment: but after that he had shewed him selfe to be of great wisedom and iudgement, and that *Ptolomy* saw in the simplicity of his LACONIAN life he had also a noble disposition and corage, nothing degenerating from the princely race & blood of *Hercules*, and

The death of Antigonus the sonne of Demetrius, king of Macedon.

Cleomenes flieth out of Peloponnesus.

The oration of Therycion, vnto Cleomenes, against death.

Cleomenes oration of death.

Willing death, must haue honorable respect.

Cleomenes flieth into AEgypt vnto king Ptolomy.

A and that he yelded not to his aduersitie: he tooke more delight in his company, then in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly, that he had made no more account of him before, but had suffered him to be ouerthrowne by *Antigonus*, who through the victory of him, had maruelously enlarged his honor and power. Then he began to comfort *Cleomenes*, and doing him as great honor as could be, promised that he would send him with shippes and money into GRÆCE, and put him againe into his kingdom: & further, gaue him an annuall pencion in the meane time, of foure and twenty talents, with the which he simply and soberly enterteyned him selfe and his men about him; and bestowed all the rest apon his contry men that came out of GRÆCE into ÆGYPT. But now, old king *Ptolomy* deceasing before he could performe the promise he made vnto *Cleomenes*, to send him into
B GRÆCE: the Realme falling then into great lasciuiousnes, dronckennes, and into the gouernment of women, his case and miserie was cleane forgotten. For the young king his sonne was so giuen ouer to women and wine, that when he was most sober, and in his best witts, he most disposed him selfe to make feastes and sacrifices, and to haue the taber playing in his Court, to gather people together, like a stage player or iugler, whilest one *Agathoclea* his lemman, and her mother, and *Oenanthes* a bawde, did rule all the affayres of the state. But when he came to be king, it appeared he had neede of *Cleomenes*: bicause he was affraid of his brother *Magas*, who by his mothers meanes, was very wel esteemed of among souldiers. Wherefore he called *Cleomenes* to him, and made him of his priuy counsel, where he deuised by practise, which way to kill his brother. All other his friends that were of counsell with him, did counsell him to do
C it: but *Cleomenes* onely vehemently disswaded him from it, and tolde him, that if it were possible, rather moe brethren should be begotten vnto the king for the safetie of his person, and for deuiding of the affayres of the kingdome betweene them. Amongest the kinges familliers that was chiefest about him, there was one *Sosibius* that said vnto *Cleomenes*: so long as his brother *Magas* liued, the souldiers that be straungers, whom the king entertayned, would neuer be true to him. *Cleomenes* aunswered him, for that matter there was no daunger: for sayth he, of those hiered straungers, there are three thowsand PELOPONNESIANS, which he knewe at the twinckling of an eye, would be at his commaundement, to come with their armor & weapon where he would appoynt them. These words of *Cleomenes* at that tyme shewed his fayth and good will he bare vnto the king, and the force he was of besides. But afterwards, *Ptolomyes*
D fearefulnes increasing his mistrust: (as it commonly hapneth, that they that lacke wit, thinke it the best safetie to be fearefull of euery wagging of a strawe, and to mistrust euery man) the remembrance of *Cleomenes* wordes made him much suspected of the Courtiers; vnderstanding that he could doe so much with the souldiers that were straungers: insomuch as some of them sayd, see (meaning *Cleomenes*) there is a lyon amongest sheepe. In deede, considering his facions and behauior, they might well say so of him: for he would looke thorough his fingers as though he saw nothing, and yet saw all what they did. In fine, he required an armie & ships of the king: and vnderstanding also that *Antigonus* was dead, and that the ACHAIANS and ÆTOLIANS were at great warres together, and that the affaires of his contry did call him home, all PELOPONNESVS being in armes and vprore, he prayed that they would licence him to de-
E part with his friends. But neuer a man would giue eare vnto him, and the king also heard nothing of it, bicause he was continually entertained among Ladies, with banckets, dauncing, & maskes. But *Sosibius* that ruled all the Realme, thought that to keepe *Cleomenes* against his wil, were a hard thing, and also daungerous: and to let him goe also, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a sturring minde, and one that knew the vices and imperfections of their gouernment: he thought that also no safe way, sithe no giftes nor presents that could be offered him, could soften him. For as the holy bull (which they call in ÆGYPT Apis) that is ful fed in good- *Cleomenes vertue.*
ly pasture, doth yet desire to followe his naturall course and libertie, to runne and leape at his pleasure, and plainely sheweth that it is a griefe to him to be kept stil by the Priest: euen so the courtly pleasures did nothing delight *Cleomenes*, but as *Homer* writeth of *Achilles*:

F *It irkt his noble hart to sit at home in slothfull rest,*
VVhen martiall matters vvere in hand, the vvhich he liked best.

Nowe *Cleomenes* standing in these tearmes, there arriued in ALEXANDRIA one *Nicagoras*

Nicagoras Messenian, an enemy to Cleomenes.

MESSENIAN, who maliced *Cleomenes* in his hart, but yet shewed as though he loued him. This *Nicagoras* on a time had sold *Cleomenes* certein land, but was not payed for it, either bicause he had no present money, or els by occasiō of the warres which gaue him no leasure to make payment. *Cleomenes* one day by chaunce walking vpon the sandes, he sawe *Nicagoras* landing out of his shippe, being newly arriued, and knowing him, he curteously welcomed him, and asked what wind had brought him into ÆGYPT. *Nicagoras* gently saluting him againe, tolde him that he had brought the king excellent horse of seruice. *Cleomenes* smiling, told him, thou haddest bene better haue brought him some curtisans & daunsers, for they would haue pleased the king better. *Nicagoras* faintly laughed at his aunswer, but within few dayes after he did put him in remembraunce of the land he sold him, and prayed him then that he would helpe him to money, telling him that he would not haue prest him for it, but that he had susteyned losse by marchandise. *Cleomenes* aunswered him, that all his pension was spent he had of the king. *Nicagoras* being offended with this aunswer, he went and told *Sosibius* of the mocke *Cleomenes* gaue the king. *Sosibius* was glad of this occasion, but yet desiring further matter to make the king offended with *Cleomenes*, he perswaded *Nicagoras* to write a letter to the king agaynst *Cleomenes*, as though he had conspired to take the citie of CYRENA, if the king had giuen him shippes, money, and men of warre. When *Nicagoras* had written this letter, he tooke shippe, and hoysed sayle. Foure dayes after his departure, *Sosibius* brought his letter to the king, as though he had but newly receiued it. The king apon sight of it was so offended with *Cleomenes*, that he gaue present order he should be shut vp in a great house, where he should haue his ordinary dyet allowed him, howbeit that he should keepe his house. This grieued *Cleomenes* much, but yet he was worse affraid of that which was to come, by this occasion: *Ptolomy* the sonne of *Chrysermus*, one of the kings familliers, who had oftentimes before bene very conuersant and familliar with *Cleomenes*, and did franckly talke together in all matters: *Cleomenes* one daye sent for him, to praye him to come vnto him. *Ptolomy* came at his request, and familliarly discoursing together, went about to disswade him from all the suspicions he had, and excused the king also for that he had done vnto him: so taking his leaue he left him, not thinking that *Cleomenes* followed him (as he did) to the gate, where he sharply tooke vp the souldiers, saying, that they were very negligent and careles in looking to such a fearefull beast as he was, & so ill to be taken, if he once scaped their handes. *Cleomenes* heard what he sayd, and went into his lodging againe, *Ptolomy* knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very wordes againe vnto his friendes. Then all the SPARTANS conuerting their good hope into anger, determined to be reuenged of the iniurie *Ptolomy* had done them, and to dye like noble SPARTANS not tarying til they should be brought to the shambles like fat weathers, to be sold and killed. For it would be a great shame and dishonor vnto *Cleomenes*, hauing refused to make peace with *Antigonus*, a noble Prince and warrier: to tary the kinges pleasure till he had left his dronckennes and daunsing, and then to come and put him to death. They beeing fully resolued hereof, as you haue heard: king *Ptolomy* by chaunce went vnto the citie of CANOBVS, & first they gaue out in ALEXANDRIA, that the king minded to set *Cleomenes* at libertie. Then *Cleomenes* friendes obseruing the custom of the kings of ÆGYPT, when they ment to set a prisoner at libertie (which was, to send the prisoners meate, and presents before to their supper) did send vnto him such manner of presents, & so deceiued the souldiers that had the keeping of him, saying, that they brought those presents from the king. For *Cleomenes* him selfe did sacrifice vnto the goddes, and sent vnto the souldiers that kept him, parte of those presents that were sent vnto him, and supping with his friendes that night, made mery with them, euery man being crowned with garlands. Some say, that he made the more haste to execute his enterprise, sooner then he would haue done, by meanes of one of his men that was priuye vnto his conspiracie: who went euery night to lye with a woman he kept, and therefore was affraid lest he would bewray them. *Cleomenes* about noone, perceiuing the souldiers had take in their cuppes, and that they were a sleepe: he put on his coate, and vnripping it on the right shoulder, went out of the house with his sword drawen in his hand, accompanied with his friends, following him in that sort, which were thirty in all. Amongest them there was one called *Hippotas*, who being lame, went very liuely out with them at the first: but when he saw they went faier

Cleomenes committed to prison in Alexandria.

Cleomenes practiseth to kill king Ptolomy.

A faier and ſoftly bicauſe of him, he prayed them to kil him, bicauſe they ſhould not hinder their enterpriſe for a lame man, that could doe them no ſeruice. Notwithſtanding, by chaunce they met with a townes man a horſebacke, that came hard by their dore, whome they pluckt from his horſe, and caſt *Hippotas* vppon him: and then ranne through the citie, and cryed to the people, libertie, libertie. Now the people had no other corage in them, but onely commended *Cleomenes*, and wondred at his valiantnes: but otherwiſe to follow him, or to further his enterpriſe, not a man of them had any hart in them. Thus running vp and downe the towne, they met with *Ptolomy* (the ſame whome we ſayde before was the ſonne of *Chryſermus*) as he came out of the Court: Whereuppon three of them ſetting on him, ſlue him preſently. There was alſo another *Ptolomy* that was gouernor and Lieuetenant of the citie of ALEXANDRIA: who B hearing a rumor of this ſturre, came vnto them in his coche. They went and met him, and firſt hauing driuen away his garde and ſouldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his coche, and ſlue him alſo. After that they went towards the caſtell, with intent to ſet all the priſoners there at libertie to take their part. Howbeit the gaylers that kept them had ſo ſtrongly locked vp the priſon dores, that *Cleomenes* was repulſed, and put by his purpoſe. Thus wandring vp and downe the citie, no man neither came to ioyne with him, nor to reſiſt him, for euery man fled for feare of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going vp and downe, he turned him to his friends, and ſayd vnto them: it is no maruell though women commaund ſuch a cowardly people, that flye in this ſort from their libertie. Thereuppon he prayed them all to dye like men, and like thoſe that were brought vp with him, and that were worthy of the C fame of his ſo noble deedes. Then the firſt man that made him ſelfe be ſlayne, was *Hippotas*, who dyed of a wound one of the younge men of his company gaue him with a ſword at his requeſt. After him euery man ſlue them ſelues, one after another, without any feare at all, ſauing *Panteas*, who was the firſt man that entred the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. He was a faier younge man, and had bene very well brought vp in the LACONIAN diſcipline, and better then any man of his yeares. *Cleomenes* did loue him dearely, and commaunded him that when he ſhould ſee he were dead, and all the reſt alſo, that then he ſhould kill him ſelfe laſt of all. Now they all being layed on the ground, he ſearched them one after another with the poynt of his ſword, to ſee if there were any of them yet left aliue: and when he had pricked *Cleomenes* on the heele amongeſt others, and ſaw that he did yet knit his browes, he kiſſed him, & ſate downe D by him. Then perceiuing that he had yelded vp the ghoſt, imbracing him when he was dead, he alſo ſlue him ſelfe, and fell vpon him. Thus *Cleomenes* hauing raigned king of SPARTA ſixteene yeares, being the ſame manner of man we haue deſcribed him to be: he ended his dayes in this ſort as ye heare. Now, his death being preſently bruted through the citie, *Crateſiclea* his mother, though otherwiſe ſhe had a noble minde, did notwithſtanding a litle forget her greatnes, through the extreame ſorow ſhe felt for the death of her ſonne: and ſo imbracing *Cleomenes* ſonnes, ſhe fell to bitter lamentacion. But the eldeſt of his ſonnes, (no man miſtruſting any ſuch matter) found meanes to get out of her handes, & running vp to the toppe of the houſe, caſt him ſelfe headlong downe to the ground, that his head was all broken and ſplitted, yet died not, but was taken vp crying, and angry with them, that they would not ſuffer him to dye. E This newes being brought to king *Ptolomy*, he commaunded they ſhould firſt flea *Cleomenes*, and then hange vp his body, and alſo, that they ſhould put his children, his mother, and all her women wayting on her to death: among the which was *Panteas* wife, one of the fayreſt and curteouſeſt women in her tyme. They had not beene longe maried before, when theſe miſchieues lighted apon them, at what tyme their loue was then in greateſt force. Her parents then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her husband, but had locked her vp, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit ſhortly after ſhe found the meanes to get her a horſe, & ſome money, and ſtale away in the night, and gallopped towards the hauen of Tænarus, where finding a ſhippe ready bound for ÆGYPT, ſhe imbarked, and went to ſeeke her husband, with whome ſhe gladly and louingly ledde her life, forſaking her owne contry, to liue in a ſtraunge F Realme. Now when the Sergeaunts came to take *Crateſiclea* to put her to death, *Panteas* wife led her by the arme, carying vp her traine, and did comfort her, although *Crateſiclea* otherwiſe was not affraid to dye, but onely asked this fauor, that ſhe might dye before her litle children.

The ende and death of Cleomenes and his friendes.

The corage of Panteas.

This notwithſtanding, when they came to the place of execution, the hangman firſt ſlue her children before her eyes, and then her ſelfe afterwards, who in ſuch great griefe and ſorowe, ſayd no more but thus: Alas, my poore children, what is become of you? And *Panteas* wife alſo, being a mighty tall woman, girding her clothes to her, tooke vp the ſlayne bodies one after another, and wrapped them vp in ſuch things as ſhe could get, ſpeaking neuer a word, nor ſhewing any ſigne or token of griefe: and in fine, hauing prepared her ſelf to dye, and plucked of her attyre her ſelfe, without ſuffering any other to come neare her, or to ſee her, but the hangman that was appoynted to ſtryke of her head. In this ſorte ſhe dyed as conſtantly, as the ſtowteſt man liuing could haue done, and had ſo couered her body, that no man needed after her death to touche her: ſo carefull was ſhe to her ende, to keepe her honeſtie, which ſhe had alwayes kept in her life, and in her death was mindefull of her honor, wherewith ſhe decked her body in her life tyme. Thus theſe LACEDÆMON Ladies playing their partes in this pitifull tragedie, contending at the time of death, euen with the corage of the ſlayne SPARTANS their contrymen, which of them ſhould dye moſt conſtantly: left a manifeſt proofe and teſtimonie, that fortune hath no power ouer fortitude and corage. Shortly after, thoſe that were appoynted to keepe the body of king *Cleomenes* that hong vpon the croſſe, they ſpied a great Serpent wreathed about his head, that couered all his face, inſomuch as no rauening fowle durſt come neare him to eate of it: whereuppon the king fell into a ſuperſticious feare, being affrayd that he had offended the goddes. Hereuppon, the Ladyes in his Court began to make many ſacrifices of purification, for the cleering of this ſinne: perſwading them ſelues, that they had put a man to death, beloued of the gods, and that he had ſomething more in him then a man. The ALEXANDRINIANS thereuppon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers vnto *Cleomenes*, as vnto a demy god, calling him the ſonne of the goddes. Vntill that the learned men brought them from that error, declaring vnto them, that like as of oxen being dead and rotten, there breede bees, and of horſe alſo come waſpes, & of aſſes likewiſe bitels: euen ſo mens bodies, when the marie melteth and gathereth together, doe bringe forth Serpents. The which comming to the knowledge of the auncients in olde tyme, of all other beaſtes they did conſecrate the Dragon to Kinges and Princes, as proper vnto man.

A

B

C

Cleomenes hanging vpon a croſſe, had a Serpent wreathed about his head.

Liuing things breeding of the corruption of dead beaſts

VVhy the Dragon is cõſecrated vnto Princes.

The end of the life of Agis and Cleomenes.

TIBERIVS

TIBERIVS, AND CAIVS GRACCHI.

NOW that we haue declared vnto you the hiſtorie of the liues of theſe two GRÆCIANS, *Agis*, and *Cleomenes* aforeſayd: we muſt alſo write the hiſtorie of two ROMANES, the which is no leſſe lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chaunced vnto *Tiberius* and *Caius*, both of them the ſonnes of *Tiberius Gracchus*. He hauing bene twiſe Conſul, and once Cenſor, and hauing had the honor of two triumphs: had notwithſtanding more honor and fame onely for his valiantnes, for the which he was thought worthy to marye with *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Scipio*, who ouercame *Hannibal* after the deathe of his father: though while he liued he was neuer his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that *Tiberius* on a tyme found two ſnakes in his bed, and that the Soothſayers and wyſards hauing conſidered the ſignification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and alſo to let them both eſcape, but one onely: aſſuring him that if he killed the male, he ſhould not liue long after: and if he killed the female, that then his wife *Cornelia* ſhoulde dye. *Tiberius* then louing his wife dearely, thinking it meeter for him alſo, that he being the elder of both, and ſhe yet a younge woman, ſhould dye before her: he ſlue the male, and let the female eſcape, howbeit he dyed ſoone after, leauing twelue children aliue, all of them begotten of *Cornelia*. *Cornelia* after the death of her husband, taking vpon her the rule of her houſe and children, led ſuch a chaſt life, was ſo good to her children, and of ſo noble a minde: that euery man thought *Tiberius* a wiſe man for that he dyed, and left her behind him. She remayning widow, king *Ptolomy* made ſute vnto her, and would haue made her his wife and Queene. But ſhe refuſed, and in her widowehed loſt all her children, but one Daughter, (whome ſhe beſtowed vpon the younger *Scipio Africa*n) and *Tiberius*, and *Caius*, whoſe liues we preſently write. Thoſe ſhe ſo carefully brought vp, that they being become more ciuill, and better conditioned, then any other ROMANES in their time: euery man iudged, that education preuailed more in them, then nature. For, as in the ſauors and pictures of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, there is a certaine difference diſcerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wreſtling, and the other for running: euen ſo betwene theſe two young brethren, amongeſt other the great likenes betwene them, being both happely borne to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberall, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew notwithſtanding great difference in their actions and doings in the common

The worthines of Tiberius Gracchus the father.

Tiberius Gracchus the father, maried Cornelia, the Daughter of Scipio Africã.

The tender loue of Tiberius to his wife Cornelia.

The praiſe of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

A true description of Tiberius & Caius Gracchi.

wealth: the which I thinke conuenient to declare, before I proceede any farther. First of all, for the fauor of the face, the looke and mouing of the bodye, *Tiberius* was much more milde and tractable, and *Caius* more hotte and earneſt. For the firſt in his orations was very modeſt, and kept his place: and the other of all the ROMANES was the firſt, that in his oration ietted vp and downe the pulpit, and that plucked his gowne ouer his ſhowlders: as they write of *Cleo* ATHENIAN, that he was the firſt of all Orators that opened his gowne, and clapped his hand on his thighe in his oration. Furthermore, *Caius* wordes, and the vehemencie of his perſwaſion, were terrible and full of paſſion: but *Tiberius* wordes in contrary manner, were mild, and moued men more to compaſſion, beeing very propper, and excellently applyed, where *Caius* wordes were full of finenes and curioſitie. The like difference alſo was betwene them in their fare and dyet. For *Tiberius* alwayes kept a conuenient ordinarie: and *Caius* alſo in reſpect of other ROMANES, liued very temperately, but in reſpect of his brothers fare, curiouſly and ſuperfluouſly. Inſomuch as *Druſus* on a tyme reproued him, bicauſe he had bought certayne Dolphyns of ſiluer, to the value of a thowſand two hundred and fiftie Drachmas for euery pownd waight. And now, as touching the manners and naturall diſpoſition of them both, agreeing with the diuerſitie of their tongues, the one being milde and plauſible, and the other hotte and chollerike: inſomuch that otherwhile forgetting him ſelfe in his oration, agaynſt his will he would be very earneſt, and ſtrayne his voice beyond his compaſſe, and ſo with great vncomelines confound his wordes. Yet finding his owne fault, he deuiſed this remedye. He had a ſeruaunt called *Licinius*, a good wiſe man, who with an inſtrument of Muſicke he had, by the which they teache men to ryſe and fall in their tunes, when he was in his oration, he euer ſtoode behinde him: and when he perceyued that his Maiſters voyce was a litle too lowde, and that through choller he exceeded his ordinary ſpeache: he played a ſofte ſtoppe behinde him, at the ſownde whereof *Caius* immediatly fell from his extreamitie, and eaſily came to him ſelfe agayne. And here was the diuerſitie betweene them. Otherwiſe, for their hardines againſt their enemies, the iuſtice vnto their tennaunts, the care and paynes in their offices of charge, and alſo their continencie againſt voluptuouſnes: in all theſe they were both alike. For age, *Tiberius* was elder by nyne yeares, by reaſon whereof their ſeuerall authoritie and doings in the common wealth fell out at ſundry times. And this was one of the chiefeſt cauſes why their doings proſpered not, bicauſe they had not both authoritie in one ſelfe time, nether could they ioyne their power together: the which if it had mette at one ſelfe time, had bene of great force, & peraduenture inuincible. Wherefore we muſt write perticularly of them both, but firſt of all we muſt begin with the elder. He, when he came to mans ſtate, had ſuch a name and eſtimacion, that immediatly they made him fellow, in the colledge of the Prieſts, which at ROME are called Augures: (being thoſe that haue the charge to conſider of ſignes and predictions of things to come) more for his valiantnes, then for nobility. The ſame doth *Appius Clodius* witneſſe vnto vs, one that hath bene both Conſul and Cenſor, & alſo Preſident of the Senate, and of greater authoritie then any man in his time. This *Appius* at a ſupper when all the Augures were together, after he had ſaluted *Tiberius*, & made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in mariage. *Tiberius* was very glad of the offer, and therewithall the mariage was preſently concluded betwene them. Thereuppon *Appius* comming home to his houſe, at the threſhold of his dore he called a lowd for his wife, and told her: *Antiſtia*, I haue beſtowed our Daughter *Clodia*. She wondring at it, ô goddes ſayd ſhe, and what needed all this haſte? what couldeſt thou haue done more, if thou haddeſt gotten her *Tiberius Gracchus* for her husband? I know that ſome refer this hiſtorie vnto *Tiberius*, father of theſe two men we write of, and vnto *Scipio* the AFRICAN: but the moſt part of writers agree with that we write at this preſent. And *Polybius* him ſelfe alſo writeth, that after the death of *Scipio* AFRICAN, his friendes beeing met together, they choſe *Tiberius* before all the other younge men of the citie, to marye him vnto *Cornelia*, being free, and vnpromiſed, or beſtowed apon any man by her father. Now *Tiberius* the yonger being in the warres in AFRICKE vnder *Scipio* the ſecond, who had maryed his ſiſter: lying in his tent with him, he found his Captaine indued with many noble giftes of nature, to allure mens harts to deſire to follow his valiantnes. So in a ſhort tyme he did excell all the younge men of his tyme, aſwell in obedience, as in the valiantnes

Tiberius made Augure

Tiberius maried Appius Clodius daugh ter.

Tiberius Gracchus ſouldierfare.

A valiantnes of his perſon: inſomuch that he was the firſt man that ſcaled the walles of the enemies, as *Fannius* reporteth, who ſayeth that he ſcaled the walles with him, and did helpe him in that valiant enterpriſe. So that being preſent, all the campe were in loue with him: & when he was abſent, euery man wiſhed for him againe. After this warre was ended, he was choſen Treaſorer, and it was his chaunce to goe againſt the NVMANTINES, with *Caius Mancinus* one of the Conſuls, who was an honeſt man, but yet had the worſt lucke of any Captaine the ROMANES had. Notwithſtanding, *Tiberius* wiſedome and valiantnes, in this extreame ill lucke of his Captaine, did not onely appeare with great glorye to him, but alſo moſt wonderfull, the great obedience and reuerence he bare vnto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did ſo trouble and grieue him, that he could not tell him ſelfe, whether he was Captaine or not.

Tiberius Gracchus choſen Quæſtor.

B For when he was ouerthrowen in great foughten fieldes, he departed in the night, and left his campe. The NVMANTINES hearing of it, firſt tooke his campe, and then ranne after them that fled, and ſetting vpon the rereward, ſlue them, and enuyronned all his armye. So that they were driuen into ſtraight and narrowe places, where out they could by no meanes eſcape. Thereuppon *Mancinus* diſpayring that he could get out by force, he ſent a Herauld to the enemyes to treate of peace. The NVMANTINES made aunſwer, that they would truſt no man but *Tiberius* onely, and therefore they willed he ſhoulde bee ſent vnto them. They deſired that, partly for the loue they bare vnto the vertues of the younge man, bicauſe there was no talke of any other in all this warre but of him: and partly alſo, as remembring his father *Tiberius*, who making warres in SPAYNE, and hauing there ſubdued many nations, he

C graunted the NVMANTINES peace, the which he cauſed the ROMANES afterwardes to confirme and ratifie. Hereuppon *Tiberius* was ſent to ſpeake with them, and partly obteyning that he deſired, and partly alſo graunting them that they required: he concluded peace with them, whereby aſſuredly he ſaued the liues of twenty thowſande ROMANE Citizens, beſides ſlaues and other ſtragglers that willingly followed the campe. This notwithſtanding, the NVMANTINES tooke the ſpoyle of all the goods they founde in the ROMANES campe, amonge the which they founde *Tiberius* bookes of accompt touching the money diſburſed of the treaſure in his charge. *Tiberius* beeing maruailous deſirous to haue his bookes agayne, returned backe to NVMANTIA with two or three of his friendes onely, though the armye of the ROMANES were gone farre on their waye. So comming to the towne, he ſpake vnto the go-

Tiberius Gracchus cõcludeth peace with the Numantines.

D uernors of the citie, and prayed them to redeliuer him his bookes of accompt, bicauſe his malicious enemies ſhould not accuſe him, calling him to accompt for his doings. The NVMANTINES were very glad of this good happe, and prayed them to come into the towne. He ſtanding ſtill in doubt with him ſelfe what to doe, whether he ſhould goe into the towne or not: the gouernors of the citie came to him, and taking him by the hande, prayed he would thinke they were not his enemies, but good friendes, and that he would truſt them. Whereuppon *Tiberius* thought beſt to yeelde to their perſwaſion, beeing deſirous alſo to haue his bookes agayne, and the rather, for feare of offending the NVMANTINES, if he ſhoulde haue denyed and miſtruſted them. When he was brought into the citie, they prouided his dynner, and were very earneſt with him, intreating him to dyne with them. Then they gaue him

E his bookes againe, and offered him moreouer to take what he woulde of all the ſpoyles they had gotten in the campe of the ROMANES. Howebeit of all that he woulde take nothing but frankenſence, which he vſed, when he did any ſacrifice for his contry: and then taking his leaue of them, with thankes he returned. When he was returned to ROME, all this peace concluded was vtterly miſliked, as diſhonorable to the maieſtie of the Empire of ROME. Yet the parents and friendes of them that had ſerued in this warre, making the greateſt part of the people: they gathered about *Tiberius*, ſaying that what faultes were committed in this ſeruice, they were to impute it vnto the Conſul *Mancinus*, and not vnto *Tiberius*, who had ſaued ſuch a number of ROMANES liues. Notwithſtanding, they that were offended with this diſhonorable peace, would that therein they ſhould follow the example of their forefathers

The peace broken with the Numantines.

F in the like caſe. For they ſent backe their Captaines naked vnto their enemies, bicauſe they were contented the SAMNITS ſhould ſpoyle them of that they had, to eſcape with life. Moreouer, they did not onely ſend them the Captaines and Conſuls, but all thoſe alſo that bare any

office in the fielde, and had consented vnto that condition: to the ende they might lay all the A
perfume and breache of peace apon them. Herein therefore did manifestly appeare, the loue
and good will the people did beare vnto *Tiberius*. For they gaue order, that the Consul *Mancinus* should be sent naked, and bound vnto the NVMANTINES, and for *Tiberius* sake, they par-
doned all the rest. I thinke *Scipio*, who bare great sway at that time in ROME, and was a man of
greatest accompt, did helpe him at that pinche: who notwithstanding was ill thought of, bi-
cause he did not also saue the Consul *Mancinus*, and confirme the peace concluded with the
NVMANTINES, considering it was made by *Tiberius* his friend & kinsman. But these mislikings
grew chiefly through the ambition of *Tiberius* friendes, & certein learned men, which stirred
him vp against *Scipio*. But yet it fell not out to open malice betwene them, neither followed
there any hurte apon it. And surely I am perswaded, that *Tiberius* had not fallen into those B
troubles he did afterwards, if *Scipio* AFRICAN had bene present, when he passed those thinges
he preferred. But *Scipio* was then in warres at the seege of NVMANTIA, when *Tiberius* apon
VVhy Tiberius preferred the law Agraria. this occasion passed these lawes. When the ROMANES in olde tyme had ouercomen any of
their neighbours, for raunsom they tooke oftentymes a great deale of their land from them,
parte whereof they solde by the cryer, for the benefite of the common wealth, and parte also
they reserued to their state as demeane, which afterwards was let out to farme for a small rent
yearely, to the poore Citizens that had no lands. Howbeit the riche men inhaunsed the rents,
and so began to thrust out the poore men. Thereuppon was an ordinance made, that no Cit-
Iugera. zen of ROME should haue aboue fiue hundred acres lande. This lawe for a tyme did bridle the
couetousnes of the riche men, and did ease the poore also that dwelt in the contry, apon the C
farmes they had taken vp of the common wealth, and so liued with their owne, or with that
their Auncestors had from the beginning. But by proces of time, their riche neighbours, by
names of other men, got their farmes ouer their heads, and in the end, the most of them were
openly seene in it in their own names. Whereuppon, the poore people being thus turned out
of all, went but with faint corage afterwards to the warre, nor cared any more for bringing vp
of children: So that in short time, the free men left ITALY, and slaues and barbarous people
did repleniish it, whom the rich men made to plough those landes, which they had taken from
VVhy Caius Lælius was called the wise Tiberius Gracchus chosen Tribune of the people. the ROMANES. *Caius Lælius*, one of *Scipioes* friends, gaue an attempt to reforme this abuse: but
bicause the chiefest of the citie were against him, fearing it would breake out to some vprore,
he desisted from his purpose, and therefore he was called *Lælius* the wise. But *Tiberius* being D
chosen Tribune, he did forthwith preferre the reformation aforesayd, being allured vnto it (as
diuers writers report) by *Diophanes* the Orator, and *Blossius* the Philosopher: of the which,
Diophanes was banished from the citie of MITYLENE, and *Blossius* the ITALIAN from the citie
of CVMES, who was scholler and familliet vnto *Antipater* of TARSVS at ROME, by whome
he was honored by certaine workes of Philosophie he dedicated vnto him. And some also do
accuse their mother *Cornelia*, who did twit her sonnes in the teeth, that the ROMANES did yet
call her *Scipioes* mother in law, and not the mother of the GRACCHI. Other say it was *Spurius*
Posthumius, a companion of *Tiberius*, and one that contended with him in eloquence. For *Ti-*
berius returning from the warres, and finding him farre beyond him in fame and reputacion,
and well beloued of euery one: he sought to excell him by attempting this noble enterprise, E
and of so great exspectacion. His owne brother *Caius* in a certaine booke, wrote, that as he
went to the warres of NVMANTIA, passing through THYSCAN, he founde the contrye in
manner vnhabited: and they that did followe the ploughe, or keepe beastes, were the moste
of them slaues, and barbarous people, comen out of a straunge contrie. Whereuppon euer
after it ranne in his minde to bringe this enterprise to passe, which brought great troubles to
their house. But in fine, it was the people onely that moste set his harte afire to couet honor,
and that hastened his determinacion: first bringing him to it by bylles sette vppe on euery
wall, in euery porche, and vppon the tombes, praying him by them to cause the poore Ci-
Counsellers to Tiberius for preferring the law. tizens of ROME to haue their landes restored, which were belonging to the common wealth.
This notwithstanding he him selfe made not the lawe alone of his owne head, but did it by the F
counsell and aduise of the chiefest men of ROME, for vertue and estimation: Amonge the
which, *Crassus* the high Bishoppe was one, and *Mutius Scæuola* the Lawyer, that then was
Consul,

A Consul, and *Appius Clodius* his father in lawe. And truely it seemeth, that neuer lawe was made with greater fauor, then that which he preferred against so great iniustice, and auarice. *Lex Agraria.* For those that should haue bene punished for transgressing the lawe, and should haue had the landes taken from them by force, which they vniustly kept against the lawe of Rome, and that should also haue bene amersed for it: he ordeyned that they should be payed by the common wealth to the value of the landes, which they held vniustly, and so should leaue them to the poore Citizens againe that had no land, and lacked helpe and relieue. Now, though the reformation established by this lawe, was done with such great fauor: the people notwithstanding were contented, and would forget all that was past, so that they might haue no more wronge offred them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great possessions, hated the law for
B their auarice, and for spight and selfwill (which would not let them yeeld) they were at deadly foode with the Lawyer that had preferred the lawe, and sought by all deuise they could to dissuade the people from it: telling them that *Tiberius* brought in this law Agraria againe, to disturbe the common wealth, and to make some alteracion in the state. But they preuailed not. For *Tiberius* defending the matter, which of it selfe was good and iust, with such eloquence as *Tiberius orations.* might haue iustified an euill cause, was inuincible: and no man was able to argue against him to confute him, when speaking in the behalfe of the poore Citizens of Rome, (the people being gathered round about the pulpit for orations) he told them, that the wild beastes through
C Italy had their dennes and caues of abode, and that the men that fought, and were slaine for their contry, had nothing els but ayer and light, & so were compelled to wander vp & downe with their wiues & children, hauing no resting place nor house to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do but mocke their souldiers, when they encorage them in battel to fight valiantly for the graues, the temples, their owne houses, & their predecessors. For, said he, of such a number of poore Citizens as there be, there can not a man of them shew any auncient house or tombe of their auncestors: bicause the poore men doe go to the warres, & be slaine for the rich mens pleasures and wealth: besides they falsely cal them Lordes of the earth, where they haue not a handfull of ground, that is theirs. These & such other like wordes being vttered before all the people with such vehemency & trothe, did so moue the common people withall, and put them in such a rage, that there was no aduersarye of his able to withstand him. Therefore, leauing to contrary and deny the lawe by argument, the rich men did put all their trust in
D *Marcus Octauius*, colleague and fellow Tribune with *Tiberius* in office, who was a graue and *Marcus Octauius Tribune, did withstand Tiberius lawe.* wise young man, and *Tiberius* very famillier friend. So that the first time they came to him, to oppose him against the confirmation of this lawe: he prayed them to holde him excused, bicause *Tiberius* was his very friend. But in the ende, being compelled vnto it through the great number of the riche men that were importunate with him: he did withstande *Tiberius* lawe, the which was enoughe to ouerthrowe it. For if any one of the Tribunes speake against it, though all the other passe with it, he ouerthroweth it: bicause they all can doe nothing, if one of them be against it. *Tiberius* being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this first fauorable law, and in a rage preferred an other more gratefull to the common people, as also more extreme against the riche. In that law he ordeyned, that whosoeuer had any lands
E contrary to the auncient lawes of Rome, that he should presently depart from them. But ther- *The modest contention betwixt Tiberius and Octauius.* uppon there fel out cõtinual brawles in the pulpit for orations, against *Octauius:* in the which, though they were very earnest and vehement one against another, yet there passed no fowle words from them, (how hot soeuer they were one with another) that should shame his companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought vp, breedeth such a stay & knowledge in a man, not onely in things of pleasure to make him regard his credit, both in word & deede: but in passion and anger also, & in their greatest ambition of glory. Thereuppon *Tiberius* finding that this lawe among others touched *Octauius*, bicause he enioyed a great deale of lande that was the common wealthes: he prayed him secretly to contend no more against him, promising him to giue him of his owne, the value of those lands which he should be driuen to for-
F sake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he sawe *Octauius* would not be perswaded, he then preferred a law, that all Magistrats and Officers should cease their authoritie, till the law were either past, or reiected, by voices of the people: & thereuppon he set his

own ſeale vpon the dores of the temple of *Saturne*, where the cofers of the treaſure lay, bicauſe the treaſorers them ſelues during that time, ſhould neither take out nor put in any thing, apon great pennalties to be forfited by the Prætors or any other Magiſtrat of authority, that ſhould breake this order. Hereuppon, all the Magiſtrates fearing this pennaltie, did leaue to exerciſe their office for the time. But then the riche men that were of great liuings, chaunged their apparell, and walked very ſadly vp and downe the market place, and layed ſecret wayte to take *Tiberius*, hauing hyered men to kill him: which cauſed *Tiberius* him ſelfe, openly before them all, to weare a ſhorte dagger vnder his longe gowne, properly called in Latine, Dolon. When the day came that this lawe ſhould be eſtabliſhed, *Tiberius* called the people to giue their voyces: and the riche men on thother ſide, they tooke away the pors by force, wherein the papers of mens voyces were throwen, ſo that there was like to fall out great ſturre vpon it. For the faction of *Tiberius* was the ſtronger ſide, by the number of people that were gathered about him for that purpoſe: had it not bene for *Manlius* & *Fuluius*, both the which had ben Conſuls, who went vnto him, & beſought him with the teares in their eies, & holding vp their hands, that he would let the lawe alone. *Tiberius* thereuppon, foreſeeing the inſtant daunger of ſome great miſchief, as alſo for the reuerence he bare vnto two ſuch noble perſons, he ſtayed a litle, & asked them what they would haue him to doe. They made aunſwer, that they were not able to counſel him in a matter of ſo great waight, but they praied him notwithſtanding, he would be contented to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. Thereuppon he graunted them preſently. But afterwards perceiuing that the Senate ſate apon it, & had determined nothing, bicauſe the rich men were of too great authoritie: he entred into another deuiſe that was nether honeſt nor meete, which was, to depriue *Octauius* of his Tribuneſhip, knowing that otherwiſe he could not poſſibly come to paſſe the law. But before he tooke that courſe, he openly intreated him in the face of the people with curteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to ſtand no more againſt him, & to doe the people this pleaſure, which required a matter iuſt & reaſonable, & onely requeſted this ſmal recompence for the great paines they tooke in ſeruice abroad for their contry. *Octauius* denied him plainely. Then ſaid *Tiberius* openly, that both of them being brethren in one ſelfe place and authoritie, & contrary one to another in a matter of ſo great waight, this contencion could not be poſſibly ended, without ciuill warre: and that he could ſee no way to remedy it, vnles one of them two were depoſed from their office. Thereuppon he bad *Octauius* begin firſt with him, & he would riſe from the benche with a good will, and become a priuate man, if the people were ſo contented. *Octauius* would doe nothing in it. *Tiberius* then replyed, that he would be doing with him, if he altered not his mind, apon a better breathe and conſideracion: and ſo diſmiſſed the aſſemblye for that daye. The next morning the people being againe aſſembled, *Tiberius* going vp to his ſeate, attempted agayne to perſwade *Octauius* to leaue of. In fine, finding him ſtill a man vnremoueable, he referred the matter to the voyce of the people, whether they were contented *Octauius* ſhould be depoſed from his office. Nowe there were fiue and thirtie trybes of the people, of the which, ſeuenteene of them had already paſſed their voyces agaynſt *Octauius*, ſo that there remayned but one trybe more to put him out of his office. Then *Tiberius* made them ſtaye for proceeding any further, and prayed *Octauius* agayne, imbracing him before all the people, with all the intreatye poſſible: that for ſelfewill ſake he would not ſuffer ſuch an open ſhame to be done vnto him, as to be put out of his office; neither alſo to make him the occaſion and inſtrument of ſo pitifull a deede. They ſaye that *Octauius* at this laſt intreatie was ſomewhat moued and wonne by his perſwaſions, and that weeping, he ſtayed a longe tyme, and made no aunſwer. But when he looked apon the riche men that ſtoode in a great company together, he was aſhamed (I thinke) to haue their ill willes, and rather betooke him ſelfe to the loſſe of his office, and ſo bad *Tiberius* doe what he would. Thereuppon he beeing depriued by voyces of the people, *Tiberius* commaunded one of his infranchiſed bondmen to pull him out of the pulpit for orations: for he vſed his infranchiſed bondmen in ſteede of Sergeaunts. This made the ſight ſo much more lamentable, to ſee *Octauius* thus ſhamefully pluckt away by force. Yea furthermore, the common people would haue ronne apon him, but the riche men came to reſcue him, and woulde not ſuffer him to doe him further hurte.

Tiberius deposeth Octauius of his Tribuneſhip.

So

A So *Octauius* saued him selfe ronning away alone, after he had bene rescued thus from the fury of the people. Moreouer, there was a faithfull seruaunt of *Octauius*, who stepping before his Maister to saue him from hurt, had his eyes pulled out, against *Tiberius* minde, who ranne to the rescue with all speede when he heard the noyse. After that, the lawe Agraria passed for diuision of landes, and three Commissioners were appoynted to make inquirie and distribution thereof. The Commissioners appoynted were these: *Tiberius* him selfe: *Appius Clodius* his father in lawe, and *Caius Gracchus* his brother: who was not at that tyme in ROME, but in the campe with *Scipio* AFRICAN, at the seege of the citie of NVMANTIA. Thus *Tiberius* very quietly passed ouer these matters, and no man durst withstand him: and furthermore, he substituted in *Octauius* place no man of qualitie, but onely one of his followers, called *Mutius*.

Tiberius preferreth the law Agraria.

B Wherewith the noble men were so sore offended with him, that fearing the increase of his greatnes, they being in the Senate house did what they could possible to doe him despyte and shame. For when *Tiberius* demaunded a tent at the charge of the common wealth, when he should goe abroad to make diuision of these landes, as they vsually graunted vnto others, that many tymes went in farre meaner commissions: they flatly denyed him, and through the procurement of *P. Nasica* (who being a great landed man in his contry, shewed him selfe in this action his mortall enemie, taking it greeuously to be compelled to depart from his land) onely graunted him nyne of their obuli a day, for his ordinarye allowance. But the people on thother side were all in an vprore against the riche. Insomuch as one of *Tiberius* friendes beeing deade vppon the sodaine, vppon whose body beeing deade there appeared very ill signes: the C common people ranne sodainely to his buriall, and cryed out that he was poysoned. And so taking vppe the beere whereon his bodie laye vppon their showlders, they were present at the fire of his funeralls, where immediatly appeared certaine signes to make them suspect, that in deede there was vehement cause of presumption he was poysoned. For his belly burst, whereout there issued such aboundance of corrupt humors, that they put out the first fire, and made them fetche another, the which also they could not make to burne, vntil that they were compelled to cary the bodie into some other place, where notwithstanding they had much a doe to make it burne. *Tiberius* seeing that, to make the common people mutyne the more, he put on mourning apparell, and brought his sonnes before them, and besought the people to be good vnto them and their mother, as one that dispayred of his health and safetie. About that D tyme dyed *Attalus*, surnamed *Philopater*, and *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN brought his will to ROME, in the which he made the people of ROME his heires. Wherefore *Tiberius*, still to encrease the good wil of the common people towards him, preferred a law immediatly, that the ready money that came by the inheritaunce of this king shoulde bee distributed amonge the poore Citizens, on whose lot it should fall to haue any parte of the diuision of the landes of the common wealth, to furnishe them towardes house, and to set vppe their tillage. Furthermore, he sayd, that concerning the townes and cities of the kingdome of *Attalus*, the Senate had nothing to doe to take any order with them, but that the people were to dispose of them, and that he him selfe would put it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, insomuch as there was one *Pompey* a Senator, that standing vp, sayde: that he was next E neighbour vnto *Tiberius*, and that by reason of his neighbourhed he knew that *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN had giuen him one of king *Attalus* royall bands, with a purple gowne besides, for a token that he should one day be king of ROME. And *Quintus Metellus* also reproued him, for that his father being Censor, the ROMANES hauing supped in the towne, and repayring euery man home to his house, they did put out their torches and lights, bicause men seeing them returne, they should not thinke they taryed too long in companie bancketing: and that in contrary maner, the seditious and needy rabble of the common people did light his sonne home, and accompany him all night long vp and downe the towne. At that tyme there was one *Titus Annius*, a man that had no goodnes nor honestie in him, howbeit taken for a great reasoner, and for a suttell questioner and aunswerer. He prouoked *Tiberius* to aunswer him, whe- F ther he had not committed a shamefull facte to his companion and brother Tribune, to defame him, that by the lawes of ROME should haue bene holy, & vntouched. The people tooke this prouocation very angrily, and *Tiberius* also comming out, and hauing assembled the

King Attalus made the people of Rome his heire.

Tiberius law, for deuiding of Attalus money.

Titus Annius a suttile questioner and aunswerer of thinges.

people, commaunded them to bringe this *Annius* before him, that he might be endyted in the market place. But he finding him selfe farre inferior vnto *Tiberius*, both in dignitie and eloquence, ranne to his fine suttill questions, to take a man at his worde: and prayed *Tiberius* before he did proceede to his accusation, that he would first aunswer him to a question he would aske him. *Tiberius* bad him saye what he would. So silence being made, *Annius* asked him: if thou wouldest defame me, and offer me iniurie, and that I called one of thy companions to helpe me, and he should ryse to take my parte, and anger thee: wouldest thou therefore put him out of his office? It is reported that *Tiberius* was so grauelled with this question, that though he was one of the readiest speakers, and the boldest in his orations of any man: yet at that tyme he held his peace, and had no power to speake, and therefore he presently dismissed the assemblie. Afterwards, vnderstanding that of al the things he did, the deposing of *Octauius* from his office was thought (not onely of the nobilitie, but of the common people also) as fowle and wilfull a parte as euer he played, for that thereby he had imbased, and vtterly ouerthrowen the dignitie of the Tribunes, the which was alwayes had in great veneration vntill that present tyme: to excuse him selfe therefore, he made an excellent oration to the people, whereby shall appeare vnto you some special poyntes thereof, to discerne the better the force and effect of his eloquence. The Tribuneship sayd he, in deede was a holy and sacred thing, as perticularly consecrated to the people, and established for their benefit and safetie: Where contrariwise, if the Tribune doe offer the people any wronge, he thereby minisheth their power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wills by voyces, besides that, he doth also imbase his owne authoritie, leauing to doe the thing for the which his authority first was giuen him. Or otherwise we could not choose but suffer a Tribune, if it pleased him, to ouerthrow the Capitoll, or to set fire on the arsenall: and yet notwithstanding this wicked part, if it were committed, he should be Tribune of the people still, though a lewde Tribune. But when he goeth about to take away the authoritie and power of the people, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this against all reason, thinke you, that a Tribune when he list, may take a Consul, and commit him to prison: and that the people should not withstand the authoritie of the Tribune, who gaue him the same, when he would vse his authoritie to the preiudice of the people? for the people are they that doe choose, both Consul and Tribune. Furthermore, the kingly dignitie (bicause in the same is conteyned the absolute authoritie and power of all other kindes of Magistrates and offices together) is consecrated with very great and holy ceremonies, drawing very neare vnto the godhed: and yet the people expulsed king *Tarquin*, bicause he vsed his authoritie with crueltie, and for the iniurie he offered one man onely, the most auncient rule and gouernment, (by the which the foundacion of Rome was first layed) was vtterly abolished. And who is there in all the citie of Rome to be reckoned so holy as the Vestall Nunnes, which haue the custodie and keeping of the euerlasting fire? and yet if any of these be taken in fornication, she is buried aliue for her offence: for when they are not holy to the goddes, they lose the libertie they haue, in respect of seruing the goddes. Euen so also it is vnmeete, that the Tribune if he offend the people, should for the peoples sake be reuerenced any more: Seeing that through his owne folly he hath depriued him selfe of that authoritie they gaue him. And if it be so that he was chosen Tribune by the most parte of the trybes of the people: then by greater reason is he iustly depriued, that by all the whole trybes together is forsaken and deposed? There is nothing more holy nor inuiolate, then thinges offered vp vnto the goddes: and yet it was neuer seene that any man did forbid the people to take them, to remoue and transport them from place to place, as they thought good. Euen so, they may as lawfully transferre the office of the Tribune vnto any other, as any other offring consecrated to the goddes. Furthermore, it is manifest that any Officer or Magistrate may lawfully depose him selfe: For, it hath bene often seene, that men in office haue depriued them selues, or otherwise haue sued to be discharged. This was the effect of *Tiberius* purgation. Now his friendes perceiuing the threats the riche and noble men gaue out against him, they wished him for the safetie of his person, to make sute to be Tribune againe the next yeare. Whereuppon he began to flatter the common people againe afresh, by new lawes which he preferred: by the which he tooke away the time and number of yeares prescribed, when euery

The oration of Tiberius Gracchus, touching the power and authoritie of the Tribune.

Other lawes made by Tiberius Gracchus.

Citizen

A citizen of ROME was bound to goe to the warres being called, and his name billed. He made it lawfull alſo for men to appeale from ſentence of the Iudges vnto the people, and thruſt in alſo amongſt the Senators (which then had abſolute authoritie to iudge among them ſelues) a like number of the ROMANE Knightes, and by this meanes ſought to weaken and imbaſe the authority of the Senate, increaſing alſo the power of the people, more of malice then any reaſon, or for any iuſtice or benefit to the common wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voyces of the people for the confirmacion of his new lawes, finding that his enemies were the ſtronger in the aſſembly, bicauſe all the people were not yet come together: he fell a quarrelling with his brethren the Tribunes, alwayes to winne time, and yet in the end brake vp the aſſembly, commaunding them to returne the next morning. There he would be B the firſt man in the market place apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares, & looking heauely vpon the matter, praying the people aſſembled to haue compaſſion vpon him, ſaying, that he was affrayed leaſt his enemies would come in the night, and ouerthrow his houſe to kill him. Thereupon the people were ſo moued withall, that many of them came and brought their tentes, and lay about his houſe to watche it. At the breake of the day, the keeper of the chickins, by ſignes of the which they doe diuine of thinges to come, brought them vnto him, and caſt them downe meate before them. None of them would come out of the cage but one only, and yet with much a doe, ſhaking the cage: and when it came out, it would eate no meate, but only lift vp her left wing, and put forth her legge, and ſo ranne into the cage againe. This ſigne made *Tiberius* remember an other he had had before. He had a C maruelous fayer helmet and very riche, which he ware in the warres: vnder it were crept two ſnakes vnwares to any, and layed egges, and hatched them. This made *Tiberius* wonder the more, bicauſe of the ill ſignes of the chickins: notwithſtanding, he went out of his houſe, when he heard that the people were aſſembled in the Capitoll, but as he went out, he hit his foote ſuch a blow againſt a ſtone at the threſhold of the dore, that he brake the nayle of his great toe, which fell in ſuche a bleeding, that it bled through his ſhooe. Againe, he had not gone farre, but he ſaw vpon the toppe of a houſe on his left hand, a couple of rauens fighting together: and notwithſtanding that there paſt a great number of people by, yet a ſtone which one of theſe rauens caſt from them, came & fell hard at *Tiberius* foote. The fall thereof ſtaied the ſtowteſt man he had about him. But *Bloſſius* the Philoſopher of Cumes that did accõpany D him, told him it were a great ſhame for him, and enough to kill the harts of all his followers: that *Tiberius* being the ſonne of *Gracchus*, and nephew of *Scipio* the AFRICAN, and the chiefe man beſides of all the peoples ſide, for feare of a rauen, ſhould not obey his citizens that called him: and how that his enemies and ill willers would not make a laughing ſporte of it, but would plainly tell the people that this was a tricke of a tyran that raigned in dede, and that for pride and diſdaine did abuſe the peoples good wills. Furthermore, diuers meſſengers came vnto him, and ſayd that his frends that were in the Capitoll, ſent to pray him to make haſt, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honorably receiued: for the people ſeeing him comming, cried out for ioy to welcome him, and when he was gotten vp to his ſeate, they ſhewed them ſelues both carefull and louing towardes him, loooking warely that E none came neere him, but ſuch as they knew well. While *Mutius* beganne againe to call the tribes of the people to geue their voyces, he could not procede according to the accuſtomed order in the like caſe, for the great noyſe the hindmoſt people made, thruſting forward, and being driuen backe, and one mingling with an other. In the meane time, *Flauius Flaccus*, one of the Senators, got vp into a place where all the people might ſee him, and when he ſaw that his voyce coulde not be heard of *Tiberius*, he made a ſigne with his hande that he had ſome matter of great importance to tell him. *Tiberius* ſtraight bad them make a lane through the preaſe. So, with much a doe, *Flauius* came at length vnto him, and tolde him, that the riche men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Conſull to their wills, determined them ſelues to come and kill him, hauing a great number of their frendes, and bondmen armed for F the purpoſe. *Tiberius* immediatly declared this conſpiracy vnto his frends and followers: who ſtraight girte their long gownes vnto them, and brake the ſergeaunts iauelins which they caried in their handes to make roome among the people, and tooke the tronchions of the ſame

Vnluckie ſignes vnto Tiberius.

Flauius Flaccus bewraieth the conſpiracy againſt Tiberius.

to reſiſt thoſe that would ſet apon them. The people alſo that ſtoode furdeſt of, marueled at it, A
and asked what the matter was. *Tiberius* by a ſigne to tell them the daunger he was in, layed
both his hands on his head, bicauſe they coulde not heare his voyce for the great noyſe they
made. His enemies ſeeing the ſigne he gaue, ranne preſently to the Senate, crying out, that
Tiberius required a royall bande or diadeame of the people, and that it was an euident ſigne,
bicauſe they ſawe him clappe his handes apon his head. This tale troubled all the companie.
Whereupon *Naſica* beſought the Conſul, chiefe of the Senate, to help the common wealth,
and to take away this tyran. The Conſul gently aunſwered againe, that he would vſe no force,
neither put any citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as alſo he would not receiue *Tiberius*,
nor protect him, if the people by his perſwaſion or commaundement, ſhould commit a-
ny acte contrarie to the law. *Naſica* then riſing in anger, ſith the matter is ſo, ſayd he, that the B
Conſull regardeth not the common wealth: all you then, that will defende the authoritie of
Naſica doth ſet apon Tiberius Gracchus. the law, follow me. Thereupon he caſt the skirt of his gowne ouer his head, & went ſtraight
to the Capitoll. They that followed him alſo tooke their gownes, and wrapt them about their
armes, and layed at as many as they might, to make them geue way: and yet very few of the
people durſt meete with ſuch ſtates as they were to ſtay them, bicauſe they were the chiefeſt
men of the citie, but euery man flying from them, they fell one on an others necke for haſt.
They that followed them, had brought from home great leauers & clubbes, and as they went,
they tooke vp feete of treſtles and chaires which the people had ouerthrowen and broken,
running away, and hyed them a pace to meete with *Tiberius*, ſtriking at them that ſtoode in
their way: ſo that in ſhort ſpace they had diſperſed all the common people, and many were C
Tiberius Gracchus the Tribune ſlaine. ſlaine flying. *Tiberius* ſeeing that, betooke him to his legges to ſaue him ſelfe, but as he was
flying, one tooke him by the gowne, and ſtayed him: but he leauing his gowne behinde him,
ranne in his coate, and running fell vpon them that were downe before. So, as he was riſing
vp againe, the firſt man that ſtrake him, and that was plainly ſeene ſtrike him, was one of the
Tribunes his brethren, called *Publius Satureius*: who gaue him a great rappe on the head with
the foote of a chaire, & the ſecond blow he had, was geuen him by *Lucius Rufus* that boaſted
of it, as if he had done a notable acte. In this tumult, there were ſlaine aboue three hundred
men, and were all killed with ſtaues and ſtones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was
the firſt ſedition among the citizens of ROME, that fell out with murder, and bloodſhed, ſince
the expulſion of the kinges. But for all other former diſſentions (which were no trifles) they D
were eaſily pacified, either partie geuing place to other: the Senate for feare of the commo-
ners, and the people for reuerence they bare to the Senate. And it ſeemeth, that *Tiberius* him
ſelfe woulde eaſely haue yeelded alſo, if they had proceeded by faire meanes and perſwaſion,
ſo they had ment good faith, and would haue killed no man: for at that time he had not in all,
aboue 3000. men of the people about him. But ſurely it ſeemes this conſpiracie was executed
againſt him, more for very ſpite and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other ap-
parant cauſe they preſuppoſed againſt him. For proofe hereof may be alleaged, the barbarous
cruelty they vſed to his body being dead. For they would not ſuffer his owne brother to haue
his bodie to burie it by night, who made earneſt ſute vnto them for it: but they threw him a-
mongeſt the other bodies into the riuer, and yet this was not the worſt. For, ſome of his frends E
Tiberius frends ſlaine. The cruell death of Caius Billius. they baniſhed without forme of law, and others they put to death, which they coulde meete
withall. Among the which, they ſlue *Diophanes* the Orator, and one *Caius Billius*, whom they
incloſed in a pype among ſnakes and ſerpentes, and put him to death in this ſorte. *Bloſſius* al-
ſo the Philoſopher of Cumes, was brought before the Conſuls, and examined about this
matter: who boldly confeſſed vnto them, that he did as much as *Tiberius* commaunded him.
When *Naſica* did aske him, and what if he had commaunded thee to ſet fire on the Capitoll?
He made him aunſwere, that *Tiberius* would neuer haue geuen him any ſuche commaunde-
ment. And when diuers others alſo were ſtill in hand with him about that queſtion: but if he
had commaunded thee? I would ſure haue done it, ſayd he: for he would neuer haue com-
maunded me to haue done it, if it had not bene for the commoditie of the people. Thus he F
ſcaped at that time, and afterwards fled into ASIA vnto *Ariſtonicus*, whom misfortune hauing
ouerthrowen, he ſlue him ſelfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the people at that preſent time,

did

A did no more withstand the law Agraria, for diuision of the lands of the common wealth, but suffered the people to appoint an other Commissioner for that purpose, in *Tiberius* place. Thereupon *Publius Crassus* was chosen, being allied vnto *Tiberius*, for *Caius Gracchus* (*Tiberius* brother) had maried his daughter *Licinia*. Yet *Cornelius Nepos* sayth, that it was not *Crassus* daughter, *Caius* maried, but the daughter of *Brutus*, that triumphed for the LVSITANIANS. Howbeit the best wryters and authority, agree with that we wryte. But whatsoeuer was done, the people were maruelously offended with his death, and men might easely perceiue, that they looked but for time and oportunity to be reuenged, and did presently threaten *Nasica* to accuse him. Whereupon the Senate fearing some trouble towards him, deuised a way vpon no occasion, to sende him into ASIA. For the common people did not dissemble the malice
B they bare him when they met him, but were verie round with him, and called him tyran, and murderer, excommunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the blood of the holy Tribune, and within the most sacred temple of all the citie. So in the ende he was inforced to forsake ROME, though by his office he was bounde to solemnise all the greatest sacrifices, bicause he was then chiefe Bishoppe of ROME. Thus, trauelling out of his contrie like a meane man, and troubled in his minde: he dyed shortly after, not farre from the citie of PERGAMVS. Truely it is not greatly to be wondred at, though the people so much hated *Nasica*, considering that *Scipio* the AFRICAN him selfe (whom the people of ROME for iuster causes had loued better then any man else whatsoeuer) was like to haue lost all the peoples good wils they bare him, bicause that being at the siege of NVMANTIA, when newes was brought him
C of *Tiberius* death, he rang out this verse of *Homer*:

Such end vpon him euer light,
Which in such doings doth delight.

Nasica chiefe Bishoppe of Rome.

Scipices sentence of the death of Tiberius Gracchus.

Furthermore, being asked in thassembly of the people, by *Caius*, & *Fuluius*, what he thought of *Tiberius* death: he aunswered them, that he did not like his doinges. After that the people handled him very churlishly, & did euer breake of his oration, which they neuer did before: & he him selfe also would reuile the people euen in the assembly. Now *Caius Gracchus* at the first, bicause he feared the enemies of his deade brother, or otherwise for that he sought meanes to make them more hated of the people: he absented him selfe for a time out of the common assembly, and kept at home and meddled not, as a man contented to liue meanely, with-
D out busying him selfe in the common wealth: insomuch as he made men thinke and reporte both, that he did vtterly mislike those matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a young man, and nine yeares younger then his brother *Tiberius*, who was not thirty yeare old when he was slaine. But in processe of time, he made his manners and condicions (by litle and litle) appeare, who hated sloth and curiositie, and was least of all geuen vnto any couetous minde of getting: for he gaue him selfe to be eloquent, as preparing him wings afterwardes to practise in the common wealth. So that it appeared plainely, that when time came, he would not stand still, and looke on. When one *Vectius* a frende of his was sued, he tooke apon him to defend his cause in courte. The people that were present, and heard him speake, they leaped for ioy to see him: for he had such an eloquent tongue, that all the Orators
E besides were but children to him. Hereuppon the riche men began to be affrayed againe, and whispered among them selues, that it behoued them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chaunced so that he was chosen Treasorer, and it was his fortune to goe into the Ile of SARDINIA, with the Consul *Orestes*. His enemies were glad of that, and he him selfe was not sory for it. For he was a martiall man, and as skilfull in armes, as he was else an excellent Orator: but yet he was affrayed to come into the pulpit for Orations, and misliked to deale in matters of state, albeit he could not altogether deny the people, and his frends that prayed his furtherance. For this cause therfore he was very glad of this voyage, that he might absent him selfe for a time out of ROME: though diuers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and desirous of the common peoples good will and fauor, then his brother had bene before him. But
F in deede he was cleane contrarie: for it appeared that at the first he was drawen rather against his will, then of any speciall desire he had to deale in the common wealth. *Cicero* the Orator also sayth, that *Caius* was bent altogether to flie from office in the common wealth, and to liue

Caius Gracchus maners.

Caius Gracchus Quæstor in Sardinia.

Caius Gracchus vision and dreame.

quietly as a priuat man. But *Tiberius* (*Caius* brother) appeared to him in his sleepe, and calling him by his name, sayd vnto him: brother, why doest thou prolong time, for thou canst not possiblie escape? For we were both predestined to one maner of life and death, for procuring the benefite of the people. Now when *Caius* arriued in SARDINIA, he shewed all the proofes that might be in a valliant man, and excelled all the young men of his age, in hardines against his enemies, in iustice to his inferiors, and in loue & obedience towards the Consul his Captaine: but in temperaunce, sobrietie, and in painfulnes, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The winter by chaunce fell out very sharpe, & full of sickenes in SARDINIA: whereupon the Consul sent vnto the cities to helpe his souldiers with some clothes: but the townes sent in poste to ROME, to pray the Senate they might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegacion reasonable, whereuppon they wrote to the Consul to finde some other meanes to clothe his people. The Consul coulde make no other shift for them, and so the poore souldiers in the meane time smarted for it. But *Caius Gracchus* went him selfe vnto the cities and so perswaded them, that they of them selues sent to the ROMANES campe such thinges as they lacked. This being caried to ROME, it was thought straight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the peoples fauor, and in dede it made the Senate also affrayed. In the necke of that, there arriued Ambassadors of AFRICKE at ROME, sent from king *Micipsa*, who told the Senate that the king their maister, for *Caius Gracchus* sake, had sent their armie come into SARDINIA. The Senators were so offended withall, that they thrust the Ambassadours out of the Senate, and so gaue order that other souldiers shoulde be sent in their places that were in SARDINIA: and that *Orestes* should still remaine Consul there, meaning also to continue *Caius* their Treasorer. But when he hearde of it, he straight tooke sea, and returned to ROME in choller. When men saw *Caius* returned to ROME vnlooked for, he was reproued for it not onely by his enemies, but by the common people also: who thought his returne verie straunge before his Captaine, vnder whom he was Treasorer. He being accused hereof before the Censors, prayed he might be heard. So, aunswering his accusation, he so turned the peoples mindes that heard him, that they all sayd he had open wrong. For he told them, that he had serued twelue yeares in the warres, where others were enforced to remaine but ten yeres: and that he had continued Treasorer vnder his Captaine, the space of three yeares, where the law gaue him libertie to returne at the end of the yeare. And that he alone of all men else that had bene in the warres, had caried his purse full, and brought it home empty: where others hauing dronke the wyne which they caried thither in vessells, had afterwardes brought them home full of gold & siluer. Afterwards they went about to accuse him as accessarie to a conspiracie, that was reuealed in the citie of FREGELLES. But hauing cleared all that suspicion, and being discharged, he presently made sute to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of qualitie his sworne enemies. On thother side also he had so great fauor of the common people, that there came men out of all partes of ITALIE to be at his election, & that such a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of *Mars* not being large enough to hold such a multitude of people, there were that gaue their voyces vpon the toppe of houses. Nowe the noble men coulde no otherwise let the people of their will, nor preuent *Caius* of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, he was only pronounced the fourth. But when he was once possest officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, bicause he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of calamity offred him: which made him bolde to speake, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matters soeuer he spake of, he alwayes fell in talke of that, remembring them what matters had passed: & laying before them the examples of their auncesters: who in olde time had made warre with the PHALISCES, by the meanes of one *Genutius* Tribune of the people, vnto whom they had offered iniurie: who also did condemne *Caius Veturius* to death, bicause that he onely woulde not geue a Tribune place, comming through the market place. Where these sayd he, that standing before you in sight, haue slaine my brother *Tiberius* with staues, and haue dragged his bodie from the mount of the Capitoll, all the citie ouer, to throw it into the riuer: and with him also haue most cruellie slaine all his frendes they coulde come by, without any lawe on iustice at all. And yet by an auncient custome of long time

Caius Gracchus returneth out of Sardinia vnto Rome.

Caius Gracchus, Tribune of the people.

A time obſerued in this citie of Rome, when any man is accuſed of treaſon, and that of duety he muſt appeare at the time appointed him: they doe notwithſtanding in the morning ſende a trompet to his houſe, to ſummone him to appeare: and moreouer the Iudges were not wont to condemne him, before this ceremony was performed: ſo carefull and reſpectiue were our predeceſſors, where it touched the life of any Romane. Now *Caius* hauing firſt ſtirred vp the people with theſe perſwaſions (for he had a maruelous lowde voyce) he preferred two lawes.

Caius Gracchus lawes.

The firſt, that he that had once bene put out of office by the people, ſhould neuer after be capable of any other office.

The ſeconde, that if any Conſul had baniſhed any citizen without lawefull accuſation, the ſentence and hearing of the matter ſhould perteine to the people.

B The firſt of theſe two lawes did plainly defame *Octauius*, whom *Tiberius* his brother had by the people depoſed from the Tribunſhippe. The ſeconde alſo touched *Poplius*, who being Prætor, had baniſhed his brother *Tiberius* frendes: whereuppon he ſtayed not the triall, but willingly exiled him ſelfe out of Italie. And touching the firſt law, *Caius* him ſelfe did afterwards reuoke it, declaring vnto the people, that he had ſaued *Octauius* at the requeſt of his mother *Cornelia*. The people were verie glad of it, and confirmed it, honoring her no leſſe for reſpect of her ſonnes, then alſo for *Scipioes* ſake her father. For afterwards they caſt her image in braſſe, & ſet it vp with this inſcription: *Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi*. Many cõmon matters are found written touching *Cornelia* his mother, & eloquently pleaded in her behalfe, by *Caius* againſt her aduerſaries. As when he ſayd vnto one of them: how dareſt thou preſume

Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, honored of the people of Rome.

C to ſpeake euill of *Cornelia*, that had *Tiberius* to her ſonne? And the other partie alſo that ſlandered her, being ſorely ſuſpected for a Sodomite: and art thou ſo impudent, ſayd he, to ſhew thy face before *Cornelia*? Haſt thou brought foorth children as ſhe hath done? And yet it is wel knowẽ to all men in Rome, that ſhe being but a woman, hath liued longer without a man, than thou that art a man. Thus were *Caius* words ſharpe & ſtinging, and many ſuch like are to be gathered out of his wrytinges. Furthermore he made many other lawes afterwardes to increaſe the peoples authoritie, and to imbaſe the Senates greatnes.

Other lawes preferred by Caius Gracchus.

The firſt was, for the reſtoring of the Colonies to Rome, in diuiding the landes of the common wealth vnto the poore citizens that ſhould inhabite there.

The other, that they ſhoulde apparell the ſouldiers at the charge of the common wealth,

D and that it ſhould not be deducted out of their paye: and alſo, that no citizen ſhould be billed to ſerue in the warres, vnder ſeuenteene yeares of age at the leaſt.

An other law was, for their confederats of Italie: that through all Italie they ſhoulde haue as free voyces in the election of any Magiſtrate, as the naturall citizens of Rome it ſelfe.

An other ſetting a reaſonable price of the corne that ſhould be diſtributed vnto the poore people.

An other touching iudgement, whereby he did greatly miniſh the authority of the Senate. For before, the Senators were onely Iudges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honored and feared of the people, and the Romane Knights: and now he ioyned three

E hundred Romane Knights vnto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it ſo to paſſe, that all matters iudiciall ſhoulde be equally iudged, among thoſe ſix hundred men. After he had paſſed this law, it is reported he was verie curious in obſeruing all other thinges, but this one thing ſpecially: that where all other Orators ſpeaking to the people turned them towards the pallace where the Senators ſate, and to that ſide of the market place which is called Comitium: he in contrarie manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwardes towardes the other ſide of the market place, and after that kept it conſtantly, and neuer failed. Thus, by a litle turning and altering of his looke only, he remoued a great matter. For he ſo transferred all the gouernment of the common wealth from the Senate, vnto the iudgement of the peo-

F ple: to teach the Orators by his example, that in their Orations they ſhould behold the people, not the Senate. Now, the people hauing not only confirmed the law he made touching the Iudges, but geuen him alſo full power and authoritie to chooſe amonge the Romane Knightes ſuche Iudges as he liked of: he founde thereby he had abſolute power in his owne

Caius Gracchus power.

hands, insomuche as the Senators them selues did aske counsell of him. So did he euer geue A
good counsell, and did preferre matters meete for their honor. As amongest others, the lawe
he made touching certaine wheate that *Fabius* Viceprætor had sent out of SPAYNE: which
was a good and honorable acte. He perswaded the Senate that the corne might be solde, and
so to send backe againe the money therof vnto the townes and cities from whence the corne
came: and therewithall to punish *Fabius* for that he made the Empire of ROME hatefull and
intollerable vnto the prouinces and subiectes of the same. This matter wanne him great loue
Other lawes of Caius Gracchus. and commendacion of all the prouinces subiect to ROME. Furthermore, he made lawes for
the restoring of the decayed townes, for mending of high wayes, for building of garners for
prouision of corne. And to bring all these things to passe, he him selfe tooke apon him the on-
ly care and enterprise, being neuer wearied with any paines taken in ordering of so great af- B
faires. For, he followed all those thinges so earnestly and effectually, as if he had had but one
matter in hand: insomuch that they who most hated and feared him, wondred most to see his
diligence and quicke dispatche in matters. The people also wondred muche to beholde him
only, seeing alwaies suche a number of laborers, artificers, Ambassadors, officers, souldiers,
and learned men, whom he easely satisfied and dispatched, keping still his estate, and yet vsing
great curtesie and ciuilitie, entertaining euery one of them priuately: so that he made his ac-
cusers to be found lyers, that sayd he was a stately man, and very cruell. Thus he wanne the
good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his conuersation and
deedes, then he was otherwise in his Orations. But the greatest paines and care he tooke a-
pon him was, in seeing the high wayes mended, the which he woulde haue as well done, as C
profitablie done. For he would cast the cawcies by the lyne in the softest ground in the fields,
and then woulde paue them with hard stone, and cast a great deale of grauell vpon it, which
he caused to be brought thither. When he found any low or waterie places which the riuers
had eaten into, he raised them vp, or else made bridges ouer them, with an euen height equall
to either side of the cawcie: so that all his worke caried a goodly leauell withall euen by the
lyne or plummet, which was a pleasure to beholde it. Furthermore, he deuided these high
The Italian myle conteineth eight furlong. wayes by myles, euery myle conteining eight furlonges, and at euery myles ende he set vp a
stone for a marke. At either end also of these high wayes thus paued, he set certaine stones of
conuenient height, a prety way a sunder, to helpe the trauellers by to take their horse backes
againe, without any helpe. The people for these things highly praising & extolling him, and D
being readie to make shew of their loue and good will to him any maner of way: he told them
openly one day in his Oration, that he had a request to make vnto them, the which if it would
please them to graunt him, he woulde thinke they did him a maruelous pleasure: and if they
denied him also, he cared not muche. Then euerie man thought it was the Consulshippe he
ment to aske, and that he woulde sue to be Tribune and Consul together. But when the day
came to choose the Consuls, euery man looking attentiuely what he would doe: they marue-
led when they sawe him come downe the fielde of *Mars*, and brought *Caius Fannius* with his
frends, to further his sute for the Consulshippe. Therein he serued *Fannius* turne, for he was
Caius Gracchus chosen Tribune the second time. presently chosen Consul: and *Caius Gracchus* was the seconde time chosen Tribune againe,
not of his owne sute, but by the good will of the people. *Caius* perceiuing that the Senators E
were his open enemies, and that *Fannius* the Consul was but a slacke frende vnto him, he be-
gan againe to currie fauor with the common people, and to preferre new lawes, setting forth
the lawe of the Colonies, that they should send of the poore citizens to replenishe the cities
of TARENTVM and CAPVA, & that they should graunt all the Latines the freedom of ROME.
The Senate perceiuing his power grew great, and that in the end he would be so strong that
they coulde not withstande him: they deuised a new and straunge way to plucke the peoples
good will from him, in graunting them things not altogether very honest. There was one of
Liuius Drusus one of the Tribunes. the Tribunes, a brother in office with *Caius*, called *Liuius Drusus*, a man noblely borne, and as
well brought vp as any other ROMANE: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferior to the
greatest men of estimacion in ROME. The chiefest Senators went vnto him, and perswaded F
him to take parte with them against *Caius*, not to vse any force or violence against the people
to withstand them in any thing, but contrarily to graunt them those things which were more

honesty

A honestie for them to deny them with their ill will. *Liuius* offering to pleasure the Senate with his authority, preferred lawes neither honorable nor profitable to the cõmon wealth, & were to no other ende, but contending with *Caius*, who should most flatter the people of them two, as plaiers do in their cõmon plaies, to shew the people pastime. Wherby the Senate shewed, that they did not so much mislike *Caius* doings, as for the desire they had to ouerthrow him & his great credit with the people. For where *Caius* preferred but the replenishing of the two cities, and desired to send the honestest citizens thither: they obiected against him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other side also they fauored *Drusus*, who preferred a law that they should replenish twelue Colonies, & should send to euery one of them three thowsande of the poorest citizens. And where they hated *Caius* for that he had charged the poore B citizens with an annual rent for the lands that were deuided vnto them: *Liuius* in contrary maner did please them by disburdening them of that rent & payment, letting thẽ haue the lands scotfree. Furthermore also, where *Caius* did anger the people, bicause he gaue all the Latines the fredom of ROME to geue their voyces in choosing of Magistrates as freely as the naturall ROMANES: when *Drusus* on thother side had preferred a law that thencetoorth no ROMANE should whip any souldier of the Latines with rods to the warres, they liked the law, & past it. *Liuius* also in euery law he put forth, said in all his orations, that he did it by the counsell of the Senate, who were very carefull for the profit of the people: and this was all the good he did in his office vnto the cõmon wealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleased with the Senate, & where they did before hate all the noble men of the Senate, *Liuius* tooke away that C malice, when the people saw that all that he propounded, was for the preferment & benefit of the common wealth, with the consent & furtheraunce of the Senate. The only thing also that perswaded the people to thinke that *Drusus* ment vprightly, & that he only respected the profit of the common people was: that he neuer preferred any law for him selfe, or for his owne benefit. For in the restoring of these Colonies which he preferred, he alwaies sent other Commissioners, & gaue them the charge of it, and would neuer finger any money him selfe: where *Caius* tooke apon him the charge & care of all things himselfe, & specially of the greatest matters. *Rubrius* also an other Tribune, hauing preferred a law for the reedifying & replenishing of CARTHAGE againe with people, the which *Scipio* had rased and destroyed: it was *Caius* happe to be appointed one of the Commissioners for it. Whereupon he tooke shippe, & sailed into D AFRIKE. *Drusus* in the meane time taking occasion of his absence, did as much as might be to seeke the fauor of the common people, and specially by accusing *Fulusius*, who was one of the best frends *Caius* had, & whom they had also chosen Commissioner with him for the diuision of these landes among the citizens, whom they sent to replenish these Colonies. This *Fulusius* was a seditious man, & therefore maruelously hated of the Senate, & withall suspected also of them that tooke parte with the people, that he secretly practised to make their confederats of ITALIE to rebell. But yet they had no euident proofe of it to iustifie it against him, more then that which he himselfe did verifie, bicause he semed to be offended with the peace & quietnes they enioyed. And this was one of the chiefest causes of *Caius* ouerthrow, bicause that *Fulusius* was partely hated for his sake. For when *Scipio* AFRICAN was found dead one morning in his E house, without any manifest cause how he should come to his death so sodainly: (sauing that there appeared certaine blinde markes of stripes on his body that had bene geuen him: as we haue declared at large in his life) the most parte of the suspicion of his death was layed to *Fulusius*, being his mortall enemy, & bicause the same day they had bene at great wordes together in the pulpit for orations. So was *Caius Gracchus* also partly suspected for it. Howsoeuer it was, such a horrible murder as this, of so famous & worthy a man as any was in ROME, was yet notwithstanding neuer reuenged, neither any inquirie made of it: bicause the common people would not suffer the accusacion to goe forward, fearing least *Caius* would be found in fault, if the matter should go forward. But this was a great while before. Now *Caius* at that time being in AFRICK about the reedifying and replenishing of the city of CARTHAGE againe, the which F he named IVNONIA: the voice goeth that he had many ill signes & tokens appeared vnto him. For the staffe of his ensigne was broken with a vehemẽt blast of wind, & with the force of the ensigne bearer that held it fast on thother side. There came a flaw of winde also that caried a-

Laues preferred by Liuius Drusus.

Liuius Drusus pacifieth the people against the Senate.

Fulusius Commissioner with Caius, a verie seditious man.

The death of Scipio Africa can the lesse.

Vnluckie signes appearing vnto Caius.

way the ſacrifices vpon the aulters and blew them quite out of the circuite which was marked A
out for the compaſſe of the city. Furthermore, the woulues came and tooke away the markes
which they had ſet downe to limite the bonds of their circuite, & caried him quite away. This
notwithſtanding, *Caius* hauing diſpatched all things in the ſpace of three ſcore & ten daies, he
returned incontinently to ROME, vnderſtanding that *Fuluius* was oppreſſed by *Druſus*, and that
This man is named afterwardes Opimius. thoſe matters required his preſence. For *Lucius Hoſtilius* that was all in all for the nobility, & a
man of great credit with the Senate, being the yeare before put by the Conſulſhippe, by *Caius*
practiſe, who cauſed *Fannius* to be choſen: he had good hope this yere to ſpeede, for the great
number of frends that furthered his ſute. So that if he could obtaine it, he was fully bent to ſet
Caius beſide the ſaddle, & the rather, bicauſe his eſtimacion and countenaunce he was wont to
haue among the people, began now to decay, for that they were ful of ſuch deuiſes as his were: B
bicauſe there were diuers others that preferred the like to pleaſe the people withal, & yet with
the Senates great good will & fauor. So *Caius* being returned to ROME, he remoued from his
houſe, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a houſe vnder the
market place, to ſhew him ſelfe therby the lowlier & more popular, bicauſe many of the mea-
ner ſorte of people dwelt thereaboutes. Then he purpoſed to goe forward with the reſt of his
lawes, & to make the people to eſtabiſh thē, a great number of people repairing to ROME out
of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counſelled the Conſul *Fannius* to
make proclamacion, that al thoſe which were no natural ROMANES, reſident & abiding within
the city ſelf of ROME: that they ſhould depart out of ROME. Beſides all this, there was a ſtraūge
proclamacion made, and neuer ſeene before: that none of all the frends & confederats of the C
ROMANES, for certaine daies ſhould come into ROME. But *Caius* on thother ſide ſet vp bills on
euery poſt, accuſing the Conſul for making ſo wicked a proclamaciō: & further, promiſed the
confederates of ROME to aide them, if they would remaine there againſt the Conſuls procla-
macion. But yet he performed it not. For when he ſaw one of *Fannius* ſergeaūts cary a frend of
his to priſon, he held on his way, & would ſee nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of like-
lyhoode bicauſe he feared his credit with the people, which began to decay, or elſe bicauſe he
was loth (as he ſaid) to picke any quarrell with his enemies, which ſought it of him. Further-
Caius Gracchus fell out with the Tribunes. more, he chaunced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occaſion.
The people were to ſee the paſtime of the ſword plaiers or fenſers at the ſharp, within the ve-
ry market place, and there were diuers of the officers that to ſee the ſport, did ſet vp ſcaffoldes D
rounde about, to take money for the ſtanding. *Caius* cōmaunded them to take them downe a-
gain, bicauſe the poore men might ſee the ſport without any coſt. But not a man of thē would
yeeld to it. Wherefore he ſtaid till the night before the paſtime ſhould be, & then he tooke all
his laborers he had vnder him, & went & ouerthrew the ſcaffolds euery one of thē: ſo that the
next morning all the market place was clere for the cōmon people, to ſee the paſtime at their
pleaſure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him maruelouſly, & tooke him for a worthie
man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him, & tooke him for
Caius Gracchus repulſed from the third Tribuneſhip. a bold preſumptuous man. This ſeemeth to be the chiefe cauſe why he was put from his third
Tribuneſhip, where he had the moſt voices of his ſide: bicauſe his colleagues, to be reuēged of
the part he had plaied thē, of malice & ſpight, made falſe report of the voices. Howbeit there E
is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulſe, & it is reported he
ſpake ſomwhat too prowdly to his enemies, that were mery with the matter, & laughed him
to ſcorne: that they laughed a SARDONIANS laugh, not knowing how darkely his deedes had
wrapt them in. Furthermore, his enemies hauing choſen *Opimius* Conſul, they began imme-
diatly to reuoke diuers of *Caius* lawes: as among the reſt, his doings at CARTHAGE for the re-
edifying of that city, procuring thus all the waies they could to anger him, bicauſe they might
haue iuſt occaſion of anger to kil him. *Caius* notwithſtanding did paciently beare it at the firſt:
but afterwards his frends, & ſpecially *Fuluius*, did encorage him ſo, that he began againe to ga-
ther men to reſiſt the Conſul. And it is reported alſo, that *Cornelia* his mother did help him in
it, ſecretly hyring a great number of ſtraungers which ſhe ſent vnto ROME, as if they had bene F
reapers, or harueſt men. And this is that ſhe wrote ſecretly in her letter, vnto her ſonne in ci-
phers. And yet other write to the contrary, that ſhe was very angry he did attēpt thoſe things.

When

A When the day came that they ſhould proceede to the reuocation of his lawes, both parties met by breake of day at the Capitoll. There when the Conſul *Opimius* had done ſacrifice, one of *Caius* ſergeaunts called *Quintus Antyllius*, carying the intrals of the beaſt ſacrificed, ſaid vnto *Fuluius*, and others of his tribe that were about him: giue place to honeſt men, vile citizens that ye be. Some ſay alſo, that beſides theſe iniurious wordes, in skorne & contempt he held out his naked arme to make thē aſhamed. Whereupon they ſlue him preſently in the field with great botkins to wryte with, which they had purpoſely made for that intent. Hereupon the cōmon people were maruelouſly offended for this murther, & the chiefe men of both ſides alſo were diuerſly affected. For *Caius* was very ſory for it, & bitterly reproued them that were about him, ſaying, that they had giuen their enemies the occaſion they looked for, to ſet vpon thē. *Opimius* B the Conſul in contrary maner, taking this occaſion, roſe apon it, & did ſtirre vp the people to be reuenged. But there fell a ſhower of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning the Conſul hauing aſſembled the Senate by breake of day, as he was diſpatching cauſes within, ſome had takē the body of *Antyllius* & layed it naked vpon the beere, & ſo caried it through the market place (as it was agreed vpon before amongſt thē) & brought it to the Senate dore: where they began to make great mone & lamētacion, *Opimius* knowing the meaning of it, but yet he diſſembled it, & ſeemed to wonder at it. Wherupon the Senators went out to ſee what it was, & finding this beere, in the market place, ſome fell a weeping for him that was dead, others cried out that it was a ſhamefull act, & in no wiſe to be ſuffred. But on the other ſide, this did reuiue the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednes of the ambitious noble C men: who hauing thēſelues before ſlaine *Tiberius Gracchus* that was Tribune, & within the Capitoll it ſelfe, & had alſo caſt his body into the riuer, did now make an honorable ſhow openly in the market place, of the body of a ſergeaūt *Antyllius* (who though he were wrōgfully ſlaine, yet had himſelfe geuen thē the cauſe that ſlue him, to do that they did) & all the whole Senate were about the beere to bewaile his death, & to honor the funeralls of a hyerling, to make the people alſo kill him, that was only left the protector & defender of the people. After this, they went againe vnto the Capitoll, & there made a decree, wherby they gaue the Conſul *Opimius* extraordinary power & authority, by abſolute power to prouide for the ſafety of the common wealth, to preſerue the city, & to ſuppreſſe the tyrans. This decree being eſtabliſhed, the Conſul preſently commaunded the Senators that were preſent there, to go arme thē ſelues: & ap- D pointed the Romane Knights, that the next morning betimes euery man ſhould bring two of their men armed with thē. *Fuluius* on the other ſide, he prepared his force againſt them, & aſſembled the cōmon people together. *Caius* alſo returning from the market place, ſtayd before the image of his father, & looked earneſtly apon it without euer a word ſpeaking, only he burſt out a weeping, and fetching a great ſigh, went his way. This made the people to pitie him that ſaw him: ſo that they talked among them ſelues, that they were but beaſts & cowards at ſuch a ſtraight to forſake ſo worthy a man. Therupon they went to his houſe, ſtayed there all night & watched before his gate: not as they did that watched with *Fuluius*, that paſſed away the night in guſeling and drinking drunke, crying out, and making noyſe, *Fuluius* him ſelfe being dronke firſt of all, who both ſpake and did many thinges farre vnmeete for his calling. For they that E watched *Caius* on thother ſide, were very ſorowfull, and made no noyſe, euen as in a common calamitie of their contrie, deuiſing with them ſelues what would fall out apon it, waking, and ſleeping one after an other by turnes. When the day brake, they with *Fuluius* did awake him, who ſlept yet ſoundly for the wine he dranke ouer night, and they armed them ſelues with the ſpoiles of the Gavles that hong rounde about his houſe, whom he had ouercome in battell the ſame yeare he was Conſul: and with great cries, and thundering threats, they went to take the mount Auentine. But *Caius* would not arme him ſelfe, but went out of his houſe in a long gowne, as if he woude haue gone ſimply into the market place according to his wonted maner, ſauing that he caried a ſhort dagger at his girdel vnder his gowne. So as he was going out of his houſe, his wife ſtayed him at the dore, and holding him by the one hand, and a litle child F of his in her other hand, ſhe ſayd thus vnto him: Alas *Caius*, thou doeſt not now goe as thou wert wont, a Tribune into the market place to ſpeake to the people, neither to preferre any new lawes: neither doeſt thou goe vnto an honeſt warre, that if vnfortunately that ſhoulde

Sedition betweext Caius Gracchus & the Senate.

Antillius, C. Gracchus ſergeaunt ſlaine.

An ordinance made by the Senate, againſt C. Gracchus.

The people defended C. Gracchus.

The words of Licinia to her husband Caius Gracchus.

» happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the leaſt mourne for thy death with A
» honor. But thou goeſt to put thy ſelfe into bloodie butchers handes, who moſt cruelly haue
» ſlaine thy brother *Tiberius*: and yet thou goeſt, a naked man vnarmed, intending rather to
» ſuffer, then to doe hurt. Beſides, thy death can bring no benefit to the common wealth. For
» the worſer part hath now the vpper hand, conſidering that ſentence paſſeth by force of ſword.
» Had thy brother bene ſlaine by his enemies, before the citie of NVMANTIA: yet had they ge-
» uen vs his bodie to haue buried him. But ſuch may be my misfortune, that I may preſently go
» to pray the riuer or ſea to geue me thy bodie, which as thy brothers they haue likewiſe thro-
» wen into the ſame. Alas, what hope or truſt is left vs now, in lawes or gods, ſithence they haue
» ſlaine *Tiberius*? As *Licinia* was making this pitiefull mone vnto him, *Caius* fayer and ſoftly
pulled his hand from her, and left her, geuing her neuer a word, but went on with his frends. B
But ſhe reaching after him to take him by the gowne, fell to the ground, and lay flatling there
a great while, ſpeaking neuer a word: vntill at length her ſeruaunts tooke her vp in a ſwoone,
and caried her ſo vnto her brother *Craſſus*. Now *Fuluius*, by the perſwaſion of *Caius*, when all
Fuluius ſent his ſonne to the Conſull with a Heraulds rodde to offer peace. their faction were met: ſent his younger ſonne (which was a prety fayer boy) with a Heraulds
rodde in his hand for his ſafetie. This boy humbly preſenting his duetie, with the teares in his
eyes, before the Conſul and Senate, offred them peace. The moſt of them that were preſent
thought verie well of it. But *Opimius* made aunſwere ſaying, that it became them not to ſend
meſſengers, thinking with fayer wordes to winne the Senate: but it was their duetie to come
thē ſelues in perſons, like ſubiects & offendors to make their triall, & ſo to craue pardon, & to
ſeeke to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commaunded the boy he ſhould not returne C
againe to them, but with this condicion he had preſcribed. *Caius* (as it is reported) was ready
to go and cleare him ſelfe vnto the Senate: but the reſidue would not ſuffer him to go. Where-
uppon *Fuluius* ſent his ſonne backe againe vnto them, to ſpeake for them as he had done be-
fore. But *Opimius* that was deſirous to fight, cauſed the boy to be taken, and committed him
in ſafe cuſtodie, & then went preſently againſt *Fuluius* with a great number of footemen well
armed, & of CRETAN archers beſides: who with their arrowes did more trouble & hurt their
enemies, then with any thing elſe, that within a while they all began to flie. *Fuluius* on the o-
ther ſide fled into an old hottehouſe that no body made reckoning of, and there being found
The death of Fuluius and his eldeſt ſonne. ſhortly after, they ſlue him, and his eldeſt ſonne. Now for *Caius*, he fought not at all, but being
mad with him ſelfe, and grieued to ſee ſuch bloodſhed: he got him into the temple of *Diana*, D
where he would haue killed him ſelfe, had not his very good frends *Pomponius* and *Licinius* ſa-
ued him. For both they being with him at that time, tooke his ſword from him, and counſel-
led him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, and holding vp both his
hands vnto the goddeſſe, he beſought her that the people might neuer come out of bondage,
to be reuenged of this their ingratitude & treaſon. For the common people (or the moſt parte
of them) plainly turned their coats, when they heard proclamacion made, that all men had
The flight of Caius. pardon graunted them, that woulde returne. So *Caius* fled apon it, and his enemies followed
him ſo neere, that they ouertooke him apon the wodden bridge, where two of his frends that
were with him ſtayed, to defende him againſt his followers, and bad him in the meane time
make ſhift for him ſelfe, whileſt they fought with them apon the bridge: and ſo they did, and E
kept them that not a man got the bridge of them, vntill they were both ſlaine. Nowe there
was none that fled with *Caius*, but one of his men called *Philocrates*: notwithſtanding, euerie
man did ſtill encorage and counſell him, as they do men to winne a game, but no man would
helpe him, nor offer him any horſe, though he often required it, bicauſe he ſawe his enemies
ſo neere vnto him. This notwithſtanding, by their defence that were ſlaine apon the bridge,
he got ground on them ſo, that he had leaſure to crepe into a litle groue of wodde which was
conſecrated to the furies. There his ſeruaunt *Philocrates* ſlue him, and then ſlue him ſelfe alſo,
and fell dead vpon him. Other write notwithſtanding, that both the maiſter & ſeruaunt were
The faithfulnes of Caius Gracchus ſeruaunt. ouertaken, and taken aliue: and that his ſeruaunt did ſo ſtraight imbrace his maiſter that none
of the enemies could ſtrike him for all the blowes they gaue, before he was ſlaine him ſelfe. So F
one of the murderers ſtrake of *Caius Gracchus* head to carie to the Conſul. How beit one of *O-
pimius* frendes called *Septimuleius*, tooke the head from the other by the way, bicauſe procla-

mation

A macion was made before they fought by trompet, that whosoeuer brought the heades of *Fulvius* and *Caius*, they should be payed the weight of them in gold. Wherefore this *Septimuleius* caried *Caius* head vpon the toppe of his speare vnto *Opimius*: whereuppon the skales being brought to wey it, it was found that it weyed seuenteene pounde weight and two third partes of a pound, bicause *Septimuleius* besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpen it with this villanie, that he had taken out his braine, and in liew thereof had filled his scull with lead. Now the other also that brought *Fuluius* head, bicause they were poore men, they had nothing. The bodies of these two men, *Caius Gracchus* and *Fuluius*, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thowsand that were slaine) were all throwen into the riuer, their goods confiscate, and their widowes forbidden to mourne for their death. Furthermore, they tooke from *Licinia Caius* wife, her ioynter: but yet they delt more cruelly and beastly with the young boy, *Fuluius* sonne: who had neither lift vp his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but only came to thē to make peace before they fought, whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battell ended, they put him to death. But yet that which most of all other grieued the people, was the temple of concorde, the which *Opimius* caused to be built: for it appeared that he boasted, and in maner triumphed, that he had slaine so many citizens of ROME. And therefore there were that in the night wrote vnder the inscription of the temple these verses:

The temple of concord built by Opimius the Consul.

A furious fact and full of beastly shame,
This temple built, that beareth concordes name.

C This *Opimius* was the first man at ROME, that being Consul, vsurped the absolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or iustice condemned three thowsand citizens of ROME, besides *Fuluius Flaccus*, (who had also bene Consul, and had receiued the honor of triumphe) and *Caius Gracchus* a young man in like case, who in vertue & reputacion excelled all the men of his yeares. This notwithstanding, coulde not keepe *Opimius* from theuerie and extorcion. For when he was sent Ambassador vnto *Iugurthe* king of NVMIDIA, he was bribed with money: & therupon being accused, he was most shamefully conuicted, and condemned. Wherefore he ended his dayes with this reproch and infamy, hated, and mocked of all the people: bicause at the time of the ouerthrow he delt beastly with them that fought for his quarrell. But shortly after, it appeared to the world, how much they lamented the losse of the two brethren

Opimius the first Consul, vsurping the power of the Dictator.

Opimius bribed with money of Iugurthe, and condemned.

D of the *Gracchi*. For they made images and statues of them, and caused them to be set vp in an open and honorable place, consecrating the places where they had bene slaine: and many of them also came and offred to them, of their first frutes and flowers, according to the time of the yere, & went thither to make their prayers on their knees, as vnto the temples of the gods. Their mother *Cornelia*, as writers report, did beare this calamity with a noble hart: and as for the chappells which they built & consecrated vnto them in the place where they were slaine, she said no more, but that they had such graues, as they had deserued. Afterwardes she dwelt continually by the mount of Misene, and neuer chaunged her manner of life. She had many frends, and bicause she was a noble Ladie, and loued euer to welcome straungers, she kept a very good house, and therefore had alwayes great repaire vnto her, of GRÆCIANS & learned

The Gracchi were maruelously desired of the people.

The magnanimity of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

E men: besides, there was no king nor Prince, but both receiued giftes from her, and sent her againe. They that frequented her cōpany, delighted maruelously to heare her report the dedes and maner of her fathers life, *Scipio* AFRICAN: but yet they wondred more, to heare her tell the actes and death of her two sonnes, *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*, without sheading teare, or making any shew of lamentacion or griefe, no more then if she had told an history vnto them that had requested her. Insomuch some writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had ouercomen and taken her reason and sence from her, to feele any sorowe. But in deede they were senseless to say so, not vnderstandinge, howe that to be noblie borne, and vertuously brought vp, doth make men temperatly to digest sorow, and that fortune oftentimes ouercomes vertue, which regardeth honestie in all respectes, but yet with any aduersity she can not take away the temperaunce from them, whereby they paciently beare it.

The power of learning to ouercome sorow.

F

THE COMPARISON OF
Tiberius and Caius Gracchi with Agis and Cleomenes.

The wisedom of the Gracchi.

NOw that we be come to the end of this history, we are to compare the liues of these two men the one with the other. First, as touching the two *Gracchi*: their enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could not deny but that they were the best geuen to vertue, and as well taught and brought vp, as any ROMANES that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the vpper hand of them, in *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they hauing bene very ill brought vp, both for learning and good manners, for lacke whereof the oldest men were almost spoyled: yet did they notwithstandinge make them selues the first maisters and example of sobrietie, temperaunce, and simplicitie of life. Furthermore, the two first hauing liued in that time, when ROME florished most in honor and vertuous desires: they were more then ashamed to forsake the vertues inherited from their auncesters. These two last also being borne of fathers that had a cleane contrarie disposicion, and finding their contrie altogether without any order, and infected with dissolute life: were not therefore any whit the more moued with desire to do well. Furthermore, the greatest praise they gaue vnto the two *Gracchi*, was, their abstinence and integritie from taking of money all the time they were in office, and delt in matters of state, euer keeping their handes cleane, and tooke not a pennie wrongfully from any man. Where *Agis* on thother side was offended if any man praised him, for that he tooke nothing from an other man: seeing that he dispossessed him selfe of his owne goods, and gaue it to his citizens, which amounted in readie coyne to the value of six hundred talents. Whereby men may easely iudge, how grieuous a sinne he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man: seeing that he thought it a kinde of auarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was maruelous great difference in their alteracions, and renuing of the state, which they did both preferre. For the actes of the two ROMANES were to mend high wayes, and to reedifie and replenish decayed townes: and the worthiest acte *Tiberius* did, was the lawe Agraria, which he brought in for

diuiding

A diuiding of the lands of the common wealth amongeſt the poore Citizens. And the beſt acte his brother *Caius* alſo did, was the mingling of the Iudges: adding to the three hundred Senators, three hundred ROMANE knightes to be indifferent Iudges with them. Whereas *Agis* and *Cleomenes* in contrary manner were of opinion, that to reforme ſmal faults, & to redreſſe them by litle and litle, was (as *Plato* ſayd) to cut of one of the Hydraes heads, of the which came afterwards ſeuen in the place: and therefore they tooke apon them a chaunge and innouation, euen at once to roote out all the miſchiefs of their contry, (or to ſpeake more truely, to take away the diſorder which brought in all vice and miſchief to the common wealth) and ſo to reſtore the citie of SPARTA againe to her former auncient honorable eſtate. Nowe this may be ſaid againe, for the gouernment of the GRACCHI: that the chiefeſt men of ROME were euer a-
B gainſt their purpoſes. Where, in that that *Agis* attempted, and *Cleomenes* ended, they had the nobleſt ground that could be, & that was the auncient lawes and ordinances of SPARTA, touching temperance and equalitie: the firſt, inſtituted in old time by *Lycurgus*, the other confirmed by *Apollo*. Furthermore, by the alteracions of the firſt, ROME became no greater then it was before. Where, by that which *Cleomenes* did, all GRÆCE in ſhort time ſawe that SPARTA commaunded all the reſt of PELOPONNESVS, and fought at that time againſt thoſe that were of greateſt power in all GRÆCE, for the ſigniorie thereof. Whereby their onely marke & purpoſe was, to rid all GRÆCE from the warres of the GAVLES and ILLYRIANS, and to reſtore it againe to the honeſt gouernment of the race and lyne of *Hercules*. Their deathes, me thinkes, doe ſhew great difference of their corages. For the GRACCHI fighting with their owne Citi-
C zens, were ſlaine flying. Of theſe two alſo, *Agis*, bicauſe he would put neuer a Citizen to death, was ſlayne in manner voluntarily: and *Cleomenes* receiuing iniurie ſtoode to his defence, and when he had no oportunitie to doe it, he ſtowtly killed him ſelfe. And ſo may it be ſaid on thother ſide, that *Agis* did neuer any noble acte of a Captaine or ſouldier, bicauſe he was ſlayne before he could come to it. And for the victories of *Cleomenes* on thother ſide, may be oppoſed the ſcaling of the walls of CARTHAGE, where *Tiberius* was the firſt man that at the aſſault got vp vpon the wall, which was no ſmall exployte: and the peace which he made alſo at the ſeege of NVMANTIA, whereby he ſaued twenty thowſand fighting men of the ROMANES, the which had no meanes otherwiſe to ſaue their liues. And *Caius* alſo in the ſelfe ſame warre, at the ſeege of NVMANTIA, and afterwards in SARDINIA, did many noble feates of warre: ſo that
D there is no doubt, but if they had not bene ſlaine ſo ſoone as they were, they might haue bene compared with the excellenteſt Captaines that euer were in ROME. Again, touching their doings in ciuill pollicie, it appeareth that *Agis* delt more ſlackly, being abuſed by *Ageſilaus*: who likewiſe deceiued the poore Citizens of the diuiſion of the landes which he had promiſed them. In fine, for lacke of corage, bicauſe he was very young, he left the thinges vndone which he had purpoſed to haue performed. On thother ſide, *Cleomenes* went too rowndly to worke to renew the auncient gouernment of the common wealth againe, by killing the Ephores with too much crueltie, whom he might eaſily haue wonne, or otherwiſe by force haue gotten the vpper hande. For it is not the parte of a wiſe Phiſition, nor of a good gouernor of a common weale to vſe the ſword, but in great extreamitie, where there is no other helpe nor remedie: &
E there lacked iudgement in them both, but worſt of all in the one, for iniury is euer ioyned with crueltie. The GRACCHI on thother ſide, nether the one nor the other, began to embrew their hands in the blood of their Citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt *Caius*, yet he would neuer defend him ſelfe: and where it was knowen that he was very valliant in battell with his ſword in his hand againſt the enemie, he ſhewed him ſelfe as cold againe in the vprore againſt his Citizens. For he went out of his houſe vnarmed, and fled when he ſaw them fight: being more circumſpect not to doe hurt, then not to ſuffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearefull to offend any man. For they were driuen, either to yeeld to them that followed them, or els if they ſtayed, to ſtande to their de-
F fence, bicauſe they might keepe them ſelues from hurt. And where they accuſe *Tiberius* for the faults he committed, the greateſt that euer he did, was when he depoſed *Octauius* his colleague from the Tribuneſhip, and that he him ſelfe made ſute for the ſecond. And as for *Caius*, they falſely accuſed him for the death of *Antyllius* the Sergeaunt, who in deede was ſlayne vn-

The Acles of the Gracchi did litle profit Rome.

The ende of the Gracchi vnfortunate.

The deedes of the Gracchi.

The faultes of the Gracchi.

knowen to him, and to his great griefe. Where *Cleomenes* on thother ſide, although we ſhould A forget the murder he committed vpon the Ephores, yet he ſet ſlaues at libertie, and ruled the kingdom in manner him ſelfe alone: but yet for manners ſake onely he ioyned his owne brother with him, which was of the ſelfe ſame houſe. And when he had perſwaded *Archidamus*, (who was next heire to the kingdom of the other royall houſe) to be bold to returne home from MESSENA vnto SPARTA: he ſuffered him to be ſlayne, and bicauſe he did not reuenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that thought he was conſenting to his death. *Lycurgus* on the other ſide, whoſe example he did counterfeate to followe, bicauſe he did willingly reſigne the kingdom vnto his brothers ſonne *Charilaus*, and being afrayd alſo, that if the young child ſhould chaunce to miſcary, they would ſuſpect him for his death: he exiled him ſelfe out of his owne contry a long time, trauelling vp and downe, and returned not to SPARTA againe, B before *Charilaus* had gotten a ſonne to ſucceede him in his kingdom. But we can not ſet another GRÆCIAN by *Lycurgus* comparable vnto him. We haue declared alſo that amongeſt *Cleomenes* deedes, there were many other greater alteracions then theſe, and alſo many other breaches of the lawe. So they that doe condemne the manners of the one and the other, ſay, that the two GRÆCIANS from the beginning had an aſpyring minde to be tyrannes, ſtill practiſing warres. Whereas the two ROMANES onely, euen by their moſt mortall enemies, could be blamed for nothing els, but for an extreame ambition, and did confeſſe that they were too earneſt and vehement aboue their nature, in any ſtrife or contencion they had with their aduerſaries, and that they yelded vnto that choller and paſſion, as vnto ill windes, which brought them to doe thoſe thinges they did in the ende. For what more iuſt or honeſt intent could C they haue had, then the firſt was: had not the riche men (euen through ſtowtnes and authoritie to ouerthrow the lawes) brought them againſt their wills into quarrell: the one to ſaue his life, the other to reuenge his brothers death, who was ſlayne without order, iuſtice, or the authoritie of any officer? Thus thou maieſt thy ſelfe ſee the difference, that was betwene the GRÆCIANS and ROMANES: and nowe to tell you plainly my opinion of both, I think that *Tiberius* was the ſtowteſt of the foure, that the younge king *Agis* offended leaſt, and that for boldnes and corage, *Caius* came nothing neare vnto *Cleomenes*.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Demoſthenes.

A HE that made the litle booke of the praiſe of *Alcibiades*, touching the victorie he wanne at the horſe raſe of the Olympian games, (were it the Poet *Euripides* as ſome thinke, or any other) my friende *Soſius*: ſayde, that to make a man happy, he muſt of neceſſitie be borne in ſome famous citie. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, douteles, true happines chiefly conſiſteth in the vertue and qualities of the minde, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or in a famous citie: no more then it is for one to be borne of a fayer or fowle mother. For it were a madnes to thinke that the litle village of

True happines conſiſteth in the minde and manners of man, not in any place or contry.

IVLIDE, being the leaſt part of the Ile of CEO (the whole Iland of it ſelfe being but a ſmall
B thing) and that the Ile of ÆGINA (which is of ſo ſmal a length, that a certaine ATHENIAN on a time made a motion it might be taken away, bicauſe it was but as a ſtrawe in the ſight of the hauen of Piræa) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comediants: and not breede an honeſt, iuſt, and wiſe man, and of noble corage. For, as we haue reaſon to thinke that artes and ſciences which were firſt deuiſed and inuented to make ſome thinges neceſſary for mens vſe, or otherwiſe to winne fame and credit, are drowned, and caſt away in litle poore villages: So are we to iudge alſo, that vertue, like a ſtrong and frutefull plant, can take roote, and bringe forth in euery place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle perſon, that can patiently away with paines. And therefore if we chaunce to offend, and liue not as we ſhould: we can not accuſe the meanenes of our contry where we were borne, but we muſt iuſtly accuſe our
C ſelues. Surely he that hath taken vpon him to put forth any worke, or to write any hiſtorie, into the which he is to thruſt many ſtraunge things vnknowen to his contry, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, but diſperſed abroad in diuers places, and are to be gathered out of diuers bookes and authorities: firſt of all, he muſt needes remaine in ſome great and famous citie throughly inhabited, where men doe delight in good and vertuous thinges, bicauſe there are commonly plenty of all ſortes of bookes: and that peruſing them, and hearing talke alſo of many things beſides, which other Hiſtoriographers peraduenture haue not written of, and which will cary ſo much more credit, bicauſe men that are aliue may preſently ſpeake of them as of their owne knowledge, whereby he may make his worke perfect in euery poynt, hauing many and diuers neceſſary things conteyned in it. But I my ſelfe that dwell in a poore litle

Expedient for an Hiſtoriographer to be in a famous citie.

Plutarkes cõtry very litle.

towne, and yet doe remayne there willingly leaſt it ſhould become leſſe: whileſt I was in ITALY, and at ROME, I had no leyſure to ſtudy and exerciſe the Latine tongue, aſwell for the great buſines I had then to doe, as alſo to ſatisfie them that came to learne Philoſophie of me: ſo that euen ſomewhat too late, and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latine bookes in my hand. And thereby, a ſtraunge thing to tell you, but yet true: I learned not, nor vnderſtood matters ſo much by the words, as I came to vnderſtand the words, by common experience & knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to knowe howe to pronownce the Latin tongue well, or to ſpeake it readily, or to vnderſtand the ſignification, tranſlations, and fine ioyning of the ſimple words one with another, which doe bewtifie & ſet forth the tongue: ſurely I iudge it to be a maruailous pleaſant and ſweete thing, but withall it requireth a long and laborſome ſtudy, meete for thoſe that haue better leyſure then I haue, & that haue young yeares on their backes to follow ſuch pleaſure. Therefore, in this preſent booke, which is the fift of this work, where I haue taken vpon me to compare the liues of noble men one with another: vndertaking to write the liues of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, we will conſider and examine their nature, manners and condicions, by their acts and deedes in the gouernment of the common wealth, not meaning otherwiſe to conferre their workes and writings of eloquence, nether to define which of them two was ſharper or ſweeter in his oration. For, as the Poet *Ion* ſayth,

In this behalfe a man may rightly ſay,
The Dolphynes in their proper ſoyle doe play.

Demoſthenes cõpared with Cicero.

The which *Cæcilius* litle vnderſtanding, being a man very raſhe in all his doings, hath vnaduiſedly written and ſet forth in print, a compariſon of *Demoſthenes* eloquence, with *Ciceroes*. But if it were an eaſie matter for euery man tõ know him ſelfe, then the goddes needed haue giuen vs no commaundement, nether could men haue ſaid that it came from heauen. But for my opiniõ, me thinks fortune euen from the beginning hath framed in maner one ſelf mowld of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, and hath in their natures facioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of them to be ambitious, both of them to loue the libertie of their contry, and both of them very feareful in any daunger of warres. And likewiſe their fortunes ſeeme to me, to be both much alike. For it is harde to finde two Orators againe, that being ſo meanely borne as they, haue comen to be of ſo great power and authoritie as they two, nor that haue deſerued the ill will of kings & noble men ſo mueh as they haue done, nor that haue loſt their Daughters, nor that haue bene baniſhed their contries, & that haue bene reſtored againe with honor, and that againe haue fled, and haue bene taken againe, nor that haue ended their liues with the libertie of their cõtry. So that it is hard to be iudged, whether nature haue made them liker in manners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning workemaiſters ſtriued one with the other, to whome they ſhould make them beſt reſemble. But firſt of all we muſt write of the elder of them two.

The parentage of Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes the father of this Orator *Demoſthenes*, was as *Theopompus* writeth, one of the chiefe men of the citie, and they called him *Machæropœus*, to wete, a maker of ſworde blades, bicauſe he had a great ſhoppe where he kept a number of ſlaues to forge them. But touching *AEſchynes*, the Orators report of his mother, who ſaid that ſhe was the Daughter of one *Gelon* (that fled from ATHENS beeing accuſed of treaſon) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to ſay whether it be true, or deuiſed of malice to doe him deſpite. Howſoeuer it was, it is true that his father died, leauing him ſeuen yeare olde, and left him reaſonable wel: for his goods came to litle leſſe then the value of fifteene talents. Howbeit his gardians did him great wronge: for they ſtale a great parte of his goods them ſelues, and did let the reſt runne to naught, as hauing litle care of it, for they would not pay his ſchoolemaiſters their wages. And this was the cauſe that he did not learne the liberall ſciences which are vſually taught vnto honeſt mens ſonnes: and to further that want alſo, he was but a weakling, & very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him goe to ſchoole, nether his maſters alſo durſt keepe him too hard to it, bicauſe he was but a ſickly childe at the firſt, and very weake. And it is reported alſo, that the ſurname of *Battalus* was giuen him in mockery by other ſchooleboyes his companions, bicauſe of his weaknes of bodye. This *Battalus* (as diuers men doe report) was an effeminate player on the flute, againſt whom the Poet *Antiphanes* to

The patrimony left Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes why he was called Battalus.

mocke

A mocke him, deuiſed a litle play. Others alſo doe write of one *Battalus*, a diſſolute Orator, and that wrote laſciuious verſes: and it ſeemeth that the ATHENIANS at that time did call a certaine part of mans body vncomely to be named, *Battalus*. Now for *Argas* (which ſurname men ſay was alſo giuen him) he was ſo called, either for his rude and beaſtly maners, (bicauſe ſome Poets doe call a ſnake *Argas*) or els for his maner of ſpeech, which was very vnpleaſant to the eare: for *Argas* is the name of a Poet, that made alwayes bawdy & ill fauored ſongs. But hereof enough as *Plato* ſaid. Furthermore, the occaſion (as it is reported) that moued him to giue him ſelfe to eloquence, was this. *Caliſtratus* the Orator was to defend the cauſe of one *Oropus* before the Iudges, and euery man longed greatly for this daye of pleading, both for the excellencie of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accuſati-
B on, which was manifeſtly knowen to all. *Demoſthenes* hearing his ſchoolemaſters agree together to goe to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his ſchoolemaſter to be ſo good, as to let him goe with him. His Maiſter graunted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hal dore where this matter was to be pleaded, he ſo intreated them, that they placed his ſcholler in a very good place, where being ſet at his eaſe, he might both ſee and heare all that was done, and no man could ſee him. Thereuppon, when *Demoſthenes* had heard the caſe pleaded, he was greatly in loue with the honor which the Orator had gotten, when he ſawe howe he was wayted vpon home with ſuch a trayne of people after him: but yet he wondred more at the force of his great eloquence, that could ſo turne and conuey all thinges at his pleaſure. Thereuppon he left the ſtudie of all other ſciences, and all other exercites of witte and bodye,
C which other children are brought vp in: and beganne to labor continually, and to frame him ſelfe to make orations, with intent one day to be an Orator amonge the reſt. His Maiſter that taught him Rethoricke was *Iſæus*, notwithſtanding that *Iſocrates* alſo kept a ſchoole of Rethoricke at that time: either bicauſe that beeing an orphane he was not able to paye the wages that *Iſocrates* demaunded of his ſchollers, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he founde *Iſæus* manner of ſpeeche more propper for the vſe of the eloquence he deſired, bicauſe it was more finer, & ſutler. Yet *Hermippus* writeth notwithſtanding, that he had red certayne bookes, hauing no name of any author, which declared that *Demoſthenes* had bene *Platoes* ſcholler, and that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writeth alſo of one *Cteſibius*, who reporteth that *Demoſthenes* had ſecretly redde *Iſocrates* workes of Re-
D thoricke, and alſo *Alcidamus* bookes, by meanes of one *Callias* SYRACVSAN, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardeſhippe, he beganne to put his gardians in ſute, and to write orations and pleas againſt them: who in contrary manner did euer vſe delayes and excuſes, to ſaue them ſelues from giuing vp any accompt vnto him, of his goods and patrimony left him. And thus, following this exerciſe (as *Thucydides* writeth) it proſpered ſo well with him, that in the ende he obtayned it, but not without great paynes and daunger: and yet with all that he could doe, he could not recouer all that his father left him, by a good deale. So hauing now gotten ſome boldnes, and being vſed alſo to ſpeake in open preſence, and withall, hauing a feeling and delight of the eſtimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward him ſelfe, and to practiſe in matters of ſtate. For, as there
E goeth a tale of one *Laomedon* an ORCHOMENIAN, who hauing a grieuous paine in the ſplene, by aduiſe of the Phiſitions was willed to runne long courſes to helpe him: and that following their order, he became in the end ſo luſty & nymble of body, that afterwards he would needes make one to ronne for games, & in deede grew to be the ſwifteſt runner of all men in his time. Euen ſo the like chaunced vnto *Demoſthenes*. For at the firſt, beginning to practiſe oratorie for recouerie of his goods, and thereby hauing gotten good skill and knowledge how to pleade: he afterwards tooke apon him to ſpeake to the people in aſſemblies, touching the gouernment of the common wealth, euen as if he ſhould haue contended for ſome game of price, & at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got vp into the pulpit for orations: notwithſtanding that when he firſt ventred to ſpeake openly, the people made ſuch a noyſe, that
F he could ſcant be heard, and beſides they mocked him for his manner of ſpeeche that was ſo ſtraunge, bicauſe he vſed ſo many long confuſed peryods, and his matter he ſpake of was ſo intricate with arguments one apon another, that they were tedious, and made men weary to

Demoſthenes, why ſurnamed Argas.

Caliſtratus the Orator.

The earneſt deſire of Demoſthenes to learne eloquence.

Iſæus, Demoſthenes ſchole maſter of Rethorike.

Demoſthenes firſt practiſe in drawing & penning of orations.

A remedie for the paine of the ſplene.

Demoſthenes mocked of the people for his long orations.

Demosthenes impediments of nature.

heare him. And furthermore, he had a very soft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well vnderstand what he ment, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the ende of his sentence. So that at length, perceiuing he was thus reiected, he gaue ouer to speake any more before the people, and halfe in dispaire withdrew him selfe into the hauen of Piræa. There *Eunomus* the THESSALIAN beeing a very olde man, founde him, and sharpely reproued him, and told him that he did him selfe great wronge, considering, that hauing a manner of speeche much like vnto *Pericles*, he drowned him selfe by his fayntharte, bicause he did not seeke the way to be bolde against the noyse of the common people, and to arme his body to away with the paines and burden of publike orations, but suffering it to growe feebler, for lacke of vse and practise. Furthermore, being once againe repulsed and whistled at, as he returned home, hanging downe his heade for shame, and vtterly discouraged: *Satyrus* an excellent player of comedies, being his familliar friende, followed him, and went and spake with him. *Demosthenes* made his complaynt vnto him, that where he had taken more paynes then all the Orators besides, and had almost euen worne him selfe to the bones with studie, yet he coulde by no meanes deuise to please the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bybbe all day long, and Maryners that vnderstoode nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations: and on thother side that they made no accompt of him. *Satyrus* then aunswered him, thou sayest true *Demosthenes*, but care not for this, I will helpe it straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without booke certaine verses of *Euripides*, or of *Sophocles*. Thereuppon *Demosthenes* presently rehearsed some vnto him, that came into his minde. *Satyrus* repeating them after him, gaue them quite another grace, with such a pronunciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becomming the verses, that *Demosthenes* thought them cleane chaunged. Whereby perceiuing how much the action (to wete, the comely manner and gesture in his oration) doth giue grace and comlines in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almost nothing to speake of, to exercise to pleade well, vnles therewithall he doe also study to haue a good pronunciation and gesture.

Demosthenes celler.

Thereuppon he built him a celler vnder the ground, the which was whole euen in my time, & he would daily goe downe into it, to facion his gesture and pronunciation, and also to exercise his voice, and that with such earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three monethes one after an other, and did shaue his heade of purpose, bicause he durst not goe abroade in that sorte, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to declame apon, and to practise to pleade of the matters he had had in hande before, or els vpon occasion of such talke as he had with them that came to see him, while he kept his house. For they were no sooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, and repeated from the first to the last all matters that had passed betwene him and his friendes in talke together, and alleaged also both his owne and their aunswers. And if peraduenture he had bene at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeate it by him selfe: and would finely cowche and conuey it into propper sentences, and thus chaunge and alter euery way any matter that he had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quicke capacitie by nature, and that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten with extreame labor. And for proofe hereof, they make this probable reason, That they neuer sawe *Demosthenes* make any oration on the suddein, and that oftentymes when he was sette in the assemblie, the people would call him by his name, to say his opinion touching the matter of counsell then in hand: Howbeit that he neuer rose vpon their call, vnles he had first studied the matter well he would speake of. So that all the other Orators would many times giue him a tawnte for it: as *Pytheas* among other, that tawnting him on a tyme, tolde him, his reasons smelled of the lampe. Yea, replyed *Demosthenes* sharply againe: so is there great difference, *Pytheas*, betwixt thy labor and myne by lampelight. And him selfe also speaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not alwaies write at length all that he would speake, nether did he also offer to speake, before he had made briefes of that he would speake. He sayd furthermore, that it was a token the man loued the people well, that he would be carefull before what he would say to them. For this prepratiue (q he) doth shewe that he

Demosthenes seldom pleaded on the suddein.

Demosthenes in his oration studieth to please the people.

doth

A doth honor and reuerence them. In contrary manner alſo, he that paſſeth not how the people take his words, it is a plaine token that he deſpiſeth their authoritie, & that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to vſe force againſt them, rather then reaſon and perſwaſion. But yet further to enlarge the proofes, that *Demoſthenes* had no hart to make any oration on the ſuddein, they doe alleage this reaſon: that *Demades* many times roſe vpon the ſodaine to mainteyne *Demoſthenes* reaſons, when the people otherwhile did reiect him: and that *Demoſthenes* on thother ſide did neuer riſe to make *Demades* words good, which he had ſpoken in his behalfe. But now might a man aske againe: if *Demoſthenes* was ſo timerous to ſpeake before the people vpon the ſodaine: what ment *AEſchines* then to ſay, that he was maruelous bold in his words. And how chanceth it, that he riſing vpon the ſodaine, did preſently aunſwer the Orator *Python* BIZANTINE in the field, that was very luſty in ſpeech, (& rough like a vehement running ſtreame) againſt the ATHENIANS. And how chanced it that *Lamachus* MYRRINÆIAN, hauing made an oration in the praiſe of *Philip* and *Alexander*, kings of MACEDON, in the which he ſpake all the ill he could of the THEBANS, and of the OLYNTHIANS, and when he had red and pronounced it in the open aſſembly of the Olympian games: *Demoſthenes* apon the inſtant riſing vp on his feete, declared, as if he had red ſome hiſtorie, & poynted as it were with his finger vnto all the whole aſſembly, the notable great ſeruice & worthy deedes the which the CHALCIDIANS had done in former times, for the benefit and honor of GRÆCE. And in contrary maner alſo, what miſchief & inconuenience came by meanes of the flatterers, that altogether gaue them ſelues to curry fauor with the MACEDONIANS? With theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions, *Demoſthenes* made ſuch ſturre amongeſt the people, that the Orator *Lamachus* being affraid of the ſodaine vprore, did ſecretly conuey him ſelfe out of the aſſembly. But yet to tell you what I thinke, *Demoſthenes* in my opinion facioning him ſelfe euen from the beginning, to followe *Pericles* ſteppes and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not ſo requiſite for him, and that he would counterfeate his grauitie and ſober countenance, and to be wiſe, not to ſpeake ouer lightly to euery matter at all aduentures: Iudging, that by that manner of wiſedom he came to be great. And like as he would not let ſlippe any good occaſion to ſpeake, where it might be for his credit: ſo would he not likewiſe ouer raſhely hazard his credit and reputacion to the mercy of fortune. And to proue this true, the orations which he made vpon the ſodaine without premeditacion before, doe ſhewe more boldnes and courage, then those which he had written, and ſtudied long before: if we may beleeue the reports of *Eratoſthenes*, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, and of the other comicall Poets. For *Eratoſthenes* ſayd, that he would be often caried away with choller and furie. *Demetrius* alſo ſayth, that ſpeaking one daye to the people, he ſware a great othe in ryme, as if he had bene poſſeſſed with ſome diuine ſpirit, and ſayd,

By ſea and land, by riuers, ſpringes, and Ponds.

Demoſthenes terrified Lamachus in his oration.

There are alſo certaine comicall Poets that doe call him *Ropoperperethra*, as who would ſay, a great babbler that ſpeaketh all thinges that commeth to his tongues ende. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rethoricke called, Antitheton: which is, oppoſicion, with ſaying, *Sic recepit ſicut cepit*, (which ſignifieth, he tooke it as he found it.) In the vſe of this figure *Demoſthenes* much pleaſed him ſelfe, vnles the poet *Antiphanes* ſpeaketh it of pleaſure, deriding the coũſel he gaue the people, not to take the Ile of HALONESVS of king *Philip*, as of gift: but to receiue it as their owne reſtored. And yet euery body did graunt, that *Demades* of his owne naturall wit, without arte, was inuincible: and that many times ſpeaking vpon the ſodaine, he did vtterly ouerthrow *Demoſthenes* long ſtudied reaſons. And *Ariſto*, of the Ile of CHIO, hath written *Theophraſtus* iudgement of the Orators of that time. Who being asked what maner of Orator he thought *Demoſthenes*: he aũſwered, worthy of this citie. Then again, how he thought of *Demades*: aboue this citie, ſaid he. The ſame Philoſopher writeth alſo, that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN, (one of thoſe that practiſed at that time in the common wealth) gaue this ſentence: that *Demoſthenes* in deede was a great Orator, but *Phocions* tongue had a ſharper vnderſtanding, bicauſe in fewe wordes, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpoſe, they ſay that *Demoſthenes* him ſelfe ſaid alſo, that as oft as he ſaw *Phocion* get vp into the pulpit for orations to ſpeake againſt him, he was wont to ſay to his friends: ſee, the axe of my words

Ουτωσ ἀντίλαβεν ὡσπερ ἔλαβεν. Μέλαμβάντην ἀλλὰ ἀπολαμβάντην παρὰ φίλιππου.

The naturall eloquence of Demades the Orator.

Theophraſtus iudgement of Orators.

Phocion called the axe of Demoſthenes orations.

Demosthenes impediments of nature.

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also a short breath, the which made that men could not well vnderstand what he ment, for his
long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the ende of his sen-
tence. So that at length, perceiuing he was thus reiected, he gaue ouer to speake any more be-
fore the people, and halfe in dispaire withdrew him selfe into the hauen of Piræa. There *Eu-*
nomus the THESSALIAN beeing a very olde man, founde him, and sharpely reproued him, and
told him that he did him selfe great wronge, considering, that hauing a manner of speeche
much like vnto *Pericles*, he drowned him selfe by his faynt harte, bicause he did not seeke the
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nes made his complaynt vnto him, that where he had taken more paynes then all the Orators
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Demosthenes celler.

Thereuppon he built him a celler vnder the ground, the which was whole euen in my time, &
he would daily goe downe into it, to facion his gesture and pronunciation, and also to exercise
his voice, and that with such earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three
monethes one after an other, and did shaue his heade of purpose, bicause he durst not goe a- D
broade in that sorte, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to
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Demoſthenes terrified Lamachus in his oration.

Ουτως ἀντίθετος ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ ὁποῖος ἐλάβετο. Μέλαμβάδιστε ἀλλὰ σπόλαμβάδιστε παρὰ φίλιππου.

The naturall eloquence of Demades the Orator.

Theophraſtus iudgement of Orators.

Phocion called the axe of Demoſthenes orations.

riſeth. And yet it is hard to iudge, whether he ſpake that in reſpect of his tongue, or rather for the eſtimacion he had gotten, bicauſe of his great wiſedome: thinking (as in deede it is true) that one word only, the twinckling of an eye, or a nod of his head of ſuch a man (that through his worthines is attained to that credit) hath more force to perſwade, then all the fine reaſons & deuiſes of Rethoricke. But now for his bodily defects of nature, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN writeth, that he heard *Demoſthenes* him ſelfe ſay, being very olde, that he did helpe them by theſe meanes. Firſt, touching the ſtammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that he could not pronounce all ſyllables diſtinctly: he did helpe it by putting of litle pybble ſtones into his mouth, which he found vpon the ſands by the riuers ſide, & ſo pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his ſmal and ſoft voice, he made that lowder, by running vp ſteepe and high hills, vttering euen with full breath ſome orations or verſes that he had without booke. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking glaſſe in his houſe, and euer ſtanding on his feete before it, he would learne and exerciſe him ſelfe to pronounce his orations. For proofe hereof it is reported, that there came a man vnto him on a time, and prayed his helpe to defend his cauſe, and tolde him that one had beaten him: and that *Demoſthenes* ſayd agayne vnto him, I doe not beleeue this is true thou telleſt me, for ſurely the other did neuer beate thee. The playntif then thruſting out his voyce alowde, ſayde: what, hath he not beaten me? yes, in deede, q. *Demoſthenes* then: I beleeue it now, for I heare the voyce of a man that was beaten in deede. Thus he thought, that the ſound of the voyce, the pronunciation or geſture in one ſort or other, were thinges of force to beleeue or diſcredit that a man ſayth. His countenaunce when he pleaded before the people, did maruailouſly pleaſe the common ſorte: but the noble men, and men of vnderſtanding, found it too baſe and meane, as *Demetrius Phalerius* ſayde, amonge others. And *Hermippus* writeth, that one called *AEſion*, beeing asked of the auncient Orators, and of thoſe of his tyme, aunſwered: that euery man that had ſeene them, would haue wondred with what honor, reuerence, and modeſtie, they ſpake vnto the people: howbeit that *Demoſthenes* orations (whoſoeuer red them) were too artificiall and vehement. And therefore we may eaſily iudge, that the orations *Demoſthenes* wrote are very ſeuere and ſharpe. This notwithſtanding, otherwhile he would giue many pleaſant and witty aunſwers apon the ſodain. As when *Demades* one day ſayd vnto him, *Demoſthenes* will teach me: after the common prouerbe, the ſowe will teach *Minerua*. He aunſwered ſtraight againe: This *Minerua* not long ſince, was in Collytus ſtreete, taken in adulterie. A certein theefe alſo called *Chalcus* (as much to ſay, as of copper) ſtepping forth to ſaye ſomewhat of *Demoſthenes* late ſitting vp a nights, and that he wrote and ſtudied the moſt part of the night by lampe light: in deede, q. *Demoſthenes*, I know it grieues thee to ſee my lampe burne all night. And therefore, you, my Lords of ATHENS, me thinkes you ſhould not wonder to ſee ſuch robberies in your citie, conſidering we haue theeues of copper, and the walles of our houſes be but of claye. We could tell you of diuers others of his like wittie and pleaſant aunſwers, but theſe may ſuffice for this preſent: and therefore we will proceede to conſider further of his nature and conditions, by his actes and deedes in the affaires of the common wealth. Now *Demoſthenes* firſt beginning when he came to deale in the affaires of the ſtate, was in the time of the warre made with the PHOCIANS, as him ſelfe reporteth: and as appeareth further in his orations which he made againſt *Philip*: of the which, the laſt were made after the warre was ended, & the firſt doe touch alſo ſome particuler doings of the ſame. He made the oration againſt *Midias*, when he was but 32. yeare old, and was of ſmall countenance & reputacion in the common wealth: the want whereof was the chiefeſt cauſe (as I thinke) that induced him to take money for the iniury he had done him, & to let his action fall againſt him.

Demoſthenes by induſtry reformeth his defects of nature.

Demoſthenes countenance and geſture miſliked of the nobilitie.

Demoſthenes witty anſwers.

The time of Demoſthenes comming to practiſe in the affayres of the ſtate.

Diſpleaſure betwixt Demoſthenes and Midias.

He vvas not of a meeld and gentle mind,
But feerce and haſtie to reuenge by kind.

But, knowing that it was no ſmall enterpriſe, nor that could take effect by a man of ſo ſmall power & authoritie as him ſelfe, to ouerthrow a man ſo wealthy, ſo befriended, & ſo eloquent as *Midias*: he therfore yelded him ſelfe vnto thoſe, that did ſpeake & intreate for him. Nether do I think that the three thowſand Drachmas which he receiued, could haue brideled the bitternes of his nature, if otherwiſe he had ſeene any hope or likelihood that he could haue prevailed

A uailed against him. Now at his first cõming vnto the common wealth, taking a noble matter in hãd to speak against *Philip*, for the defence & maintenãce of the lawes & liberties of the GRÆCIANS, wherein he handled him selfso worthely: that in short space he wanne him maruelous fame for his great eloquence and plaine manner of speech. Thereby he was maruelously honored also through all GRÆCE, and greatly esteemed with the king of PERSIA: and *Philip* him selfmade more accompt of him, then of all the Orators in ATHENS, & his greatest foes which were most against him, were driuen to confesse that they had to doe with a famous man. For, in the orations which *AEschines* & *Hyperides* made to accuse him, they write thus of him. And therefore I maruell what *Theopompus* ment, when he wrote that *Demosthenes* had a suttell, vnconstant mind, & could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters
B of state. For in contrary maner, in my iudgement, he continued constant still to the end, in one selse maner & order, vnto the which he had betaken him self at the beginning: & that not only he neuer chaunged all his life time, but to the contrary he lost his life, bicause he would be no chaungeling. For he did not like *Demades*, who to excuse him self for that he had oft turned coate in matters of gouernment, said, that he went oftentimes against his own sayings, as matters sel out: but neuer against the benefit of the common wealth. And *Melanopus* also, who was euer against *Callistratus*, hauing his mouth stopped many times with money, he would vp to the pulpit for orations, & tel the people, that in deede *Callistratus*, which maintaineth the contrary opinion against me, is mine enemy, & yet I yeld vnto him for this time: for, the benefit of the common wealth must cary it. And another also, *Nicodemus* MESSENIAN, who being first of
C *Cassanders* side, toke part afterwards with *Demetrius*, & then said, that he did not speake against him selfe, but that it was meete he should obey his superiors. They can not detect *Demosthenes* with the like, that he did euer halt or yeld, either in word or deed: For he euer continued firme and constant in one mind in his orations. Insomuch that *Panætius* the Philosopher sayth, that the most part of all his orations are grounded vpon this *maxime* and principle: that for it selfe, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the oration of the crowne, the which he made against *Aristocrates*: that also which he made for the franches and freedom: and in fine, all his orations against *Philip* of MACEDON. And in all those he doth not perswade his contry men to take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he proueth that oftentimes honestie is to be preferred aboue safetie or health. So that, had he in
D all his orations and doings, ioyned to his honestie, curtesie, and francke speeche, valliantnes in warres, and cleane hands from briberye: he might deseruedly haue bene compared, not with *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus*, *Hyperides* and such other Orators: but euen with the highest, with *Cimon*, *Thucydides*, and *Pericles*. For *Phocion*, who tooke the worst way in gouernment of the common wealth, bicause he was suspected that he tooke part with the MACEDONIANS: yet for valliantnes, wisedom and iustice, he was euer thought as honest a man, as *Ephialtes*, and *Aristides*. But *Demosthenes* on thother side (as *Demetrius* sayth) was no man to trust to for warres, nether had he any power to refuse gifts and bribes. For, though he would neuer be corrupted with *Philip* king of MACEDON, yet he was bribed with gold and siluer that was brought from the cities of SVSA & ECBATANA, & was very ready to praise & commend the deedes of their auncestors,
E but not to follow them. Truely, yet was he the honestest man of all other Orators in his time, excepting *Phocion*. And besides, he did euer speake more boldely and plainely to the people then any man els, and would openly contrary their mindes, and sharpely reproue the ATHENIANS for their faultes, as appeareth by his orations. *Theopompus* also writeth, that the people on a time would haue had him to accuse a man, whome they would needes haue condemned. But he refusing to doe it, the people were offended, and did mutine against him. Thereuppon he rising vp, sayd openly vnto them: my Lordes ATHENIANS, I will alwayes counsell ye to that which I thinke best for the benefit of the common wealth, although it be against your mindes: but falsely to accuse one, to satisfie your minds, though you commaund me, I wil not
F do it. Furthermore, that which he did against *Antiphon*, sheweth plainly, that he was no people pleaser, and that he did leane more vnto the authoritie of the Senate. For when *Antiphon* was quit by the people in an assemblie of the citie: *Demosthenes* notwithstanding tooke him, & called him againe into the Court of the Areopagites, ahd did not passe vpon the peoples ill will,

Demosthenes, an enemy to the Macedonians.

The constancy of Demosthenes defended against Theopompus.

Note the inconstancy and suttell euasion of these Orators.

Demosthenes preferreth honestie, as a speciall rule in his orations.

Demosthenes, a timerous man, and giuen to bribes.

Demosthenes franke speech in his orations

but there conuinced him for promising *Philip* of MACEDON to burne the arsenall of ATHENS: so by sentence of that court he was condemned,& suffred for it. He did also accuse the Nunne *Theorides* for many lewd parts committed,& amongst others, for that she taught slaues to deceiue their maisters: & so following the matter against her to death, she was condemned, and executed. It is thought also, that he made the oration *Apollodorus* spake against the Prætor *Timotheus*, & proued thereby that he was a detter to the common wealth,& so a naughty man: & that he wrote those orations also intituled vnto *Formio* and *Stephanus*, for the which he was iustly reproued. For *Formio* pleaded against *Apollodorus* with the oration which *Demosthenes* selfe had made for him: which was euen alike, as if out of one selfe cutlers shoppe, he had solde his enemies swords one to kil another. And for his knowen orations, those which he made against *Androtion*, *Timocrates*, and *Aristocrates*: he caused them to giue them vnto others, when he had not yet delt in matters of state. For in deede when he did put them forth, he was not passing seuen or eight and twenty yeare olde. The oration which he made against *Aristogiton*, and the other also of libertie, against *Ctesippus* the sonne of *Cabrias*, he spake them, as he saith him selfe, (or as others write) openly vnto the people, bicause he intended to mary *Chabrias* mother. Howbeit he did not, but maried a SAMIAN womā, as *Demetrius Magnesius* writeth in his booke he made intituled Synonyma, and in that he wrote against *AEschines*: where he accuseth him that he delt falsely when he was Ambassador. It is not knowen whether it was euer recited or not, although *Idomeneus* writeth, that there lacked but thirtye voices onely to haue quit *AEschines*. But in this me thinkes he spake not truely, and doth but coniecture it, by that the one & the other haue sayd in their orations against the crowne, in the which, nether the one nor the other doe say precisely, that this accusation proceeded to iudgement. But let other that lyst decide this doubt. Now before the warre beganne, it was euident enough, to which parte *Demosthenes* would incline in the common wealth: For, he would neuer leaue to reproue and withstand *Philippes* doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in *Philippes* Court, then any man els, he was sent vnto him the tenth person with nyne others in ambassade. *Philippe* gaue them all audience one after an other: howbeit he was more carefull and circumspect to aunswer *Demosthenes* oration, then all the rest. But otherwise out of that place, he did not *Demosthenes* so much honor, nor gaue him so good entertainment, as to his other companions. For *Philip* shewed more kindnes, and gaue better countenance vnto *Æschines*, and *Philocrates*, then vnto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise *Philip*, and sayd that he was a well spoken Prince, a fayer man, and would drinke freely, and be pleasant in company: *Demosthenes* smyled at it, and turned all those thinges to the worst, saying, that those qualities were nothing commendable nor meete for a king. For, the first was a qualitie meete for a pleader, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge. In fine, warres falling out betwene them, bicause *Philip* of the one side could not liue in peace,& the ATHENIANS on the other side were stil incensed & stirred vp by *Demosthenes* daily orations. Whereupon, the ATHENIANS first sent into the Ile of EVBOEA, (the which by meanes of certaine priuate tyrannes that had taken the townes, became subiect againe vnto *Philip*) following a decree *Demosthenes* had preferred,& so went to expulse the MACEDONIANS againe. After that also he caused them to send ayde vnto the BIZANTINES,& vnto the PERINTHIANS, with whom *Philip* made warre. For he so perswaded the ATHENIANS, that he made them forget the malice they did beare vnto those two nations, & the faults which either of both the cities had committed against them in the warres, touching the rebellion of their confederats: & he caused them to send them ayde, which kept them frō *Philips* force & power. Furthermore, going afterwards vnto all the great cities of GRÆCE as Ambassador, he did so solicite & perswade them, that he brought them all in manner to be against *Philip*. So that the army which their tribe should find at their common charge, was fifteene thowsand footemen, all straungers, and two thowsand horsemen, besides the Citizens of euery citie which should also serue in the warres at their charge: and the money leauied for the maintenance of this warre, was very willingly disbursed. *Theophrastus* writeth, that it was at that tyme their confederats did pray that they would set downe a certaine summe of money, what euery citie shoulde paye: and that *Crobylus* an Orator shoulde make aunswer, that the warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of warre was infinite

Demosthenes orations which were true and which false.

Demosthenes doings against Philip.

Demosthenes stirreth vp Græce against the Macedonians.

infinite. Now all GRÆCE being in armes, attending what ſhould happen, and all theſe people and cities being vnite in one league together: as, the EVBOEIANS, the ATHENIANS, the CORINTHIANS, the MEGARIANS, the LEVCADIANS, and the CORCYRIÆIANS: the greateſt matter *Demoſthenes* had to do, was to perſwade the THEBANS alſo to enter into this league, becauſe their contry confined and bordered with ATTICA, beſides, their force and power was of great importance, for that they caried the fame of all GRÆCE at that time, for the valliantest ſouldiers. But it was no trifling matter to winne the THEBANS, and to make them breake with *Philip*, who but lately before had bound them vnto him by many great pleaſures which he had done to them, in the warre of the PHOCIANS: beſides alſo that betwixt ATHENS & THEBES, by reaſon of vicinitie, there fell out daily quarells and debates, the which with euery litle thing were ſoone renued. This notwithſtanding, *Philippe* being prowde of the victorie he had wonne by the citie of AMPHISSE, when he came and inuaded the contry of ELATIA, and was entred into PHOCIDE: the ATHENIANS were then ſo amaſed with it, that no man durſt occupie the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole aſſemblie ſtanding in a doubt with great ſilence, *Demoſthenes* onely ſtept vp, and did agayne giue them counſell to ſeeke to make league and alliance with the THEBANS: and ſo did further encourage the people, and put them in good hope, as he was alwayes wont to doe. Then with others he was ſent Ambaſſador vnto THEBES: and *Philippe* alſo for his parte, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the THEBANS, *Amyntas* and *Clearchus*, two gentlemen MACEDONIANS, and with them, *Daochus*, *Theſſalus*, and *Thraſydæus*, to aunſwer and withſtande the perſwaſions of the ATHENIAN Ambaſſadors. Thereuppon the THEBANS beganne to aduiſe them ſelues for the beſt, and layd before their eyes the miſerable frutes and calamities of warre, their woundes being yet greene and vncured, which they gotte by the warres of PHOCIDE. Notwithſtanding, the great force of *Demoſthenes* eloquence (as *Theopompus* writeth) did ſo inflame the THEBANS courage with deſire of honor, that it trode vnder their feete all manner of conſiderations, and did ſo rauiſhe them with the loue and deſire of honeſtie: that they caſt at their heeles, all feare of daunger, all remembrance of pleaſures receiued, and all reaſon perſwading the contrary. This acte of an Orator was of ſo great force, that *Philippe* forthwith ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the GRÆCIANS, to intreate for peace, and all GRÆCE was vppe, to ſee what would become of this ſturre. Thus, not onely the Captaines of ATHENS obeyed *Demoſthenes*, doing all that he commaunded them: but the gouernors alſo of THEBES, and of all the contry of BOEOTIA beſides. And the aſſemblies alſo of the counſell of THEBES were as well gouerned by him, as the aſſemblies of ATHENS, being alike beloued both of the one and the other, and hauing a like authoritie to commaund both, and not vndeſeruedly, as *Theopompus* ſayth, but by iuſt deſert. But ſome fatall deſtinie, and the reuolucion of times had determined the finall ende of the libertie of GRÆCE at that time, cleane contrary to his purpoſe and intent. There were alſo many celeſtiall ſignes that did foreſhewe and prognoſticate what ende ſhould enſue thereof. And amonge others, *Apolloes* Nunne gaue theſe dreadful oracles: and this olde prophecie of the SIBYLS was commonly ſong in euery bodies mouth.

Demoſthenes force of eloquence ioyned the Thebans with the Athenians, and wanne them from Philippe king of Macedon.

The ouerthrow of the Græcians foreſhewed at Chæronea, by ſignes and auncient oracles.

VVhat time the bludy battell ſhall be fought at Thermodon,
God graunt I may be farre awvay, or els (to looke theron)
Haue Egles vvings to ſore aboue, among the clovvdes on hye.
For there the vanquisht ſide ſhall vveepe, and Conquerer ſhall dye.

Men do report that this Thermodon is a litle riuer of our contry of CHÆRONEA, the which falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus: howbeit at this preſent time there is neuer a riuer nor brook in all our contry, that I know, called Thermodon. And I thinke, that that riuer which we call now Hæmon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the temple of *Hercules*, where the GRÆCIANS lay in campe. And it may be, that bicauſe it was filled with dead bodies, and that it ranne bloud at the day of the battel, it chaunged her name, & was ſurnamed Hæmon, bicauſe Hæma in the Greeke tongue, ſignifieth bloud. Yet *Duris* writeth notwithſtanding, that this Thermodon was no riuer, but that certaine men ſetting vp their tent, and trenching it about, found a litle image of ſtone, whereuppon were engrauen theſe letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called *Thermodon*, who caried an AMAZON hart in his armes, & that for this

The riuer of Thermodon, or Hæmon, in the contry of Chæronea.

Another opinion of Thermodon.

image of *Thermodon*, they doe ſing ſuch another olde oracle as this: A

Ye Ernes and Rauens tary till the field of Thermodon:
There vvill be ſtore of carkeſſes of men to feede vpon.

This notwithſtanding, it is very hard to tell the trothe of theſe things. But *Demoſthenes* truſting to the valliantnes and power of the GRÆCIANS, and being maruelouſly incoraged to ſee ſuch a great number of valliant & reſolute mē, ſo willing to fight with the enemy: he bad them be of good corage, & not to buſſe about ſuch oracles, & to giue eare to thoſe prophecies. And furthermore, he told them plainly, that he did miſtruſt the Nunne *Pythia* did leane vnto *Philip*, as fauoring him, & did put the THEBANS in mind of their Captaine *Epaminondas*, & the ATHENIANS of *Pericles*, & perſwaded them, that thoſe two famous men were alwaies of opinion, that ſuch prophecies were no other, but a fine cloke for cowards, & that taking no heede to them, B they did diſpatch their matters according to their owne diſcretion. Vntil this preſent time, *Demoſthenes* ſhewed him ſelfe alwaies an honeſt man: But when it came to the battel, he fled like a coward, and did no valliant acte any thing aunſwerable to the orations whereby he had perſwaded the people. For he left his ranck, & cowardly caſt away his weapons to ronne the lighter, & was not aſhamed at al, as *Pythias* ſaid, of the words written vpon his ſhield in golden letters, which were, *Good Fortune*. Now *Philip* hauing wonne the battell, he was at that preſent ſo ioyfull, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had droncke well with his friends, he went into the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, & there in mockery began to ſing the beginning of the decree which *Demoſthenes* had preferred, (by the which, the ATHENIANS accordingly proclaimed warres againſt him) riſing and falling with his voyce, and dauncing it in C meaſure with his foote:

Demoſthenes flieth from the battell.

Demoſthenes word and deuiſe vpon his ſhield.

Demoſthenes, the ſonne of Demoſthenes Pæanian did put forth this.

But afterwards beginning to waxe ſober, & leauing his dronckennes, & that he had remēbred him ſelfe what daunger he had bene in: then his heare ſtood bolt vpright vpon his head, conſidering the force & power of ſuch an Orator, that in a peece of a day had inforced him to hazard his Realme & life at a battell. Now *Demoſthenes* fame was ſo great, that it was caried euen to the great king of PERSIAES court, who wrote vnto his Lieuetenants & gouernors, that they ſhould feede *Demoſthenes* with money, & ſhould procure to entertaine him aboue all the men in GRÆCE, as he that could beſt withdraw *Philip*, & trouble him with the warres and tumults of GRÆCE. And this was afterwards proued by letters found of *Demoſthenes* him ſelfe, D the which came to king *Alexanders* hands in the citie of SARDIS, and by other writings alſo of the gouernors & Lieuetenants of the king of PERSIA: in the which were named directly the expreſſe ſommes of money which had bene ſent & giuen vnto him. Now, the GRÆCIANS being thus ouerthrowen by battel, the other Orators, aduerſaries vnto *Demoſthenes* in the common wealth, began to ſet apon him, & to prepare to accuſe him. But the people did not onely cleere him of all the accuſations obiected againſt him, but did continue to honor him more then before, & to call him to aſſemblies, as one that loued the honor and benefit of his contry. So that when the bones of their contry men which were ſlayne at the battell of CHÆRONEA, were brought to be openly buried according to the cuſtom: the people gaue him the honor to make the funeral oration in praiſe of the dead, & made no ſhew of ſorow or griefe for the loſſe E they had receiued: (as *Theopompus* witneſſeth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner ſhewed that they did not repent them in following of his counſel, but did honor him that gaue it. *Demoſthenes* then did make the funerall oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would neuer ſubſcribe any, to preuent the ſiniſter lucke & misfortune of his name, but did paſſe it vnder his friends names one after another, vntill he grew coragious againe, ſhortly after that he vnderſtoode of the death of *Philip*, who was ſlaine immediatly after the victorie he wanne at CHÆRONEA. And it ſeemeth this was the meaning of the prophecie or oracle in the two laſt verſes:

Demoſthenes corrupted with money of the king of Perſia

Demoſthenes praiſeth them that were ſlaine at the battell of Chæronea.

The death of Philip king of Macedon.

The vanquished bevvayles his luckleſſe lot,
And he that vvinnes, vvith life eſcapeth not. F

Now *Demoſthenes* hearing of *Philips* death, before the newes were openly known, to preuēt them, he would put the people again into a good hope of better lucke to come. Thereupon he went

A wēt with a cheerfull coũtenāce into the aſſembly of the coũſel,& told them there,that he had had a certain dreame that promiſed great good hap,& that out of hād vnto the ATHENIANS: & immediatly after,the meſſengers arriued that brought certain newes of king *Philips* death. Thereupon the ATHENIANS made ſacrifices of ioy to the goddes for this happie newes, and appointed a crowne vnto *Pauſanias* that had ſlaine him. *Demoſthenes* alſo came abroade in his beſt gowne, and crowned with flowers, ſeuen dayes after the death of his daughter, as *AEſchines* reporteth: who reproueth him for it, and noteth him to be a man hauing litle loue or charitie vnto his owne children. But in deede *AEſchines* ſelfe deſerueth more blame, to haue ſuch a tender womaniſh hart, as to beleue,that weeping,and lamenting,are ſignes of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with pacience and conſtancie doe paſſe away B ſuch misfortunes. But now to the ATHENIANS againe. I can neither thinke nor ſay that they did wiſely to ſhew ſuch open ſignes of ioy, as to weare crownes & garlands vpon their heads, nor alſo to ſacrifice to the goddes for the death of a Prince,that behaued him ſelfe ſo Princely and curteouſly vnto them in the victories he had won of them. For,though in dede all cruelty be ſubiect to the reuenge of the goddes, yet is this an act of a vile and baſe minde, to honor a man, and while he liued to make him free of their citie, & now that an other hath ſlaine him, they to be in ſuch an exceeding iolitie withall,and to exceede the bondes of modeſtie ſo farre, as to rampe in maner with both their feete vpon the dead, and to ſing ſonges of victorie, as if they them ſelues had bene the men that had valliantly ſlaine him. In contrarie manner alſo, I praiſe and commend the conſtancie and corage of *Demoſthenes*, that he leauing the teares and C lamētacion of his home trouble vnto women,did him ſelfe in the meane time that he thought was for the benefite of the common wealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of corage,and worthy to be a gouernor of a common wealth,neuer to ſtowpe nor yeeld, but alwayes to be found ſtable and conſtant, for the benefit of the common wealth, reiecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in reſpect of the ſeruice of his contrie, and to keepe his honor much more carefully, then common players vſe to doe, when they play the partes of Kings and Princes, whom we ſee neither weepe nor laugh when they liſt, though they be on the ſtage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to geue them iuſt occaſion. But omitting thoſe reaſons, if there be no reaſon (as in deede there is not) to leaue and forſake a man in his ſorow and trouble, without geuing him ſome wordes of comfort, and rather to deuiſe ſome D matter to aſſwage his ſorow,and to withdraw his minde from that,to thinke vpon ſome pleaſaunter thinges: euen as they ſhould keepe ſore eyes from ſeeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them greene & darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles & grieues at home,when the common wealth doth well: then to ioyne their priuate grieues with common ioyes, to the end, that the better may obſcure & take away the worſe? But thus farre I diſgreſſed from my hiſtorie, enlarging this matter, bicauſe *AEſchines* in his Oration touching this matter, did moue the peoples hartes too muche to womaniſh ſorow. But now to the reſt. The cities of GRÆCE being againe ſtirred vp by *Demoſthenes*,made a new league againe together: and the THEBANS alſo hauing armed them ſelues by his practiſe,did one day ſet vpon the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS within their city,and ſlue many of them. E The ATHENIANS prepared alſo to maintaine warre on the THEBANS behalfe and *Demoſthenes* was dayly at all the aſſemblies of counſell, in the pulpit, perſwading the people with his Orations: and he wrote alſo into ASIA vnto the king of PERSIAES Lieutenaunts and Captaines, to make warre with *Alexander* on their ſide, calling him child,and Margites,as muche to ſay, as foole. But after that *Alexander* hauing ſet all his things at ſtay within his realme, came him ſelfe in perſon with his armie, and inuaded the contrie of BOEOTIA: then fell the pride of the ATHENIANS greatly, & *Demoſthenes* alſo plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length, the poore THEBANS being left vnto them ſelues, forſaken of euerie man: they were compelled them ſelues alone to beare the brunte of this warre, & ſo came their city to vtter ruine and deſtruction. Thereby the ATHENIANS being in a maruelous feare and perplexitie,did ſodain- F ly chooſe Ambaſſadors to ſend vnto this young king, and *Demoſthenes* chiefly among others: who being affrayed of *Alexanders* furie and wrath, durſt not goe to him, but returned from mount Cytheron, and gaue vp the Ambaſſade. But *Alexander* ſent to ſummone the ATHE-

Demoſthenes preferreth the ioy of his contrie, before the ſorow of his owne daughter.

AEſchines reproued by Plutarch for his fonde beleefe, that blubbering and ſorowing are ſignes of loue and charitie.

Plutarch praiſeth Demoſthenes conſtancie, for leauing of his mourning, to reioyce for his common contrie benefit.

Demoſthenes raiſeth vp the Grecians againſt Alexander.

Alexander required certaine Orators of Athens.

NIANS, to send vnto him ten of their Orators, as *Idomeneus* and *Duris* both doe write: or eight, A
as the most writers and best historiographers doe reporte, which were these: *Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Callisthenes*, and *Charidemus*. At which time,

Demosthenes tale of the sheepe and woulues.

they wryte that *Demosthenes* told the people of ATHENS, the fable of the sheepe and woulues, how that the woulues came on a time, and willed the sheepe, if they woulde haue peace with them, to deliuer them their mastiues that kept them. And so he compared him selfe, and his companions that trauelled for the benefit of the contrie, vnto the dogges that kepe the flocks of sheepe, and calling *Alexander* the woulfe. And so forth, sayd he, like as you see these corne maisters bringing a sample of their corne in a dish or napkin to shew you, and by that litle doe sell all that they haue: so I thinke you will all wonder, that deliuering of vs, you will also deliuer your selues into the handes of your enemies. *Aristobulus* of CASSANDRA reporteth this B
matter thus. Now the ATHENIANS being in consultacion, not knowing how to resolue: *Demades* hauing taken fiue talents of them whom *Alexander* demaunded, did offer him selfe, and promised to goe in this Ambassade vnto *Alexander*, and to intreate for them, either bicause he trusted in the loue the king did beare him, or else for that he thought he hoped he shoulde finde him pacified, as a Lyon glutted with the blood of beastes which he had slaine. Howsoeuer it happened, he perswaded the people to send him vnto him, and so handled *Alexander*, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the citie of ATHENS. Thereuppon *Alexander* being retyred, *Demades* and his fellowes bare all the sway and authoritie, and *Demosthenes* was vnder foote. In deede when *Agis* king of LACEDÆMON, came with his armie into the field, he began a litle to rowse him selfe, and to lift vp his head: but he shrunke choller againe C
soone after, bicause the ATHENIANS woulde not rise with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who were ouerthrowen, and *Agis* slaine in battell. At that time was the cause of the crowne pleaded against *Ctesiphon*, and the plea was written a litle before the battell of CHÆRONEA, in the yeare

The iudgement of the crowne vnto Ctesiphon.

when *Charondas* was Prouost of ATHENS: howbeit no sentence was giuen but ten yeres after that *Aristophon* was Prouost. This was such an open iudgement, and so famous, as neuer was any, as well for the great fame of the Orators that pleaded in emulacion one of the other, as also for the worthines of the Iudges that gaue sentence thereof: who did not leaue *Demosthenes* to his enemies, although in deede they were of greater power then he, and were also supported with the fauor and good will of the MACEDONIANS: but they did notwithstanding so well quit him, that *AEschines* had not so muche as the fift parte of mens voyces and opinions D
in his behalfe. Wherefore immediatly after sentence geuen, he went out of ATHENS for shame, and trauelled into the contrie of IONIA, and vnto the RHODES, where he did teache Rethoricke. Shortly after, *Harpalus* flying out of *Alexanders* seruice, came vnto ATHENS,

Harpalus a great money man came to Athens, flying from Alexander.

being to be charged with many fowle matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigalitie: and also bicause he feared *Alexanders* furie, who was growen seuere and cruell, vnto his chiefest seruauntes. He comming now amongest the ATHENIANS, with store of gold and siluer, the Orators being greedie and desirous of the golde and siluer he had brought: beganne straight to speake for him, and did counsell the people to receiue & protect a poore suter that came to them for succour. But *Demosthenes* gaue counsell to the contrarie, and bad them rather driue him out of the citie, and take heede they brought not warres apon their backes, for E
a matter that not onely was not necessarie, but furthermore meerely vniust. But within fewe daies after, inuentoty being taken of all *Harpalus* goods, he perceiuing that *Demosthenes* tooke great pleasure to see a cuppe of the kings, and considered verie curiously the facion & workemanshippe vpon it: he gaue it him in his hand, to iudge what it weyed. *Demosthenes* peasing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heauie: so he asked how many pownd weight it weyed. *Harpalus* smiling, answered him: it will wey thee twentie talents. So when night was come, he sent him the cuppe, with the twentie talentes. This *Harpalus* was a verie wise man, and found straight by *Demosthenes* countenaunce that he loued money, and coulde presently iudge his nature, by seeing his pleasaunt countenaunce, and his eyes still vpon the cuppe. So

Demosthenes bribed by Harpalus with twenty talets.

Demosthenes refused not his gift, and being ouercomen withall, as if he had receiued a garri- F
son into his house, he tooke *Harpalus* parte. The next morning, he went into the assemblie of the poople, hauing his necke bound vp with wolle and rolles. So when they called him by

his

A his name to steppe vp into the pulpit, to speake to the people as he had done before: he made a signe with his head, that he had an impediment in his voyce, & that he could not speake. But wise men laughing at his fine excuse, tolde him it was no sinanche that had stopped his wesill that night, as he would make them beleue: but it was *Harpalus* argentsynanche which he had receiued, that made him in that case. Afterwardes when the people vnderstoode that he was corrupted, *Demosthenes* going about to excuse him selfe, they would not abide to heare him: but made a noyse and exclamacion against him. Thereuppon there rose vp a pleasaunt conceited man, that sayd: why my maisters, do ye refuse to heare a man that hath * such a golden tongue? The people thereuppon did immediatly banishe *Harpalus*, and fearing least king *Alexander* would require an accompt of the gold and siluer which the Orators had robbed and
B pilfred away among them: they made very diligent searche and inquirie in euery mans house, excepting *Callicles* house, the sonne of *Arrenidas*, whose house they would haue searched by no meanes, bicause he was but newly maried, and had his newe spowse in his house, as *Theopompus* wryteth. Nowe *Demosthenes* desiring to shewe that he was in fault, preferred a decree, that the court of the Areopagites should heare the matter, and punish them that were found faultie, and therewithall straight offered him selfe to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the court condemned in the summe of fiftie talents, and for lacke of payment, they put him in prison: where he could not endure long, both for the shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his sickely body. So he brake prison, partely without the priuitie of his keepers, and partely also with their consent: for they were willing he should make a
C scape. Some doe report that he fled not farre from the citie: where it was told him that certaine of his enemies followed him, whereuppon he would haue hidden him selfe from them. But they them selues first called him by his name, and comming to him, prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houses to helpe him in his banishment: and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, & perswaded him to be of good cheere, & not to dispaire for the misfortune that was comen vnto him. This did pearce his hart the more for sorow, that he aunswered them: why, would you not haue me be sorie for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forsake the citie where in deede I haue so curteous enemies, that it is hard for me to finde any where so good frends? So he tooke his banishment vnmanly, and remained the most parte of his banishment in the ci-
D tie of Ægina, or at the citie of Troezen, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards the contrie of Attica, and weepe bitterly. And some haue written certeine words he spake, which shewed no minde of a man of corage, nor were aunswerable to the noble thinges he was wont to perswade in his Orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of Athens, he looked backe againe, and holding vp his handes to the castell, sayd in this sorte: O Ladie *Minerua*, Ladie patroneſſe of this city: why doest thou delight in three so mischieuous beastes: the owle, the draggon, and the people? Besides, he perswaded the young men that came to see him, and that were with him, neuer to meddle in matters of state, assuring them, that if they had offred him two wayes at the first, the one to goe into the assembly of the peo-
E ple, to make Orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he had knowen as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that medleth with the affaires of the state, the feare, the enuie, the accusacions, and troubles in the same: he would rather haue chosen the way to haue suffered death. So, *Demosthenes* continuing in his exile, king *Alexander* dyed, and all Græce was vp againe: insomuch as *Leosthenes* being a man of great valure, had shut vp *Antipater* in the citie of Lamea, and there kept him straightly be-
F sieged. Then *Pytheas* and *Callimedon*, surnamed *Carabos*, two Orators, and both of them banished from Athens, they tooke parte with *Antipater*, and went from towne to towne with his Ambassadors and frendes, perswading the Græcians not to sturre, neither to take parte with the Athenians. But *Demosthenes* in contrarie maner, ioyning with the Ambassadors sent from Athens into euerie quarter, to solicite the cities of Græce, to seeke to recouer their libertie: he did aide them the best he coulde, to solicite the Græcians, to take armes with the Athenians, to driue the Macedonians out of Græce. And *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Demosthenes* encountered with *Pytheas* wordes in an open assemblie of the people in a

* *This conceit can hardly be expressed in any other language, then in Greeke. For he sayth,* ὡς ἀκούσαις τῶ τὴν κυλίκα ἔχοντος: *alluding to the verbe* κυλίω, *which signifieth to delight by pleasaunt speeche or sound.*

Demosthenes banishment.

Demosthenes tooke his banishment grieuously.

Three mischieuous beasts.

Antipater besieged of the Athenians.

certaine towne of ARCADIA. *Pytheas* hauing ſpoken before him, had ſaid: like as we preſume alwaies that there is ſome ſickeneſſe in the houſe whether we doe ſee aſſes milke brought: ſo muſt that towne of neceſſitie be ſicke, wherein the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS doe enter. *Demoſthenes* aunſwered him againe, turning his compariſon againſt him: that in deede they brought aſſes milke, where there was neede to recouer health: and euen ſo, the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS were ſent, to heale and cure them that were ſicke. The people at ATHENS vnderſtanding what *Demoſthenes* had done, they ſo reioyced at it, that preſently they gaue order in the fielde, that his baniſhment ſhould be reuoked. He that perſwaded the decree of his reuocation, was called *Damon*, PÆANIAN, that was his nephew: and thereupon the ATHENIANS ſent him a galley to bring him to ATHENS, from the city of ÆGINA. So *Demoſthenes* being arriued at the hauen of Piræa, there was neither Gouernor, Prieſt, nor almoſt any townes man left in the city, but went out to the hauen to welcome him home. So that *Demetrius* MAGNESIAN wryteth, that *Demoſthenes* then lifting vp his handes vnto heauen ſayed, that he thought him ſelfe happie for the honor of that iorney, that the returne from his baniſhment was farre more honorable, then *Alcibiades* returne in the like caſe had bene. For *Alcibiades* was called home by force: & he was ſent for with the good will of the citizens. This notwithſtanding, he remained ſtill condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people coulde not diſpence withall, nor remit it. Howbeit they deuiſed a way to deceiue the lawe: for they had a manner to geue certaine money vnto them that did prepare and ſette out the aulter of *Iupiter* ſauior, for the day of the ſolemnitie of the ſacrifice, the which they did yearely celebrate vnto him: ſo they gaue him the charge to make this preparacion for the ſumme of fifty talents being the ſumme of the fine aforeſayd wherin he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the good happe of his reſtitucion to his contry and goodes. For the affaires of the GRÆCIANS were immediatly after brought to vtter ruine. For the battell of Cranon which they loſt, was in the moneth Munichyon (to wit, Iulie) and in the moneth Boedromion next enſuing, (to wit, Auguſt) the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS entred into the forte of Munichya. And in the moneth Pyanepſion (to wit, the October following) *Demoſthenes* died in this maner. When newes came to ATHENS, that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were comming thither with a great armie, *Demoſthenes* and his frends got out of the towne a litle before they entred, the people, by *Demades* perſwaſion, hauing condemned them to dye. So, euery man making ſhift for him ſelfe, *Antipater* ſent ſouldiers after them to take them: and of them *Archias* was Captaine, ſurnamed *Phygadotheras*, as muche to ſay, as a hunter of the baniſhed men. It is reported that this *Archias* was borne in the citie of THVRIES, and that he had bene ſometimes a common player of tragedies: and that *Polus* alſo who was borne in the citie of ÆGINES, (the excellenteſt craftes maiſter in that facultie of all men) was his ſcholler. Yet *Hermippus* doth recite him amongeſt the number of the ſchollers of *Lacritus* the Orator. And *Demetrius* alſo wryteth, that he had bene at *Anaximenes* ſchoole. Now, this *Archias* hauing founde the Orator *Hyperides* in the citie of ÆGINA, *Ariſtonicus* MARATHONIAN, and *Himeræus* the brother of *Demetrius* the PHALERIAN, which had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Aiax*: he tooke them out of the temple by force, and ſent them vnto *Antipater*, who was at that time in the citie of CLEONES, where he did put them all to death: and ſome ſay, that he did cut of *Hyperides* tongue. Furthermore, hearing that *Demoſthenes* had taken ſanctuarie in the Ile of CALAVRIA, he tooke litle pinnaſies, and a certaine number of THRACIAN ſouldiers, & being comen thither, he ſought to perſwade *Demoſthenes* to be contented to goe with him vnto *Antipater*, promiſing him that he ſhould haue no hurt. *Demoſthenes* had a ſtraunge dreame the night before, and thought that he had played a tragedie contending with *Archias*, and that he handled him ſelfe ſo well, that all the lookers on at the Theater did commende him, and gaue him the honor to be the beſt player: howbeit that otherwiſe, he was not ſo well furniſhed, as *Archias* and his players, and that in all maner of furniture he did farre exceede him. The next morning when *Archias* came to ſpeake with him, who vſing gentle wordes vnto him, thinking thereby to winne him by fayer meanes to leaue the ſanctuarie: *Demoſthenes* looking him full in the face, ſitting ſtill where he was, without remouing, ſayd vnto him: O *Archias*, thou diddeſt neuer perſwade me when thou playedſt a play, neither ſhalt thou nowe perſwade me, though

Demoſthenes called home from exile.

Demoſthenes fine of fifty talentes remitted.

Archias Phygadotheras, a hunter of the baniſhedmen.

Demoſthenes dream.

A though thou promiſe me. Then *Archias* began to be angrie with him, and to threaten him. O, ſayd *Demoſthenes*, now thou ſpeakeſt in good earneſt, without diſſimulacion, as the Oracle of MACEDON hath commaunded thee: for before, thou ſpakeſt in the clowdes, and farre from thy thought. But I pray thee ſtay a while, till I haue written ſomewhat to my frendes. After he had ſayd ſo, he went into the temple as though he would haue diſpatched ſome letters, and did put the ende of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withall, and bit it as his maner was when he did vſe to write any thing, and held the ende of the quill in his mouth a pretie while together: then he caſt his gowne ouer his head, and layed him downe. *Archias* ſouldiers ſeeing that, being at the dore of the temple, laughing him to ſcorne (thinking he had done ſo for that he was affrayed to dye) called him coward, and beaſt. *Archias* alſo comming to him, B prayed him to riſe, and beganne to vſe the former perſwaſions, to him, promiſing him that he would make *Antipater* his frende. Then *Demoſthenes* feeling the poyſon worke, caſt open his gowne, and boldly looking *Archias* in the face, ſayd vnto him: Nowe when thou wilt, play *Creons* parte, and throwe my bodie to the dogges, without further graue or buriall. For my parte, O god *Neptune*, I do goe out of thy temple being yet aliue, becauſe I will not prophane it with my death: but *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS, haue not ſpared to defile thy ſanctuarie with blood, and cruell murder. Hauing ſpoken theſe wordes, he prayed them to ſtay him vp by his armeholes, for his feete began alreadie to faile him, and thinking to goe forward, as he paſt by the author of *Neptune*, he fel downe, and geuing one gaſpe, gaue vp the ghoſt. Now touching the poyſon, *Ariſto* reporteth, that he ſucked and drewe it vp into his mouth out of C his quill, as we haue ſayd before. But one *Pappus*, (from whom *Hermippus* hath taken his hiſtorie) wryteth, that when he was layed on the ground before the aulter, they founde the beginning of a letter which ſayd: *Demoſthenes* vnto *Antipater*, but no more. Nowe his death being thus ſodaine, the THRACIAN ſouldiers that were at the temple dore, reported that they ſawe him plucke the poyſon which he put into his mouth, out of a litle cloth he had, thinking to them that it had bene a pece of gold he had ſwallowed downe. Howbeit a maide of the houſe that ſerued him, being examined by *Archias* about it: tolde him that he had caried it about him a long time, for a preſeruatiſe for him. *Eratoſthenes* writeth, that he kept this poyſon in a litle boxe of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arme. There are many writers alſo that do reporte his death diuerſly, but to recite them all it were in vaine: D ſauing that there was one called *Demochares* (who was *Demoſthenes* verie frende) ſayd, that he dyed not ſo ſodainly by poyſon, but that it was the ſpeciall fauor of the gods (to preſerue him from the crueltie of the MACEDONIANS) that ſo ſodainly tooke him out of his life, and made him feele ſo litle paine. *Demoſthenes* dyed the ſixteenth day of the moneth Pynepſion (to wit, October) on the which day they doe celebrate at ATHENS the feaſt of *Ceres*, called Teſmophoria, which is the dolefulleſt feaſt of all the yeare: on the which day alſo, the women remaine all day longe in the temple of the goddeſſe, without meate or drinke. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS to honor him according to his deſertes, did caſt his image in braſſe, & made a lawe beſides, that the oldeſt man of his houſe ſhoulde for euer be kept within the pallace, at the charge of the common wealth: and ingraued theſe verſes alſo apon the baſe of his iE mage.

Demoſthenes taketh poyſon to kill him ſelfe, in the temple of Neptune, in the Ile of Calauria.

The death of Demoſthenes.

The time of Demoſthenes death.

The Athenians honored Demoſthenes after his death.

Hadſt thou Demoſthenes had ſtrength according to thy hart,
The Macedons ſhould not haue vvrought the Greekes ſuch vvoe and ſmart.

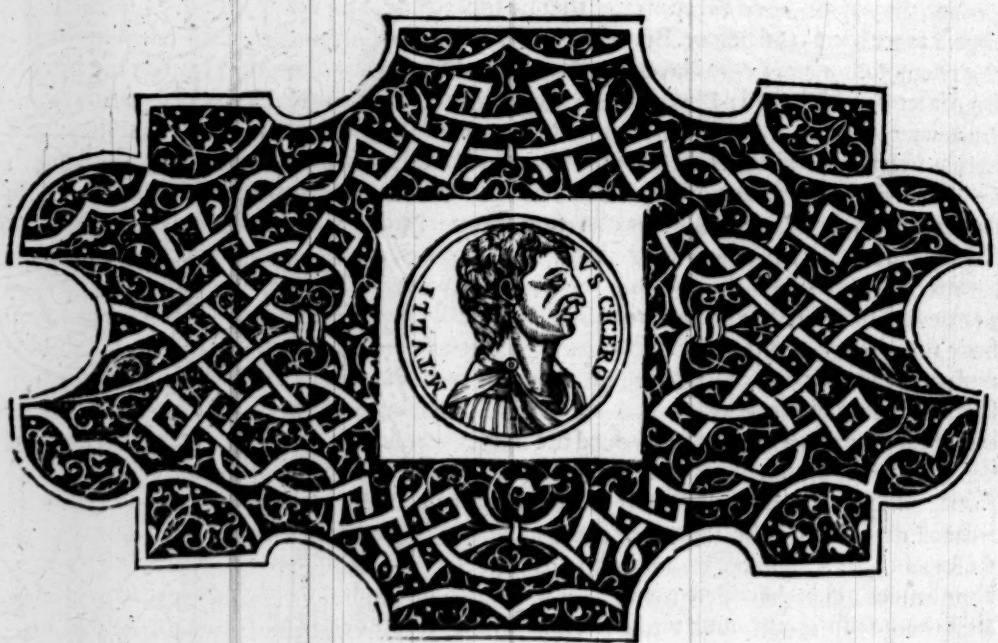
For they that thinke, that it was *Demoſthenes* him ſelfe that made the verſes in the Ile of CALAVRIA, before he tooke his poyſon: they are greatly deceiued. But yet a litle before my firſt comming to ATHENS, there went a reporte that ſuch a thing happened. A certaine ſouldier being ſent for to come vnto his Captaine, did put ſuch peeces of gold as he had into the handes of *Demoſthenes* ſtatue, which had both his hands ioyned together: and there grew hard by it a great plane tree, diuers leaues whereof either blowen of by winde by chaunce, or elſe put there of purpoſe by the ſouldier, couered ſo this golde, that it was there a long time, and F no man found it: vntill ſuch time as the ſouldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereuppon this matter running abroade in euerie mans mouth, there were diuers wiſe men that tooke occaſion of this ſubiect, to make epigrammes in the praiſe of *Demoſthenes*, as one who in

his life was neuer corrupted. Furthermore, *Demades* did not long enioy the honor he thought he had newly gotten. For the iuſtice of the goddes, reuenger of the death of *Demoſthenes*, brought him into MACEDON, to receiue iuſt puniſhment by death, of thoſe whom he diſhoneſtly flattered: being before growen hatefull to them, and afterwardes committed a faulte whereby he coulde not eſcape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did perſwade, and pray * *Perdiccas*, to make him ſelfe king of MACEDON, & to deliuer GRÆCE from bondage, ſaying that it hong but by a threde, and yet it was halfe rotten, meaning thereby, *Antipater*. *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN accuſed him, that he wrote theſe letters: the which ſo grieuouſly offended *Caſſander*, that firſt he ſlewe his owne ſonne in his armes, and then commaunded they ſhould afterwards kill *Demades*, making him feele then by thoſe miſeries (which are the cruelleſt that can happen vnto man) that traitors betraying their owne contrie do firſt of all betray them ſelues. *Demoſthenes* had often forewarned him of his end, but he would neuer beleue him. Thus, my frend *Soſſius*, you haue what we can deliuer you, by reading, or reporte, touching *Demoſthenes* life and doings.

* *He ſayth Antigonus, in the life of Phocion.*

Demades death and reward for his treaſon.

THE LIFE OF *Marcus Tullius Cicero.*



AS touching *Ciceroes* mother, whoſe name was *Heluia*, it is reported ſhe was a gentlewoman borne, & liued alwayes verie honeſtly: but for his father, the reports of him are diuers and infinite. For ſome ſay that he was borne and brought vp in a fullers ſhoppe: others reporte that he came of *Tullius Actius*, who while he liued was honored among the VOLSCES as king, and made verie ſharpe and cruell warres with the ROMANES. But ſurely it ſeemes to me, that the firſt of that name called *Cicero*, was ſome famous man, and that for his ſake his offſpring continued ſtill that ſurname, and were glad to keepe it, though many men ſcorned it, bicauſe *Cicer* in Engliſh ſignifieth a riche peaſe. That *Cicero* had a thing vpon the tippe of his noſe, as it had bene a litle wart, muche like to a riche peaſe, whereuppon they ſurnamed him *Cicero*. But this *Cicero*, whoſe life we write of nowe, nobly aunſwered certaine of

Ciceroes parentage.

Cicero, why ſo called.

A of his frendes on a time geuing him counsell to chaunge his name, when he first made sute for office, and beganne to practise in matters of state: that he woulde endeuour him selfe to make the name of the *Ciceroes* more noble and famous, then the *Scauri*, or *Catuli*. After that, *Cicero* beinge made Treasorer in Sicile, he gaue an offering of certeine siluer plate vnto the goddes, and at large engraued on it his two first names, *Marcus Tullius*: and in place of his third name, he pleasauntly commaunded the workeman to cut out the forme and facion of a riche pease. Thus muche they wryte of his name. Nowe for his birth, it was sayed that his mother was brought a bedde of him without any paine, the third daye of Ianuarie: on which day the Magistrates and Gouernours of Rome doe vse at this present, yearely to make solemne prayers and sacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and prosperi-

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An Image appeared to Ciceroes nurse.

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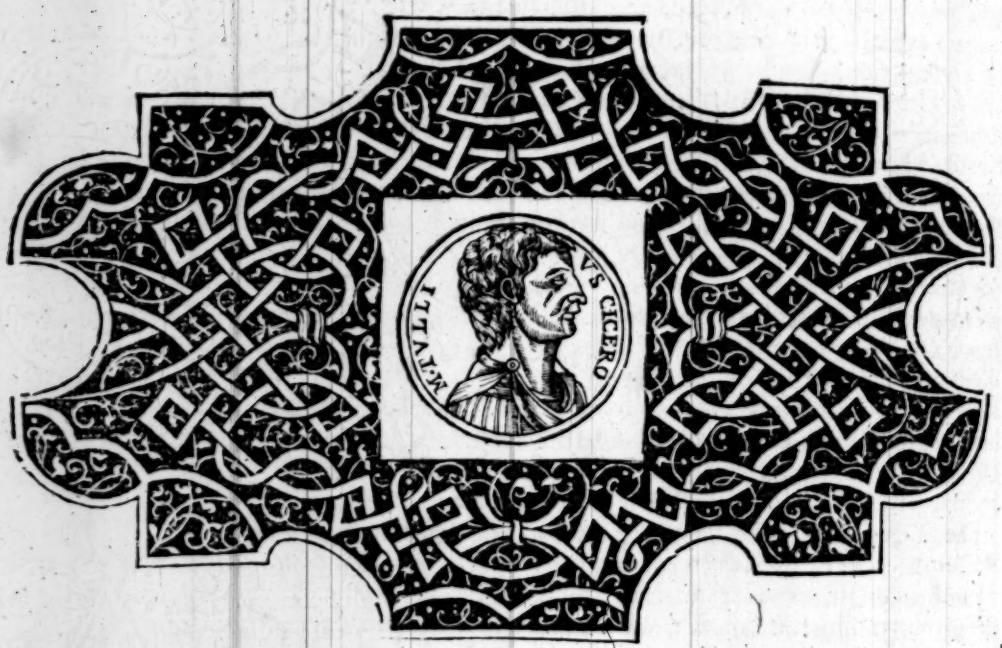

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ſelfe into eſtimacion, as this: Thereuppon *Cicero* determined to take his cauſe in hande, A
and did handell it ſo well, that he obteyned the thing he ſued for: whereby he wanne him
greate fame and credit. But yet being affrayed of *Syllaes* diſpleaſure, he abſented him ſelfe
from ROME, and went into GRÆCE, geuinge it out that his trauell was for a diſeaſe he had
Cicero a weake man. vppon him. In deede *Cicero* was dogge leane, a litle eater, and woulde alſo eate late, bicauſe
of the greate weakeneſſe of his ſtomacke: but yet he had a good lowde voyce, though it
was ſomewhat harſhe, and lacked grace and comelyneſſe. Furthermore he was ſo earneſt
and vehement in his Oration that he mounted ſtill with his voyce into the higheſt tunes: in-
ſomuche that men were affrayed it woulde one daye put him in hazard of his life. When
Cicero, Antiochus ſcholler. he came to ATHENS, he went to heare *Antiochus* of the citie of ASCALONA, and fell in
greate likinge with his ſweete tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwiſe he miſliked B
his newe opinions in Philoſophie. For *Antiochus* had then forſaken the opinions of the
newe Academicke Philoſophers, and the ſect of the Carneades: being moued thereunto,
either through the manifeſt proofe of thinges, or by his certaine iudgement, or (as ſome
ſay) for that of an ambition or diſſention againſt the ſchollers and followers of *Clitomachus*
and *Philo*, he had reproued the reſolucions of the Academickes, which he had of long time
defended, onely to leane for the moſte parte to the Stoickes opinions. Howebeit *Cicero*
had moſt affection vnto the Academickes, and did ſtudie that ſect more then all the reſt, of
purpoſe, that if he ſawe he were forbidden to practiſe in the common wealth at ROME, he
woulde then goe to ATHENS (leauing all pleaes and Orators in the common wealth) to be-
ſtowe the reſt of his time quietly in the ſtudie of Philoſophie. At length, when he hearde C
The commodities of exerciſe. newes of *Syllaes* death, and ſawe that his bodie was growen to good ſtate and health by ex-
erciſe, and that his voyce became dayly more and more to fill mens eares with a ſweete and
pleaſaunt ſounde, and yet was lowde enough for the conſtitucion of his bodie: receiuing
letters dayly from his frendes at ROME, that prayed him to returne home, and moreouer,
Antiochus ſelfe alſo earneſtlie perſwadinge him to practiſe in the common wealth: he be-
ganne againe to fall to the ſtudie of Rethoricke, and to frame him ſelfe to be eloquent, be-
ing a neceſſarie thing for an Orator, and did continuallie exerciſe him ſelfe in making Ora-
tions vppon any ſpeache or propoſicion, and ſo frequented the chiefe Orators and maſters
Cicero goeth into Aſia, and to Rhodes. of eloquence that were at that time. To this ende therefore he went into ASIA vnto
RHODES, and amongeſt the Orators of ASIA, he frequented *Xenocles* ADRAMETTIN, and D
Dionyſius MAGNESIAN, and ſtudied alſo with *Menippus* CARIAN: at RHODES he hearde *Apollonius Molon*, and the Philoſopher *Poſidonius*. And it is reported alſo, that *Apollonius*
Cicero declamed in Greake. wanting the Latine tongue, he did pray *Cicero* for exerciſe ſake, to declame in Græke. *Cice-
ro* was verie well contented with it, thinkinge that thereby his faultes ſhoulde be the better
corrected. When he had ended his declamacion, all thoſe that were preſent were amazed
to heare him, and euerie man praiſed him one after an other. Howebeit *Apollonius* all the
while *Cicero* ſpake, did neuer ſhewe any glad countenaunce: and when he had ended, he
ſtayed a greate while and ſayed neuer a worde. *Cicero* miſliking withall, *Apollonius* at length
Apollonius teſtimonie of Cicero. ſayed vnto him. As for me *Cicero*, I doe not onely praiſe thee, but more then that, I won-
der at thee: and yet I am ſorie for poore GRÆCE, to ſee that learning and eloquence (which E
were the two onely giftes and honor left vs) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto
the ROMANES. Nowe *Cicero* being verie well diſpoſed, to goe with good hope to practiſe
at ROME, he was a litle diſcouraged by an Oracle that was tolde him. For, inquiring of the
An Oracle giuen to Cicero. god *Apollo* DELPHIAN, howe he might doe to winne fame and eſtimacion: the Nunne *Py-
thias* aunſwered him he ſhoulde obtayne it, ſo that in his doinges he woulde rather followe
the diſpoſicion of his owne nature, then the opinion of the common people. Wherefore
Ciceroes firſt practiſing in the common wealth. when he came to ROME, at the firſt he proceeded verie warely, and diſcreetely, and did vn-
willinglie ſeeke for any office, and when he did, he was not greatlie eſteemed: for they
commonlie called him the GRÆCIAN, and ſcholler, which are two wordes, the which
the artificers, (and ſuche baſe mechanicall people at ROME,) haue euer readie at their F
tongues ende. Nowe he beinge by nature ambicious of honour, and prickt forward alſo
by the perſwaſion of his father and frendes: in the ende he beganne to pleade, and there
obteined

A obteyned not the chiefeſt place by litle and litle, but ſo ſoone as he fell to practiſe, he was immediatly eſteemed aboue all the other Orators and pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reported notwithſtanding, that for his geſture and pronunciacion, hauing the ſelfe ſame defectes of nature at the beginning, which *Demoſthenes* had: to reforme them, he carefully ſtudied to counterfeate *Roſcius*, an excellent commediant, and *AEſope* alſo a player of tragedies. Of this *AEſope* men wryte, that he playing one day *Atrius* parte vpon a ſtage (who determined with him ſelfe how he might be reuenged of his brother *Thyeſtes*) a ſeruaunt by chaunce hauing occaſion to runne ſodainly by him, he forgetting him ſelfe, ſtriuing to ſhewe the vehement paſſion and furie of this king, gaue him ſuche a blowe on his head with the ſcepter in his hand, that he ſlue him dead in the place. Euen ſo *Ciceroes* words

Roſcius and AEſopus common players.

B were of ſo great force to perſwade, by meanes of his grace and pronunciacion. For he mocking the Orators that thruſt out their heades, and cried in their Orations, was wont to ſay that they were like to lame men, who were driuen to ryde, bicauſe they coulde not goe a foote: euen ſo (ſayed he) they crie out, bicauſe they can not ſpeake. Truely pleaſaunt tawntes doe grace an Orator, and ſheweth a fine witte: but yet *Cicero* vſed them ſo commonly, that they were offenſiue vnto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious ſcoffer and ſpightfull man. He was choſen Treaſorer in the time of dearth, when there was great ſcarcetie of corne at Rome: and the prouince of Sicile fell to his lotte. At his firſt comming thither, the Sicilians miſliked him verie muche, bicauſe he compelled them to ſende corne vnto Rome: but after they had founde his diligence, iuſtice, and lenitie, they honored him aboue any Go-

Cicero, a fine Tawnter.

Cicero choſen Quæſtor.

C uernor that euer was ſent from Rome. Nowe there were diuers young gentlemen of Rome of noble houſes, who being accuſed for ſundrie faultes committed in warres againſt their honor, and martiall diſcipline, had bene ſent backe againe vnto the Prætor of Sicile: for whome *Cicero* pleaded, and did ſo excellently defende their cauſe, that they were pardoned euerie man. Thereuppon, thinking well of him ſelfe, when his time expired, he went to Rome, and by the way there happened a prety ieaſt vnto him. As he paſſed through the contrie of Campania, (otherwiſe called the lande of labor) he met by chaunce with one of the chiefeſt Romanes of all his frends. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they ſayd of him at Rome, and what they thought of his doinges: imagining that all Rome had bene

Ciceroes diligence, iuſtice, and lenitie.

D full of the glorie of his name and deedes. His frende asked him againe: and where haſt thou bene *Cicero* all this while, that we haue not ſeene thee at Rome? This killed his hart ſtraight, when he ſawe that the reporte of his name and doinges, entring into the citie of Rome as into an infinite ſea, was ſo ſodainely vanquiſhed away againe, without any other fame or ſpeach. But after that, when he looked into him ſelfe, and ſawe that in reaſon he tooke an infinite labor in hande to attaine to glorie, wherein he ſawe no certaine ende whereby to attaine vnto it: it cut of a great parte of the ambicion he had in his head. And yet the great pleaſure he tooke to heare his owne praiſe, and to be ouermuche geuen to deſire of honor and eſtima-

Cicero, ambition, & deſirous of praiſe.

E cion: thoſe two thinges continued with him euen to his dying day, and did eſtſoones make him ſwarue from iuſtice. Furthermore, when he beganne thorowely to practiſe in the affaires of the ſtate, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and craftes men ſhoulde haue many ſortes of inſtrumentes and tooles without life, to knowe the names of euerie one of them, the places where they ſhoulde take them, and the vſe whereto they ſhoulde employ them: and that a man of knowledge and qualitie (who doth all thinges with the helpe and ſeruice of men) ſhoulde be ſlothfull, and careleſſe, to learne to knowe the names of his citizens. Therefore he gaue him ſelfe to knowe, not onely mens names of qualitie, but the ſtreetes alſo they dwelt in, what parte of the citie ſoeuer it was: their goodly houſes in the contrie,

Cicero geuen to know mens names, their landes, and frendes.

the frendes they made of, and the neighbours whome they companied with. So that when he went abroade into Italie, whereſoeuer he became, *Cicero* coulde ſhewe and name his frendes houſes. He was not verie riche, and yet he had enough to ſerue his turne: the which made men muſe the more at him, and they loued him the better, bicauſe he tooke

F no fee nor gifte for his pleading, what cauſe ſoeuer he had in hande, but then ſpeciallie, when he defended a matter againſt *Verres*. This *Verres* had bene Prætor of Sicilia, and had committed many lewde partes there, for the which the Sicilians did accuſe him.

Ciceroes doings againſt Verres.

Cicero taking apon him to defende their cauſe, made *Verres* to be condemned, not by plea- A
ding, but in manner without pleading, and in this ſorte. The Prætors being his Iudges, and
fauoring *Verres*, had made ſo many reiornementes and delayes, that they had driuen it of
to the laſte day of hearing. *Cicero* perceiuing then he ſhoulde not haue day light to ſpeake
all that he had to ſay againſt him, and that thereby nothing ſhoulde be done and iudged: he
roſe vp, and ſayed, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but onely brought
foorth the witneſſes before the Iudges, and hauing cauſed their depoſicions to be taken,
he prayed they woulde proceede to ſentence, according to their euidence geuen on that
behalfe. Yet ſome doe reporte, that *Cicero* gaue many pleaſaunt tawntes and girdes, in plea-
ding the accuſacion of the SICILIANS againſt *Verres*. The ROMANES doe call a bore, *Ver-
res*. There was one *Cæcilius*, the ſonne of a freed bondman, who was ſuſpected to holde with B
the ſuperſticion of the IEWES. This *Cæcilius* woulde haue put by the SICILIANS from fol-
lowing the accuſacion of *Verres*, and woulde haue had the matter of his accuſacion only re-
ferred to him, for the proſecuting of it againſt him. *Cicero* skorning his ſute, ſayd vnto him:
He ſpake it bicauſe the Iewes doe eate no ſwines fleſh. what hath a IEWE to doe with a ſwine? This *Verres* had a ſonne ſomewhat aboue twentie
yeares of age, who (as the reporte went) had a verie ill name for his beawtie. And there-
fore when *Verres* one day thought to mocke *Cicero*, ſaying that he was too womanly: his
children (ſayd he) are to be reproued of that ſecretly at home. In this accuſacion, *Horten-
ſius* the Orator durſt not directly defende *Verres*: but touching the condemnacion of his fine,
he was then contented to aunſwere for him, for he had a Sphinx of Yuory geuen him by *Ver-
res* for his reward. Thereuppon *Cicero* gaue him a pretie nippe by the way: but *Hortenſius* C
not vnderſtanding him, ſayd he coulde no skill of darke ſpeaches. Well, ſayd *Cicero*, yet haſt
thou a ſphinx in thy houſe. In the ende *Verres* being condemned, and a fine ſette on his
heade to the value of ſeuentie fiue Myriades, *Cicero* notwithſtandinge was ſuſpected to be
bribed with money for agreeing to caſt him in ſo ſmall a ſumme. But yet when he came to
Cicero choſen Ædilis. be Ædilis, the SICILIANS to ſhew them ſelues thankefull to him, both brought and ſent him
many preſentes out of SICILE. Of all that he tooke nothing to his owne vſe, but onely be-
ſtowed their liberalitie in bringing downe the priſes of vittells at ROME. He had a goodly
houſe within the confines of the citie of ARPOS, a farme alſo by NAPLES, and an other a-
Ciceros riches. bout the citie of POMPEII: but all theſe were no great thinges. Afterwardes alſo he had the
ioynter of his wife *Terentia*, which amounted to the ſumme of twelue Myriades, and be- D
ſides all this, there came to him by inheritaunce, eleuen Myriades of their Denarij. There-
uppon he liued verie honeſtly and ſoberly, without exceſſe, with his familiar frendes that
loued him, both GRÆCIANS and ROMANES, and woulde neuer goe to ſupper till after ſunne
ſet, not ſo muche for any great buſineſſe he had, as for the weakeneſſe of his ſtomake. But o-
therwiſe he was verie curious, and carefull of his perſon, and woulde be rubbed and noyn-
ted, and he would vſe alſo to walke a certaine number of turnes by proporcion: and ſo exerci-
ſing his bodie in that ſorte, he was neuer ſicke, and beſides was alwayes verie ſtrong and lu-
ſtie of bodie, able to abide great paines and ſorowes which he fell into afterwardes. He gaue
Ciceroes great curteſie and reſorte. his fathers chiefe manſion houſe to his brother, and went to dwell him ſelfe in the mount
Palatine: bicauſe ſuche as came to waite vpon him to doe him honor, ſhoulde not take the E
paines to goe ſo farre to ſee him. For, he had as many men dayly at his gate euerie mor-
ning, as either *Craſſus* had for his wealth, or *Pompey* for his eſtimacion among the ſouldiers
both of them being at that time the chiefeſt men of ROME. Yea furthermore, *Pompeys* ſelfe
came vnto *Cicero*, bicauſe his Orations ſtoode him to great purpoſe, for thincreaſe of his
Cicero choſen Prætor. honor and authoritie. Nowe when *Cicero* came to make ſute to be Prætor (which is, to be
as an ordinarie iudge) though he had many competitors, and fellowe ſuters with him, yet
was he firſt choſen affore them all: and he did ſo honeſtly behaue him ſelfe in that office,
that they did not ſo muche as once ſuſpect him of briberie or extorcion. And for proofe
hereof, it is reported, that *Licinius Macer* (a man that of him ſelfe was of great power, and
yet fauored and ſupported beſides by *Craſſus*) was accuſed before *Cicero* of theft and extor- F
cion in his office: but he truſtinge muche to his ſuppoſed credit, and to the greate ſute
and labour his frendes made for him, went home to his houſe before ſentence proceeded

A againſt him (the Iudges being yet to geue their opinions) and there ſpeedely trimmed his beard, and put a newe gowne vppon his backe, as though he had bene ſure to haue bene quitte of his accuſacion, and then returned againe into the market place. But *Craſſus* went to meete him, and tolde him all the Iudges had condemned him. *Licinius Macer* tooke ſuche a griefe and conceite vpon it, that he went home to his houſe againe, layed him downe on his bedde, and neuer roſe after. This iudgement wanne *Cicero* greate fame, for they praiſed him exceedingly for the great paines he tooke, to ſee iuſtice duely executed. An other called alſo *Vatinius*, (a bedlem fellowe, and one that behaued him ſelfe verie vnreuerently to the Magiſtrates in his pleadinge, and beſides had a ſwollen necke) came verie arrogantly one day vnto *Cicero* being in his Prætoriall ſeate, and asked him a thing which *Ci-*
B *cero* woulde not graunte him there, but woulde thinke of it at better leaſure. Thereuppon *Vatinius* tolde him, that he would not be ſcrupulous to graunt that, if he were Prætor. *Cicero* turning to him, aunſwered him againe: no more haue I (ſayd he) ſuche a ſwollen necke as thou haſt. Towardes the ende of his office, two or three dayes before his time expired, there was one accuſed *Manilius* before him, that he alſo had robbed the common wealth. This *Manilius* was verie well beloued of the common people, who were perſwaded that he was put in ſute, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to deſpight *Pompey* with, whoſe familiar frende he was. So he required certaine dayes to aunſwere the matter he was accuſed of: but *Cicero* woulde geue him no further reſpit, but to aunſwere it the next day. The people therewith were maruelouſly offended, bicauſe the other Prætors in ſuche like
C caſes were wont to geue tenne dayes reſpit to others. The next morninge when the Tribunes had brought him before the Iudges, and alſo accuſed him vnto them: he beſought *Cicero* to heare him pacientlie. *Cicero* made him aunſwere, that hauinge alwayes vſed as muche fauour and curteſie as he poſſiblie might by lawe, vnto thoſe that were accuſed, he thought he ſhoulde offer *Manilius* too great wrong, if he ſhoulde not doe the like to him: wherefore, bicauſe he had but one day more to continewe Prætor in office, he had purpoſely geuen him that day to make his aunſwere before him. For he thought that to leaue his accuſacion to the hearing of an other Prætor, he coulde not haue bene thought a man that had borne him good will, and ment to pleaſure him. Theſe wordes did maruelouſlie chaunge the peoples opinion and affection towardes him, and euerie man ſpeaking well of
D him, they prayed him to defend *Manilius* cauſe. He willingly graunted them: and comming from the benche, ſtanding at the barre like an Orator to pleade for him, he made a notable Oration, and ſpake both boldly and ſharpely againſt the chiefe men of the citie, and thoſe ſpeciallie that did enuie *Pompey*. This notwithſtanding, when he came to ſue to be Conſul, he founde as great fauour amongeſt the Nobilitie, as he did with the communaltie. For they did further his ſute, for the common wealthes ſake, vpon this occaſion. The chaunge and alteracion of gouernment the which *Sylla* brought in, was thought ſtraunge at the firſt among the people: but nowe men by proceſſe of time being vſed to it, it was throughly eſtabliſhed, and no man miſliked it. At that time many men practiſed to ſubuert the gouernment, not for the benefit of the common wealth, but to ſerue their owne couetous myndes.
E For *Pompey* being then in the Eaſt partes, made warres with the kings of PONTVS and ARMENIA, and had not left ſufficient force at ROME to oppreſſe theſe ſeditious perſons, that ſought nothing but rebellion. Theſe men had made *Lucius Catilina* their Captaine: a deſperate man to attempt any great enterpriſe, ſuttle, and malicious of nature. He was accuſed before (beſides many other vile faultes) for deflowering of his owne daughter, and killinge his brother: and being affrayed to be put in ſute for it, he prayed *Sylla* to put his brother amongeſt the number of the outlawes (or proſcriptes) as if he had bene then aliue. Theſe wicked rebells hauinge choſen them ſuche a Captaine, were ſworne and bounde one to an other in this manner. They killed a man, and did eate of his fleſhe together, and had beſides corrupted the moſt parte of all the youth. For *Catiline* their Captaine ſuffered euerie man
F to take his pleaſure, as his youth was inclined vnto: as to banket, to followe harlottes, and gaue them money largelie to beſtowe in theſe vayne expences. Furthermore all THVSCAN beganne to riſe, and the moſt parte of GAVLE alſo, lying betwene the Alpes and ITALIE.

Licinius Macer condemned.

Cicero with one word pacified the offended Tribunes.

Cicero made Conſul.

The conſpiracy of Catiline.

Catilines wickednes.

The citie of Rome it ſelfe was alſo in great daunger of riſing, for the inequalitie of the goods of the inhabitauntes. For the noble men, and of greateſt corage, had ſpent all their landes in playes and feaſts, or in buildings and common workes, which they built at their owne charge, to currie fauour with the common people, that they might obtaine the chiefe offices: ſo that thereby they became verie poore, and their goodes were in the handes of meane men and wretches. Thus the ſtate of Rome ſtoode in great hazard of vprore, the which any man might eaſely haue procured, that durſt haue taken vppon him any change or alteracion of gouernment, there was then ſuche diuiſion among them in the ſtate. *Catiline* notwithſtanding, to prouide him of a ſtrong bullwarke to proſecute his intent, came to ſue to be Conſul, hoping that he ſhould be choſen with *Caius Antonius*, a man that of him ſelfe was apt neither to doe any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great ſtrength and aide vnto him that woulde attempt any thing. Diuers noble and wiſe men foreſeeing that, did procure *Cicero* to ſue for the Conſulſhippe. The people accepted him, and reiected *Catiline*. *Antonius* and *Cicero* thereuppon were created Conſuls, although that *Cicero* of all the ſuters for the Conſulſhip was but only a Knightes ſonne, and not the ſonne of a Senator of Rome. Nowe, though the common people vnderſtoode not the ſecret practiſe and meaning of *Catiline*: yet at the beginning of *Ciceroes* Conſulſhippe, there fell out great trouble and contencion in the common wealth. For they of the one ſide, whom *Sylla* had by his ordinaunces depoſed from their dignities and offices in Rome (who were no ſmall men, neither fewe in number) beganne to creepe into the peoples good will, alleaging many true and iuſt reaſons againſt the tyrannicall power of *Sylla*: howebeit ſpoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any chaunge or alteracion in the common wealth. The Tribunes on the other ſide preferred lawes and ordinaunces to further this deuiſe. They preferred the lawe to chooſe the Decemuiri, with ſoueraine power and authoritie through all Italie and Syria, and alſo through all the contries and prouinces which *Pompey* had newly conquered to the Empire of Rome: to ſell, and releaſe all the landes belonging to the ſtate of Rome, to accuſe any man whome they thought good, to baniſhe any man, to reſtore the Colonies with people, to take what money they woulde out of the treaſurie, to leauie men of warre, and to keepe them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and abſolute power of the Decemuiri, there were many men of great accompt that fauored this law, but *Antonius* chiefly, being colleague and fellowe Conſul with *Cicero*, for he had good hope to be choſen one of theſe ten Commiſſioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was priuie vnto *Catilines* conſpiracie, and that he miſliked it not, bicauſe he was ſo muche in det. And this was it that the noble men moſt feared of all other thinges. Thereuppon *Cicero*, to prouide firſt to preuent this daunger, graunted him the prouince of the realme of Macedon: and the prouince of Gavle being offered vnto him ſelfe, he refuſed it. By this good turne, he wanne *Antonius* like a hiered player making him to promiſe him that he would aſſiſt & aide him for the benefit of the common wealth, and that he would ſay no more, then he ſhoulde will him. When he had brought him to this, and had wonne him to his minde: he then beganne to be the bolder, and more ſtowtly to reſiſt them that were authors of this innouation and new lawes. *Cicero* therefore in open Senate, did one day ſharply reproue, and inuey againſt this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes would haue eſtabliſhed. But thereby he did ſo terrifie the authors thereof, that there was not one man durſt ſpeake againſt him. This notwithſtanding, the Tribunes afterwardes attempted once againe to haue it to paſſe, & appointed the Conſuls to appeare before the people. Howbeit *Cicero* being nothing abaſhed at it, he commaunded the Senate to follow him. So he did not only ouerthrow this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes did preferre: but furthermore they were vtterly diſcoraged and out of hope to bring any of their matters to paſſe they intended, he ſtrooke them ſo dead with his eloquence. For *Cicero* onely of all men in Rome made the Romanes know, how muche eloquence doth grace and beawtifie that which is honeſt, and how inuincible right and iuſtice are, being eloquently ſet forth: and alſo how that a man that will be counted a wiſe Gouernor of a comman weale, ſhould alwayes in his doinges rather preferre profit, than to ſeeke to currie fauor with the common people: yet ſo to vſe his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be alſo vnpleaſant. And to proue his ſweete and

C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero created Conſuls.

Great troubles at Rome, in the time of Ciceroes Conſulſhippe.

A law preferred for the creacion and authority of the Decemuiri.

Cicero by his eloquence ouerthrew the law of the Decemuiri.

A & pleasant tongue, may be alleaged that which he did in the time of his Consulship, touching the placing of men at the Theater to see the pastimes. For before, the knights of ROME did sit mingled one with another amongst the common people, and tooke their place as they came. The first that made the difference betwene them, was * *Marcus Otho*, at that time Prætor: who made a law, by the which he appoynted seuerall seates for the knights, where they might from thenceforth see the pastimes. The people tooke this grieuously, as a thing done to discountenance them: insomuch that *Otho* comming afterwards into the Theater, all the common people fel a whistling at him, to shame him withal. The knights also in contrariwise made him roome amongst them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honor. Therewith the people fell a whistling lowder then before, and the knights in like manner to clapping of their handes,
B and so grew to wordes one with another: that all the Theater was straight in vprore with it. *Cicero* vnderstanding it, went thither him selfe, & calling the people to the temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, he there so sharpely reproued them, and therewith so perswaded them, that returning presently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receiue *Otho* with clapping of their handes, and contended with the knights which of them should doe him greatest honor. But now againe, the rebells of *Catilines* conspiracie (who were pretily cooled at the first for the feare they stoode in) began to be lustie againe, and to gather together, boldely incoraging one another to broache their practise, before *Pompey* returned, who was sayd to be on the way towards ROME with his armye. But besides them, those souldiers that had serued before in the
C warres vnder *Sylla*, being dispersed vppe and downe ITALY, (but specially the best souldiers among them dwelling in the good townes of THVSCAN) did stirre vp *Catiline* to hasten the enterprise, perswading them selues that they should once againe haue goods enough at hand, to spoyle and ransacke at their pleasure. These souldiers hauing one *Manlius* to their Captaine, that had borne office in the field vnder *Sylla*, conspyred with *Catilin*, and came to ROME to assist him in his sute: who purposed once againe to demaund the Consulship, being determined at the election to kill *Cicero*, in the tumult and hurly burly. The goddes also did plainly shewe by earthquakes, lightning & thunder, and by vision of spirits that did appeare, the secret practise and conspiracie: besides also, there fell out manifest coniectures & proofes by men that came to reueale them, howbeit they had not power sufficient to encownter so noble a man, and of so great power as *Catilin* was. *Cicero* therefore deferring the day of election, called *Catilin* into
D the Senate, and there did examine him of that which was reported of him. *Catiline* supposing there were many in the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and also bicause he would shewe him selfe ready vnto them that were of his conspiracie: he gaue *Cicero* a gentle aunswer, & said thus, What doe I offend, sayd he, if that beeing two bodies in this towne, the one leane and weake, and throughly rotten, and hath a head: and the other being great, strong, & of power, hauing no head, I doe giue it one? meaning vnder this darke aunswer, to signifie the people & Senate. This aunswer being made, *Cicero* was more affrayd then before, insomuch that he put on a brigantine for the safetie of his body, & was accõpanied with the chiefest men of ROME, and a great number of younge men besides, going with him from his house vnto the fielde of *Mars*, where the elections were made: & had of purpose left open his iacket lose at the choll-
E er, that his brigantyne he had on might be seene, thereby to let euery man that saw him, know the daunger he was in. Euery man misliked it when they saw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offered to assayle him. But it so came to passe, that by voyces of the people, *Catilin* was againe reiected from the Consulship, and *Syllanus* and *Muræna* chosen Consuls. Shortly after this election, the souldiers of THVSCAN being ioyned, which should haue come to *Catilin*, and the day appoynted being at hande to broache their enterprise: about midnight there came three of the chiefest men of ROME to *Ciceroes* house (*Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, and bad him wake his maister presently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to speake with him, about a matter of importance. At night after supper, *Crassus* porter brought his maister a packet of letters, de-
F liuered him by a straunger vnknowen, which were directed vnto diuers persons, amonge the which one of them had no name subscribed, but was onely directed vnto *Crassus* him selfe. The effect of his letter was, that there should be a great slaughter in ROME made by *Catilin*, and

Ciceroes swéet tongue.

** Others doe say Lucius Roscius Otho, Tribune of the people. Roscius lawe for deuiding of the Romain Knights from the common people.*

Syllaes souldiers conspired with Catiline.

Cicero examined Catilin in the Senate.

Syllanus and Muræna Consulls.

Letters brought to Crassus, of Catilines conspiracie.

therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of Rome to saue him selfe. *Crassus* hauing A
red his owne letter, would not open the rest, but went forthwith vnto *Cicero*, partly for feare of
the daunger, and partly also to cleere him selfe of the suspition they had of him for the friend-
ship that was betwixt him and *Catiline*. *Cicero* counselling with them what was to be done, the
next morning assembled the Senate very earely, and carying the letters with him, he did deli-
uer them according to their direction, and commaunded they should read them out alowde.
All these letters, & euery one of them particulerly, did bewray the conspiracie. Furthermore,
Quintus Arrius, a man of authoritie, and that had bene Prætor, tolde openly the souldiers and
men of warre that were leauied in Thvscan. And it was reported also, that *Manlius* was in the
fielde with a great number of souldiers about the cities of Thvscan, gaping daily to heare
newes of some chaunge at Rome. All these thinges being throughly considered, a decree pas- B
sed by the Senate, that they should referre the care of the common wealth vnto the Consuls,
to thend that with absolute authoritie they might (as well as they could) prouide for the safe-
tie and preseruation thereof. Such manner of decree and authoritie, was not often seene con-
cluded of in the Senate, but in time of present feare and daunger. Now *Cicero* hauing this ab-
solute power, he referred all forreine matters to *Quintus Metellus* charge, and did him self take
vppon him the care and gouernment of all ciuill affayres within Rome. On the day time when
he went vp and downe the towne, he had such a trowpe of men after him, that when he came
through the great market place, he almost filled it with his trayne that followed him. There-
uppon *Catiline* would no lenger delay time, but resolued to goe him selfe vnto *Manlius* where
their armie lay. But before he departed, he had drawen into his confederacie one *Martius*, & C
an other called *Cethegus*, whome he commaunded betimes in the morning to goe to *Ciceroes*
house with short daggers to kil him, pretending to come to salute him, and to giue him a good
morow. But there was a noble woman of Rome, called *Fuluia*, who went ouer night vnto *Cice-*
Fuluia bewrayeth Catilines intent to kill Cicero. *ro*, and bad him beware of that *Cethegus*, who in deede came the next morning betimes vnto
him: but being denied to be let in, he began to chafe and raile before the gate. This made him
the more to be suspected. In thend *Cicero* comming out of his house, called the Senate to the
temple of *Iupiter Stator*, (as much to say, a stayer) which standeth at the vpper end of the holy
streete as they goe to the Mount Palatine. There was *Catiline* with others, as though he ment
to cleere him selfe of the suspition that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that
would sit downe by him, but they did all rise from the benche where *Catiline* had taken his D
place. And further, when he began to speake, he could haue no audience for the great noyse
they made against him. So at length *Cicero* rose, and commaunded him to auoid out of Rome:
saying, that there must needes be a separacion of walles betweene them two, considering that
Catiline departed Rome. the one vsed but words, and the other force of armes. *Catiline* thereuppon immediatly depar-
ting the citie with three hundred armed men, was no sooner out of the precinct of the walles,
but he made his Sergeaunts cary axes and bundells of roddes before him, as if he had beene a
Consul lawfully created, and did display his ensignes of warre, & so went in this order to seeke
Manlius. When they were ioyned, he had not much lesse then twenty thowsand men toge-
ther, with the which he went to practise the townes to rebell. Nowe open warre beeing thus
proclaimed, *Antonius*, *Ciceroes* colleage and fellowe Consul, was sent against him to fight with E
him. In the meane space, *Cornelius Lentulus* surnamed *Sura* (a man of a noble house, but of a
wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put of the Senate) assembled all the rest which
were of *Catilines* conspiracie, and that remained behind him in Rome, and bad them be affraid
of nothing. He was then Prætor the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to re-
couer againe the dignitie of a Senator which he had lost. It is reported that this surname of
C. Lentulus why called Sura. *Sura* was giuen him vpon this occasion. He being Treasorer in *Syllaes* Dictatorship, did fondly
waste and consume a maruelous summe of money of the common treasure. *Sylla* being offen-
ded with him for it, and demaunding an accompt of him before the Senate: he carelesly and
contemptuously stepped forth, saying he could make him no other accompt, but shewed him
the calfe of his legge, as children doe, when they make a fault at tennys. And thereof it came F
that euer after that they called him *Sura*, bicause *Sura* in Latin signifieth, the calfe of the legge.
Another time also being accused for a lewde part he had committed, he bribed some of the

Iudges

A Iudges with money, and being onely quit by two voyces more which he had in his fauor, he
sayd he had loſt his money he had giuen to one of thoſe two Iudges, bicauſe it was enough
for him to be cleered by one voice more. This man being of this diſpoſition, was firſt of all in-
cenſed by *Catiline*, and laſtly marred by certaine wiſards & falſe prognoſticators that had moc-
ked him with a vaine hope, ſinging verſes vnto him which they had fayned and deuiſed, and
falſe prophecies alſo, which they bare him in hande they had taken out of *Sybilles* bookes of
prophecie, which ſayd: that there ſhould raigne three *Cornely* at ROME, of the which, two had
already fulfilled the prophecie, *Cinna* and *Sylla*, and for the third, fortune layd it vpon him, and
therefore bad him goe thorow withall, and not to dreame it out loſing oportunitie as *Catiline*
had done. Now this *Lentulus* vndertooke no ſmall enterpriſe, but had an intent with him to kil
B all the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as they could murther, and to ſet fire of
ROME, ſparing none but *Pompeys* ſonnes, whome they would reſerue for pledges, to make their
peace afterwards with *Pompey*. For the rumor was very great and certein alſo, that he returned
from very great warres and conqueſts which he had made in the Eaſt contryes. So they layed
a plat to put their treaſon in execution, in one of the nights of *Saturnes* feaſtes. Further, they
had brought flaxe and brimſtone, and a great number of armors and weapons into *Cethegus*
houſe. Beſides all this prouiſion, they had appoynted a hundred men in an hundred partes of
the citie, to the ende that fire being rayſed in many places at one tyme, it ſhould the ſooner
ronne through the whole citie. Other men alſo were appoynted to ſtoppe the pypes and wa-
ter conduits which brought water to ROME, and to kill thoſe alſo that came for water to
C quench the fire. In all this ſturre, by chaunce there were two Ambaſſadors of the ALLOBRO-
GES, whoſe contry at that tyme did much miſlike of the ROMANES, and were vnwilling to be
ſubiect vnto them. *Lentulus* thought theſe men very fit inſtruments to cauſe all GAVLE to re-
bell. Thereuppon practiſing with them, he wanne them to be of their conſpiracie, and gaue
them letters directed to the counſell of their contrie, and in them did promiſe them freedom.
He ſent other letters alſo vnto *Catilin*, and perſwaded him to proclaime libertie to all bond-
men, and to come with all the ſpeede he could to ROME: and ſent with them one *Titus* of the
citie of CROTONA, to cary theſe letters. But all their counſells and purpoſes (like fooles that
neuer met together but at feaſtes, drincking droncke with light women) were eaſily found
out by *Cicero*: who had a carefull eye vpon them, and very wiſely and diſcreetely ſawe thorow
D them. For he had appoynted men out of the citie to ſpie their doings, which followed them to
ſee what they intended. Furthermore he ſpake ſecretly with ſome he truſted, (the which o-
thers alſo tooke to be of the conſpiracie) and knewe by them that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had
practiſed with the Ambaſſadors of the ALLOBROGES, and drawen them into their conſpira-
cie. At length he watched them one night ſo narrowly, that he tooke the Ambaſſadors, and
Titus CROTONIAN with the letters he caried, by helpe of the Ambaſſadors of the ALLO-
BROGES, which had ſecretly informed him of all before. The next morning by breake of day,
Cicero aſſembled the Senate in the temple of Concorde, and there openly red the letters, and
heard the euidence of the witneſſes. Further, there was one *Iunius Syllanus* a Senator that gaue
in euidence, that ſome heard *Cethegus* ſay they ſhould kill three Conſuls, and foure Prætors.
E *Piſo* a Senator alſo, and that had bene Conſul, tolde in manner the ſelfe ſame tale. And *Caius*
Sulpitius a Prætor, that was ſent into *Cethegus* houſe, reported that he had found great ſtore of
darts, armor, daggers and ſwordes new made. Laſtly, the Senate hauing promiſed *Titus* CRO-
TONIAN he ſhould haue no hurt, ſo he would tell what he knew of this conſpiracie: *Lentulus*
thereby was conuinced, and driuen to giue vppe his office of Prætor before the Senate, and
chaunging his purple gowne, to take another meete for his miſerable ſtate. This being done,
Lentulus and his conſorts were committed to warde, to the Prætors houſes. Now growing to-
wards euening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was aſſembled, *Cicero* at
length came out, and told them what they had done within. Thereuppon he was conueyed by
all the people vnto a friendes houſe of his hard by: for that his owne houſe was occupied by
F the Ladies of the citie, who were buſy ſolemnly celebrating a ſecret ſacrifice in the honor of
the goddeſſe, called of the ROMANES the good goddeſſe, and of the GRÆCIANS *Gynæcia*, to
wit feminine: vnto her this yearely ſacrifice is done at the Conſuls houſe, by the wife or mo-

Oratles of three Cornelij that ſhould raigne at Rome.

Great treaſon practiſed in Rome by C. Lentulus, and Cethegus.

The conſpira-tours apprehended.

ther of the Conſul then being, the Veſtal Nunnes being preſent at it. Now *Cicero* being comen A
into his neighbours houſe, beganne to bethinke him what courſe he were beſt to take in this
matter. For, to puniſh the offenders with ſeueritie, according to their deſerts, he was afraid to
doe it: both bicauſe he was of a curteous nature, as alſo for that he would not ſeeme to be
glad to haue occaſion to ſhew his abſolute power and authoritie, to puniſh (as he might) with
rigour, Citizens that were of the nobleſt houſes of the citie, & that had beſides many friends.
And contrariwiſe alſo, being remiſſe in ſo waightie a matter as this, he was affraid of the daun-
ger that might enſue of their raſhnes, miſtruſting that if he ſhould puniſh them with leſſe then
death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would
rather become more bold and deſperate then euer they were: adding moreouer the ſtyng and
ſpight of a newe malice vnto their accuſtomed wickednes, beſides that he him ſelfe ſhould be B
thought a coward and tymerous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of
him. *Cicero* being perplexed thus with theſe doubts, there appeared a miracle to the Ladies,
doing ſacrifice at home in his houſe. For the fire that was thought to be cleane out vpon the
aulter where they had ſacrificed, there ſodainely roſe out of the imbers of the ryend or barkes
which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amaſed all the other Ladies. Howbeit the
Veſtall Nũnes willed *Terentia* (*Ciceroes* wife) to go ſtraight vnto her husband, & to bid him not
to be affraid to execute that boldly which he had conſidered of, for the benefit of the cõmon
wealth: and that the goddeſſe had raiſed this great flame, to ſhewe him that he ſhould haue
great honor by doing of it. *Terentia*, that was no timerous nor faint harted woman, but very
ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affayres of C
the ſtate, then otherwiſe ſhe had acquainted him with her houſewiuery in the houſe, as *Cicero*
him ſelfe reporteth: ſhe went to make report thereof vnto him, and prayed him to doe execu-
tion of thoſe men. The like did *Quintus Cicero* his brother, and alſo *Publius Nigidius*, his friend
and fellow ſtudent with him in Philoſophie, and whoſe counſell alſo *Cicero* followed much in
the gouernment of the common wealth. The next morning, the matter being propounded to
Syllanus ſentence of the conſpirators. the arbitrement of the Senate, how theſe malefactors ſhould be puniſhed: *Syllanus* being as-
ked his opinion firſt, ſaid that they ſhould be put in priſon, and from thence to ſuffer execuți-
on. Others likewiſe that followed him, were all of that minde, but *Caius Cæſar*, that afterwards
came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and began to come forward, but yet ſuch
a one, as by his behauior and the hope he had, tooke ſuch a courſe, that afterwards he brought D
the common wealth of Rome into an abſolute Monarchie. For at that time, *Cicero* had vehe-
ment ſuſpicions of *Cæſar*, but no apparant proofe to conuince him. And ſome ſay, that it was
Cæſar priuie to Catilines conſpiracie. brought ſo neare, as he was almoſt conuicted, but yet ſaued him ſelfe. Other write to the con-
trary, that *Cicero* wittingly diſſembled, that he either heard or knew any ſignes which were told
him againſt *Cæſar*, being affraid in deede of his friends and eſtimation. For it was a cleere caſe,
that if they had accuſed *Cæſar* with the reſt, he vndoubtedly had ſooner ſaued all their liues,
Cæſars opinion for the puniſhment of the conſpirators. then he ſhould haue loſt his owne. Nowe when *Cæſar* came to deliuer his opinion touching
the puniſhment of theſe priſoners: he ſtoode vp and ſayde, that he did not thinke it good to
put them to death, but to confiſcate their goods: and as for their perſons, that they ſhould be-
ſtow them in priſon, ſome in one place, ſome in another, in ſuch cities of Italy, as pleaſed *Ci-* E
cero beſt, vntill the warre of *Catilin* were ended. This ſentence being very mild, and the author
thereof maruelous eloquent to make it good: *Cicero* him ſelf added thereunto a counterpeaſe,
inclining vnto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the firſt, and partly alſo the opini-
on of *Cæſar*. His friends thinking that *Cæſars* opinion was the ſafeſt for *Cicero*, bicauſe thereby
he ſhould deſerue leſſe blame for that he had not put the priſoners to death: they followed ra-
ther the ſecond. Whereuppon *Syllanus* alſo recanted that he had ſpoken, and expounded his
opinion: ſaying, that when he ſpake they ſhould be put to death, he ment nothing ſo, but
thought the laſt puniſhment a Senator of Rome could haue, was the priſon. But the firſt that
contraried this opinion, was *Catulus Luctatius*, and after him *Cato*, who with vehement wordes
enforced *Cæſars* ſuſpition, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and corage: ſo F
that euen vpon the inſtant it was decreed by moſt voyces, that they ſhould ſuffer death. But
Cæſar ſtept vp again, & ſpake againſt the confiſcation of their goods, miſliking that they ſhould

reiect

A reiect the gentleſt part of his opinion, and that contrariwiſe they ſhould ſticke vnto the ſeuereſt onely: howbeit bicauſe the greateſt number preuailed againſt him, he called the Tribunes to ayde him, to the ende they ſhould withſtand it: but they would giue no eare vnto him. *Cicero* thereupon yelding of him ſelf, did remit the confiſcation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetche the priſoners: who were not all in one houſe, but euery Prætor had one of them. So he went firſt to take *C. Lentulus*, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy ſtreete and the market place, accompanied with the chiefeſt men of the citie, who compaſſed him round about, and garded his perſon. The people ſeeing that, quaked and trembled for feare, paſſed by, and ſayd neuer a word: and ſpecially the younge men, who thought it had bene ſome ſolemne miſterie for the health of their contry, that was ſo accom-

B panied with the chiefe Magiſtrate, and the noble men of the citie, with terror and feare. So when he had paſſed through the market place, and was come to the priſon, he deliuered *Lentulus* into the handes of the hangman, and commaunded him to doe execution. Afterwardes alſo *Cethegus*, and then all the reſt one after another, whome he brought to the priſon him ſelfe, and cauſed them to be executed. Furthermore, ſeeing diuers of their accomplices in a trowpe together in the market place, who knewe nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, ſuppoſing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet aliue: he turned vnto them, and ſpake alowd, they liued. This is a phraſe of ſpeeche which the Romanes vſe ſometyme, when they will finely conuey the hardnes of the ſpeeche, to ſay he is dead. When night was comen, and that

C he was going homeward, as he came through the market place, the people did wayte vpon him no more with ſilence as before, but with great cryes of his praiſe, and clapping of handes in euery place he went, and called him Sauior, and ſecond fownder of Rome. Beſides all this, at euery mans dore there were lynckes and torches lighted, that it was as light in the ſtreetes, as at noone dayes. The very women alſo did put lights out of the toppes of their houſes to doe him honor, and alſo to ſee him ſo nobly brought home, with ſuch a long trayne of the chiefeſt men of the citie, (of the which many of them had ended great warres for the which they had triumphed, and had obteyned many famous conqueſts to the Empire of Rome, both by ſea and land) confeſſing betwene them ſelues one to another, that the Romanes were greatly bound to many Captaines and generalls of armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches,

D ſpoyles, and increaſe of their power which they had wonne: howbeit that they were to thanke *Cicero* onely, for their health and preſeruation, hauing ſaued them from ſo great and extreme a daunger. Not for that they thought it ſo wonderfull an acte to haue ſtriken dead the enterpriſe of the conſpirators, and alſo to haue puniſhed the offenders by death: but bicauſe the conſpiracie of *Catilin* being ſo great and daungerous an inſurrection as euer was any, he had quenched it, and pluckt it vp by the rootes, with ſo ſmall hurt, and without vprore, trouble, or actuall ſedition. For, the moſt part of them that were gathered together about *Catiline*, when they heard that *Lentulus* and all the reſt were put to death, they preſently forſooke him: and *Catiline* him ſelfe alſo fighting a battell with them he had about him, againſt *Antonius* the o-

Catilin ſlaine in battell by Antonius.

ther Conſul with *Cicero*, he was ſlayne in the fielde, and all his armie defeated. This notwith-

E ſtanding, there were many that ſpake ill of *Cicero* for this facte, and ment to make him repent it, hauing for their heades *Cæſar*, (who was already choſen Prætor for the yeare to come) *Metellus* and *Beſtia*, who ſhould alſo be choſen Tribunes. They, ſo ſoone as they were choſen Tribunes, would not once ſuffer *Cicero* to ſpeake to the people, notwithſtanding that he was yet in his office of Conſul for certaine dayes. And furthermore, to let him that he ſhould not ſpeake vnto the people, they did ſet their benches vpon the pulpit for orations, which they call at Rome, Roſtra: and would neuer ſuffer him to ſet foote in it, but onely to reſigne his office, and that done, to come downe againe immediatly. He graunted thereunto, and went vp to the pulpit vpon that condition. So ſilence being made him, he made an othe, not like vnto other Conſuls othes when they reſigne their office in like manner, but ſtraunge, and neuer

Cæſar choſen Prætor. Metellus and Beſtia, Tribunes of the people.

F heard of before: ſwearing, that he had ſaued the citie of Rome, and preſerued all his contry and the Empire of Rome from vtter ruine and deſtruction. All the people that were preſent, confirmed it, and ſware the like othe. Wherewithall *Cæſar* and the other Tribunes his ene-

The execution of the conſpirators.

They liued: A word vſurped for the dead.

Ciceroes praiſe

Cicero reſigneth his office.

mies were so offended with him, that they deuised to breede him some new sturre & trouble: & amongest others, they made a decree, that *Pompey* should be sent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of *Cicero*. *Cato*, (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the common wealth, opposing him selfe against all their practises, with the like authoritie and power that they had, being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better estimation then they. So that he did not onely easily breake all their deuises, but also in a goodly oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly praised and extolled *Ciceroes* Consulship vnto them, and the thinges he did in his office: that they gaue him the greatest honors that euer were decreed or graunted vnto any man liuing. For by decree of the people he was called, father of the contry, as *Cato* him selfe had called him in his oration: the which name was neuer giuen to any man, but onely vnto him, & also he bare greater swaye in Rome at that time, then any man beside him. This notwithstanding, he made him selfe enuyed and misliked of many men, not for any ill acte he did, or ment to doe: but onely bicause he did too much boast of him selfe. For he neuer was in any assembly of people, Senate, or iudgement, but euery mans head was full still to heare the sound of *Catulus* and *Lentulus* brought in for sporte, and filling the bookes and workes he compiled besides full of his owne prayses: the which made his sweete and pleasant stile, tedious, and troublesom to those that heard them, as though this misfortune euer followed him to take away his excellent grace. But nowe, though he had this worme of ambition, and extreme couetous desire of honor in his head, yet did he not malice or enuy any others glory, but would very franckly praise excellent men, as well those that had bene before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They haue written also certaine notable wordes he spake of some auncient men in olde time, as of *Aristotle*: that he was like a golden flowing riuer: and of *Plato*, that if *Iupiter* him selfe would speake, he would speake like him: and of *Theophrastus*, he was wont to call him his delight: & of *Demosthenes* orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: the longest saide he. There be diuers writers also, who to shewe that they were great followers of *Demosthenes*, doe followe *Ciceroes* saying in a certaine epistle he wrote vnto one of his friends, wherein he said that *Demosthenes* slept in some of his orations: but yet they forget to tel how highly he praised him in that place, and that he calleth the orations which he wrote against *Antonius* (in the which he tooke great paines, and studied more then all the rest) PHILIPPIANS: to followe those which *Demosthenes* wrote against *Philip* king of MACEDON. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his tyme, either in eloquence, or in learning, whose fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwise in honorable speech of him. For he obteyned of *Cæsar*, when he had the Empire of ROME in his handes, that *Cratippus* the PERIPATETICKE Philosopher was made Citizen of ROME. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Areopagites, he was intreated to remaine at ATHENS, to teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was a great honor & ornament vnto their city. There are extant also of *Ciceroes* epistles vnto *Herodes*, & others vnto his sonne, willing him to follow *Cratippus* in his studie and knowledge. He wrote an other letter also vnto *Gorgias* the Rethoritian, and forbad him his sonnes company: bicause he vnderstood he intised him to dronkennes, & to other great dishonestie. Of all his epistles he wrote in greeke, there is but that onely written in choller, and another which he wrote vnto *Pelops* BYZANTINE. And for that he wrote to *Gorgias*, he had great reason to be offended with him, and to tawnt him in his letter: bicause (as it seemed) he was a man of very lewde life and conuersation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to *Pelops*, finding him selfe greued with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the BYZANTINES to ordeine some publike honors in his behalfe: that me thinkes proceeded of ouermuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, and onely bicause he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded *Munatius* cause before the Iudges, who shortly after accused *Sabinus* a friend of his: it is reported that he was so angry with him, that he told him, what *Munatius*, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine accusation, not for thine innocency, but for a miste I cast before the Iudges eies, that made them they could not discerne the fault? An other tyme also, hauing openly praysed *Marcus Crassus* in the pulpit, with good audience

Ciceroes Consulship praised by Cato.

Cicero the first man called, Father of the contry.

Cicero too much giuen to praise him self

Cicero friendly to praise others.

Cicero sayth, Demosthenes sleepeth in his orations.

Ciceroes subtile and pleasant sayings.

of

A of the people: ſhortly after he ſpake to the contrary, all the euill he could of him, in the ſame place. Why, how now, ſayde *Craſſus*: dideſt thou not thy ſelfe highly prayſe me in this place, the laſt day? I can not deny it, ſayd *Cicero*: but in deede I tooke an ill matter in hand to ſhewe mine eloquence. An other time *Craſſus* chaunced to ſay in an open aſſembly, that none of all the *Craſſi* of his houſe that euer liued aboue lx. yeares: and afterwards againe repenting him ſelfe, he called it in againe, and ſayde, Sure I knewe not what I did, when I ſayd ſo. *Cicero* aunſwered him againe: thou kneweſt well enough the people were glad to heare it, and therefore ſpakeſt it to pleaſe them. Another time *Craſſus* liking the opinion of the Stoicke Philoſophers, that ſayd the wiſe man was euer riche: *Cicero* aunſwered him, and bad him conſider whether they ment not thereby, that the wiſe man had all thinges. *Craſſus* couetouſnes was

The Stoicket opinion: A wiſe man is euer riche.

B defamed of euery man. Of *Craſſus* ſonnes, one of them did much reſemble *Actius*, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one daye this ſonne of *Craſſus* made an oration before the Senate, which diuers of them commended very muche. So, *Cicero* beeing asked how he liked it: me thinkes, ſayde he, it is * *Actius* of *Craſſus*. About this tyme, *Craſſus* being ready to take his iorney into SYRIA, he deſired to haue *Cicero* his friend, rather thē his enemy. Therefore one night making muche of him, he tolde *Cicero* that he would come and ſuppe with him. *Cicero* ſayde he ſhould be welcome. Shortly after ſome of his friendes told him of *Vatinius*, how he was deſirous to be made friendes with him, for he was his enemy. What, q. *Cicero*, and will he come to ſupper too? Thus he vſed *Craſſus*. Now this *Vitinius* hauing a ſwollen necke, one daye pleading before *Cicero*: he called him the ſwollen Orator. Another

* Ἄξιος ὑπὸ Ἀκτίου. *Actius, is a proper name of a Romane, and ἄξιος in Greeke ſignifieth, worthy: So the grace of the equiuocation can not be expreſſed in any other language.*

C tyme when he heard ſay that he was dead, and then that he was aliue againe: a vengeance on him, ſayde he, that hath lyed ſo ſhamefully. Another tyme when *Cæſar* had made a lawe for the deuiding of the lands of CAMPANIA vnto the ſouldiers: diuers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, *Lucius Gellius* (a very olde man) ſaid, he would neuer graunt it while he liued. *Cicero* pleaſauntly aunſwered againe, alas, tary a litle, the good olde man will not trouble you long. Another tyme there was one *Octauius*, ſuppoſed to be * an AFRICAN borne. He when *Cicero* on a time pleaded a matter, ſaide that he heard him not: *Cicero* preſently aunſwered him againe, and yet haſt thou a hole bored through thine eare. Another time *Metellus Nepos* told him, that he had ouerthrowen moe men by his witnes, then he had

* *Becauſe the Africanes haue commonly their eares bored through*

D ſaued by his eloquence. I graunt ſaid *Cicero*, for in deede I haue more faith, then eloquence in me. So was there alſo a younge man that was ſuſpected to haue poyſoned his father with a tarte, that boaſted he would reuile *Cicero*: I had rather haue that of thee, q. *Cicero*, then thy tarte. *Publius Sextius* alſo hauing a matter before the Iudges, enterteyned *Cicero*, with other of his Counſellers: but yet he would ſpeake all him ſelfe, and giue none of the Orators leaue to ſay any thing. In the ende, when they ſawe plainely that the Iudges would diſcharge him, being ready to giue ſentence: *Cicero* ſaide vnto him, beſturre thee hardily to day for to morrowe *Sextius* thou ſhalt be a priuate man. Another, one *Publius Scotta*, who would fayne haue bene thought a wiſe Lawyer, and yet had litle witte and vnderſtanding: *Cicero* appealed to him as a witnes in a matter, and being examined, he aunſwered he knewe nothing of

E it. *Cicero* replied to him againe: thou thinkeſt peraduenture they aske thee touching the law. Againe, *Metellus Nepos*, in a certaine diſputacion he had with *Cicero*, did many times repeate, who is thy father? *Cicero* aunſwered him againe: thy mother hath made this queſtion harder for thee to aunſwer. This *Nepos* mother was reported to be a light houſewife, and he as ſuttle witted and vnconſtant. For he being Tribune, left in a geere the exerciſe of his office, and went into SYRIA to *Pompey*, vpon no occaſion: and as fondly againe he returned thence, vpon a ſodaine. His Schoolemaiſter *Philager* alſo being dead, he buried him very honeſtly, and ſet a crowe of ſtone vpon the toppe of his tombe. *Cicero* finding it, tolde him: thou haſt done very wiſely: for thy Maiſter hath taught thee rather to flie, then to ſpeake. Another time *Appius Clodius* pleading a matter, ſaide in his preamble that his friende had earneſtly requeſted him to employe all his knowledge, diligence, and faith vpon this matter. O

F goddes, ſaide *Cicero*, and haſt thou ſhewed thy ſelfe ſo harde harted to thy friende, that thou haſt performed none of all theſe he requeſted thee? Nowe to vſe theſe fine tawnts and girds to his enemies, it was a parte of a good Orator: but ſo commonly to girde euery man to

make the people laughe, that wanne him greate ill will of many, as ſhall appeare by ſome A
examples I will tell you. *Marcus Aquinius* had two ſonnes in lawe, who were both baniſhed: *Cicero* therefore called him *Adraſtus*. *Lucius Cotta* by chaunce alſo was Cenſor at that tyme, when *Cicero* ſued to be Conſul: and beeing there at the daye of the election, he was a thyrſt, and was driuen to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friendes ſtoode about him, and after he had dronke, he ſaide vnto them. It is well done of ye, ſayde he, to be affrayed leaſt the Cenſor ſhoulde be angry with me, bicauſe I drinke water: for it was reported the Cenſor loued wine well. Another tyme *Cicero* meeting one *Voconius*, with three fowle Daughters of his with him, he cryed out alowd:

This man hath gotten children in deſpight of Phœbus.

It was thought in Rome that *Marcus Gellius* was not borne of free parents by father and B
mother, who reading certaine letters one daye in the Senate very lowde: *Cicero* ſayde vnto them that were about him, wonder not at it, quoth he, for this man hath beene a cryer in his dayes. *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla* Dictator at Rome, which ſette vppe billes outlawing diuers Romanes, making it lawefull for any man to kill them without daunger where they founde them: this man after he had ſpent the moſte parte of his fathers goods, was ſo ſore in debt, that he was driuen to ſell his houſhold ſtuffe, by billes ſette vp on euery poſte. *Cicero* when he ſawe them, yea mary ſaide he, theſe billes pleaſe me better, then thoſe which his father ſette vppe. Theſe tawntes and common quippes without purpoſe, made diuers men to malice him. The great ill will that *Clodius* bare him, beganne vppon this occaſion. *The malice betwixt Cicero & Clodius.* *Clodius* was of a noble houſe, a younge man, and very wilde and inſolent. He being in loue C
with *Pompeia Cæſars* wife, founde the meanes ſecretly to gette into *Cæſars* houſe, apparelled like a younge ſinging wenche, bicauſe on that daye the Ladyes of Rome did ſolemnly celebrate a ſecret ſacrifice in *Cæſars* houſe, which is not lawefull for men to be preſent at. So there was no man there but *Clodius*, who thought he ſhoulde not haue bene knowen, bicauſe he was but a younge man without any heare on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to *Pompeia* amongeſt the other women. He beeing gotten into this great houſe by night, not knowing the roomes and chambers in it: there was one of *Cæſars* mothers maydes of her chamber called *Aurelia*, who ſeeing him wandring vp and downe the houſe in this ſorte, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to aunſwer, he ſaide he ſought for *Aura*, one of *Pompeias* maides. The maide perceiued ſtraight it was no D
womans voice, and therewithal gaue a great ſhriche, and called the other women: the which did ſee the gates faſt ſhut, and then ſought euery corner vp and downe, ſo that at length they found him in the maides chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was ſtraight blowen abroad in the citie, whereuppon *Cæſar* put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes alſo accuſed *Clodius*, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy ceremonies of the ſacrifices. *Cicero* at that time was yet his friend, beeing one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had euer accompanied him to garde him, if any man would haue offered him iniurie in the buſie time of the conſpiracie of *Catiline*. *Clodius* ſtowtly denied the matter he was burdened with, and ſaide that he was not in Rome at that time, but farre from thence. Howbeit *Cicero* gaue euidence againſt him, and depoſed, that the ſelfe ſame daye he came home E
to his houſe vnto him, to ſpeake with him about certaine matters. This in deede was true, *Cicero gaue euidence againſt Clodius* though it ſeemeth *Cicero* gaue not this euidence ſo muche for the truthes ſake, as to pleaſe his wife *Terentia*: for ſhe hated *Clodius* to the deathe, bicauſe of his ſiſter *Clodia* that would haue maried *Cicero*, and did ſecretly practiſe the mariage by one *Tullius*, who was *Ciceroes* very friende, and bicauſe he repayred very often to this *Clodia* that dwelt harde by *Cicero*, *Terentia* beganne to ſuſpect him. *Terentia* beeing a cruell woman, and wearing her husbandes breeches: allured *Cicero* to ſette vppon *Clodius* in his aduerſitie, and to witneſſe agaynſt him, as many other honeſt men of the citie alſo did: Some that he was periured, others that he committed a thowſande lewde partes, that he brybed the people with money, that he had intiſed and deflowred many women. *Lucullus* alſo brought forthe cer- F
The wicked parts of Clodius. tayne Maydens which depoſed that *Clodius* had deflowred the youngeſt of his owne ſiſters, ſhe beeing in houſe with him, and maryed. And there went a greate rumor alſo, that he

knewe

A knewe his two other ſiſters, of the which the one was called * *Terentia*, and maried vnto king *Martius*: and the other *Clodia*, whome *Metellus Celer* had maried, and whom they commonly called *Quadrantaria*: bicauſe one of her Paramours ſent her a purſe ful of quadrynes (which are litle peeces of copper money) in ſtead of ſiluer. *Clodius* was ſlaundered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithſtanding, the people were very much offended with them, that gaue euidence againſt him, and accuſed him. The Iudges being affrayed of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his iudgemẽt, for the ſafetie of their perſons: and in the tables where they wrote their ſentences, their letters for the moſt part were confuſedly ſet downe. This notwithſtanding, it was found that he was quit by the greateſt number: and it was reported alſo that ſome of them were cloſe fiſted. *Catulus* therefore meeting with B ſome of them going home, after they had giuen their ſentence, told them: ſurely ye had good reaſon to be well garded for your ſafetie, for you were affraid your money ſhould haue bene taken from you, which you tooke for bribes. And *Cicero* ſayd vnto *Clodius*, who reproued him that his witnes was not true he gaue againſt him: cleane contrary, ꝙ *Cicero*, for fiue and twenty of the Iudges haue beleued me, beeing ſo many that haue condemned thee, and the thirty would not beleeue thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingered money. Notwithſtanding, in this iudgement *Cæſar* neuer gaue euidence againſt *Clodius*: & ſaid moreouer, that he did not think his wife had committed any adultery, howbeit that he had put her away, bicauſe he would that *Cæſars* wife ſhould not only be clean from any diſhoneſty, but alſo void of all ſuſpition. *Clodius* being quit of this accuſation and trouble, & hauing alſo found meanes C to be choſen Tribune: he beganne ſtraight to perſecute *Cicero*, chaunging all thinges, and ſtirring vp all manner of people againſt him. Firſt he wanne the good will of the common people by deuiſing of newe lawes which he preferred, for their benefit and commoditie: to both the Conſuls he graunted great and large prouinces: vnto *Piſo*, MACEDON, and to *Gabinius*, SYRIA. He made alſo many poore men free Citizens, and had alwayes about him a great number of ſlaues armed. At that preſent tyme there were three notable men in ROME, which caried all the ſwaye: *Craſſus*, that ſhewed him ſelfe an open enemie vnto *Cicero*: *Pompey* the other, made muche both of the one and the other: the third was *Cæſar*, who was prepared for his iorney into GAVLE with an armie. *Cicero* did leane vnto him, (though he knewe him no faſt friende of his, and that he miſtruſted him for matters paſt in *Catilines* conſpira- D cie) and prayed him that he might goe to the warres with him, as one of his Lieuetenants. *Cæſar* graunted him. Thereuppon *Clodius* perceiuing that by this meanes he got him out of the daunger of his office of Tribuneſhip for that yeare, he made fayer weather with him (as though he ment to reconcile him ſelfe vnto him) and tolde him that he had cauſe rather to thinke ill of *Terentia*, for that he had done againſt him, then of him ſelfe, and alwayes ſpake very curteouſly of him as occaſion fell out, and ſayde he did thinke nothing in him, nether had any malice to him, howbeit it did a litle grieue him, that being a friend, he was offered vnkindnes by his friend. Theſe ſweete wordes made *Cicero* no more affraied, ſo that he gaue vp his Lieuetenancie vnto *Cæſar*, and beganne againe to pleade as he did before. *Cæſar* tooke this in ſuch diſdaine, that he hardened *Clodius* the more againſt him, and beſides, made *Pompey* E his enemie. And *Cæſar* him ſelfe alſo ſayd before all the people, that he thought *Cicero* had put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the reſt, vniuſtly to death, and contrary to lawe, without lawfull tryall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which *Cicero* was openly accuſed. Thereuppon *Cicero* ſeeing him ſelfe accuſed for this facte, he chaunged his vſuall gowne he wore, and put on a mourning gowne: and ſo ſuffering his beard and heare of his head to growe without any coeming, he went in this humble manner, and ſued to the people. But *Clodius* was euer about him in euery place and ſtreete he went, hauing a ſight of raskalls and knaues with him that ſhamefully mocked him for that he had chaunged his gowne and countenance in that ſort, and oftentimes they caſt durt and ſtones at him, breaking his talke and requeſts he made vnto the people. This notwithſtanding, all the knights of ROME did in manner F chaunge their gownes with him for companie, and of them there were commonly twenty thowſand younge gentlemen of noble houſe which followed him with their heare about their eares, & were ſuters to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate aſſembled to decree

* *Some bible bookes doe read Terria.*

Clodius quit, and found not guilty.

Cæſars wordes of the putting away his wife Pompeia.

Clodius choſen Tribune of the people.

Piſo and Gabinius Conſuls.

Craſſus, Pompey, and Cæſar, three of the greateſt men in Rome, tooke part with Clodius againſt Cicero

Cicero accuſed of Clodius

The knights of Rome and Senate chaūged garments for Ciceroes ſake.

that the people ſhould mourne in blacks, as in a common calamitie: But the Conſuls were a- A
gainſt it. And *Clodius* on thother ſide was with a band of armed men about the Senate, ſo that
many of the Senators ranne out of the Senat, crying, & tearing their clothes for ſorow. How-
beit theſe men ſeeing all that, were nothing the more moued with pity and ſhame: but either
Cicero muſt needes abſent him ſelfe, or els determine to fight with *Clodius*. Then went *Cicero*
to intreat *Pompey* to ayde him: But he abſented him ſelfe of purpoſe out of the citie, bicauſe
he would not be intreated, and laye at one of his houſes in the contry, neare vnto the citie of
ALBA. So he firſt of all ſent *Piſo* his ſonne in lawe vnto him to intreate him, and afterwardes
Pōpey would not ſee Cicero being accuſed went him ſelfe in perſon to him. But *Pompey* beeing tolde that he was come, had not the
harte to ſuffer him to come to him, to looke him in the face: for he had bene paſt all ſhame
to haue refuſed the requeſt of ſo worthy a man, who had before ſhewed him ſuche pleaſure, B
and alſo done and ſayde ſo many thinges in his fauor. Howbeit *Pompey* beeing the ſonne in
lawe of *Cæſar*, did vnfortunately (at his requeſt) forſake him at his neede, vnto whome he
was bownde for ſo many infinite pleaſures, as he had receyued of him afore: and therefore
when he hearde ſaye he came to him, he went out at his backe gate and woulde not ſpeake
with him. So *Cicero* ſeeing him ſelfe betrayed of him, and nowe hauing no other refuge to
whome he might repayre vnto: he put him ſelfe into the handes of the two Conſuls. Of
them two, *Gabinius* was euer cruell, and churliſhe vnto him. But *Piſo* on thother ſide ſpake
alwayes very curteouſly vnto him, and prayed him to abſent him ſelfe for a tyme, and to
giue place a litle to *Clodius* furie, and paciently to beare the chaunge of the tyme: For in ſo
doing, he might come agayne another tyme to be the preſeruer of his contry, which was C
nowe for his ſake in tumult and ſedition. *Cicero* vpon this aunſwer of the Conſul, conſulted
with his friendes: amonge the which *Lucullus* gaue him aduiſe to tary, and ſayd that he ſhould
be the ſtronger. But all the reſt were of contrary opinion, and would haue him to get him a-
way with ſpeede: for the people would ſhortly wiſhe for him agayne, when they had once
bene beaten with *Clodius* furie and folly. *Cicero* liked beſt to followe this counſell. Where-
uppon hauing had a ſtatue of *Minerua* a long tyme in his houſe, the which he greatly reue-
Ciceroes exile renced: he caried her him ſelfe, and gaue her to the Capitoll with this inſcription: *Vnto Mi-
nerua, Protector of* ROME. So, his friends hauing giuen him ſafe conduct, he went out of ROME
about midnight, and tooke his way through the contry of LVKE by lande, meaning to goe
into SICILE. When it was knowen in ROME that he was fledde, *Clodius* did preſently ba- D
niſhe him by decree of the people, and cauſed billes of inhibition to be ſette vppe, that no
man ſhould ſecretly receiue him within fiue hundred myles compaſſe of ITALY. Howbeit
diuers men reuerencing *Cicero*, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had v-
ſed him with all manner of curteſie poſſible, they did conduct him beſides at his departure,
Hipponium, alias Vibone: a city in Luke ſauing one citie onely in LVKE, called at that tyme HIPPONIVM, and nowe VIBONE: where
a SICILIAN called *Vibius*, (vnto whome *Cicero* before had done many pleaſures, and ſpeci-
ally amonge others, had made him Maiſter of the workes in the yeare that he was Conſul)
would not once receyue him into his houſe, but promiſed him he woulde appoynt him a
place in the contry that he might goe vnto. And *Caius Virgilius* alſo, at that tyme Prætor
and gouernor of SICILE, who before had ſhewed him ſelfe his very greate friende: wrote E
then vnto him, that he ſhoulde not come neare vnto SICILE. This grieued him to the
harte. Thereuppon he went directly vnto the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, and there imbarked
to paſſe ouer the ſea vnto DYRRACHIVM, and at the firſt had winde at will: but when he
was in the mayne ſea, the winde turned, and brought him backe agayne to the place from
whence he came. But after that, he hoyſed ſayle agayne, and the reporte went, that at his
A wonder ſhewed vnto Cicero in his exile. arryuall at DYRRACHIVM when he tooke lande, the earth ſhooke vnder him, and the ſea
gaue backe together: Whereby the Sootheſayers enterpreted, that his exile ſhoulde not
be longe, bicauſe both the one and the other was a token of chaunge. Yet *Cicero*, notwith-
Ciceroes faint hart in his exile. ſtanding that many men came to ſee him for the goodwill they bare him, and that the cities
of GRÆCE contended who ſhoulde moſt honor him, he was alwayes ſadde, and could not F
be merie, but caſt his eyes ſtill towardes ITALY, as paſſioned louers doe towardes the wo-
men they loue: ſhewing him ſelfe faynte harted, and tooke this aduerſitie more baſely,

then

A then was looked for of one ſo well ſtudied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes praied his friends, not to call him Orator, but rather Philoſopher: ſaying, that Philoſophie was his chiefeſt profeſſion, & that for his eloquence he did not vſe it, but as a neceſſary inſtrument to one that pleadeth in the common wealth. But glory, and opinion, hath great power to take mans reaſon from him, euen like a culler, from the minds of them that are common pleaders in matters of ſtate, and to make them feele the ſelfe ſame paſſions that common people doe, by dayly frequenting their companie: vnles they take great heede of them, and that they come to practiſe in the common wealth with this reſolute minde, to haue to doe with the like matters that the common people haue, but not to entangle them ſelues with the like paſſions and moodes, by the which their matters doe riſe. Nowe *Clodius* was not contented that he had ba-

The wonderfull power of glory.

B niſhed *Cicero* out of ITALY, but further he burnt all his houſes in the contry, and his houſe alſo in ROME ſtanding in the market place, of the which he built a temple of libertie, and cauſed his goods to be ſolde by the cryer: ſo that the cryer was occupied all daye long crying the goods to be ſold, and no man offered to buye any of them. The chiefeſt men of the citie beginning to be afrayd of theſe violent parts, and hauing the common people at his commaundement, whom he had made very bold and inſolent: he beganne to inuey againſt *Pompey*, and ſpake ill of his doings in the time of his warres, the which euery man els but him ſelf did commend. *Pompey* then was very angry with him ſelfe that he had ſo forſaken *Cicero*, and repented him of it, and by his friendes procured all the meanes he could to call him home againe from his baniſhment. *Clodius* was againſt it all he could. The Senate notwithſtanding with one full

Pompey changing mind, doth fauor Cicero.

C conſent ordeyned, that nothing ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the common wealth, before *Ciceroes* baniſhment were firſt repealed. *Lentulus* was at that tyme Conſul, and there grewe ſuch an vprore and ſturre apon it, that ſome of the Tribunes were hurt in the market place, and *Quintus Cicero* (the brother of *Cicero*) was ſlayne and hidden vnder the deade bodies. Then the people beganne to chaunge their mindes. And *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, was the firſt man that durſt venter vpon *Clodius*, and bringe him by force to be tryed before the Iudges. *Pompey* him ſelfe alſo hauing gotten a great number of men about him, aſwell of the citie of ROME as of other townes adioyning to it, beeing ſtrongly garded with them: he came out of his houſe, and compelled *Clodius* to get him out of the market place, and then called the people to giue their voyces, for the calling home agayne of *Cicero*. It is reported

Lentulus, Conſul.

D that the people neuer paſſed thinge with ſo great good will, nor ſo wholy together, as the returne of *Cicero*. And the Senate for their partes alſo, in the behalfe of *Cicero*, ordeyned that the cities which had honored and receiued *Cicero* in his exile, ſhoulde be greatly commended: and that his houſes which *Clodius* had ouerthrowen and raſed, ſhould be reedified at the charge of the common wealth. So *Cicero* returned the ſixtenth moneth after his baniſhment, and the townes and cities he came by, ſhewed them ſelues ſo ioyfull of his returne, that all manner of men went to meete and honor him, with ſo great loue and affection, that *Ciceroes* reporte thereof afterwardes came in deede ſhort of the very truth as it was. For he ſayde, that ITALY brought him into ROME vpon their ſhoulders. Inſomuch as *Craſſus* him ſelfe, who before his baniſhment was his enemie, went then with very good will vn-

Cicero called home from baniſhment.

E to him, and became his friende; ſaying: that he did it for the loue of his ſonne, who loued *Cicero* with all his hart. Nowe *Cicero* beeing returned, he found a tyme when *Clodius* was out of the citie, and went with a good companie of his friendes vnto the Capitoll, and there tooke away the tables, and brake them, in the which *Clodius* had written all his actes that he had paſſed and done in the tyme of his Tribuneſhip. *Clodius* would afterwardes haue accuſed *Cicero* for it: But *Cicero* aunſwered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, bicauſe he was of the PATRICIANS, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneſhip was voyde, and of none effect. Therewith *Cato* was offended, and ſpake againſt him, not for that he liked any of *Clodius* doings: (but to the contrary, vtterly miſliked all that he did) but

Cicero taketh away the tables of Clodius actes out of the Capitoll.

bicauſe he thought it out of all reaſon, that the Senate ſhoulde cancell all thoſe thinges

F which he had done and paſſed in his Tribuneſhip, and ſpecially, bicauſe amongeſt the reſt that was there which he him ſelfe had done in the Ile of CYPRVS, and in the citie of BYZANTIVM. Hereuppon there grewe ſome ſtraungenes betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, the which

notwithstanding brake not out to open enmitie: but onely to an abstinence of their wonted familiaritie, and accesse one to another. Shortly after, *Milo* slue *Clodius*. *Milo* beeing accused of murder, prayed *Cicero* to pleade his cause. The Senate fearing that this accusation of *Milo*, (who was a hardie man, and of qualitie besides) woulde moue some sedition and vprore in the citie: they gaue commission to *Pompey* to see iustice executed aswell in this cause, as in other offences, that the citie might be quiet, and iudgement also executed with safetie. Thereuppon *Pompey* the night before tooke the highest places of the market place, by his souldiers that were armed, whome he placed thereabout. *Milo* fearing that *Cicero* woulde bee affraied to see suche a number of harnest men about him, beeing no vsuall matter, and that it might peraduenture hinder him to pleade his cause well: he prayed him he woulde come betymes in the morning in his litter into the market place, and there to staye the comming of the Iudges, till the place were full. For *Cicero* was not onely fearefull in warres, but timerous also in pleading. For in deede he neuer beganne to speake, but it was in feare: and when his eloquence was come to the best proofe and perfection, he neuer left his trembling and timerousnes. Insomuch that pleading a case for *Mutius Murena* (accused by *Cato*,) striuing to excell *Hortensius*, whose pleading was very well thought of: he tooke no rest all night, and what through watching, and the trouble of his minde he was not very well, so that he was not so well liked for his pleading, as *Hortensius*. So, going to defend *Miloes* cause, when he came out of his litter, and sawe *Pompey* set aloft as if he had beene in a campe, and the market place compassed about with armed men, glistering in euery corner: it so amated him, that he could scant facion him selfe to speake, all the partes of him did so quake and tremble, and his voyce could not come to him. But *Milo* on the other side stoode boldly by him him selfe, without any feare at all of the iudgement of his cause, nether did he let his heere growe, as other men accused did: nether did he weare any mourning gowne, the which was (as it seemed) one of the chiefest causes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timerousnes of *Cicero* came rather of the goodwill he bare vnto his friends, then of any cowardly minde of him selfe. He was also chosen one of the Priestes of the Soothesayers, which they call Augures, in the roome of *P. Crassus* the younger, who was slayne in the Realme of PARTHIA. Afterwardes, the prouince of CILICIA being appoynted to him, with an armie of twelue thowsand footemen, and two thowsand fiue hundred horsemen, he tooke the sea to goe thither. So when he was arriued there, he brought CAPPADOCIA agayne into the subiection and obedience of king *Ariobarzanes* according to his commission and commaundement giuen by the Senate: moreouer, both there and elsewhere he tooke as excellent good order as could be deuised, in reducing of thinges to quietnes, without warres. Furthermore, finding that the CILICIANS were growen somewhat stowt and vnruly, by the ouerthrowe the ROMANES had of the PARTHIANS, and by reason of their rising and rebellion in SYRIA: he brought them vnto reason by gentle perswasions, and neuer receiued giftes that were sent him, no not from Kinges and Princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the prouinces of the feastes and banckets they were wont to make other gouernors before him. On the other side also, he woulde euer haue the company of good and learned men at his table, and would vse them well, without curiositie and excesse. He had neuer porter to his gate, nor was seene by any man in his bed: For he would alwayes rise at the breake of daye, and would walke or stande before his dore. He would curteously receiue all them that came to salute and visite him. Further they report of him, that he neuer caused man to be beaten with roddes, nor to teare his owne garments. In his anger he neuer reuiled any man, nether did dispightfully set fine vpon any mans heade. Finding many thinges also belonging to the common wealth, which priuate men had stollen and imbecelled to their owne vse: he restored them agayne vnto the cities, whereby they grewe very riche and wealthie: and yet did he saue their honor and credit that had taken them away, and did them no other hurte, but onely constrayned them to restore that which was the common wealthes. He made a litle warre also, and draue away the theeues that kept about the Mountayne Amanus, for the which exployte his souldiers called him Imperator, to saye, chiefe Captaine. About that tyme there was an Orator called *Caecilius*, who wrote vnto him from

Clodius the Tribune, slain by Milo.

Cicero fearefull in warres, and timerous in pleading.

Cicero pleadeth Miloes cause.

Cicero chosen Augure.

Cicero proconsul of Cilicia.

Cicero's integritie for the gouernment of his prouince.

Mis Amanus Cicero called Imperator.

A from Rome, to praye him to ſende him ſome Leoperds, or Panthers out of Cilicia, bicauſe he woulde ſhewe the people ſome paſtyme with them. *Cicero* boaſting of his doinges, wrote to him agayne, that there were no more Leoperds in Cilicia, but that they were all fledde into Caria for anger, that ſeeing all thinges quiet in Cilicia, they had leaſure now to hunte them. So when he returned towardes Rome, from the charge of his gouernment, he came by Rhodes: and ſtayed a few dayes at Athens, with great delight, to remember how pleaſauntly he liued there before, at what time he ſtudied there. Thither came to him the chiefeſt learned men of the citie, and his frendes alſo, with whom he was acquainted at his firſt being there. In fine, hauing receiued all the honorable enterteinment in Græce that could be: he returned vnto Rome, where at his arriuall he found great factions kindled,
B the which men ſaw plainly would growe in the ende to ciuill warre. Thereuppon the Senate hauing decreed that he ſhould enter in triumphe into the citie: he aunſwered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow *Cæſars* coche in triumphe. So he trauelled verie earneſtly betwene *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, eftſoones wryting vnto *Cæſar*, and alſo ſpeaking vnto *Pompey* that was preſent, ſeeking all the meanes he coulde, to take vp the quarrell and miſliking betwext them two. But it was ſo impoſſible a matter, that there was no ſpeeche of agreement woulde take place. So *Pompey* hearing that *Cæſar* was not farre from Rome, he durſt no lenger abide in Rome, but fled with diuers of the greateſt men in Rome. *Cicero* would not followe him when he fled, and therefore men thought he would take parte with *Cæſar*: but this is certaine, that he was in a maruelous perplexitie, and could not eaſely determine what way to take. Where-

Cicero ſeeketh to pacifie the quarrell betwext Pompey and Cæſar.

C uppon he wrote in his Epiſtells: what way ſhould I take? *Pompey* hath the iuſter and honeſter cauſe of warre, but *Cæſar* can better execute, and prouide for him ſelfe and his frendes with better ſafetie: ſo that I haue meanes enow to flie, but none to whome I might repaire. In all this ſturre, there was one of *Cæſars* frendes called *Trebatius*, which wrote a letter vnto *Cicero*, and told him that *Cæſar* wiſhed him in any caſe to come to him, and to run with him the hope & fortune he vndertooke: but if he excuſed him ſelfe by his age, that then he ſhould get him into Græce, and there to be quiet from them both. *Cicero* marueling that *Cæſar* wrote not to him him ſelfe, aunſwered in anger, that he would doe nothing vnworthie of his actes all the dayes of his life thitherto: & to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now *Cæſar* being gone into Spayne, *Cicero* imbarked immediatly to go to *Pompey*. So when he came vnto him, euery man

Ciceroes words of Pompey and Cæſar.

Cicero goeth vnto Pompey.

D was very glad of his comming, but *Cato*. Howbeit *Cato* ſecretly reproued him for comming vnto *Pompey*, ſaying: that for him ſelfe he had bene without all honeſtie at that time to haue forſaken that parte, the which he had alwayes taken and followed from the beginning of his firſt practiſe in the common wealth: but for him on thother ſide, that it had bene better for the ſafetie of his contrie, and chiefly for all his frendes, that he had bene a newter to both, and ſo to haue taken thinges as they had fallen out: and that he had no maner of reaſon nor inſtant cauſe to make him to become *Cæſars* enemie, and by comming thither to put him ſelfe into ſo great perill. Theſe perſwaſions of *Cato* ouerthrewe all *Ciceroes* purpoſe and determination, beſides that *Pompey* him ſelfe did not employe him in any matter of ſeruice or importance. But hereof him ſelfe was more in fault then *Pompey*, bicauſe he confeſſed openly that he did
E repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he ſcorned and diſdained all *Pompeys* preparacions and counſells, the which in deede made him to be had in gealouſie and ſuſpicion. Alſo he would euer be fleering and gybing at thoſe that tooke *Pompeys* parte, though he had no liſt him ſelfe to be merie. He would alſo goe vp and downe the campe very ſad and heauy, but yet he woulde euer haue one geaſt or other to make men laugh, although they had as litle luſt to be merie as he: and ſurely, it ſhall doe no hurte to call ſome of them to minde in this place. *Domitius* being verie deſirous to preferre a gentleman to haue charge of men, to recommende him, he ſayd he was an honeſt, wiſe, and ſober man. Whereto *Cicero* preſently anſwered. Why doeſt thou not kepe him then to bring vp thy children? An other time when they commended *Theophanes* Lesbian, (that was maiſter of all the artificers of the campe)
F bicauſe he had notablie comforted the Rhodians when they had receiued a greate loſſe of their nauy: ſee, ſayd *Cicero*, what a goodly thing it is to haue a Græcian, maſter of artificers in the campe? When both battells came to ioyne together, and that *Cæſar* had in manner all

the aduauntage, & kept them as good as beſieged: *Lentulus* told him on a time, that he heard A
ſay all *Cæſars* frendes were madde, and melancholy men. Why, ꝙ *Cicero* to him againe: doeſt
thou ſay that they doe enuie *Cæſar*? An other called *Martius*, comming lately out of ITALIE,
ſayd, that there ranne a rumor in ROME, that *Pompey* was beſieged. What, ꝙ *Cicero* to him a-
gaine: and diddeſt thou take ſhippe to come and ſee him thy ſelfe, bicauſe thou mighteſt be-
leue it, when thou haddeſt ſeene it? *Pompey* being ouerthrowen, one *Nonius* ſayed there was
yet good hope left, bicauſe they had taken ſeuen Eagles within *Pompeys* campe. Thy perſwa-
ſion were not ill, ꝙ *Cicero*, ſo we were to fight but with pyes or dawes. *Labienus* repoſed all his
truſt in certaine Oracles, that *Pompey* of neceſſitie muſt haue the vpper hand. Yea ſayd *Cicero*,
but for all this goodly ſtratageame of warre, we haue not longe ſince loſt our whole campe.
Cato gaue place to Cicero, and offered him the charge of the nauy at Dyrrachium. After the battell of Pharſalia, where *Cicero* was not by reaſon of his ſickenеſſe: *Pompey* being B
fled, and *Cato* at that time at DYRRACHIVM, where he had gathered a great number of men of
warre, & had alſo prepared a great nauie: he prayed *Cicero* to take charge of all this army, as it
perteyned vnto him, hauing bene Conſul. *Cicero* did not only refuſe it, but alſo tolde them he
would meddle no more with this warre. But this was enough to haue made him bene ſlaine:
for the younger *Pompey* and his frendes called him traitor, and drewe their ſwordes vpon him
to kill him, which they had done, had not *Cato* ſtepped betwene them and him, and yet had
he muche a doe to ſaue him, and to conuey him ſafely out of the campe. When *Cicero* came
to BRVNDVSIVM, he ſtayed there a certaine time for *Cæſars* comming, who came but ſlowly, C
by reaſon of his troubles he had in ASIA, as alſo in ÆGYPT. Howbeit newes being brought
at length that *Cæſar* was arriued at TARENTVM, and that he came by lande vnto BRVNDVSI-
VM: *Cicero* departed thence to goe meete him, not miſtruſting that *Cæſar* woulde not pardon
him, but rather being aſhamed to come to his enemie being a conqueror, before ſuch a num-
ber of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to doe or ſpeake any thing vnſeemely
to his calling. For *Cæſar* ſeeing him comming towardes him farre before the reſt that came
with him: he lighted from his horſe and imbraced him, and walked a great way a foote with
him, ſtil talking with him only, and euer after he did him great honor and made much of him.
Inſomuche as *Cicero* hauing written a booke in praiſe of *Cato*: *Cæſar* on the other ſide wrote
an other, and praiſed the eloquence and life of *Cicero*, matching it with the life of *Pericles*, and
Theramenes. *Ciceroes* booke was intituled *Cato*, & *Cæſars* booke called *Anticato*, as much to ſay,
as againſt *Cato*. They ſay further, that *Quintus Ligarius* being accuſed to haue bene in the field D
againſt *Cæſar*, *Cicero* tooke vpon him to defend his cauſe: and that *Cæſar* ſayd vnto his frendes
about him, what hurte is it for vs to heare *Cicero* ſpeake, whome we haue not heard of long
time? For otherwiſe *Ligarius* (in my opinion) ſtandeth already a condemned man, for I know
him to be a vile man, and mine enemie. But when *Cicero* had begonne his Oration, he moued
The force of Ciceroes eloquence, how it altered Cæſar. *Cæſar* marueloufly, he had ſo ſweete a grace, and ſuche force in his words: that it is reported
Cæſar chaunged diuers colours, and ſhewed plainly by his countenance, that there was a mar-
uelous alteracion in all the partes of him. For, in thend when the Orator came to touche the
battell of Pharſalia, then was *Cæſar* ſo troubled, that his bodie ſhooke withall, and beſides,
certaine bookes he had, fell out of his handes, and he was driuen againſt his will to ſet *Liga-*
rius at libertie. Afterwardes, when the common wealth of ROME came to be a kingdom, *Ci-* E
cero leauing to practiſe any more in the ſtate, he gaue him ſelfe to reade Philoſophie to the
Ciceroes life vnder Cæſar. young men that came to heare him: by whoſe acceſſe vnto him (bicauſe they were the chiefeſt
of the nobilitie in ROME) he came againe to beare as great ſway and authoritie in ROME, as e-
uer he had done before. His ſtudie and endeuour was, to wryte matters of Philoſophie dia-
logue wiſe, and to tranſlate out of Græke into Latin, taking paynes to bring all the Græke
wordes, which are proper vnto logicke and naturall cauſes, vnto Latin. For he was the firſt
man by report that gaue Latin names vnto theſe Græke words, which are proper vnto Philo-
ſophers, as, Φαντασία, he termed, *Viſio*. Κατάθεσις *Aſſenſus*. Ἐποχὴ, *Aſſenſus cohibitio*. Κατάληψις, *Com-*
prehenſio. Τὸ ἄτομον *Corpus indiuiduum*. Τὸ ἁπλοῦς *Corpus ſimplex*. Τὸ κενὸν *Vacuum*, and many other
ſuche like wordes. But though he were not the firſt, yet was it he that moſt did deuiſe and vſe F
them, and turned ſome of them by tranſlation, others into proper termes: ſo that at length
they came to be well taken, knowen, and vnderſtanded of euerie man. And for his readineſſe
in

A in wryting of verſes, he would vſe them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whenſoeuer he tooke in hand to make any, he would diſpatch fiue hundred of them in a night. Nowe, all that time of his recreacion and pleaſure, he woulde commonly be at ſome of his houſes in the contrie, which he had neere vnto THVSCVLVM, from whence he would wryte vnto his frends, that he led *Laertes* life: either ſpoken merily as his maner was, or elſe pricked forward with ambition, deſiring to returne againe to be a practiſer in the common wealth, being wearie with the preſent time and ſtate thereof. Howſoeuer it was, he came oftentimes to ROME, onely to ſee *Cæſar* to keepe him his frend, and would euer be the firſt man to confirme any honors decreed vnto him, and was alwayes ſtudious to vtter ſome newe matter to praiſe him and his doinges. As that was he ſayd touching the ſtatues of *Pompey*, the which being o-
B uerthrowen, *Cæſar* commaunded them to be ſet vp againe, and ſo they were. For *Cicero* ſayd, that by that curteſie in ſetting vp of *Pompeys* ſtatues againe, he did eſtabliſhe his owne. So, *Cicero* being determined to wryte all the ROMANE hiſtorie, and to mingle with them many of the GRÆCIANS doings, adding thereunto all the fables and deuiſes which they doe write and reporte: he was hindered of his purpoſe againſt his will, by many open and priuate troubles that came vpon him at once: whereof notwithſtanding he him ſelfe was cauſe of the moſt of them. For firſt of all, he did put away his wife *Terentia*, bicauſe ſhe had made but ſmall ac- *Cicero did put away his wife Terentia.*
compt of him in all the warres: ſo that he departed from ROME hauing no neceſſarie thing with him to enterteine him out of his contrie, and yet when he came backe againe into ITA-
LIE, ſhe neuer ſhewed any ſparke of loue or good will towardes him. For ſhe neuer came to
C BRVNDVSIVM to him, where he remeyned a long time: and worſe then that, his daughter hauing the hart to take ſo long a iorney in hand to goe to him, ſhe neither gaue her company to conduct her, nor money or other furniture conuenient for her, but ſo handled the matter, that *Cicero* at his returne to ROME founde bare walles in his houſe and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in det beſides. And theſe were the honeſteſt cauſes alleaged for their diuorſe. But beſides that *Terentia* denyed all theſe, *Cicero* him ſelfe gaue her a good occaſion to cleere her ſelfe, bicauſe he ſhortly after maried a young maiden, being fallen in fancie with her (as *Cicero maried a young maiden.*
Terentia ſayd) for her beawtie: or, as *Tyro* his ſeruaunt wrote, for her riches, to thende that with her goods he might pay his dets. For ſhe was very rich, & *Cicero* alſo was appointed her gardian, ſhe being left ſole heire. Now, bicauſe he ought a maruelous ſumme of money, his
D parents and frends did counſell him to mary this young maiden, notwithſtanding he was too olde for her, bicauſe that with her goodes he might ſatisfie his creditors. But *Antonius* ſpeaking of this mariage of *Cicero*, in his aunſwers & Orations he made againſt the PHILIPPIANS: he doth reproue him for that he put away his wife, with whome he was growen olde, being merie with him by the way for that he had bene an idle man, and neuer went from the ſmoke of his chimney, nor had bene abroade in the warres in any ſeruice of his contrie or common wealth. Shortly after that he had maried his ſecond wife, his daughter dyed in labor of child, in *Lentulus* houſe, whoſe ſeconde wife ſhe was, being before maried vnto *Piſo*, who was her firſt husband. So the Philoſophers and learned men came of all ſides to comfort him: but he tooke her death ſo ſorowfully, that he put away his ſecond wife, bicauſe he thought ſhe did reioyce
E at the death of his daughter. And thus muche touching the ſtate and troubles of his houſe. Nowe touching the conſpiracie againſt *Cæſar*, he was not made priuie to it, although he was *Cicero not made priuy to the conſpiracie againſt Cæſar.*
one of *Brutus* greateſt frendes, and that it grieued him to ſee thinges in that ſtate they were brought vnto, and albeit alſo he wiſhed for the time paſt, as much as any other man did. But in deede the conſpirators were affrayed of his nature, that lacked hardineſſe: and of his age, the which oftentimes maketh the ſtowteſt and moſt hardieſt natures, faint harted & cowardly. Notwithſtanding, the conſpiracie being executed by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, *Cæſars* frendes beinge gathered together, euerie man was affrayed that the citie woulde againe fall into ciuill warres. And *Antonius* alſo, who was Conſul at that time, did aſſemble the Senate, and made ſome ſpeache and mocion then to draw things againe vnto quietnes. But *Cicero* hauing vſed
F diuers perſwaſions fit for the time, in the end he moued the Senate to decree (following the example of the ATHENIANS) a generall obliuion of thinges done againſt *Cæſar*, and to aſſigne vnto *Brutus* and *Caſſius* ſome gouernmentes of prouinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded:

for the people of them ſelues were ſorie, when they ſawe *Cæſars* bodie brought through the market place. And when *Antonius* alſo did ſhew them his gowne all bebloodied, cut, & thruſt through with ſwordes: then they were like madde men for anger, and ſought vp and downe the market place if they coulde meete with any of them that had ſlaine him: and taking fire brandes in their handes, they ranne to their houſes to ſet them a fire. But the conſpirators hauing preuented this daunger, ſaued them ſelues: and fearing that if they taried at ROME, they ſhould haue many ſuch alaroms, they forſooke the citie. Then *Antonius* began to looke aloft, and became fearefull to all men, as though he ment to make him ſelfe king: but yet moſt of all vnto *Cicero*, aboue all others. For *Antonius* perceiuing that *Cicero* began againe to increaſe in credit and authoritie, and knowing that he was *Brutus* very frend: he did miſlike to ſee him come neere him, and beſides, there was at that time ſome gealouſie betwext them, for the diuerſitie and difference of their manners and diſpoſicions. *Cicero* being affrayed of this, was firſt of all in minde to go with *Dolabella*, to his prouince of SYRIA, as one of his Lieutenaunts. But they that were appointed to be Conſuls the next yeare following after *Antonius*, two noble citizens, & *Ciceroes* great frends, *Hircius*, & *Panſa*: they intreated him not to forſake them, vndertaking that they would plucke downe this ouergreat power of *Antonius*, ſo he would remaine with them. But *Cicero*, neither beleuing nor altogether miſtruſting them, forſooke *Dolabella*, and promiſed *Hircius* and *Panſa*, that he would ſpend the ſommer at ATHENS, and that he would returne againe to ROME ſo ſoone as they were entred into their Conſulſhip. With this determination *Cicero* tooke ſea alone, to goe into GRÆCE. But as it chaunceth oftentimes, there was ſome let that kept him he could not ſaile, and newes came to him daily from ROME, as the manner is, that *Antonius* was wonderfully chaunged, and that nowe he did nothing any more without the authoritie & conſent of the Senate, & that there lacked no thing but his perſon, to make all things well. Then *Cicero* condemning his daſtardly feare, returned foorthwith to ROME, not being deceiued in his firſt hope. For there came ſuche a number of people out to meete him, that he coulde doe nothing all day long, but take them by the handes, and imbrace them: who to honor him, came to meete him at the gate of the citie, as alſo by the way to bring him to his houſe. The next morning *Antonius* aſſembled the Senate, and called for *Cicero* by name. *Cicero* refuſed to goe, and kept his bedde, fayning that he was werie with his iorney and paines he had taken the day before: but in deede, the cauſe why he went not, was, for feare and ſuſpicion of an ambuſhe that was layed for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his verie good frends. *Antonius* was maruelouſly offended that they did wrongfully accuſe him, for laying of any ambuſh for him: and therefore ſent ſouldiers to his houſe, and commaunded them to bring him by force, or elſe to ſette his houſe a fire. After that time, *Cicero* and he were alwayes at iarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heede of an other: vntill that the young *Cæſar* returning from the citie of APOLLONIA, came as lawfull heire vnto *Iulius Cæſar* Dictator, and had contencion with *Antonius* for the ſumme of two thowſande fiue hundred Myriades, the which *Antonius* kept in his handes of his fathers goodes. Thereuppon, *Philip* who had maried the mother of this young *Cæſar*, and *Marcellus*, who had alſo maried his ſiſter, went with young *Cæſar* vnto *Cicero*, and there agreed together, that *Cicero* ſhould helpe young *Cæſar* with the fauour of his authoritie, and eloquence, as well towardes the Senate, as alſo to the people: and that *Cæſar* in recompence of his good will ſhould ſtande by *Cicero*, with his money and ſouldiers. For this young *Cæſar*, had many of his fathers old ſouldiers about him, that had ſerued vnder him. Now there was an other cauſe that made *Cicero* glad to imbrace the frendſhippe of this young *Cæſar*, and that was this. Whileſt *Pompey* and *Iulius Cæſar* were aliue, and in good caſe: *Cicero* dreamed one night that the Senators ſonnes were called into the Capitoll, bicauſe *Iupiter* had appointed to ſhew them him, that one day ſhould come to be Lord and king of ROME, and that the ROMANES being deſirous to ſee who it ſhould be, ranne all vnto the temple: and that all the children likewiſe were waiting there in their goodly garded gownes of purple, vntill that ſodainly the dores of the temple were open, & then that al the children roſe one after an other, & went and paſſed by the image of *Iupiter*, who looked vpon them all, and ſent them diſcontented, ſauing this young *Cæſar*, vnto whom he put foorth his hand as he paſſed by, and ſayd:

Priuate grudge betwext Antonius and Cicero.

Cicero faileth into Greece.

Ill will betwext Cicero & Antonius.

Cicero and Octauius Cæſar ioyned in frendſhip.

Cicero dreame of Octauius, the adopted ſonne of Iulius Cæſar.

My

A My Lordes of Rome, this childe is he that ſhall end all your ciuill warres, when he commeth to be Lord of Rome. Some ſay, that *Cicero* had this viſion in his dreame, and that he caried in good memory the looke of this child, howbeit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpoſe into the fielde of *Mars*, where theſe young boyes did exercise themſelues, who, when he came thither, had broken vp from playing, and were going home, and that amongeſt them he firſt ſaw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him verie well, and muſing at him the more, asked him whoſe ſonne he was. The boy aunſwered, that he was the ſonne of one *Octauius*, (a man otherwiſe of no great calling) & of *Accia*, the ſiſter of *Iulius Cæſar*: who hauing no childe, made him his heire by his laſt will and teſtament, and left him all his landes and goodes. After that time, it is reported, that *Cicero* was verie glad to ſpeake to
B him when he met with him, and that the boy alſo liked *Ciceroes* frendſhippe, and making of him: for by good happe the boy was borne the ſame yeare that *Cicero* was Conſul. And theſe be the reaſons alleaged, why *Cicero* did fauor this young *Cæſar*. But in truth, firſt of all the great malice he bare vnto *Antonius*, and ſecondly his nature that was ambitious of honor, were (in my opinion) the chiefeſt cauſes why he became young *Cæſars* frend: knowing that the force and power of his ſouldiers, would greatly ſtrengthen his authority and countenance in manedging the affaires of the ſtate, beſides that the young man coulde flatter him ſo well, that
C he called him father. But *Brutus* being offended with him for it, in his Epiſtells he wrote vnto *Atticus*, he ſharply reproueth *Cicero*, ſaying, that for feare of *Antonius* he flattered this young *Cæſar*: whereby it appeared, he did not ſo much ſeeke for the libertie of Rome, as he did procure him ſelfe a louing and gentle maiſter. This notwithſtanding, *Brutus* brought with him *Ciceroes* ſonne that ſtudied Philoſophie at Athens, and gaue him charge of men vnder him, and imployed him in great affaires, wherein he ſhewed him ſelfe verie forward, and valliant. Now *Ciceroes* authoritie and power grew againe to be ſo great in Rome, as euer it was before.
For he did what he thought good, and ſo vexed *Antonius*, that he draue him out of the citie, and ſent the two Conſuls *Hircius* and *Panſa* againſt him, to fight with him: and cauſed the Senate alſo to decree, that young *Cæſar* ſhould haue ſergeaunts to carie rodes and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his contry. After that *Antonius* had loſt the battell, and that both the Conſuls were ſlaine, both the armies came vnto *Cæſar*. The Senate then being affraied of this young man, that had ſo great good fortune, they
D practiſed by honors and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and ſo to miniſh the greatnes of his power: ſaying, that their contrie now ſtoode in no neede of force, nor feare of defence, ſith her enemie *Antonius* was fled and gone. *Cæſar* fearing this, ſent men ſecretly vnto *Cicero*, to pray him to procure that they two together might be choſen Conſuls, and that when they ſhould be in office, he ſhould doe and appoint what he thought good, hauing the young man at his commaundement, who deſired no more but the honor only of the name. *Cæſar* him ſelfe confeſſed afterwardes, that being affrayed he ſhould haue bene vtterly caſt away, to haue bene left alone: he finely ſerued his turne by *Ciceroes* ambition, hauing perſwaded him to require the Conſulſhip, through the helpe and aſſiſtance that he would geue him. But there was *Cicero* finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was con-
E tented to ſue for the Conſulſhip in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreable to it: wherefore his frendes preſently reproued him for it, and ſhortly after he perceiued he had vndone him ſelfe, and together alſo loſt the libertie of his contrie. For this young man *Octauius Cæſar* being growen to be verie great by his meanes and procurement: when he ſaw that he had the Conſulſhippe vpon him, he forſooke *Cicero*, and agreed with *Antonius* and *Lepidus*. Then ioyning his armie with theirs, he deuided the Empire of Rome with them, as if it had bene lands left in common betwene them: and beſides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and vpwards, whom they had appointed to be ſlaine. But the greateſt difficultie and difference that fell out betwene them, was about the outlawing of *Cicero*. For *Antonius* woulde
F hearken to no peace betwene them, vnleſſe *Cicero* were ſlaine firſt of all: *Lepidus* was alſo in the ſame mind with *Antonius*: but *Cæſar* was againſt them both. Their meeting was by the citie of Bolonia, where they continued three dayes together, they three only ſecretly conſulting in a place enuironned about with a litle riuer. Some ſay that *Cæſar* ſtuck hard with *Cicero*

Octauius, and Accia: the parents of Octauius Cæſar.

Octauius Cæſar was borne in the yere of Ciceroes Conſulſhip.

Ciceroes great power at Rome.

Octauius Cæſar ſueth to be Conſul.

Octauius Cæſar forſaketh Cicero.

Note the fickelnes of youth.

The meeting of the Triumuiri: Antonius, Lepidus, Octauius Cæſar.

the two first dayes, but at the third, that he yeelded and forsooke him. The exchaunge they a-
Cicero appointed to be slaine. greed vpon betwene them, was this. *Cæsar* forsooke *Cicero*: *Lepidus*, his owne brother *Paulus*: and *Antonius*, *Lucius Cæsar*, his vncle by the mothers side. Such place tooke wrath in them, as they regarded no kinred nor blood, and to speake more properly, they shewed that no brute or sauage beast is so cruell as man, if with his licentiousnes he haue liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a brewing, *Cicero* was at a house of his in the contrie, by the city of THVSCVLVM, hauing at home with him also his brother *Quintus Cicero*. Newes being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slaine: they determined to goe to ASTYRA, a place by the sea side where *Cicero* had an other house, there to take sea, and from thence to goe into MACEDON vnto *Brutus*. For there ran a rumor that *Brutus* was verie strong, and had a great power. So, they caused them selues to be conueyed thither in two litters, both of them being so weake with sorow and griefe, that they could not otherwise haue gone their wayes. As they were on their waye, both their litters going as neere to ech other as they could, they bewailed their miserable estate: but *Quintus* chiefly, who tooke it most grieuously. For, remembring that he tooke no money with him when he came from his house, and that *Cicero* his brother also had verie litle for him selfe: he thought it best that *Cicero* shoulde holde on his iorney, whilest he him selfe made an arrant home to fetche suche thinges as he lacked, and so to make hast againe to ouertake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly imbracing one an other, the teares falling from their eyes, they
Quintus Cicero slaine. tooke leaue of ech other. Within few dayes after, *Quintus Cicero* being betrayed by his owne seruaunts, vnto them that made search for him: he was cruelly slaine, and his sonne with him. But *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being caried vnto ASTYRA, and there finding a shippe readie, imbarked immediatly, and sayled alongest the coast vnto mount Circe, hauing a good gale of winde. There the mariners determining forthwith to make sayle againe, he came a shore, either for feare of the sea, or for that he had some hope that *Cæsar* had not altogether forsaken him: and therewithall returning towardes ROME by lande, he had gone about a hundred furlong thence. But then being at a straight howe to resolue, and sodainly chaunging his minde: he woulde needes be caried backe againe to the sea, where he continued all night maruelous sorowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in minde to goe secretly vnto *Octauius Cæsars* house, & to kill him selfe by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to reuenge his blood: but being affraied to be intercepted by the way, & cruelly handled, he turned D
from that determination. Then falling into other vnaduised determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put him selfe againe into his seruauntes handes, to be conueyed by sea to an o-
** Some doe read Caiete.* ther place called * CAPITES. There he had a very proper pleasaunt sommer house, where the North winds, called Etesiæ, doe geue a trimme fresh ayer in the sommer season. In that place also there is a litle temple dedicated vnto *Apollo*, not farre from the sea side. From thence there came a great shole of crowes, making a maruelous noyse, that came flying towardes *Ciceroes*
A wonderous matter foreshewed by crowes vnto Cicero. shippe, which rowed vpon the shore side. This shole of crowes came and lighted vpon the yard of their saile, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bills: so that euery man iudged straight, that this was a signe of ill lucke at hand. *Cicero* notwithstanding this, came a shore, and went into his house, and layed him downe to see if he coulde sleepe. But the most E
parte of these crowes came and lighted vpon the chamber windowe where he lay, making a wonderfull great noyse: and some of them got vnto *Ciceroes* bedde where he lay, the clothes being cast ouer his head, and they neuer left him, till by litle and litle they had with their bills pluckt of the clothes that couered his face. His men seeing that, & saying to them selues that they were too vile beasts, if they would tarie to see their maister slaine before their eyes, considering that brute beasts had care to saue his life, seeing him so vnworthily intreated, and that they should not doe the best they coulde to saue his life: partely by intreatie, and partely by force, they put him againe into his litter to carie him to the sea. But in the meane time came
Herennius, & Popilius, sent to kill M. T. Cicero. the murderers appointed to kill him, *Herennius* a Centurion, and *Popilius Læna*, Tribune of the F
souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thowsande men, whose cause *Cicero* had once pleaded before the Iudges, when he was accused for the murther of his owne father) hauing souldiers attending vpon them. So *Ciceroes* gate being shut, they entred the house by force, and missing him,

they

A they asked them of the houſe what was become of him. They aunſwered, they could not tell. Howbeit there was a young boy in the houſe called *Philologus*, a ſlaue infranchiſed by *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Tullius Cicero* had brought vp in the Latin tongue, and had taught him the liberall ſciences: he told this *Herennius*, that his ſeruauntes caried him in a litter towards the ſea, through darke narrowe lanes, ſhadowed with wodde on either ſide. *Popilius* the Colonell taking ſome ſouldiers with him, ranne about on the outſide of the lanes to take him at his comming out of them: and *Herennius* on thother ſide entred the lanes. *Cicero* hearing him comming, commaunded his men to ſet downe his litter, and taking his beard in his left hande, as his manner was, he ſtowtly looked the murderers in the faces, his heade and beard being all white, and his face leane & wrinckled, for the extreame ſorowes he had taken: diuers of them B that were by, helde their handes before their eyes, whileſt *Herennius* did cruelly murder him. So *Cicero* being three ſcore and foure yeares of age, thruſt his necke out of the litter, and had his head cut of by *Antonius* commaundement, and his hands alſo, which wrote the Orations (called the Philippians) againſt him. For ſo did *Cicero* call the Orations he wrote againſt him, for the malice he bare him: & do yet continue the ſame name vntill this preſent time. When theſe poore diſmembred members were brought to ROME, *Antonius* by chaunce was buſily occupied at that time about the election of certaine officers: who when he heard of them & ſaw them, he cried out alowde that now all his outlawries and proſcriptions were executed: and thereuppon commaunded his head and his hands ſhould ſtraight be ſet vp ouer the pulpit for Orations, in the place called Roſtra. This was a fearefull and horrible ſight vnto the C ROMANES, who thought they ſaw not *Ciceroes* face, but an image of *Antonius* life and diſpoſicion: who among ſo many wicked deedes as he committed, yet he did one act only that had ſome ſhew of goodnes, which was this. He deliuered *Philologus* into the handes of *Pomponia*, the wife of *Quintus Cicero*: and when ſhe had him, beſides other cruell tormentes ſhe made him abide, ſhe compelled him to cut his owne fleſh of by litle morſells, and to broyle them, and then to eate them. Some hiſtoriographers doe thus reporte it. But *Tyro* who was a ſlaue infranchiſed by *Cicero*, made no mencion of the treaſon of this *Philologus*. Howbeit I vnderſtoode that *Cæſar Auguſtus*, long time after that, went one day to ſee one of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hande of *Ciceroes*: and he fearing leaſt his Vncle woulde be angrie to finde that booke in his handes, thought to hide it vnder his gowne. *Cæſar* ſaw it, and tooke it D from him, and red the moſt parte of it ſtanding, and then deliuered it to the young boy, and ſayd vnto him: he was a wiſe man in deede, my childe, and loued his contrie well. After he had ſlaine *Antonius*, being Conſul: he made *Ciceroes* ſonne his colleague and fellow Conſul with him, in whoſe time the Senate ordeyned, that the images of *Antonius* ſhould be throwen downe, and depriued his memory of all other honors: adding further vnto his decree, that from thence foorth none of the houſe & familie of the *Antony* ſhould euer after beare the chriſten name of *Marcus*. So, Gods iuſtice made the extreame reuenge and puniſhment of *Antonius*, to fal into the houſe of *Cicero*.

M. T. Cicero ſlaine by Herennius.

Ciceroes head and hands ſet vp ouer the pulpit for Orations.

A ſtraunge and cruell puniſhmẽt taken by Pomponia (Quintus Ciceroes wife) of Philologus for betraying of his maiſter.

Auguſtus Cæſars teſtimony of Cicero.

Ciceroes ſonne, Conſul with Auguſtus Cæſar.

The decree of the Senate againſt Antonius being dead.

THE COMPARISON OF *Cicero with Demoſthenes.*

THis is as muche as we coulde gather by our knowledge touching the notable actes and deedes worthie of memorie, wrytten of *Cicero* and *Demoſthenes*. Furthermore, leauing the compariſon a ſide of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations: me thinkes I may ſay thus muche of them. That *Demoſthenes* did whollie imploy all his wit and learning (naturall or artificiall) vnto the arte of Rethoricke, and that in force, and vertue of eloquence, he did excell all the Orators in his time: and for grauetie and magnificent ſtyle, all thoſe alſo that only wryte for ſhewe or oſtentacion: and for ſharpneſſe and arte, all the Sophiſters and Maiſters of Rethoricke. And that *Cicero* was a man generallie learned in all ſciences, and that had ſtudied diuers bookes, as appeareth plainely by the ſundrie bookes of Philoſophie of his owne making, wrytten after the manner of the Academicke Philoſophers. Furthermore, they may ſee in his Orations he wrote in certeine cauſes to ſerue him when he pleaded: that he ſought occaſions in his bytalke to ſhewe men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phraſes a man may diſcerne ſome ſparke of their manners and condicions. For *Demoſthenes* phraſe hath no maner of fineneſſe, geaſtes, nor grace in it, but is altogether graue and harſhe, and ſmelleth not of the lampe, as *Pytheas* ſayd when he mocked him: but ſheweth a great drinker of water, extreame paines, and therewith alſo a ſharpe and ſower nature. But *Cicero* oſtentimes fell from pleaſaunt tawntes, vnto plaine ſcurrilitie: and turning all his pleadinges of matters of importaunce, to ſporte and laughter, hauing a grace in it, many times he did forget the comlyneſſe that became a man of his calling. As in his Oration for *Cælius*, where he ſayeth, it is no maruell if in ſo greate aboundance of wealth and fineneſſe he giue him ſelfe a litle to take his pleaſure: and that it was a folly not to vſe pleaſures lawefull, and tollerable, ſith the famouſeſt Philoſophers that euer were, did place the chiefe felicitie of man, to be in pleaſure. And it is reported alſo, that *Marcus Cato* hauing accuſed *Muræna*, *Cicero* being Conſul, defended his cauſe, and in his Oration pleaſauntly girded all the ſect of the Stoicke Philoſophers for *Catoes* ſake, for the ſtraunge opinions they holde, which they call Paradoxes: inſomuch as he made all the people and Iudges alſo fall a laughing a good. And *Cato* him ſelfe alſo ſmiling a litle, ſayd vnto them that ſate by him: what a laughing and mocking Conſul haue we, my Lordes? but letting that paſſe, it ſeemeth that *Cicero* was of a pleaſaunt and merie nature: for his face ſhewed euer greate life and mirth in it. Whereas in *Demoſthenes* countenaunce on thother ſide, they might diſcerne a maruelous diligence & care, and a penſiue man, neuer weary with paine: inſomuch that his enemies, (as he reporteth him ſelfe) called him a peruerſe & froward man. Furthermore, in their writings

Demoſthenes eloquence.

Ciceroes rare and diuers doctrines.

Demoſthenes and Ciceroes maners.

is

A is discerned, that the one speaketh modestly in his owne praise, so as no man can iustly be offended with him: and yet not alwayes, but when necessitie enforceth him for some matter of great importaunce, but otherwise verie discreete and modest to speake of him selfe. *Cicero* in contrarie maner, vsing too often repeticion of one selfe thing in all his Orations, shewed an extreame ambition of glorie, when incessantly he cried out:

Demosthenes modest in praising of him selfe: Cicero too full of ostentacion.

Let speare and shield geue place to gowne,
And geue the tung the laurell Crowne.

Yea furthermore, he did not onely praise his owne actes and deedes, but the Orations also which he had wrytten or pleaded: as if he shoulde haue contended against *Isocrates*, or *Anaximenes*, a maister that taught Rethoricke, and not to goe about to reforme the people of
B ROME:

Which were both fierce and stowt in armes,
And fit to worke their enemies harmes.

For, as it is requisite for a Gouernour of a common wealth to seeke authoritie by his eloquence: so, to couet the praise of his owne glorious tongue, or as it were to begge it, that sheweth a base minde. And therefore in this poynt we must confesse that *Demosthenes* is farre grauer, and of a nobler minde: who declared him selfe, that all his eloquence came onely but by practise, the which also required the fauor of his auditorie: and further, he thought them fooles and madde men (as in deede they be no lesse) that therefore woulde make any boast of them selues. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credit and authoritie
C in their Orations to the people, and for obtayning that they would propound: Insomuche as Captaines, and they that had armies in their handes, stoode in neede of their eloquence. As *Chares*, *Diopithes*, and *Leosthenes*, they all were holpen of *Demosthenes*: and *Pompey*, and *Octauius Cæsar* the young man, of *Cicero*: as *Cæsar* him selfe confesseth in his Commentaries he wrote vnto *Agrippa*, and *Mæcenas*. But nothing sheweth a mans nature and condicion more, (as it is reported, and so is it true) then when one is in authoritie: for that bewrayeth his humor, and the affections of his minde, and layeth open also all his secret vices in him. *Demosthenes* coulde neuer deliuer any suche proofe of him selfe, bicause he neuer bare any office, nor was called forward. For he was not Generall of the armie, which he him selfe had prepared against king *Philippe*. *Cicero* on thother side being sent Treasorer into SICILE, and Pro-
D consul into CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, in such a time as couetousnes raigned most: (insomuch that the Captaines & Gouernors whom they sent to gouerne their prouinces, thinking it villanie and dastardlinesse to robbe, did violently take thinges by force, at what time also to take bribes was reckoned no shame, but to handle it discreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloued for it) he shewed plainely that he regarded not money, and gaue foorth many proofes of his curtesie and goodnes. Furthermore, *Cicero* being created Consul by name, but Dictator in deede, hauing absolute power and authoritie ouer all thinges to suppresse the rebellion and conspirators of *Catiline*: he proued *Platoes* prophecie true, which was: That the cities are safe from daunger, when the chiefe Magistrates and Gouernors (by some good diuine fortune) doe gouerne with wisedom and iustice. *Demosthenes* was reproued for his cor-
E ruption, and selling of his eloquence: bicause secretly he wrote one Oration for *Phormio*, and an other in the selfe same matter for *Apollodorus*, they being both aduersaries. Further, he was defamed also for receiuing money of the king of PERSIA, and therewithall condemned for the money which he had taken of *Harpalus*. And though some peraduenture woulde obiect, that the reporters thereof (which are many) doe lye: yet they can not possibly deny this, that *Demosthenes* had no power to refraine from looking of the presentes which diuers kinges did offer him, praying him to accept them in good parte for their sakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take vsurie by trafficke on the sea, the extreamest yet of all other. In contrarie maner (as we haue sayd before) it is certeine that *Cicero* being Treasorer, refused the gifts which the SICILIANS offered him, there: and the presentes also which the king of the CAP-
F PADOCIANS offred him whilest he was Proconsul in CILICIA, and those especially which his frendes pressed vpon him to take of them, being a great summe of money, when he went as a banished man out of ROME. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him,

Demosthenes and Ciceroes cunning in their Orations in the cõmon wealth.

Authoritie sheweth mens vertues and vices.

Ciceroes abstinence from money.

Demosthenes a money taker.

Diuers causes of the banishment of Demosthenes and Cicero.

bicause by iudgement he was banished as a theefe. The banishment of the other was for as A honorable an acte as euer he did, being banished for ridding his contrie of wicked men. And therefore of *Demosthenes*, there was no speeche after he was gone: but for *Cicero*, all the Senate chaunged their apparell into blacke, and determined that they would passe no decree by their authoritie, before *Ciceroes* banishment was reuoked by the people. In deede *Cicero* idlely passed his time of banishment, and did nothing all the while he was in MACEDON: and one of the chiefest acts that *Demosthenes* did, in all the time that he delt in the affaires of the common wealth, was in his banishment. For he went vnto euery city, and did assist the Ambassadors of the GRÆCIANS, and refused the Ambassadors of the MACEDONIANS. In the which he shewed him selfe a better citizen, then either *Themistocles*, or *Alcibiades*, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, he fell againe to his old trade which he B practised before, and was euer against *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS. Where *Lælius* in open Senate sharply tooke vp *Cicero*, for that he sate still and sayd nothing, when that *Octauius Cæsar* the young man made peticion against the law, that he might sue for the Consulshippe, and being so young, that he had neuer a heare on his face. And *Brutus* selfe also doth greatly reproue *Cicero* in his letters, for that he had maintained and nourished, a more grieuous and greater tyrannie, then that which they had put downe. And last of all, me thinketh the death of *Cicero* most pitiefull, to see an olde man caried vp and downe, (with tender loue of his seruauntes) seeking all the waies that might be to flie death, which did not long preuent his naturall course: and in the ende, olde as he was, to see his head so pitiefully cut of. Whereas *Demosthenes*, though he yeelded a litle, intreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had C prepared the poyson long before, that he had kept it long, and also vsed it as he did, he can not but be maruelously commended for it. For sith the god *Neptune* denyed him the benefit of his sanctuarie, he betooke him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he saued him selfe out of the souldiers handes of the tyran, and also scorned the bloody crueltie of *Antipater*.

The difference betweene Demosthenes and Ciceroes death.

THE LIFE OF *Demetrius.*

A WHo firſt likened arts to our ſences, ſemeth to haue reſpected eſpecially that one property of them both, in receiuing obiects of contrary quality: for, in the vſe & end of their operacion, there is great difference. The ſenſes receiue indifferently, without diſcretion and iudgement, white and blacke, ſweete and ſower, ſoft and hard: for their office is only to admit their ſeuerall obiects, and to carie and referre the iudgement thereof to the common ſence. But artes being the perfection of reaſon, receiue and allow thoſe things onely which make for their operacion, regarding & eſchuing the contraries. Thone chiefly, and for vſe: thother by the way, and with intent to auoyde them. So Phiſicke dealeth with diſeaſes, B Muſicke with diſcordes, to thend to remoue them, and worke their contraries, and the great Ladies of all other artes. Temperaunce, iuſtice, and wiſedom, doe not only conſider honeſtie, vprightnes, and profit: but examine withall, the nature and effectes of lewdnes, corruption, and damage. And innocencie, which vaunteth her want of experience in vndue practiſes: men call ſimplicitie, and ignoraunce of thinges, that be neceſſarie and good to be knowen. And therefore the auncient LACEDÆMONIANS in their ſolemne feaſtes forced their ILOTES the bondmen, to ouercharge them ſelues with wine: and ſuche they ſhewed them vnto their youth, by the apparant beaſtlines of dronken men, to worke in them an abhorring of ſo lotheſome vice. Wherin, although I can not much praiſe them for humanity or wiſedom, that corrupt and ſpoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime an other: yet (as I hope) C it ſhall not be reprehended in me, if amongeſt the reſt I put in one or two paier of ſuche, as liuing in great place & accompt, haue increaſed their fame with infamy. Which in truth, I doe not, to pleaſe & draw on the reader with variety of report: but as *Iſmenias* the THEBAN Muſitian ſhewed his ſchollers, both thoſe that ſtrake a cleane ſtroke, with, do ſo, & ſuch as bungled it, with, do not ſo: & *Antigenidas* thought men ſhould like better, & with greater deſire cõtend for skill, if they heard and diſcerned vntunable notes: ſo thinke I, we ſhall be the forwarder in reading & following the good, if we know the liues, and ſee the deformity of the wicked. This treaty conteineth the liues of *Demetrius*, ſurnamed the Fortgainer, & *M. Antony* the Triumuir, & great examples to confirme the ſaying of *Plato*: That from great minds, both great vertues & great vices do procede. They were both giuen ouer to women & wine, both valliãt & liberal, both ſumptuous & high minded, fortune ſerued them both alike, not only in the courſe of their

How ſences and artes doe agree & differ.

The maner of the Spartãs to make their ſlaues dronke.

The cauſe of deſcribing the liues of the wicked.

Plato: of vertue and vice.

liues, in attẽpting great matters, ſomtimes with good, ſomtimes with ill ſucceſſe, in getting & A
loſing things of great conſequence, ouerthrowing both when they feared not, reſtoring both
when they hoped not. But alſo in their ende there was no great difference, thone brought to
his death by his mortal enemies, & the others fortune not much vnlike. But now to our hiſto-
Demetrius parentage. rie. *Antigonus* had two ſonnes by his wife *Stratonicè*, the daughter of *Corræus*, the one of them
he named *Demetrius*, and the other *Philip*, after his fathers name. Thus farre the moſt wry-
ters doe agree: howbeit ſome holde opinion, that *Demetrius* was not the ſonne of *Antigonus*,
but his Nephewe. But bicauſe his father dyed leauing him a childe, and that his mother was
ſtraight maried againe vnto *Antigonus*: thereuppon came the reporte that he was *Antigonus*
The death of Philip the younger brother of Demetrius. ſonne. Howſoeuer it was, *Philip*, that was not much younger then *Demetrius*, dyed. Now for
Demetrius, though he was a verie bigge man, he was nothing ſo high as his father, but yet ſo B
Demetrius beawte. paſſing and wonderfull fayer, that no painter could poſſibly draw his picture and counterfeat
to his likenes. For they ſaw a ſweete countenance, mixed with a kinde of grauetie in his face,
a feare with curteſie, and an incomparable Princely maieſtie accompanied with a liuely ſpirit
and youth, and his wit and manners were ſuch, that they were both fearefull, and pleaſaunt
Demetrius maners. vnto men that frequented him. For as he was moſt pleaſaunt in company hauing leaſure, and
moſt geuen to banketing, pleaſaunt life, and more wantonly geuen to follow any luſt and plea-
ſure, than any king that euer was: yet was he alwayes very carefull & diligent in diſpatching
matters of importance. And therefore he maruelouſly commended, and alſo endeuoured to
follow *Dionyſius*, (as much to ſay, as *Bacchus*) aboue all the other goddes, as he that had bene
a wiſe and valliant Captaine in warre, and that in peace inuented and vſed all the pleaſure that C
might be. He maruelouſly loued and reuerenced his father, and it ſeemeth that the dutieful-
nes he ſhewed vnto his mother, was more to diſcharge the due obedience & dutie of a ſonne,
than otherwiſe to enterteine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And
for proofe hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went vnto his fa-
Demetrius loue to his father. ther *Antigonus*, geuing audience to certaine Ambaſſadors, and after he had done his duetie to
him, and kiſſed him: he ſate downe by him euen as he came from hunting, hauing his dartes
in his hande, which he caried out a hunting with him. Then *Antigonus* calling the Ambaſſa-
dors alowde as they went their way, hauing receiued their aunſwere: my Lords, ſayd he, you
ſhall carie home this reporte of my ſonne and me, be witneſſes I pray you, how we liue one
with an other. As meaning to ſhewe thereby, that the agreement betwext the father and the D
ſonne together, is a great ſafetie to the affaires of a king, as alſo a manifeſt proofe of his greatnes:
A king can abide no equall. ſo gealous is a king to haue a companion, beſides the hate and miſtruſt it ſhould breede.
So that the greateſt Prince and moſt auncienteſt of all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, boaſted
that he ſtoode not in feare of his ſonne, but did ſuffer him to ſitte by him, hauing a dart in his
hand. So was this houſe onely of all other the MACEDONIAN kinges, leaſt defiled with ſuche
villanie, many ſucceſſions after: and to confeſſe a troth, in all *Antigonus* raſe there was not
The ſport of the East kings was to kill their owne children, wiues, and mothers. one, but *Philip* onely, that ſlue his owne ſonne. But we haue many examples of diuers other
houſes of kinges, that haue put their ſonnes, wiues, and mothers to death: and for their bre-
thren, it was an ordinarie thing with them to kill them, and neuer ſticke at it. For like as Geo-
metricians would haue men graunt them certaine propoſicions which they ſuppoſe without E
proofe: euen ſo was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the ſafetie of their
Demetrius curteſie. eſtate. But further, to ſhewe you more plainly that *Demetrius* was of a noble and curteous na-
ture, and that he dearely loued his frendes: we may alleage this example. *Mithridates*, the
ſonne of *Ariobarzanes*, was his familiar frend and companion (for they were both in maner of
an age) and he commonly followed *Antigonus* courte, and neuer practiſed any villanie or trea-
Antigonus dreame. ſon to him, neither was he thought ſuch a man: yet *Antigonus* did ſomewhat ſuſpect him, bi-
cauſe of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great fielde, he ſowed of theſe
ſcrapinges of gold, and that of that ſeede, firſt of all came vp goodly wheate which had eares
of gold: howbeit that ſhortly after returning that way againe, he found nothing but the ſtraw,
and the eares of the wheate cut of, and that he being angrie and verie ſorie for it, ſome tolde F
him that *Mithridates* had cut of theſe golden eares of wheate, and had caried them with him
into the realme of PONT. *Antigonus* being maruelouſly troubled with this dreame, after he had

made

A made his ſonne ſweare vnto him that he would make no man aliue priuy to that he would tell him: he told him all his dreame what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this young man *Mithridates* to death. *Demetrius* was maruelous ſory for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont to paſſe the time away with *Mithridates*, he durſt not by word of mouth vtter that he knew, bicauſe of his othe: howbeit, taking him aſide from his other familliers, when they were both together by them ſelues, he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, *Mithridates* loking on him: flie *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* found ſtraight what he ment, and fled the very ſame night into CAPPADOCIA: and ſhortly after it was his deſtinie to fulfill *Antigonus* dreame. For he conquered many goodly contries, and it was he onely that eſtabliſhed the houſe of the kingdom of PONT, the which B the ROMANES afterwardes ouerthewe, about the eight ſucceſſion. By theſe examples we may eaſily coniecture the good nature and curteſie of *Demetrius*. For like as the elements (according to *Empedocles* opinion) are euer at * ſtriſe together, but ſpecially thoſe that are neareſt eache to other: euen ſo, though all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* were at continuall warres together, yet was it ſooneſt kindled, and moſt cruell betwene them which bordered neareſt vnto eche other, and that by being neare neighbours, had alwaies occaſion of brawle together, as fell out at that time betwene *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy*. This *Antigonus* lay moſt commonly in the contry of PHRYGIA: who hauing intelligence that *Ptolomy* was gone into CYPRVS, and that he ouerranne all SYRIA, winning by force, or faier meanes, all the townes and cities ſubiect vnto them: he ſent his ſonne *Demetrius* thether, beeing at that time but two and twenty C yeares of age, and it was the firſt time that euer he tooke charge as generall to his father, in matters of great importance. But he being a young man, and that had no skill of warres, fighting a battell with an olde ſouldier (trained vp in the diſcipline of warres vnder *Alexander* the great, and that through him, and in his name, had fought many great battels) was ſoone ouerthrowen, and his armie put to flight, by the citie of GAZA. At which ouerthrow were ſlayne fiue thowſand men, and almoſt eight thowſand taken: and beſides, *Demetrius* loſt his tents & pauilions, his gold and ſiluer, and to be ſhort, all his whole cariage. But *Ptolomy* ſent him all his thinges againe, and his friends alſo that were taken after the battell, with great curteous wordes: that he would not fight with them for all thinges together, but onely for honor, and Empire. *Demetrius* receiuing them at his handes, beſought the gods that he might not long D liue a debter vnto *Ptolomy* for this great curteſie, but that he might quickly requite it with the like againe. Now *Demetrius* tooke not this ouerthrow like a young man, though it was his firſt ſouldierfare: but like an olde and wiſe Captaine, that had abidden many ouerthrowes, he vſed great diligence to gather men againe, to make new armors, and to keepe the cities & contries in his hands vnder obedience, and did traine and exerciſe his ſouldiers in armes, whome he had gathered togither. *Antigonus* hauing newes of the ouerthowe of his ſonne *Demetrius*, ſaid no more, but that *Ptolomy* had ouercomen beardles men: and that afterwardes he ſhould fight with bearded men. But now, bicauſe he would not diſcorage his ſonne altogether, who craued leaue once againe to fight a battell with *Ptolomy*: he graunted him. So, ſhortly after came *Cilles*, *Ptolomyes* generall, with a great puyſant armie, to driue him altogether out of SY- E RIA. For they made no great accompt of *Demetrius*, bicauſe he had bene once ouerthrowen before. Howbeit *Demetrius* ſtale apon him, gaue him charge on the ſodaine, and made him ſo affraid, that he tooke both the campe, & the generall, with ſeuen thowſand priſoners beſides, and wanne a maruelous treaſure of money: which made him a glad man, not ſo much for the gaine he ſhould haue by it, as for the oportunitie he had thereby to come out of *Ptolomyes* det, nothing regarding the treaſure nor the honor he had gotten by this victorie, but onely the benefit of his requitall of *Ptolomyes* curteſie towardes him. But yet he did nothing of his owne head, before he had written to his father: and then receiuing full graunt and commiſſion from him to diſpoſe of all things as he thought good, he ſent backe *Cilles* vnto *Ptolomy*, and al his other friends beſides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifully beſtowed on them. F This misfortune and ouerthrow did vtterly put *Ptolomy* out of all SYRIA, and brought *Antigonus* alſo from the citie of CELÆNES, for the exceeding ioy he had of this victorie, as alſo for the great deſire he had to ſee his ſonne. After that, he ſent *Demetrius* into ARABIA, againſt a

Demetrius ſaueth Mithridates life.
Mithridates king of Pont.
** Bicauſe he ſayd, that loue and diſcord were euer the efficient cauſes of generation and corruption of all thinges.*
Enmitie betwixt Antigonus and Ptolomy.
Demetrius, generall to Antigonus, againſt Ptolomy.
Demetrius ouerthrowen in battaile, by Ptolomy.
The bountifulnes of Ptolomy the Conqueror, vnto Demetrius conquered.
Demetrius victorie of Ptolomy.
Demetrius thankefulnes vnto Ptolomy

people called the NABATHÆIANS, to conquer them: but there he was in great daunger and A
distresse in the deserts for lacke of water, howbeit he neuer shewed any signe that he was af-
Demetrius inuaded Arabia. fraid. Thereby he so astonied the barbarous people, that he had leysure enough to retyre with
safetie, and with a great booty of a thowsand camells, which he brought away with him. A-
bout that time *Seleucus*, (whome *Antigonus* had driuen from BABYLON) returning thither a-
gaine, he came and conquered it without other ayde then of him selfe: and went with a great
armie against the people and nations confining vpon the INDIANS, and the prouinces adioy-
Demetrius inuadeth Mesopotamia. ning vnto mount Caucasus, to conquer them. Thereuppon *Demetrius* hoping to find MESO-
POTAMIA without any gard or defence, sodainly passed ouer the riuer of Euphrates, & came
vnlooked for vnto BABYLON, and there distressed the garrison of *Seleucus*, that kept one of the
castells or citadells of the citie, being two of them: and then putting in seuen thowsand soul- B
diers to keepe them, he commaunded the rest of his men to get what they could, & to bringe
it away with them. After that, he marched towards the sea to returne home, leauing thereby
the Realme and kingdom of *Seleucus* in better state and safetie, then it was when he inuaded
it. For it appeared that he had taken all the contry from *Seleucus*, leauing him nothing in it, by
spoiling and forraging all that was there. At his returne home, newes were brought him that
Ptolomy lay at the seege of the citie of HALYCARNASSVS: whereuppon he drew thither with
Antigonus & Demetrius do goe about to set Græce at libertie. speede to make him raise the seege, and thereby saued the city from him. Now, bicause by this
exployte they wanne great fame, both of them, (*Antigonus* and *Demetrius*) fell into a marue-
lous desire to set all GRÆCE at libertie, the which *Ptolomy* and *Cassander* kept in seruitude and
bondage. Neuer king tooke in hande a more honorable nor iuster warre and enterprise, then C
that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in oppressing of the barbarous
people: he bestowed it all in restoring the GRÆCIANS to their libertie, and onely to winne
fame and honor by it. So, they being in consultacion what way to take, to bring their purpose
and desire to passe, and hauing taken order to begin first at ATHENS: one of *Antigonus* chiefest
friends about him, told him that he should take the citie, and place a good garrison there for
them selues, if they could once winne it: for, said he, it will be a good bridge to passe further
into all GRÆCE. *Antigonus* would not harken to that, but said, that the loue and good will of
men was a surer bridge, & that the citie of ATHENS was as a beacon to all the land, the which
would immediatly make his doings shine through the world, as a cresset light, vpon the toppe
of a kepe or watche tower. Thus *Demetrius* hoysed sayle, hauing fiue thowsand siluer talents, D
and a fleete of two hundred and fiftie sayle, and sailed towardes the citie of ATHENS: in the
Demetrius Phalerian, gouernor of Athens for Cassander. which *Demetrius* PHALERIAN was gouernor in the behalfe of *Cassander*, & kept a great strong
garrison there within the hauen and castell of MVNICHEA. He had an excellent good winde
to further his iorney, so that with his good foresight and speede he made, he arriued in the ha-
uen of PIRÆA, the fiue and twenty day of the moneth Thargelion, (now called Maye) before
any man knew of his comming. Now when this fleete was within a kenning of the citie, and
lesse, that they might easily see them from thence: euery man prepared him selfe to receiue
them, taking them to be *Ptolomyes* shippes. But in fine, the Captaines and gouernors vnder-
standing too late who they were, did what they could to helpe them selues: but they were all
in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keepe their enemies from landing, E
and to repulse them, comming so sodainly vpon them. *Demetrius* hauing found the barre of
the hauen open, launched in presently. Then being comen to the view of them all, & standing
vpon the hatches of his galley, he made signes with his hand that he prayed silence. The tu-
mult being pacified, he proclaymed alowd by one of his Heraulds, that his father had sent him
in happy hower to deliuer the ATHENIANS from all their garrisons, and to restore them a-
gaine to their auncient libertie and freedom, to enioye their lawes and auncient gouernment
of their forefathers. After the proclamacion made, all the common people straight threwe
downe their weapons and targets at their feete, to clappe their handes with great showtes of
ioy: praying him to land, and calling him alowde their Sauior, and benefactor. Now for them
Demetrius restoreth the Athenians to their liberties that were with *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the stronger in, although F
he performed not that he promised, and also sent Ambassadors vnto him to treate of peace.
Demetrius receiued them very curteously, and sent with them for pledge, one of the deareſt

friendes

A friends his father had, *Aristodemus* MILESIAN. Furthermore, he was not careles of the health and safety of *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, who, by reason of the chaunge and alteracion of the gouernment of the common wealth at ATHENS, stoode more in feare of the people of ATHENS, than of his enemies. Therefore *Demetrius* regarding the fame and vertue of the man, caused him to be conueyed (according to his desire) vnto THEBES, with good and sufficient safe conduct. And for *Demetrius* him selfe, although he was very desirous to see the citie, he saide he would not come into it, before he had first restored it vnto her auncient libertie and freedom, and also driuen away the garrison thence: and thereuppon he cast trenches round about the castell of MVNYCHIA. In the meane season bicause he would not be idle, he hoysed sayle, and coasted towards the citie of MEGARA, within the which *Cassander* also kept a strong garrison.

Demetrius Antigonus, honoreth Demetrius Phalerius.

B *Demetrius* busily following these matters, was aduertised that *Cratesipolis*, surnamed *Polyperchon*, (who had bene *Alexanders* wife) a Lady of passing fame and beauty, and lay at that time in the citie of PATRAS, would be glad to see him: he leauing his armie within the territorie of the MEGARIANS, tooke his iorney presently vnto her, with a few of his lightest armed men, and yet he stale from them, and made his tent to be set vp a good way from them, bicause this Ladie might not be seene when she came vnto him. Some of his enemies hauing present intelligence thereof, came and set vpon him before he knew it. *Demetrius* was so scared, that he had no further leysure, but to cast an ill fauored cloke about him, the first that came to hand, and disguising him selfe to flie for life, and scaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie. But though they missed him, they tooke his tent, and

Demetrius danger for lechery.

C all his money in it. After that, the citie of MEGARA was taken and won from *Cassanders* men, where *Demetrius* souldiers would haue sacked all: howbeit the ATHENIANS made humble intercession for them, that they might not be spoyled. *Demetrius* thereuppon, after he had driuen out *Cassanders* garrison, he restored it againe to her former libertie. In doing that, he called to mind the Philosopher *Stilpo*, a famous man in MEGARA, though he liued a quiet and contemplatiue life. He sent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. *Stilpo* aunswered him, they had not: For, q he, I sawe no man that tooke my learning from me. This notwithstanding, all the slaues of the citie were in manner caried away. Another time, *Demetrius* making much of him, as he was going his way saide vnto him: well, *Stilpo*, I leaue you your citie free. It is true, O king, q he, for thou hast left vs neuer a slaue. Shortly af-

Demetrius winneth the city of Megara, and restoreth it to her libertie.

Stilpo, a famous Philosopher in Megara.

Stilpoes sayings vnto Demetrius.

D ter, he returned againe vnto ATHENS, and layde seege to the castell of MVNICHIA, the which he tooke, and draue out the garrison, & afterwards rased it to the ground. After that, through the intreatie and earnest desire of the ATHENIANS, who prayed him to come and refresh him selfe in their citie: he made his entry into it, and caused all the people to assemble, and then restored vnto them their auncient lawes and libertie of their contry, promising them besides, that he would procure his father to sende them a hundred and fiftye thowsand busshells of wheate, and as much woode and tymber as should serue to make them a hundred and fiftie gallies. Thus, the ATHENIANS through *Demetrius* meanes, recouered the Democratia again, (to wit, their populer gouernment) fifteene yeares after they had lost it, and liued all the time betwene their losse and restitucion from the warre called Lamiacus warre, and the battell that

Demetrius restoreth the Athenians to their lawes & libertie.

Democratia: populer gouernment.

E was fought by the citie of CRANON, in the state of Oligarchia, to wit, vnder the gouernment of a fewe gouernors in sight, but in truth a Monarchie or kingdome, bicause they were vnder the gouernment of one man *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, that had absolute authoritie ouer them. But by this meanes they made their sauior and preseruer of their contry, *Demetrius* (who seemed to haue obteined such honor and glory through his goodnes and liberalitie) hateful and odious to all men, for the ouergreat and vnmeasurable honors which they gaue him. For first of all, they called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* kings, who before that time had alwayes refused the name, and the which, (among all other princely honors and prerogatiues graunted) they that had deuided betwene them the Empire of *Philip* and *Alexander*, durst neuer once presume to chalenge, nor to take vppon them. So vnto them only they gaue the style and names

Oligarchia: the gouerment of a fewe.

Too much honors decreed to Demetrius by the Athenians.

F of the goddes sauiors, and tooke away their yearely Maior, whome they called *Eponymos*, bicause they did shew the yeares of olde time, by the names of them that had bene Maiors. Furthermore, in stead thereof they ordeyned in the counsell of the citie, that there should yearely

be choſen one by voyces of the people, whom they ſhould name the Prieſt of their Sauiors, whoſe name they ſhould write and ſubſcribe in all publike graunts and couenants, to ſhewe the yeare: and beſides all this, that they ſhould cauſe their pictures to be drawen in the veyle or holy banner, in the which were ſet out the images of their goddes, the patrones and protectors of their citie. And furthermore they did conſecrate the place, where *Demetrius* firſt came out of his coche, and there did ſet vp an aulter, and called it *Demetrius* aulter comming out of his coche: and vnto their tribes they added two other, the ANTIGONIDES and the DEMETRIADES. Their great counſell at large which they created yearely of fiue hundred men, was then firſt of all brought into ſixe hundred, bicauſe euery tribe muſt needes furniſhe of them ſelues, fifty counſellers. But yet the ſtraungeſt acte, and moſt new found inuention of flattery, was that of *Stratocles*, (being the common flatterer and people pleaſer) who put forth this decree, by the which it was ordeined: that thoſe whome the common wealth ſhould ſend vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, ſhould in ſtead of Ambaſſadors be called Theori, as much to ſay, as miniſters of the ſacrifices. For ſo were they called, whome they ſent to DELPHES to *Apollo Pytheas*, or vnto ELIDE, to *Iupiter Olympias*, at the common and ſolemne feaſts of all GRÆCE, to doe the ordinary ſacrifices and oblations for the health and preſeruation of the cities. This *Stratocles* in all things els was a deſperate man, and one that had alwayes led a wicked and diſſolute life: & for his ſhameles boldnes, he ſeemed wholy to follow the ſteppes of *Cleons* foole hardines, and olde inſolencie, which (when he liued) he ſhewed vnto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his houſe called *Phylacion*. One day ſhe hauing bought for his ſupper, beaſtes heades and neckes commonly eaten, he ſayd vnto her: why, how now? thou haſt bought me acates which we toſſe like balls, that haue to doe in the common wealth. Another time when the armie of the ATHENIANS was ouerthrowen by ſea, by the Ile of AMORGOS: he would needes preuent the newes of this ouerthrowe, and came through the ſtreete of Ceranicus, crowned with garlands of flowers, as if the ATHENIANS had wonne the battell: and was alſo the author of a decree, whereby they did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes for the victorie: and meate was giuen amongeſt euery tribe, in token of common ioy. But ſhortly after the Meſſengers arriued, which brought report of the ſhipwraeke and ouerthrowe. The people were in an vprore withal, and ſent for *Stratocles* in a maruelous rage. But he with a face of braſſe came vnto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: well, and what hurt haue I done you, if I haue made you mery theſe two dayes? Such was *Stratocles* impudencie and raſhnes. But, as the Poet *Ariſtophanes* ſayth:

The boldnes of Stratocles Athenian.

Stratocles cruell ſaying.

But vvhotter matters vvere that time in hand,
Than fire that vvaſteth both by ſea and land.

For there was another that paſſed *Stratocles* in knauerie. Who procured a decree, that as often as *Demetrius* came into the citie of ATHENS, he ſhould be receiued with all ceremonies and like ſolemnitie, as they vſe in the feaſts of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*: and further that they ſhould giue vnto him that did excell all the reſt in ſumptuouſnes and riches, at ſuch time as *Demetrius* made his entry into the citie, ſo much money out of the common treaſure, as ſhould ſerue to make an image or other offring, which ſhould be conſecrated to the temples in memorie of his liberalitie. And laſt of all, they chaunged the name of the moneth Munichion (to wit the moneth of Ianuary) and called it Demetrion: and the laſt day of the moneth which they called before the new and old moone, they then called it the Demetriade: and the feaſtes of *Bacchus* alſo called then Dionyſia, they preſently named Demetria. But the goddes by diuers ſignes and tokens ſhewed plainly, that they were offended with theſe chaunges and alteracions. For the holy banner in the which (according to the order ſet downe) they had paynted the images of *Antigonus*, and *Demetrius*, with the pictures of *Iupiter* and *Minerua*: as they caried it a proceſſion through the ſtreete Ceranicus, it was torne a ſonder in the middeſt by a tempeſt of winde. And furthermore, about the aulters which were ſet vp in the honor of *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, there grew a great deale of hemlocke, the which otherwiſe was vnpoſſible to growe there. On the feaſt day alſo of *Bacchus*, they were compelled to leaue the pompe or proceſſion for that daye, it was ſuch an extreame hard froſt out of all ſeaſon: and beſides, there fell ſuch a myll dewe and great froſt vpon it, that not onely their vines and oliues were killed

The moneth of Munychion altered, & called Demetrion, for the honor of Demetrius name

VVonders. Hemlocke, the vſuall erbe, with the iuyce whereof they poyſoned offenders at Athens.

killed with it, but alſo the moſt part of the wheate blades which were newly ſprong vp. And therefore the Poet *Philippides* (an enemie of the aforeſayd *Stratocles*) in one of his comedies writeth certaine verſes againſt him to this effect. *Philippides the Poet.*

The partie for vvhoſe vvickednes the veyle vvas rent in tvvayne,
VVhich vvith the honor due to God did vvorship men moſt vayne,
Is he for vvhom our budding vines vvere blaſted vvith the froſt.
Thoſe thinges and not our comedies haue vs ſo deerly coſt.

This *Philippides* was very well beloued of king *Lyſimachus*, inſomuch that for his ſake the king had done many pleaſures to the common wealth of Athens. For he loued him ſo dearly, that as often as he ſaw him, or met with him at the beginning of any warre, or matter of great importance: he was of opinion that he brought him good lucke. For in deed he did not ſo much eſteeme him for the excellencie of his arte, but he was much more to be beloued & eſteemed, for his vertuous and honeſt condicions. He was no troubleſom man, nether was he infected with the fineneſſe of court, as he ſhewed one day when the king made much of him, and giuing him good countenance ſaid vnto him; what wilt thou haue me giue thee of my things *Philippides*? euen what it ſhall pleaſe thee, O king, ſo it be none of thy ſecrets. Thus much we thought good to ſpeake of him in bytalke, bicauſe an honeſt player of comedies, ſhould matche with a ſhameles and impudent Orator of the people. But yet there was another *Democlides*, of the village of Sphettvs, that dreamed out a more ſtraunger kind of honor, touching the conſecration of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of *Apollo* in Delphes, that is to ſay, that they ſhould goe & aske the oracle of *Demetrius*. But I wil ſhew you the very effect and forme of the law as it was ſet downe. In good hower: the people ordeyne that he ſhould be choſen one of the Citizens of Athens, which ſhall goe vnto our ſauior: and after that he hath done due ſacrifice vnto him, he ſhal aske *Demetrius* our ſauior, after what ſort the people ſhall with greateſt holines and deuotion, without delay, make conſecration of their holieſt gifts and offerings: and according to the oracle it ſhall pleaſe him to giue them, the people ſhal duely execute it. Thus, laying vpon *Demetrius* al theſe fooliſh mockeries, who beſides was no great wiſe man, they made him a very foole. *Demetrius* being at that time at leiſure in Athens, he married a widow called *Eurydice*, which came of that noble and auncient houſe of *Miltiades*, and had bene married before vnto one *Opheltas* Prince of the Cyrenians, and that after his death returned againe to Athens. The Athenians were very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greateſt honor that came to their citie, ſuppoſing he had done it for their ſakes. Howbeit he was ſoone wonne to be married, for he had many wiues, but amongeſt them all, he loued *Phila* beſt, and gaue her moſt honor and preheminence aboue them all: partly for the reſpect of her father *Antipater*, and partly alſo for that ſhe had bene firſt maried vnto *Craterus*, whome the Macedonians loued beſt when he liued, and moſt lamented after his death, aboue all the other ſucceſſors of *Alexander*. His father I ſuppoſe made him to marry her by force, although in deede her yeares was not meete for him: for he was maruelous young, and ſhe very olde. And when *Demetrius* ſeemed not to be contented withall, his father rowned him ſoftly in the eare with this ſaying:

Philippides notable anſwer vnto king Lyſimachus, not deſiring to heare his ſecrets.

Demetrius maried vnto Eurydicé, at Athens.

Demetrius had many wiues together.

Phila: Demetrius wife, Antipaters Daughter, & Craterus widdow.

Refuze no vvoman nere ſo old,
VVhoze mariage bringeth ſtore of gold.

The iudgemẽt of marriage, & obedience.

Wherein he alluded cunningly to theſe verſes of *Euripides*.

Refuze not to become a thrall,
VVhere lucre may inſeuve vvithall.

But ſo much did *Demetrius* honor his wife *Phila*, and all his other wiues he married, that he was not aſhamed to keepe a number of Curtiſans, and other mens wiues beſides: ſo that he onely of all other kings in his time, was moſt detected with this vice of lecherie. While theſe things paſſed on in this ſort, he was commaunded by his father, to fight with *Ptolomy* for the Realme of Cyprvs. So there was no remedie but he muſt needes obey him, although otherwiſe he was very ſory to leaue the warre he had begonne, to ſet the Græcians at libertie, the which had bene farre more honorable and famous. Howbeit, before he departed from Athens, he ſent vnto *Cleonides Ptolomyes* generall, that kept the cities of Corinthe and Sicy-

one, to offer him money if he would sette those cities at libertie. But *Cleonides* would not be A
delt withall that way. Thereuppon *Demetrius* straight way tooke sea, and sayled with all his
armie towards Cyprvs, where at his first comming he ouercame *Menelaus Ptolomyes* bro-
ther. But shortly after, *Ptolomy* went thither in person with a great armie both by sea and land,
and there passed betwixt them fierce threatnings and prowde words to eche other. For *Ptolo-*
my sent to *Demetrius* to bid him to depart if he were wise, before all his armie came together:
which would tread him vnder their feete, and marche vpon his bellie, if he taried their com-
ming. *Demetrius* on the other side sent him word, that he would doe him this fauor to let him
escape, if he would sweare and promise vnto him to withdrawe his garrisons which he had in
the cities of Corinthe, and Sycione. So the expectacion of this battell made these two
Battell by sea on the Ile of Cyprus, betwixt Demetrius Antigonus, and Ptolomy. Princes not onely very pensiue to fight one with the other, but also all the other Lords, Prin- B
ces, and kings: bicause the successe thereof was vncertaine, which of them two should pre-
uaile. But euery man iudged this, that which of them obteyned the victorie, he should not on-
ly be Lord of the Realme of Cyprvs and Syria, but therewith also of greater power then all
the rest. *Ptolomy* in person with fiftie sayle beganne to rowe against his enemie *Demetrius*, and
commaunded his brother *Menelaus* that when he sawe them fast grappled in fight together,
he should launche out of the hauen of Salamina, and giue charge vpon the rereward of *De-*
metrius shippes, to breake their order, with the three score gallies he had in charge. *Demetrius*
on the other side prepared tenne gallies against these three score, thinking them enowe to
choke vp the hauen mouth being but narrowe, so that none of the gallies that were within
could come out: and furthermore, he dispersed his armie by land vpon the foreland poynts C
which reache into the sea, and went him selfe into the maine sea with nyne score gallies, and
Demetrius victorye of Ptolomy. gaue such a fierce charge vpon *Ptolomy*, that he valliantly made him flie. Who when he sawe
his armie broken, fled as speedily as he could with eight gallies onely: for all the rest were ei-
ther broken or suncke in fight, and those eight onely escaped, besides three score and tenne
which were taken, and all their souldiers in them. And as for his cariage, his traine, his friends,
his officers, and houshold seruaunts, his wiues, his gold and siluer, his armor, engines of batte-
rie, and all such other warlike furniture and munition as was conueyed abourd his carects and
great shippes riding at anker: of all these things nothing escaped *Demetrius* hands, but all was
Lamia, the famous Curtisan, taken by Demetrius, vpon the defeating of Ptolomy. brought into his campe. Among those spoyles also was taken that famous Curtisan *Lamia*, D
who at the first had her name onely, for her passing playing vpon the flute: but after she fell to
Curtisan trade, her countenance and credit increased the more. So that euen then when her
beautie through yeares fell to decaye, and that she found *Demetrius* much younger then her
selfe: yet she so wanne him with her sweete conuersation and good grace, that he onely liked
her, and all the other women liked him. After this victorie by sea, *Menelaus* made no more re-
Salamina yelded vp to Demetrius. sistance, but yeelded vp Salamina & his shippes vnto *Demetrius*, and put into his handes al-
so twelue hundred horsemen, and twelue thowsand footemen well armed. This so famous &
triumphant victorie was yet much more beautified, by *Demetrius* great bountie and goodnes
which he shewed in giuing his enemies slaine in battell honorable funeralls, setting the priso-
ners at liberty without ransom paying, and giuing moreouer twelue hundred complet armors
vnto the Athenians. After this, *Demetrius* sent *Aristodemus* Milesian vnto his father *An-* E
Aristodemus a notorious flatterer in Antigonus Court. *tigonus*, to tell him by word of mouth the newes of this victorie. *Aristodemus* was the greatest
flatterer in all *Antigonus* Court, who deuised then, as it seemeth to me, to adde vnto this ex-
ployte the greatest flatterie possible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the
Ile of Cyprvs, he would in no wise haue the shippe he came in to come neare the shoare, but
commaunded them to ride at anker, and no man so hardy to leaue the shippe: but he him self
got into a litle boate, and went vnto *Antigonus*, who all this while was in maruelous feare and
perplexitie for the successe of this battell, as men may easily iudge they are, which hope after
so great incertainties. Now when worde was brought him that *Aristodemus* was comming to
him all alone, then was he worse troubled than afore, insomuch that he could scant keepe
within dores him selfe, but sent his seruaunts and friends one after another to meete *Aristode-* F
mus, to aske him what newes, and to bring him worde presently againe how the world went.
But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on still fayer and softly with
a sad

A a ſad countenance, and very demurely, ſpeaking neuer a worde. Wherefore *Antigonus* hatt being cold in his belly, he could ſtay no lenger, but would him ſelfe goe and meete with *Ariſtodemus* at the gate, who had a maruelous preaſſe of people following on him, beſides thoſe of the Court which ranne out to heare his aunſwer. At length when he came neare vnto *Antigonus*, holding out his right hand vnto him, he cryed out alowd, God ſaue thee, O king *Antigonus*: we haue ouercome king *Ptolomy* in battell by ſea, and haue wonne the Realme of CYPRVS, with ſixteene thowſand and eyght hundred priſoners. Then aunſwered *Antigonus*, and God ſaue thee to: Truely *Ariſtodemus* thou haſt kept vs in a trawnſe a good while, but to puniſhe thee for the payne thou haſt put vs to, thou ſhalt the later receiue the reward of thy good newes. Then was the firſt time that the people with a lowde voice called *Antigonus* and
B *Demetrius* kings. Now for *Antigonus*, his friendes and familliers did at that preſent inſtant put on the royall band or diadeame vppon his heade: But for *Demetrius*, his father ſent it vnto him, and by his letters called him king. They alſo that were in ÆGYPT with *Ptolomy*, vnderſtanding that, did alſo call and ſalute him by the name of king: bicauſe it ſhoulde not ſeeme that for one ouerthrowe receiued, their hartes were deade. Thus this ambition by ielouſie & emulation, went from man to man to all *Alexanders* ſucceſſours. For *Lyſimachus* then alſo beganne to weare the diadeame, and likewiſe *Seleucus*, as often as he ſpake with the GRÆCIANS: for before that tyme, he delt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But *Caſſander*, though others wrote them ſelues kinges, he onely ſubſcribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not onely an increaſe of a newe name, or chaunging of apparell, but it was ſuch an
C honor, as it lyft vp their hartes, and made them ſtand vpon them ſelues: and beſides it ſo framed their manner of life and conuerſation with men, that they grewe more prowd and ſtately, then euer they were before: like vnto common players of tragedies, who apparelling them ſelues to playe their partes vpon the ſtage, doe chaunge their gate, their countenaunce, their voyce, their manner of ſitting at the table, and their talke alſo. So that afterwards they grew more cruell in commaunding their ſubiects, when they had once taken away the viſer and diſſimulation of their abſolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters vnto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought ſuch a wonderfull chaunge in the worlde. *Antigonus* therefore puffed vp with the glory of the vi-
D ctorie of his ſonne *Demetrius*, for the conqueſt of CYPRVS: he determined forthwith to ſet vpon *Ptolomy*. Him ſelfe led the armie by land, hauing his ſonne *Demetrius* ſtill rowing by the ſhore ſide with a great fleete of ſhippes. But one of his familliers called *Medius*, being aſleepe had a viſion one night that told him, what ſhould be the ende and ſucceſſe of this iorney. He thought he ſawe *Antigonus* ronne with all his armie who ſhould haue the vpper hande, and that at the firſt he ranne with great force and ſwiftnes: but that afterwardes his ſtrength and breath fayled him ſo much, that when he ſhould returne, he had ſcant any pouſſe or breath, and with much adoe retyred agayne. And euen ſo it chaunced vnto him. For *Antigonus* by land, was eſtſoones in great daunger: and *Demetrius* alſo by ſea was often in hazard to leaue the coaſt, and by ſtorme and weather to be caſt into places, where was nether hauen, creekes,
E nor harborough for his ſhippes. And at length, hauing loſt a great number of his ſhippes, he was driuen to returne without any attempt giuen. Nowe *Antigonus* was at that tyme litle leſſe then foure ſcore yeare olde, but yet his fatte and corpulent bodie was more comberſom to him then his yeares: therefore beeing growen vnmeete for warres, he vſed his ſonne in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as alſo skilfull through the experience he had gotten, did wiſely gouerne the waightieſt matters. His father beſides did not paſſe for his youthfull partes, lauiſhe expences, and common dronkennes he gaue him ſelfe vnto. For in tyme of peace, he was giuen ouer to all thoſe vices: but in tyme of warre, he was as ſober and continent, as any man ſo borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that *Lamia* beeing manifeſtly knowen to be Myſtreſſe ouer him, one daye when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kiſſe his father: and that *Antigonus* ſmyling vpon him
F ſayde, what, howe now Sonne, doeſt thou thinke thou art kiſſing of *Lamia*? Another tyme *Demetrius* was many dayes together drinking and ryoting, and ſawe not his father: and then to excuſe him ſelfe vnto him, he tolde him he had gotten a rewme that made him keepe his

The firſt time Antigonus & Demetrius were called kinges.

Note the force of flattery by Ariſtodemus Mileſian.

Antigonus & Demetrius iorney againſt Ptolomy.

Medius dreame.

Antigonus mirth with his sonne Demetrius.

chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard sayde *Antigonus*: but was it of THASOS or CHIOS, that rewme? he spake it, bicause that in either of those two Ilands, there were excellent good wines. Another tyme *Demetrius* sent his father worde that he was not well. Thereuppon *Antigonus* went to see him, and comming thither, he mette a fayer younge boye at his doore. So he went vppe to his chamber, and sitting downe by his bedds side, he tooke him by the hande to feele his poulse. *Demetrius* tolde him that his feuer had left him but a litle before. I knowe it well, sayde *Antigonus*: for I mette the younge boye euen at the doore as I came in. So *Antigonus* did gently beare with his sonnes faultes, in respecte of his many other vertues he had. The voyce goeth that the SCYTHIANS, when they are disposed to drinke dronke together, doe diuers tymes twange the strynges of their bowes, as though that woulde serue to keepe the strength of their courage and hardines, which otherwise the pleasauntnes of the wine woulde take from them. But *Demetrius* gaue him selfe to one thinge at one selfe tyme. Sometyme to take his pleasure, sometyme to deale in matters of waight, and in all extreamitie he euer vsed but one of them, and woulde neuer myngle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding he was no lesse politike and circumspect to prepare all manner of munition for warres. For as he was a wise Captaine to leade an armie, so was he also very carefull to prouide all thinges meete for their furniture, and woulde rather haue too muche, then too litle. But aboue all, he exceeded in sumptuous building of shippes, and framing of all sortes of engines of batterie, and specially for the delight he tooke to inuent and deuise them. For he had an excellent naturall witte to deuise suche workes, as are made by witte and hande, and did not bestowe his witte and inuention in handie crastes, in trifeling toyes and bables: as many other kinges that haue giuen them selues to playe on flutes, others to paynte and drawe, and others also to Turners crafte. As *AEropus* kinge of MACEDON, who delighted to make fine tables, and pretye lampes. And *Attalus*, surnamed *Philometor* (to saye, as louer of his mother) that woulde plante and sette Phisicall herbes, as Helleborum, Lingewort, or Beares foote: Hyoscynamum, Henbane, Cicuta, Hemlocke, Aconitum, Libardbaine or Woolfebaine, and Dorycnium: for the which we haue no Englishe worde: all these would he set him selfe with his owne handes in the gardeins of his pallaice, and also gather them in tyme of the yeare, to knowe the vertue and power of them. As *Arsaces*, the kinges of PARTHIA, that boasted they coulde them selues make their arrowe heades, and sharpen them. But the artificers workes which *Demetrius* practised, shewed that they came from a king. For his manner of workemanshippe had a certen greatnes in it, the which euen with the sutteltie and finenes of his workes, shewed the trymme handeling of the workeman: So that they appeared not onely worthye the vnderstanding and riches of a king, but also the forging and making by the handes of a great king. For his friendes did not onely wonder at their greatnes, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beautie of them. And this is more true, then meete to be spoken: the enemies could but maruell when they sawe his gallies rowing alongest the coaste, with fifteene or sixteene bankes of ores: and his engines of batterie which they called Elepolis (to saye, engines to take cities) were a spectacle of great admiration vnto those whome he beseeged, as the euents following did throughly witnesse. For *Lysimachus* who of all other kings did malice *Demetrius* most, comming to raise the seege from the citie of SOLI in CILICIA, the which *Demetrius* beseeged: he sent vnto him to pray him to let him see his engines of batterie, and his gallies rowing vppon the sea. *Demetrius* graunting him, *Lysimachus* returned with wonderfull admiration. The RHODIANS also hauing long time defended his seege, at the last made peace with him, and prayed him to leaue some one of his engines with them, for a perpetuall testimonie & remembrance both of his power, and also of their corage and valliantnes. The cause why *Demetrius* made warre with the RHODIANS, was, bicause they were confederats with king *Ptolomy*, he brought against their walles the greatest engine he had, the foote whereof was like a tyle, more long then broade, and at the base on either side it was eyght and fortie cubits longe, and three score and sixe highe, rising still narrow euen to the very top: so that the vpper partes were narrower then the nether, & within it were many prety roomes and places conueied for souldiers. The forepart of it was

A straunge custom of the Scythians in their dronkennes.

Demetrius a skilfull Captaine, and an excellent Shipwright.

Sundry delights of Princes.

Demetrius wonderfull workes.

Demetrius beseged Rhodes.

The description of Demetrius greatest engine of battery, called Elepolis.

open

A open towards the enemie,& euery roome or partition had windowes, out of the which they beſtowed all kind of ſhot,bicauſe they were full of armed men,fighting with all ſortes of weapons. But nowe, bicauſe it was ſo well framed and counterpeaſed, that it gaue no way,nor reeld of ether ſide,which way ſoeuer they remoued it, but that it ſtoode faſt and vpright vpon her foundacion,making a terrible noyſe and ſownde: that made the worke as wonderfull to behold,as it was a maruelous pleaſure for men to ſee it. In this warre were brought vnto *Demetrius* two notable armors weying fortie pownd a peece, and made by one *Zoilus* an armorer: who to ſhewe the hardnes and goodnes of the temper, ſuffered them to be proued and ſhot at at ſix ſcore paces,with the engines of their batterie: and albeit the armors were ſhot at,and hit,yet were they neuer pearſed,and but onely a litle race or skretch ſeene, as it were of
B a bodkin or penknife, and had no more hurte. *Demetrius* alwayes ware one of them in theſe warres,and *Alcimus* ALBANIAN the other, the ſtrongeſt and valliantеſt man he had in all his hoaſt, and that onely caried a complete armour weying ſixe ſcore pownde, where all other ſouldiers ware none aboue three ſcore. This *Alcimus* was ſlayne at RHODES valliantly fighting by the Theater. In this ſeege the RHODIANS did valliantly defende them ſelues, that *Demetrius* could doe no acte worthy memorie. This notwithſtanding, although he ſawe he could not preuaile, but loſe his tyme, yet was he the more obſtinately bent againſt them, to be euen with them: bicauſe they had taken a ſhippe of his, in the which his wife *Phila* had ſent vnto him certaine hangings of tapeſtrie, linnen, apparell, and letters, and bicauſe they
C had ſent them all vnto *Ptolomy*, aſſoone as they had taken them. But therein they did not follow the honeſt curteſie of the ATHENIANS: who hauing intercepted certaine currers of king *Philips* that made warre againſt them, they opened all the letters they caried, and red them, ſauing onely his wife *Olympiaes* letters ſhe ſent him, the which they ſent vnto king *Philip* ſealed, as they were when they receiued them. Nowe though this part did much greue and offend him, yet he could not finde in his hart to ſerue them in that ſorte, when he might haue done it not longe after. For by chaunce at that tyme, *Protogenes* an excellent paynter, borne in the city of CAVNVS,did paynt them the draught of the citie of IALYSVS. *Demetrius* found this table in a houſe in the ſuburbes of the citie,being almoſt ended. The RHODIANS thereupon ſending a Herauld vnto him, to beſeeche him to ſpare the defacing of ſo goodly a work: he returned them aunſwer,that he would rather ſuffer his fathers images to be burnt, then ſo
D excellent and paſſing a worke as that to be loſte, and brought to nothing. For it is reported, that *Protogenes* was ſeuen yeares drawing of the ſame: and it is alſo ſayde, that *Apelles* him ſelfe when he ſawe it did ſo wonder at it, that his ſpeeche fayled him, and he ſtoode muet a longe tyme, and at laſt ſayde: ſurely there is a wonderfull peece of worke, and of great labor, yet they want thoſe graces and ornaments whereby thoſe that I paynt doe reache vnto heauen. This table afterwardes being brought to ROME, and hanged vp with others, was in the ende burnt by fire. Nowe as the RHODIANS were deſirous to be rid of this warre,and that *Demetrius* alſo was willing to take any honeſt occaſion to doe it: the Ambaſſadors of the ATHENIANS came happely to ſerue both their deſires, who made peace betweene them with theſe condicions. That the RHODIANS ſhoulde be confederats with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, a-
E gainſt all men, but *Ptolomy* onely. The ATHENIANS ſent for *Demetrius*, vpon *Caſſanders* comming to laye ſeege to their citie. Whereuppon *Demetrius* immediatly hoyſed ſayle towards ATHENS,with three hundred and thirty gallies,and a great number of men of warre beſides: ſo that he did not only driue *Caſſander* out of the prouince of ATTICA,but followed him euen to the ſtraight of THERMOPYLES,and there ouerthrew him in ſet battell,and receiued the citie of HERACLEA,which willingly yelded vnto him, and ſixe thowſand MACEDONIANS that came vnto him to take his part. So in his returne backe,he ſet all the GRÆCIANS at libertie on this ſide the ſtraight: he made league with the BOEOTIANS,and tooke the citie of CENCHREES, and the caſtells of PHYLE and PANACTOS, in the fronters and confines of ATTICA,in the
F which *Caſſander* had left garriſons to keepe the contry in ſubiection: and after he had driuen them out of the contry,he rendred the forts againe vnto the ATHENIANS. Therefore though it ſeemed the ATHENIANS had before beſtowed to their vttermoſt power all kinds of honors that could be offered him,euery man ſtriuing for life to preferre the ſame: yet they found out

Two armors made of notable temper by Zoilus an armorer.

Alcimus Albanian, ware an armor of ſix ſcore pound weight.

The diſcurteſie of the Rhodians.

The great curteſie of the Athenians vnto king Philip Protogenes, borne in the citie of Caunias an excellent paynter.

Protogenes table of the citie of Ialyſus, greatly commended by Apelles himſelfe.

Demetrius concludeth peace with the Rhodians.

Demetrius victories in Grece.

new deuiſes to flatter and pleaſe him. For they ordeyned that the place behind the temple of *Minerua*, called Parthenon (as who would ſay, the temple of the virgin) ſhould be prepared for his houſe to lye in: and they ſayd, that the goddeſſe *Minerua* did lodge him with her. But to ſay truely, he was too vnchaſt a gheſt, to thinke that a mayden goddeſſe would be content he ſhoulde lye with her. And yet his father *Antigonus* perceiuing that they had lodged his ſonne *Philip* on a time in a houſe, where there were three younge women, he ſayde nothing to *Philip* him ſelfe, but before him he ſent for the harbinger, and ſayde vnto him: wilt thou not remoue my ſonne out of this ſtraight lodging, & prouide him of a better? And *Demetrius*, that ſhould haue reuerenced the goddeſſe *Minerua*, though for no other reſpect, but bicauſe he called her his eldeſt ſiſter, (for ſo he woulde ſhe ſhoulde be called) he defiled all the caſtell where was the temple of theſe holy virgines, with horrible and abominable inſolencies, both towards younge boyes of honeſt houſes, as alſo vnto younge women of the citie. So that this place ſeemed to be moſt pure and holy, at ſuch time as he laye with his common Curtiſans, *Chryſis*, *Lamia*, *Demo*, and *Anticyra*. It ſhall not be greatly for the honor of the citie of Athens, to tell perticularly all the abhominable partes he committed there. But *Democles* vertue and honeſtie deſerueth worthye and condigne remembrance. This *Democles* was a younge boye that had no heare on his face, of whoſe beautie *Demetrius* being informed by the ſurname he had, as commonly called through the citie, *Democles* the fayer: he ſought diuers waies to intiſe him, both by fayer meanes, large promiſſes and giftes, and alſo with threates beſides. But when he ſaw no man could bringe him to the bent of his bowe, and that the younge boye in the ende ſeeing him ſo importunate vpon him, came no more to the common places of exerciſe where other children vſed to recreate them ſelues, and that to auoide the common ſtooues, he went to waſh him ſelfe in another ſecret ſtooue: *Demetrius* watching his time and hower of going thither, followed him, and got in to him being alone. The boy ſeing him ſelfe alone & that he could not reſiſt *Demetrius*, tooke of the couer of the ketle or chawdron where the water was boyling, and leaping into it, drowned him ſelfe. Truely he was vnworthy of ſo lamentable an ende, but yet he ſhewed a noble hart, worthy of his beautie and contry. But he did not as another called *Cleænetus*, the ſonne of *Cleomedon*, who brought letters from *Demetrius* directed to the people, whereby, through *Demetrius* interceſſion & requeſt, his fathers fine of fifty talents in the which he was condemned (and for nonpayment remained priſoner) was clerely remitted and forgiuen. But by this acte, he not onely ſhamed and diſhonored him ſelf, but alſo troubled all the citie. For the people thereuppon releaſed *Cleomedon* of his fine, but therewith they made a decree that no Citizen ſhould thenceforth bring any moe letters from *Demetrius*. But afterwards, vnderſtanding that *Demetrius* was maruelouſly offended with this decree: they did not onely reuoke their firſt decree, but they did alſo put ſome of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others alſo they baniſhed. And further they made a lawe, that the people of Athens ſhould account all religious to the gods, and iuſt vnto men, whatſoeuer it pleaſed *Demetrius* to order and appoynt. At that time there was one of the chiefeſt men of the citie, that ſaide *Stratocles* was a mad man to preferre ſuch matters. In deede, & *Demochares* ſurnamed Laconian, he were a mad man if he were otherwiſe: and he ſpake it, bicauſe this *Stratocles* had many great pleaſures at *Demetrius* hands for this flatterie. Howbeit *Demochares* being accuſed and condemned vpon theſe wordes, he was baniſhed Athens. See after what ſorte the Athenians vſed them ſelues, who ſeemed to be deliuered from the garriſon they had before, and to be reſtored vnto their former libertie and freedom. From thence *Demetrius* went into Peloponnesvs, and neuer an enemie of his durſt tary his comming, but all fled before him, and left him their caſtels & townes. Thus *Demetrius* wan vnto him ſelfe all the contry called Acte, and all Archadia, ſauing the citie of Mantinea: & for the ſumme of an hundred talents giuen amongeſt them, he deliuered the cities of Argos, Sicyone, and of Corinthe, from the garriſons that laye amongeſt them. About that tyme fell out the great feaſt of *Iuno* in Argos, called Heræa. Therefore *Demetrius*, to honor this feaſte with the Græcians, married *Deidamia* (the Daughter of *AEacides*, king of the Molossians, and ſiſter of *Pyrrhus*) and perſwaded the Sicyonians to leaue their citie, and to come and builde in an other goodly place neare vnto it, where

Antigonus ſeuere ſaſines.

Demetrius wantonneſſe.

The names of Demetrius Curtiſans.

Demetrius iorney into Peloponneſus

Demetrius maried Deidamia, king Pyrrhus ſiſter: & chan-

A where they now doe dwell: and ſo with the place and ſituacion, he chaunged alſo the name of the citie. For in ſteade of SICYONE, he made it to be called DEMETRIADE. Then at a generall aſſembly of the ſtates of GRÆCE, which was kept in the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, called ISTHMOS: *Demetrius* was choſen Lieuetenant generall of all the GRÆCIANS, as *Philip* & *Alexander*, (both kings of MACEDON) had bene before him, vnto whom he did not only compare him ſelfe, but thought him ſelfe greater than they, bicauſe fortune ſmiled on him, and for that he had ſo good ſucceſſe in all his affayres. Whereas *Alexander* did neuer take away the title and name of king, from any other kings: nether did euer call him ſelfe king of kings, although he had giuen vnto diuers of them the name and power of a king. And in contrary manner alſo, *Demetrius* laughed them to ſcorne which called any other Princes, kings, but his B father and him ſelfe. Moreouer he tooke great pleaſure to heare his flatterers, who being at banketts called for wine to drinke to king *Demetrius*, and then to *Seleucus* maiſter of the Elephants, to *Ptolomy* Admiral, to *Lyſimachus* keeper of the treaſure, and to *Agathocles* SICILIAN, gouernor of the Iles. All the kings, but *Lyſimachus*, laughed at theſe toyes when they were reported to them: but *Lyſimachus* was very angry, & thought great skorne that *Demetrius* ſhould reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old cuſtom commōly to giue an Euenuke the charge of keeping the treaſure. So *Lyſimachus* of all other Princes did beare him moſt malice, and bicauſe he would finely tawnt him for that he euer kept *Lamia* his Curtiſan with him: vntil this preſent time, ſaid he, I neuer ſaw harlot play in a tragedy before. *Demetrius* aunſwered him againe, that his harlot was chaſter, then *Penelope* his wife. So *Demetrius* departing for that C time out of PELOPONNESVS, tooke his iorney towards ATHENS, and wrote before to the ATHENIANS, that when he came thither he would be receiued into the fraternitie of the holy myſteries, and that he ment they ſhould ſhew him at one ſelfe time, all that was to be ſeene, euen from the leaſt to the higheſt ſecrets of their ceremonies, called Epoptices, bicauſe they made the brethren of the fraternitie ſee them long time after that they had bene firſt receiued into the leſſer ceremonies: the which was not lawfull then, neither was euer heard of before. For theſe ſmaller miſteries in olde time were celebrated in the month of Nouember, and the greater in the month of Auguſt: & beſide it was not lawfull to celebrate or vſe theſe ceremonies within the ſpace of a yeare one of thother. When theſe letters were openly red, no man durſt ſpeake againſt them, but *Pythodorus* the Prieſt, who caried the torche lighted when they D ſhewed theſe miſteries. Howbeit his words preuailed not, for by the deuiſe of *Stratocles* it was enacted at an aſſembly of the citie, that the month of March in the which they were at that time, ſhould be called and reputed Nouember. And ſo, as they could beſt helpe it by their ordinaunces of the citie, they did receiue *Demetrius* into the fraternitie of the miſteries: & afterwards againe, this ſelfe month of March which they had tranſlated into Nouember, became ſodainly Auguſt: and in the ſelf ſame yeare was celebrated the other ceremonie of theſe great miſteries, whereby *Demetrius* was admitted to ſee the moſt ſtraighteſt and ſecreteſt ceremonies. Therefore *Philippides* the Poet inueying againſt the ſacriledge, and impietie of religion prophaned by *Stratocles*, made theſe verſes of him:

Into one mooneth his comming hither
Hath thruſt vp all the yeare togither.

And afterwards bicauſe *Stratocles* was the procurer that *Demetrius* was lodged in the temple of *Minerua* within the caſtell:

Of chaſte Mineruaze holy Church he makes a filthie ſtewes,
And in that Virgins very ſight his harlots doth abuſe.

But yet of all the inſolent parts done at that time in ATHENS, (although many were committed) none of all the reſt greued the ATHENIANS more, then this did: that *Demetrius* commaunded them they ſhould preſently furniſh him with two hundred & fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very harde vnto them, both for the ſhortnes of the time appoynted them, as alſo for the impoſſibilitie of abating any part of it. When he had ſeene all this maſſe F of money laid on a heape before him, he commaunded it ſhould be giuen to *Lamia*, & among his other Curtiſans, to buy them ſope. The ſhame the ATHENIANS receiued by this gift, greued them more, than the loſſe of their money: & the words he ſpake to the great contempt of

ged the name of the citie of Sicyone, and called it Demetriade.

Demetrius choſen generall of all Grece.

Demetrius pride.

Philippides verſes againſt Stratocles the boaſter.

Demetrius prodigall gift of 250 talents to his Curtiſans to buy them ſope.

them and their citie, did more trouble them, then the payment they made. Some say notwithstanding, that *Demetrius* did not alone vse the ATHENIANS thus shamefully, but the THESSALIANS also in the same manner. But passing this ouer: *Lamia* of her selfe, & through her owne countenance, did get a great summe of money together of diuers persons for one supper she made vnto *Demetrius*, the preparation whereof was of such exceeding charge, that *Lyceus* borne in the Ile of SAMOS, did set downe the order thereof in writing. And therefore a certain Poet no lesse pleasantly, then truely, called this *Lamia*, Elepolis: to wete, an engine to take cities. And *Democharcs* also borne in the citie of SOLI, called *Demetrius* a fable, bicause he had *Lamia* euer with him: as in the fables which olde women tell litle children, there is euer lightly a *Lamia*, as much to say, as a witche, or sorceresse. So that the great credit & authoritie this *Lamia* had, and the loue which *Demetrius* bare her: did not onely cause his wiues suspect and enuy him, but made him hated also of all his friends & familliers. And therfore certen gentlemē whom *Demetrius* sent in ambassade vnto king *Lysimachus*, he talking familliarly with them, & passing the time away, shewed them great wounds of the clawes of a lyon vpon his armes and legges, telling them also how he was forced to fight with the lyon, when through king *Alexanders* fury he was shut vp in his denne with him: they smiling to heare him, told him that the king their maister had also certeine markes and bytings on his necke, of a vile beast called *Lamia*. And to say truely, it was a wonderfull thing, that marrying (as he did) his wife *Phila* so much against his will, bicause she was too olde for him: how he was so rauished with *Lamia*, and did so constantly loue her so long together, considering that she was also very old, & past the best. Therefore *Demo*, surnamed *Mania*, (as much to say, the mad woman) pleasantly aunswered *Demetrius*, asking her one night when *Lamia* had plaied on the flute all supper time, what she thought of *Lamia*? an old woman, O king, q͞ she. Another time when frute was serued in, after the bord was taken vp: doe you see said *Demetrius*, how many prety fine knackes *Lamia* sendeth me? My mother, aunswered *Demo* againe, will send you moe then these, if you please to lye with her. It is reported of this *Lamia*, that she ouerthrew *Bocchoris* iudgement in a matter. In ÆGYPT there was a young man that had a maruelous fancie vnto a famous Curtisan, called *Thonis*: who did aske him suche a great summe of money to lye with her, that it was vnpossible for him to giue it her. At length, this amorous youth beeing so deepe in loue with her, dreamed one night he laye with her, and enioyed her: so that for the pleasure he tooke by his conceyt and imagination, when he awaked, his earnest loue was satisfied. This Curtisan whome he had cast fancie to, hearing of his dreame, did put him in sute before the Iudges, to be payed her hyer for the pleasure the younge man had taken of her by imagination. *Bocchoris* hearing the summe of her complaynt, commaunded the younge man to bringe before him in some vessell, at a daye appoynted, as muche money as she did aske him to lye with her. Then he badde him tosse it too and froe in his hande before the Curtisan, that she shoulde but onely haue the shadowe and sight of it: for, q͞ he, imagination and opinion, is but a shadowe of truth. *Lamia* sayde this was no equall iudgement: for, sayth she, the shadowe onely, or the sight of the money, did not satisfie the couetousnes of the Curtisan, as the younge mans lust was quenched by his dreame. Thus enough spoken of *Lamia*. But now, the misfortunes and ieasts of him we presently write of: they do transport our histories, as from a comycall into a tragicall theater, that is to saye, from pleasaunt and light matter, into lamentable and bytter teares. For all the Princes and Kinges conspyred generally agaynst *Antigonus*, and ioyned all their force and armies together. Therefore *Demetrius* departed forthwith out of GRÆCE, and came to ioyne with his father, whose courage he founde more liuely and better giuen to this warre, then his yeares required: besides that *Demetrius* comming made him the bolder, and did lifte vppe his harte the more. And yet it seemes to me, that if *Antigonus* woulde but haue yeelded vppe a fewe trifling thinges, and that he coulde or woulde haue brydeled his ouer immoderate couetous desire to raigne: he had bothe kept for him selfe all the tyme of his life, and also lefte after his deathe vnto his sonne, the supreameſt dignitie and power, aboue all the other Kinges and successors of *Alexander*. But he was so cruell, and rashe of nature, and as insolent and braue in his doinges, as in his wordes: that thereby he stirred vppe, and brought vppon him as his enemies,

Lamia made Demetrius a supper of her owne cost.

Lamia Elepolis.

The saying of Demo a Curtisan, touching Lamia, & Demetrius

A prety sute commenced vpon a louers dreame, and the iudgement reuersed by Lamia the Curtisan.

The subtelty of Lamia, reuersing Bocchoris sentēce.

The conspiracy of the kings against Antigonus.

enemies, many great and mighty Princes. For euen at that preſent time he ſaid, that he would as eaſely diſperſe and ſcatter a ſunder that conſpiracie againſt him, as chowghes or other litle birdes comming to pecke vp the corne newly ſowen, are eaſely ſcared awaye with a ſtone, or making any litle noyſe. So he caried to the field with him, aboue three ſcore and tenne thowſand footemen, tenne thowſand horſemen, and three ſcore and fifteene Elephantes. His enemies had three ſcore and foure thowſande footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen more then he, with foure hundred Elephants, and ſix ſcore cartes of warre. When the two armies were one neere vnto the other, me thinkes he had ſome imaginacion in his head that chaunged his hope, but not his corage. For in all other battells and conflictes, hauing commonly vſed to looke bigge of the matter, to haue a lowde high voyce, and to vſe braue wordes, and ſometime alſo euen in the chiefeſt of all the battell to geue ſome pleaſant mocke or other, ſhewing a certaine truſt he had in him ſelfe, and a contempt of his enemie: then they ſawe him oftentimes alone, and verie penſiue, without euer a word to any man. One day he called all his armie together, and preſented his ſonne vnto the ſouldiers, recommending him vnto them, as his heire and ſucceſſor, and talked with him alone in his tent. Whereat men maruelled the more, bicauſe that he neuer vſed before to imparte to any man the ſecrets of his counſell and determination, no not to his owne ſonne, but did all things of him ſelfe: and then commaunded that thing openly to be done, which he had ſecretly purpoſed. For proofe hereof it is ſaid, *Demetrius* being but a young man, asked him on a time when the campe ſhould remoue: and that *Antigonus* in anger aunſwered him, art thou affrayed thou ſhalt not heare the ſownd of the trompet? Furthermore, there fell out many ill ſignes and tokens that killed their harts. For *Demetrius* dreamed that *Alexander* the great appeared armed vnto him at all peeces, and that he asked him what word or ſignall of battell they were determined to geue at the day of the battell. He aunſwered, that they were determined to geue, *Iupiter*, and *Victorie*. Then ſaid *Alexander*, I will goe to thine enemies that ſhall receiue me. And afterwardes, at the very day of the ouerthrow, when all their armie were ſet in battell ray: *Antigonus* comming out of his tent, had ſuch a great fall, that he fell flat on his face on the ground, and hurte him ſelfe verie ſorely. So when he was taken vp, then lifting vp his handes to heauen, he made his prayers vnto the goddes, that it would pleaſe them to graunt him victorie, or ſodaine death without great paine, before he ſhoulde ſee him ſelfe vanquiſhed, and his armie ouerthrowen. When both battells came to ioyne, and that they fought hand to hand: *Demetrius* that had the moſt parte of the horſemen with him, went and gaue charge vpon *Antiochus* the ſonne of *Seleucus*, and fought it out ſo valliantly on his ſide, that he ouerthrewe his enemies, and put them to flight. But too fondly following the chaſe of them that fledde, and out of time: he marred all, and was the occaſion of the loſſe of his victorie. For when he returned from the chaſe, he could not ioyne againe with their footemen, bicauſe the Elephants were betwene both. Then *Seleucus* perceiuing *Antigonus* battell was naked of horſemen, he did not preſently ſet vpon them, but turned at one ſide as though he woulde enuiron them behinde, and made them affrayed: yet making head as he would charge them, only to geue them leaſure to come on their ſide, as they did. For the moſt parte of *Antigonus* hoaſt did forſake him, and yeelded vnto his enemies: & the reſt of them fled euery man. And when a great trowpe of men together went with great furie to geue charge on that ſide where *Antigonus* was: one of them that were about him, ſayd vnto him: your grace had neede take heede, for theſe men come to charge vs. He aunſwered againe: but how ſhould they know me? And if they did, my ſonne *Demetrius* will come and helpe me. This was his laſt hope, and ſtill he looked euerie way if he could ſee his ſonne comming towards him: vntill at length he was ſlaine with arrowes, darts, & pikes. For of all his frendes and ſouldiers there taried not one man by his bodie, but *Thorax* of the citie of LARISSA in THESSALIE. Now the battell hauing ſuche ſucceſſe as you haue heard, the Kings and Princes that had won ſo glorious a victorie, as if they had cut a great bodie into ſundrie peeces: they deuided *Antigonus* kingdome among them, and euerie man had his part of all the prouinces and contries which *Antigonus* kept, adding that vnto their other dominions which they poſſeſſed affore. Nowe *Demetrius* flying with all poſſible ſpeede that might be, with fiue thowſand footemen and foure thowſand horſemen, he got to the citie of

Antigonus & his enemies armie.

Demetrius dreame and ſignes.

Demetrius vpon the firſt onſet, made Antiochus the ſonne of Seleucus, flie. Ouerraſhly chaſing the enemies, he loſt his victorie, and was ouercome.

The death of king Antigonus.

Demetrius flight.

EPHESVS: where euerie man miſtruſted, that being needie of money as he was, he would not A
ſpare the temple of *Diana* in EPHESVS, but would rifle all the gold and ſiluer in it. And in contrarie maner alſo, *Demetrius* being affrayed of his ſouldiers, leaſt they would ſpoyle it againſt his will: he ſodainly departed thence, and ſayled towardes GRÆCE, putting his greateſt confidence & affiance in the ATHENIANS, bicauſe he had left his wife *Deidamia* at ATHENS, with ſhippes and ſome money, ſuppoſing he could goe no whether with better ſafety in his aduerſitie, then to ATHENS, of whoſe good wills he thought him ſelfe aſſured. Wherefore when Ambaſſadors of the ATHENIANS came vnto him, and found him not farre from the Iles CYCLADES, as he ſailed with great ſpeede towardes ATTICA, and that they had declared vnto him, he ſhould forbeare to come vnto their citie, bicauſe the people had made an ordinance to ſuffer no moe kings to come into ATHENS, and that they had ſent *Deidamia* his wife honorablie accompanied vnto the citie of MEGARA: then was *Demetrius* for verie anger & paſſion B
of minde, cleane out of countenaunce, although vntill that time he had paciently borne his aduerſitie, and his hart had neuer failed him. But this nipped him to the harte, when he ſawe (that contrarie to exſpectacion) the ATHENIANS had deceiued and failed him in his greateſt neede, and that in his aduerſitie he found their former frendſhippe counterfeate, and altogether diſſembled. Whereby moſt plainly appeareth, that the moſt vncerteine and deceiueable proſe of peoples good wills and cities towardes Kings and Princes, are the immeſurable and extreame honors they doe vnto them. For ſith it is ſo, that the trueth and certainty of honor proceedeth from the good will of thoſe that giue it: the feare which the common people commonly ſtand in of the power of kings, is ſufficient cauſe for them to miſtruſt that the peo- C
ple doe it not with good will and from their harts, conſidering that for feare they doe the ſelfe ſame things, which they will alſo doe for loue. Therefore graue and wiſe Princes ſhould not paſſe ſo much for the images and ſtatues they ſet vp for them, or the tables or diuine honors they doe decree vnto them: as to regard their owne workes & deedes, and weying them truely, ſo to beleue and receiue their honors for true, or otherwiſe to reiect and miſtruſt them, as things done by compulſion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate kings the more, when they doe accept theſe immeſurable and extreame honors done vnto them, but thoſe ſortes chiefly hate them moſt, that againſt their wills are forced to doe them thoſe honors. *Demetrius* ſeeing then how iniuriouſly the ATHENIANS had vſed him, & at that time not knowing how to be reuenged of them: he modeſtly ſent vnto them only to make his com- D
plaints, and to demaund his ſhippes, among the which was that galley of ſixteene banckes of owers. The which when he had receiued, he hoyſed ſaile immediatly towards the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, and there found all things to goe againſt him. For in euery place where he had left any garriſon, the Captaines that had the charge of them, either yeelded them vp, or elſe reuolted, & kept them againſt him. Therfore leauing *Pyrrhus* his Lieutenaunt in GRÆCE, he tooke ſea againe, & ſailed towards CHERRONESVS, & there with the miſchieues he did, & with the ſpoiles he got in king *Lyſimachus* land, he payed his men, and enriched his army, the which began againe to increaſe, & to be dreadfull to his enemies. But now for *Lyſimachus*, the other kings made no great accompt of him, neither did they ſturre to geue him aide, bicauſe he was nothing inferior vnto *Demetrius*: and for that he was of greater power and poſſeſſions E
then them ſelues, they therefore were the more affrayed of him. Shortly after, *Seleucus* ſent vnto *Demetrius*, to require his daughter *Stratonice* in mariage, notwithſtanding that he had a ſonne alreadie called *Antiochus*, by his wife *Apama* a PERSIAN. Howbeit he thought that his affaires and greatnes of his eſtate and kingdom, was able enough to maintaine many ſucceſſors after him. And furthermore, he conſidered with him ſelfe that he ſhould haue neede of *Demetrius* allyance, bicauſe he ſaw *Lyſimachus* him ſelfe matche with one of *Ptolomyes* daughters, & his ſonne *Agathocles* with his other daughter. *Demetrius* ſeeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, preſently tooke his daughter with him, & ſailed with all his ſhippes directly towards SYRIA. In the which voyage he was conſtrained of neceſſitie to lande ſometimes, and ſpecially in CILICIA, the which *Pliſtarchus* the brother of *Caſſander* kept at that F
time, being geuen him by the other kings for his parte and porcion of the ſpoyle of *Antigonus*, after he was ouerthrowen. This *Pliſtarchus* thinking that *Demetrius* landed not to refreſh him

The vnfaithfulnes of the Athenians towards Demetrius.

Ouergreat honors are ſignes of vnconſtant frendſhip.

Seleucus requireth Stratonice (Demetrius daughter) in mariage.

Pliſtarchus, the brother of Caſſander, at that time Gouernor of Cilicia.

A him ſelfe, but to forrage and ſpoyle bicauſe he woulde complaine of *Seleucus* for the allyance he made with their common enemie, without the conſent and priuitie of all the other Kings and Princes confederats, he went purpoſely vnto his brother *Caſſander*. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence thereof, ſodainly inuaded the land, and ſpoyled as farre as the citie of CYNDES, and caried away (which he had leauied) twelue hundred talentes, which he found yet left of his fathers treaſure: and then with all the ſpeede he could poſſible he returned to his ſhippes, and hoyſed ſayle. Shortly after, his wife *Phila* alſo came vnto him. So *Seleucus* receiued them all neere vnto the citie of OROSSVS, and there their meeting was Princely, without ſorow or ſuſpicion one of the other. Firſt of all *Seleucus* did feaſt *Demetrius* in his tent, in the middeſt of his campe: & afterwards *Demetrius* feaſted him againe in his galley, with thirteene bankes of
B owers. Thus they paſſed many dayes together, feaſting and reioycing eche with other, being vnarmed, and hauing no ſouldiers to waite vpon them: vntill at length *Seleucus* with his wife *Stratonice* departed, and tooke his way with great pompe towardes the citie of ANTIOCHE. Nowe for *Demetrius*, he kept the prouince of CILICIA, and ſent his wife *Phila* vnto her brother *Caſſander*, to aunſwere the complaints and accuſacions of *Pliſtarchus* againſt him. In the meane time *Deidamia* his wife departed out of GRÆCE to come vnto him: who after ſhe had remained with him a few dayes, dyed of a ſickeneſſe. Afterwardes *Demetrius* comming againe in fauor with *Ptolomy*, by *Seleucus* his ſonne in lawes meanes: he maried his daughter *Ptolemæide*. Hitherunto *Seleucus* vſed *Demetrius* verie curteouſly: but afterwards he prayed him to deliuer him CILICIA againe, for a ſumme of money that he offered him: but *Demetrius* plainly
C denyed him. Then did *Seleucus* ſhew a cruell and tyrannicall couetouſneſſe: for in anger, and with fierce threats and countenaunce he asked him the cities of TYR, and SIDON. But therein me thinkes he lacked honeſtie and ciuilitie: as though he that had vnder his obedience and ſubiection all that which lay betwext the INDIANS, and the ſea of SYRIA, was in ſuche neede and pouertie: that for two cities onely, he ſhoulde driue his father in law from him, who had ſuſteined ſo hard & bitter chaunge. But thereby he rightly confirmed *Platoes* ſaying: that he that will be riche in deede, muſt endeuor him ſelfe not to increaſe his riches, but rather to diminiſh his couetouſnes. For he ſhall neuer be but a begger, and needie, whoſe couetous deſire hath no ende. This notwithſtanding, *Demetrius* yeelded not for feare, but prouided to repleniſh the cities with good garriſons to keepe them againſt him: ſaying, that though he had
D bene ouercome ten thowſande times more in battell, yet it ſhould neuer ſincke into his head that he ſhoulde be contented, and thinke him ſelfe happie to buy *Seleucus* allyance ſo deere. On thother ſide, being aduertiſed that one *Lachares* hauing ſpied oportunitie when the ATHENIANS were in ciuill warres one againſt the other, and that he had ouercomen them, and did tyrannically vſurpe the gouernment: he then perſwaded him ſelfe that he might eaſely winne it againe, if he came thither vpon the ſodaine. Thereuppon he croſſed the ſeas with a great fleete of ſhippes, without any daunger: but he had ſuch a great ſtorme & tempeſt vpon the coaſt of ATTICA, that he loſt the moſt parte of his ſhippes, and a great number of his men beſides. But for him ſelfe he ſcaped, and began to make a litle warre with the ATHENIANS. Yet perceiuing that he did no good there, but loſt his time: he ſent ſome of his men to
E gather a number of ſhippes againe together, and he him ſelfe in the meane time went into PELOPONNESVS, to laye ſiege to the citie of MESSENA, where his perſon was in greate daunger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had ſuch a blowe with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, and ranne through his cheeke. Notwithſtanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his ſubiection againe certaine townes that had rebelled againſt him. After that, he returned againe into ATTICA, and tooke the cities of ELEVSIN, and of RHAMNVS: and then ſpoyled all the contrie, & tooke a ſhippe fraight with corne, and hong vp the marchaunt that ought it, and the maiſter of the ſhippe that brought it. Thereby to terrifie all other marchauntes, that they ſhoulde be affrayed to bring any more corne thither, and ſo to famiſh the citie, by keeping them from all thinges neceſſarie for their ſuſtenaunce: and ſo it
F happened. For a buſhell of ſalt was ſold at ATHENS for fortie ſiluer Drachmas, and the buſhell of wheate for three hundred Drachmas. In this extreame neceſſitie, the ATHENIANS had but a ſhort ioy for the hundred and fiftie gallies they ſaw neere vnto ÆGINA, the which

Demetrius inuadeth Cilicia.

Seleucus mareth Stratonice, Demetrius daughter.

The death of Deidamia Demetrius wife.

Demetrius mareth Ptolemæide, Ptolomies daughter.

Diſſention betwext Demetrius and Seleucus.

Platoes ſaying of riches.

Demetrius iorney againſt the Athenians.

Ptolomy ſent to aide them. For when the ſouldiers that were in them ſawe that they brought vnto *Demetrius* a great number of ſhippes out of PELOPONNESVS, out of CYPRVS, & diuers other partes, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred ſaile: they weyed their anckers, and fled preſently. Then *Lachares* forſooke the city, and ſecretly ſaued him ſelfe.

The Athenians doe yeelde vnto Demetrius.

Nowe the ATHENIANS, who before had commaunded vppon paine of death, that no man ſhould make any motion to the counſell, to treate of any peace with *Demetrius*: they did then vpon *Lachares* flying, preſently open the gates next vnto *Demetrius* campe, and ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but bicauſe neceſſitie draue them to it. During this ſo hard and ſtraight ſiege, there fell out many wonderfull and ſtraunge things: but among others, this one is of ſpeciall note. It is reported that the father and the ſonne ſitting in their houſe, voide of all hope of life: there fell a dead ratte before them from the toppe of the houſe, and that the father and ſonne fought who ſhould haue it to eate. Moreouer, that at the ſelfe ſame ſiege the Philoſopher *Epicurus* maintained him ſelfe and his ſchollers, by geuing them a proporcion of beanes euerie day, by the which they liued. Thus the citie of ATHENS being brought vnto this extremitie, *Demetrius* made his entrie into it, and gaue commaundement to all the citizens, that they ſhoulde aſſemble euerie man within the Theater: where he made them to be compaſſed in with armed ſouldiers, and then placed all his gard armed about the ſtage. Afterwards he came downe him ſelfe into the Theater, through high galleries and entries by the which the common players vſed to come to play their partes in tragedies, inſomuche as the ATHENIANS were then worſe affrayed then before: howbeit *Demetrius* preſently pacified their feare, as ſoone as he beganne to ſpeake vnto them. For he did not facion his Oration with a haſtie angrie voyce, neither did he vſe any ſharpe or bitter wordes: but onely after he had curteouſly told them their faults and diſcurteſie towards him, he ſayd he forgaue them, and that he would be their frende againe: and furthermore, he cauſed tenne millions of buſhells of wheate to be geuen vnto them, and ſtabliſhed ſuch Gouernors there, as the people miſliked not of. Then *Democles* the Orator, ſeeing that the people gaue out great ſhowtes of ioy in the praiſe of *Demetrius*, and that the Orators dayly contended in the pulpit for Orations, who ſhould exceede other in preferring newe honors for *Demetrius*: he cauſed an order to be made, that the hauens of PIRÆVS and MVNYCHIA ſhould be put into *Demetrius* handes, to vſe at his pleaſure. This being ſtabliſhed by voyces of the people, *Demetrius* of his owne priuate authoritie did place a greate garriſon within the forte called MVSÆVM, bicauſe the people ſhould rebell no more againſt him, nor diuert him from his other enterpriſes. Thus when he had taken ATHENS, he went to ſet vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Archidamus* king of LACEDÆMON, came againſt him with a puiſant armie, whom he diſcomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the citie of MANTINEA. After that he inuaded LACONIA with all his armie, and made an inrode to the citie of SPARTA, where he once againe ouerthrew the LACEDÆMONIANS in fet battell, tooke fiue hundred of them priſoners, and ſlue two hundred: inſomuch that euery man thought he might euen then goe to SPARTA without any daunger to take it, the which had neuer yet bene taken affore by any. But there was neuer king that had ſo often and ſodaine chaunges of fortune as *Demetrius*, nor that in other affaires was euer ſo often litle, and then great: ſo ſodainly downe, and vp againe: ſo weake, & ſtraight ſo ſtrong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great aduerſities when fortune turned ſo contrarie againſt him, he was wont to crie out vppon fortune, that which *AEſchylus* ſpeaketh in a place:

A rare deuiſe of Epicurus, at the ſtraight ſiege of Athens, to kepe his ſchollers aline with beanes.

Demetrius clemency vnto the Athenians.

Demetrius iorney againſt the Lacedæmonians.

Demetrius variable fortune.

Thou ſeemſt to haue begotten me, of purpoſe for to ſhowe
Thy force in lifting of me vp, me downe againe to throwe.

Demetrius miſfortunes.

Nowe againe when his affaires proſpered ſo well, and that he was likely to recouer a great force and kingdome: newes were brought him, firſt that *Lyſimachus* had taken all his townes from him, which he helde in ASIA: and on the other ſide, that *Ptolomy* had won from him all the realme of CYPRVS, the citie of SALAMINA onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very ſtraightly beſieged. This notwithſtanding, fortune played with him, as the wicked woman *Archilochus* ſpeaketh of, who,

Did in the one hand vvater ſhovv,

And

And in the other fire beſtovv.

For taking him away, and (as it were) the citie of SPARTA alſo out of his handes by theſe dreadfull newes, euen when he was certaine to haue won it: ſhe preſently offered him hopes of other great and new thinges, by this occaſion following. After the death of *Caſſander*, *Philip* who was the eldeſt of all his other ſonnes, and left his heire and ſucceſſor in the kingdome of MACEDON: he reigned no long time ouer the MACEDONIANS, but deceaſed ſoone after his father was dead. The two other brethren alſo fell at great variance, and warres together: ſo that the one called *Antipater*, ſlue his owne mother *Theſſalonica*: and the other being *Alexander*, called in to aide him *Demetrius*, and *Pyrrhus*, the one out of the realme of EPIRVS, and the other out of PELOPONNESVS. *Pyrrhus* came firſt before *Demetrius*, and kept a great parte of MACEDON for recompence of his paines, comming to aide him at his deſire: ſo that he became a dreadful neighbour vnto *Alexander* him ſelfe, that had ſent for him into his contrie. Furthermore, when he was aduertiſed that *Demetrius* did preſently vpon the receite of his letters, ſet forward with all his armie to come to aide him: the young Prince *Alexander*, was twiſe as muche more amazed and affrayed, for the great eſtate and eſtimacion of *Demetrius*. So he went to him notwithſtanding, and receiued him at a place called *Deion*, and there imbraced and welcomed him. But immediatly after, he told him that his affaires were nowe in ſo good ſtate, that praiſed be the goddes he ſhould not now neede his preſence to aide him. After theſe words the one began to miſtruſt the other. So it chaunced one day, that as *Demetrius* went to *Alexanders* lodging where the feaſt was prepared: there came one to him to tell him of an ambuſh that was layed for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he ſhould thinke to be merie at the banket. But *Demetrius* was nothing abaſhed at the newes, and only went a litle ſoftlier, not making ſuch haſt as he did before, and in the meane time ſent to commaunde his Captaines to arme their men, and to haue them in readines: and willed his gentlemen and all the reſt of his officers that were about him, (which were a greater number by many than thoſe of *Alexanders* ſide) euery man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarie there till he roſe from the table. By this meanes the men whome *Alexander* had appointed to aſſault him, they durſt not, being affrayed of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, *Demetrius* faining that he was not well at eaſe at that time to make merie, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleue that he had certaine newes brought him of great importaunce: and prayed *Alexander* to pardon him, that he could no lenger keepe him companie, for that he was driuen of neceſſitie to depart from him, and that an other time they woulde meete together, with better leaſure and libertie. *Alexander* was verie glad to ſee that *Demetrius* went his way out of MACEDON not offended, but of his owne good will: whereuppon he brought him into THESSALY, and when they were come to the citie of LARISSA, they began againe to feaſt one an other, to intrappe eche other: the which offered *Demetrius* occaſion to haue *Alexander* in his hand, as he would wiſh him ſelfe. For *Alexander* of purpoſe would not haue his gard about him, fearing leaſt thereby he ſhould teach *Demetrius* alſo to ſtand vpon his gard. Thus *Alexander* turned his practiſe for an other, vpon him ſelfe: for he was determined not to ſuffer *Demetrius* to ſcape his handes, if he once againe came within daunger. So *Alexander* being bidden to ſupper to *Demetrius*, he came accordingly. *Demetrius* riſing from the borde in the middeſt of ſupper, *Alexander* roſe alſo, being affrayed of that ſtraunge manner, and followed him foote by foote to the verie dore. Then *Demetrius* ſayd but to his warders at the gate, kill him that followeth me. With thoſe wordes he went out of the dores, and *Alexander* that followed him was ſlaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to reſcue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him ſayd, that *Demetrius* had preuented them but one day. All that night, (as it is no other likely) was full of vprore and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the MACEDONIANS being maruelouſly troubled & affrayed of *Demetrius* great power, when they ſaw that no man came to aſſaile them, but that *Demetrius* in contrarie maner ſent vnto them to tell them that he would ſpeake with them, and deliuer them reaſon for that he had done: then they all began to be bolde againe, and willingly gaue him audience. Nowe *Demetrius* needed not to vſe many wordes, nor to make any long Orations, to win them vnto

Great diſſention and ſtriſe for the realme of Macedon, after the death of Caſſander.

Antipater & Alexander, the ſonnes of Caſſander.

Demetrius inuadeth Macedon.

VVyles betweet Alexander and Demetrius.

Demetrius killeth Alexander the ſonne of Caſſander.

him: for, bicauſe they hated *Antipater* as a horrible manqueller and murderer of his mother, and bicauſe they had no better man to preferre, they eaſely choſe *Demetrius* king of MACEDON, and thereuppon brought him backe into MACEDON, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom. This chaunge was not miſliked of the other MACEDONIANS that remained at home in their contrie, for that they yet remembred the traiterous and wicked fact of *Caſſander*, againſt *Alexander* the great: for which cauſe they vtterly hated & deteſted all his iſſue & poſteritie. And furthermore, if there were any ſparke of remembrance in their harts, of the bounty & goodnes of their grandfather *Antipater*: *Demetrius* receiued the frute and benefit, for his wife *Philaes* ſake, by whom he had a ſonne that ſhould ſucceede him in the kingdom, and was a proper youth, in campe with his father. *Demetrius* hauing this great good happe and fortune comen vnto him, he receiued newes alſo that *Ptolomy* had not onely raiſed his ſiege from the citie of SALAMINA, where he kept his mother and children ſtraightly beſieged: but further, that he had done them great honor, and beſtowed great giftes vpon them. On the other ſide alſo he was aduertiſed, that his daughter *Stratonice*, who had before bene maried vnto *Seleucus*, was now maried againe vnto *Antiochus*, the ſonne of the ſayd *Seleucus*, and how that ſhe was crowned Queene of all the barbarous nations inhabiting in the high prouinces of ASIA: and that came to paſſe in this maner. It chaunced that this young Prince *Antiochus* (as loue ouercommeth all men) became in loue with his mother in law *Stratonice*, who alreadie had a ſonne by *Seleucus* his father. She being young, & paſſing fayer, he was ſo rauiſhed with her, that though he proued all the wayes poſſible to maiſter his furie and paſſion that way: yet he was ſtill the weaker. So that in the end, condemning him ſelfe to death bicauſe he found his deſire abhominable, his paſſion incurable, & his reaſon vtterly ouercome: he reſolued to kill him ſelfe by litle and litle, with abſtinence from meate and drinke, and made no other reckoning to remedie his griefe, faining to haue ſome ſecret inward diſeaſe in his body. Yet could he not ſo finely cloke it, but that *Eraſiſtratus* the Phiſitian eaſely found his griefe, that loue, not ſicknes, was his infirmitie: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in loue. *Eraſiſtratus* being earneſtly bent to finde out the partie he loued, he ſate by this young Prince all day long in his chamber, and when any fayer young boy or wife came to ſee him, he earneſtly looked *Antiochus* in the face, & carefully obſerued all the partes of the bodie, and outward mouings, which do commonly bewray the ſecret paſſions & affections of the mind. So hauing marked him diuers times, that when others came to ſee him, whatſoeuer they were, he ſtill remeined in one ſelfe ſtate, and that when *Stratonice* his mother in lawe came alone or in companie of her husband *Seleucus* to viſite him, he commonly perceiued thoſe ſignes in him, which *Sappho* wryteth to be in louers (to wit, that his words and ſpeech did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes ſtill rowled to and fro, and then a ſodaine ſwet would take him, his pulſe would beate faſt and riſe high, and in the end, that after the force and power of his hart had failed him, and ſhewed all theſe ſignes, he became like a man in an extaſie & traunſe, & white as a kearcher) he then gathering a true coniecture by theſe ſo manifeſt ſignes and declaracions, that it was only *Stratonice* whom this young Prince fanſied, and the which he forced him ſelfe to keepe ſecret to the death: thought that to bewray it to the king it would offend him muche, but yet truſting to his great affection and fatherly loue he bare to his ſonne, he ventred one day to tell him, that his ſonnes ſickneſſe was no other but loue, and withall, that his loue was impoſſible to be enioyed, and therefore that he muſt of neceſſitie dye, for it was incurable. *Seleucus* was cold at the harte to heare theſe newes: ſo he asked him, what, is he incurable? Yea, Sir, aunſwered the Phiſitian, bicauſe he is in loue with my wife. Then replied *Seleucus* againe, alas *Eraſiſtratus*, I haue alwayes loued thee as one of my deareſt frendes, and wouldeſt thou not now doe me this pleaſure, to lette my ſonne marry thy wife, ſith thou knoweſt it well that I haue no moe ſonnes but he, and that I ſee he is but caſt away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not doe it your ſelfe, ſayd *Eraſiſtratus*: if he were in loue with *Stratonice*. O, ſayd *Seleucus* to him againe, that it were the wil of the gods, ſome god or man could turne his loue that way: for mine owne parte, I would not only leaue him the thing he loued, but I would geue my kingdom alſo to ſaue his life. Thē *Eraſiſtratus* ſeeing that the king ſpake theſe words from his hart, and with abundance of teares: he tooke him by the right hand, and told him plainly,

Demetrius proclaimed king of Macedon.

Antiochus, the ſonne of Seleucus maried his mother in law Stratonice, with his fathers good will.

Eraſiſtratus Phiſitian to Seleucus.

Eraſiſtratus the Phiſitians care, to finde out the young Prince Antiochus loue. Sappho deſcribeth the ſignes and tokens of a paſſioned louer.

your

A your grace needeth not *Erasistratus* helpe in this. For being father, husbande, and king, your
selfe also may onely be the Phisitian, to cure your sonnes disease. When *Seleucus* heard that,
he called an assemblie of the people, and declared before them all that he was determined to
crown his sonne *Antiochus* king of the high prouinces of Asia,& *Stratonice* Queene,to mar-
ry them together: and that he was perswaded that his sonne, (who had alwayes shewed him
selfe obedient to his fathers will)would not disobey him in this mariage. And as for *Stratonice*,
if she misliked this mariage,and would not consent vnto it bicause it was no common matter:
then he prayed that his frendes would perswade her she should thinke all good & comely that
should please the king,and withall that concerned the general benefit of the realme and com-
mon wealth. Hereuppon *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were married together. But now to returne
B againe to the history of *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* came by the kingdom of Macedon and Thes-
salie, by this meanes as you haue heard, and did moreouer possesse the best parte of Pelo-
ponnesvs,and on this side the straight,the cities of Megara,and Athens. Furthermore he
led his armie against the Boeotians, who were at the first willing to make peace with him.
But after that *Cleonymus* king of Sparta was come into the city of Thebes with his army,the
Boeotians encouraged by the faire wordes and allurement of one *Pisis*, borne in the citie of
Thespis, who at that time bare all the sway & chiefe authoritie amongst them: they gaue vp
their treaty of peace they had begon with *Demetrius* & determined to make warre. Therupon
Demetrius wēt to besiege the citie of Thebes,& layed his engines of battery vnto it:insomuch
as *Cleonymus* for feare, stale secretly out of the citie. Thereuppon the Thebans being also af-
C frayed, yeelded them selues vnto *Demetrius* mercie: who putting great garrisons into the ci-
ties, & hauing leauied a great summe of money of the prouince, left them *Hieronymus* the hi-
storiographer, his Lieutenant & Gouernor there. So it appeared that he vsed them very cur-
teously,& did them many pleasures, and specially vnto *Pisis*. For when he had taken him pri-
soner, he did him no hurt, but receiued him very curteously, and vsed him well: and further-
more,he made him Polemarchus,(to wit,campe maister)in the city of Thespis. Shortly af-
ter these things were thus brought to passe,king *Lysimachus* by chaunce was taken by an other
barbarous Prince called *Dromichetes*. Thereupon, *Demetrius*,to take such a noble occasion of-
fred him, went with a great army to inuade the contry of Thracia, supposing he should find
no man to withstande him, but that he might conquer it at his pleasure. Howbeit, so soone as
D *Demetrius* backe was turned, the Boeotians reuolted againe from him, & therwithall newes
was brought him, that *Lysimachus* was deliuered out of prison. Then he returned backe with
all speede, maruelously offended with the Boeotians, whom he found already discomfited
in battell,by his sonne *Antigonus*,& went againe to lay siege to the citie of Thebes, being the
chiefe city of al that prouince of Boeotia. But at that present time,*Pyrrhus* came & forraged
all Thessaly, and entred euen to the straight of Thermopyles. Therefore *Demetrius* was
constrained to leaue his sonne to continewe the siege at Thebes, whilest he him selfe went a-
gainst *Pyrrhus*, who sodainly returned againe into his realme. So *Demetrius* left ten thowsand
footemen,and a thowsand horsemen in Thessaly to defend the contry,& returned with the
rest of his army to win Thebes. Thereupon he brought his great engine of batterie called E-
E lepolis, against the wall, as you haue heard before,the which was thrust forward by litle & li-
tle,with great labor,by reason of the weight and heauines of it:so that it could scant be driuen
forward two furlongs in two months. But the Boeotians & the Thebans did valliantly de-
fend them selues: and *Demetrius* of a malicious minde & desire of reuenge, (more oftner then
needefull, or to any purpose)compelled his men to go to the assault,& to hazard them selues:
so that there were daily a great number of them slaine. *Antigonus* his sonne perceiuing it:alas,
said he,why doe we thus suffer our men to be slaine and cast away to no purpose? Wherefore
Demetrius angrily aunswered him againe: what needest thou to care? Is there any * corne to
be distributed to those that are dead? But notwithstanding,bicause men should not thinke he
still ment to put others in daunger,and durst not venter him selfe: he fought with them, till at
F length he was shot through the necke with a sharpe arrow head,that was shot at him from the
wall. Wherewithall he fell very sicke, but yet raised not his siege,nor remoued his campe,but
tooke the citie of Thebes againe by assault: the which being not long before againe repleni-

Seleucus lobt vnto his sonne Antiochus.

The citie of Thebes yeelded vnto Demetrius.

Hieronymus the historiographer, Demetrius Lieutenant.

* *Corne monethly distributed to the souldiers, as their wages.*

ſhed with people, was in ten yeares ſpace twiſe won and taken. Now he put the THEBANS in A
a maruelous feare, by his cruell threats he gaue them at his cõming into THEBES: ſo that they
looked to haue receiued the extreameſt puniſhment the vanquiſhed could haue, through the
iuſt wrath and anger of the conqueror. Howbeit after *Demetrius* had put thirtene of them to
death, and baniſhed ſome: he pardoned all the reſt. About that time fell out the celebration of
the feaſt called Pythia, in the honour of *Apollo*: and bicauſe the ÆTOLIANS kept all the high
wayes to bring them vnto the city of DELPHES in the which of olde time they did vſe to cele-
brate thoſe ſports aforeſaid: he cauſed them to be kept & ſolemniſed at ATHENS as in a place
where this god in reaſon ſhould be beſt honored & reuerenced, bicauſe he was patrone of the
citie, and for that the ATHENIANS maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he
returned into MACEDON, & knowing that it was againſt his naure to liue idelly, & in peace, & B
ſeing on the other ſide alſo that the MACEDONIANS did him more ſeruice, & were more obe-
dient to him in warres, & that in time of peace they grew ſeditious, full of vanity & quarrell: he
went to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, and after he had ſpoiled and deſtroyed their contry,
Demetrius iorney againſt Pyrrhus. he left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there, with a great part of his army. *Demetrius* him ſelfe went
in the meane time with the reſt of his army againſt *Pyrrhus*: and *Pyrrhus* alſo againſt him, but
they miſſed of meeting ech with other. Whereupon *Demetrius* paſſed further vnto the realme
of EPIRVS, the which he ſpoiled & forraged. *Pyrrhus* on the other ſide went on ſo farre that he
met with *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* Lieutenant, with whom he fought a battell, and came to the
ſword with him: ſo that he did both hurt him, and was alſo hurt by him. But in the end *Pyrrhus*
had the vpper hand, he put *Pantauchus* to flight, & ſlue a great number of his men, & tooke fiue C
thowſand priſoners: the which was the chief ouerthrow of *Demetrius*. For *Pyrrhus* wan not the
MACEDONIANS ill will ſo much for the miſchieues & hurts he had done vnto them, as he got
him ſelfe great fame & renowne with them, bicauſe him ſelfe alone had with his owne hands
done all the noble exployts of warre in that iorney: for the which, he was afterwardes had in
great eſtimacion among the MACEDONIANS. Nowe many of them began to ſay, that he was
the only king of all others, in whom the liuely image of the hardines & valliantnes of *Alex-
ander* the great was to be ſeene: & that all the reſt, (but ſpecially *Demetrius*) did but counterfeate
his grauetie & Princely countenaunce, like players vpon a ſtage that would counterfeate his
Demetrius inſolencie. countenaunce & geſture. And to ſay truly, there was much finenes and curioſity about *Deme-
trius*, to make him a playing ſtocke in cõmon playes. For ſome ſay, that he did not only weare D
a great hat with his diadeame vpon his head, & was apparelled in purple gownes imbrodered
with gold: but alſo that he did vſe to weare certaine wollen ſhoes on his feete died in purple
colour, not wouen, but facioned together like a felt, and gilt vpon it. And furthermore, he had
Demetrius cloke drawen with the figure of the world, and ſtarres. long before cauſed a cloke to be made of a maruelous rich & ſumptuous peece of worke. For
vpon it was drawen the figure of the world, with ſtarres and circles of heauen, the which was
not throughly finiſhed by the chaunge of his fortune. So, there was neuer king of MACEDON
after him that durſt weare it: albeit there were many prowde & arrogant kings that ſucceded
him. Now the MACEDONIANS were not onely ſory, and offended to ſee ſuche things, as they
were not wont to be acquainted withall: but they much more miſliked this curious maner of
life, & ſpecially bicauſe he was ill to come to, and worſe to be ſpoken with. For he gaue no au- E
dience, or if he did, he was very rough, & would ſharply take them vp that had to do with him.
As, he kept the Ambaſſadors of the ATHENIANS two yeres, & would geue them no anſwere:
& yet made as though he loued them better, then any other people of GRÆCE. Another time
alſo he was offended, bicauſe the LACEDÆMONIANS had ſent but one man only Ambaſſador
The plaine aunſwere of the Ambaſſador of Sparta, vnto Demetrius. vnto him, taking it that they had done it in deſpite of him. And ſo did the Ambaſſador of the
LACEDÆMONIANS anſwere him very gallantly, after the LACONIAN maner. For when *Deme-
trius* asked him, how chaũceth it that the LACEDÆMONIANS do ſend but one man vnto me?
No more but one, ſaid he, O king, vnto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly & popu-
larlike, then he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the
eaſelier ſpeake with him, and that he would more curteouſly heare their complaints. Thereu- F
pon many came, and put vp their humble ſupplicacions and bills of peticion vnto him. He re-
ceiued them, & put them vp in the lappe of his cloke. The poore ſuters were glad of that, and

waited

A waited vpon him at his heeles, hoping they ſhould quickely be diſpatched: but when he was vpon the bridge of the riuer of Axius, he opened his cloke, & caſt them all into the riuer. This went to the harts of the MACEDONIANS, who then thought they were no more gouerned by a king, but oppreſſed by a tyran: & it grieued thē ſo much more, bicauſe they did yet remember (either for that they had ſeene them ſelues, or otherwiſe heard their forefathers ſay) howe curteous king *Philip* was in all ſuch matters, and howe that one day as he paſſed through the ſtreete, a poore old woman pluckt him by the gowne, and eftſoones humbly beſought him to heare her, but he aunſwered her he was not then at leaſure. Whereuppon the poore woman plainly cried out to him, leaue then to be king. This word ſo nettled him, and he tooke ſuch a cōceit of it, that he returned preſently to his pallace, & ſetting all other matters a part, did no-
B thing elſe many dayes but gaue him ſelfe to heare all ſutes, & began with this poore olde woman. For truly nothing becommeth a Prince better, thē to miniſter iuſtice: for *Mars* (as *Timotheus* ſaith) ſignifieth force, & is a tyran: but iuſtice & law, according to *Pindarus*, is Queene of all the world. Moreouer, the wiſe Poet *Homer* ſaith not that Princes & Kings haue receiued the cuſtody of engines, & of munition, neither alſo ſtrong & mighty ſhips of *Iupiter*, to kepe them to deſtroy townes withall: but with them to maintaine law & iuſtice. And therefore he calleth not the cruell & bloody king, but the iuſt & merciful Prince, *Iupiters* frend & ſcholler. And *Demetrius* boaſted that he had a name and title contrarie vnto *Iupiter*, whom they called *Polieus*, or *Poliouchos*, ſignifying protector and preſeruer of cities: and that he was called *Poliorcetes*, a Fortgainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, & vice preferred for vertue: bicauſe he could
C not diſcerne the truth from falſehod, which turned his iniuſtice to glory, & iniquity to honor. But now to returne where we left: *Demetrius* fell into a great & daungerous ſickenes in the citie of PELLA, during which time he almoſt loſt all MACEDON, by a ſodaine inuaſion *Pyrrhus* made, who in maner rode it all ouer, & came as farre as the city of EDESSA. Howbeit ſo ſone as he recouered health again, he eaſely draue him out, & afterwards made peace with him, bicauſe he would not fighting with him (whom he ſhould haue daily at his dores ſtil skirmiſhing ſomtime here, ſomtime there) loſe the oportunity, and weaken him ſelfe to bring that to paſſe which he had determined. For he had no ſmall matters in his head, but thought to recouer all the realmes his father had: & beſides, the preparacion he made was no leſſe ſufficiēt, then the purpoſe of ſuch an imagination required. For he had leauied & aſſembled an army of a hūdred
D thowſand footemen, lacking but two thowſand: and vnto them he had alſo well neere twelue thowſand horſemen, & had beſides gotten aboue fiue hundred ſhippes together, which were built part in the hauen of PIRÆVS, part at CORINTH, part in the city of CHALCIS, and part about PELLA. He him ſelfe in perſon went through their workehouſes, & ſhewed the artificers how they ſhould make them, & did help to deuiſe them: ſo that euery man wondred not onely at his infinite preparacion, but at the greatnes & ſumptuouſnes of his works. For at that time there was no man liuing that euer ſaw a gally of fifteene or ſixteene banks of owers. But this is true, that afterwardes *Ptolomy*, ſurnamed *Philopator*, built a gally of forty bankes of owers, the which was two hundred foure ſcore cubits long, & from the keele in height to the top of the poope, eight & forty cubits: & to looke to the tackle & guide her, required foure hundred ma-
E riners, & foure thowſand water mē to row her, & beſides all that ſhe could yet cary aboue the hatches, wel nere three thowſand fighting men. Howbeit this gally neuer ſerued to other purpoſe but for ſhow, & was like to a houſe that neuer ſturred: & it was neuer remoued out of the place where it was built but with maruelous a do, & great daūger, more to make men wonder at it, then for any ſeruice or commodity it could be imployed vnto. But now, the beawty of *Demetrius* ſhippes did nothing hinder their ſwiftnes & goodnes for fight, neither did the hugenes of their building take away the vſe of them, but their ſwiftneſſe and nimblenes deſerued more commendacion, then their ſumptuouſnes & ſtatelines. Thus as this great power & preparacion was in hand, being ſuch as neuer king before (ſince the time of *Alexander* the great) had
F aſſembled a greater to inuade ASIA: theſe three kings, *Ptolomy*, *Seleucus*, and *Lyſimachus*, did all ioyne together againſt him. And afterwardes alſo, they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Pyrrhus* in the name of them all, to draw him to their ſide, alluring him to come into MACEDON, perſwading him not to repoſe any truſt in the peace *Demetrius* had made with him, to make accompt of it

Axius fl.

The praiſe of king Philips curteſie.

The bolde ſpeache of a poore woman to king Philip.

The chiefeſt office of a king.

Demetrius called a Fortgainer.

Demetrius armie & preparacion for the recouering of his realme againe.

Ptolomies wonderfull galley of forty bankes of owers.

Three kings Seleucus, Ptolomy, and Lyſimachus conſpired againſt Demetrius.

as a good & ſure place: for, they ſaid that *Demetrius* did not giue him pledge that he would ne- A
uer make warre with him, but rather firſt tooke oportunity him ſelf to make warre with whom he thought good. *Pyrrhus* conſidering ſo much, & finding their words true: there roſe a ſharpe & cruell warre on euery ſide againſt *Demetrius*, who tracted time, & ſtayed yet to begin. For at one ſelfe time, *Ptolomy* with a great fleete of ſhippes came downe into GRÆCE, and made all GRÆCE reuolt from him: & *Lyſimachus* alſo on THRACIAES ſide, & *Pyrrhus* vpon the borders of EPIRVS, confining with the realme of MACEDON, they entred with a great army, & ſpoiled and ſacked all as they went. Thereupon *Demetrius* leauing his ſonne *Antigonus* in GRÆCE, he returned with all poſſible ſpeede into MACEDON, to goe firſt againſt *Lyſimachus*. But as he was preparing to go againſt him, newes were brought him that *Pyrrhus* had already taken the citie of BERRHOEA. This newes being blowen abroad amongeſt the MACEDONIANS, all *Demetrius* B
doings were turned topſie turuey. For all his campe was ſtraight full of teares & complaints, & his men began openly to ſhew their anger againſt him, ſpeaking all the ill they could of him: ſo that they would tary no lenger, but euery one prayed leaue to depart, pretēding to looke to their buſines at home, but in truth to go & yeeld them ſelues vnto *Lyſimachus*. Wherefore *Demetrius* thought it beſt for him to get him as farre from *Lyſimachus* as he could, and to bend all his army againſt *Pyrrhus*: bicauſe the other was their contry man, & familiarly knowen among the moſt of them, for that they had ſerued together vnder *Alexander* the great, and that as he thought, the MACEDONIANS would not preferre *Pyrrhus* a ſtrāger, before him. But there his iudgement failed him. For as ſoone as *Pyrrhus* had pitched his campe hard by him, the MACEDŌNIANS that had euer loued valliantnes, & had of ancient time eſteemed him worthier to be C
king, that was the beſt ſouldier & valliānteſt in the field, and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency & curteſy he had ſhewed to the priſoners he had taken: they hauing had good will of long time ſought but good occaſion to forſake *Demetrius*, & to yeeld them ſelues vnto *Pyrrhus*, or to any other prince whatſoeuer he were. Then they ſecretly began to ſteale away one after an other, by ſmal companies at the firſt: but afterwards there roſe ſuch a general tumult againſt him throughout all the campe, that ſome of thē were ſo deſperat to go into his tent to bid him flie, & ſaue himſelfe, bicauſe the MACEDONIANS were too weary with fighting for his curioſity. And yet *Demetrius* foūd theſe words more gentle, & modeſt, in reſpect of the vile & cruel words which others gaue him. So he went into his tent, & caſt a black cloke about his face, in ſtead of his rich & ſtately cloke he was wont to weare: not like vnto a king, but like a D
cōmon player when the play is done, & then ſecretly ſtale away. When this was knowē in the campe, many of his ſouldiers ran to his tent to rifle it, and euery man tooke ſuch hold of it to haue his part, that they tare it in peces, & drew their ſwords to fight for it. But *Pyrrhus* cōming in the middeſt of the tumult, pacified this ſturre, & preſently without blow giuen, wan al *Demetrius* campe: & afterwards he deuided the realme of MACEDON with *Lyſimachus*, in the which *Demetrius* had quietly raigned the ſpace of ſeuen yeres. Now *Demetrius* being thus miſerably ouerthrowen, & turned out of all his realme: he fled vnto the city of CASSANDRIA. There he found his wife *Phila*, who tooke it maruelous heauily, and could not abide to ſee him againe a priuate man, driuen out of his kingdom, & the moſt miſerable king that euer was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, & deteſting the fortune of her husband: E
ſhe being more conſtant in calamity then in proſperity, killed her ſelfe with poiſon ſhe tooke. *Demetrius* went from thence into GRÆCE, purpoſing to gather together the reſt of his ſhipwracks: and there aſſembled all his Captaines and frends that he had. So it ſeemeth to me, the cōpariſon *Menelaus* maketh of his fortune, in one of the tragedies of *Sophocles*, in theſe verſes:

Demetrius armie forſaketh him, and goeth to Pyrrhus.

Phila, Demetrius wife poiſoneth her ſelfe.

Demetrius ſtraunge fortune.

My ſtate doth turne continually about on fortunes vvheele,
VVhoſe double dealing diuers times inforſt I am to feele:
Reſembling right the moone vvhoſe face abideth at no ſtay
Tvvo nights together, but doth chaunge in shape from day to day:
At firſt she riſeth ſmall vvith hornes. And as in age she grovves,
VVith fuller cheekes and brighter light a greater face she shovves. F
And vvhen she commeth to the full, and shineth faire and bright,
Among the goodly gliſtring ſtarres the goodlyeſt in the night:

She fades and falles awvay againe, and runnes a counterpace,
Vntill she haue forgone the light and figure of her face.

This compariſon might I ſay much better be applied vnto *Demetrius* fortune, to his riſing and falling, and to his ouerthrowe and relieſe againe. For when euery man thought his force and power vtterly ouerthrowen, then began he to riſe againe by repaire of ſouldiers, which by litle and litle came vnto him, and ſtraight reuiued him with good hope. This was the firſt time that he was euer ſeene meanely apparelled, like a priuate man vp and downe the contry, without ſome ſhewe or tokens of a king. And there was one that ſeeing him in this eſtate at THEBES, pleaſauntly applied theſe verſes of *Euripides* vnto him:

Demetrius miſerie from Princely happines.

Of god immortall, novv becomne a mortall vvight:
Iſmênus bankes and Dirces ſtreames he haunteth in our ſight.

Nowe when he beganne to haue ſome hope againe, and was (as it were) entred into the great high way of kinges, and had gotten ſouldiers about him, which made a bodie and ſhew of royall power: he reſtored the THEBANS their libertie and gouernment againe. But the ATHENIANS once more reuolted from him, and did reuoke the dignitie and Prieſthoode of *Diphilus*, who had bene that yeare created Prieſt of the ſauiours, in ſteade of the Gouernour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we haue told you before: and made a lawe, that from thencefoorth the auncient and common Gouernors of their citie ſhould be reſtored againe to their auncient manner: and they ſent alſo into MACEDON vnto king *Pyrrhus*, rather to terrifie *Demetrius* (whome they ſawe beginne to riſe againe) then for any hope they had he woulde come and helpe them. Howebeit *Demetrius* came againſt them with great furie, and did ſtraightly beſiege the citie of ATHENS. Then the ATHENIANS ſent *Crates* the Philoſopher to him, a man of great eſtimacion and authoritie, who ſo handled him, partely by intreatie, and partely alſo through his wiſe perſwaſions and counſells he gaue him for his profit: that *Demetrius* preſently raiſed his ſiege. Wherfore, after he had gathered together ſo many ſhippes as were left him, and had imbarked twelue thowſande footemen, and a ſmall number of horſemen: he preſently tooke ſea, and ſailed towards ASIA, meaning to take the prouinces of CARIA and LYDIA from *Lyſimachus*, and to make them to rebell againſt him. There *Eurydice*, ſiſter to his wife *Phila*, receiued him by the citie of MILETVM, hauing with her one of *Ptolomyes* daughters & hers, called *Ptolemæide*, the which had bene affore affianced to him by *Seleucus* meanes. So he maried *Ptolemæide* there, with the good will and conſent of her mother *Eurydice*. After his mariage he preſently went into the field againe, and did ſet forwardes to winne ſome cities, whereof many willingly receiued him, and others he tooke by force. Amongſt them he tooke the city of SARDIS, whether came diuers Captaines vnto him of king *Lyſimachus*, who yeelded them ſelues, and brought him a greate number of men, and muche money beſides. But *Demetrius* receiuing aduertiſement that *Agathocles*, *Lyſimachus* ſonne, followed him with a great armie: he went thence into PHRYGIA, making account, and alſo hoping, that if he coulde winne ARMENIA, he might eaſely make MEDIA rebell, and then that he woulde ſee if he coulde conquer the high prouinces of ASIA, where he might haue many places of refuge, if fortune turned againſt him. *Agathocles* followed him verie neere, and yet skirmiſhing diuers times with him, *Demetrius* alway had the better: howebeit *Agathocles* did cut of his vittells from him euerie waye and kept him at ſuche a ſtraight, that his men durſt no more ſtray from the campe to forrage: wherefore, they ſuſteyned greate want of vittells, and then beganne his men to be affrayed, and to miſtruſt that he would make them followe him into ARMENIA and MEDIA. The famine dayly increaſed more and more in his armie, and it chaunced beſides, that miſſing his waye, and failing to gage the forde well as he paſſed ouer the riuer of Lycus, the furie and force of the riuer caried his men downe the ſtreame, and drowned a greate number of them: and yet notwithſtandinge theſe greate troubles, they mocked him beſides. For one wrote at the entrie and comming in to his tent, the firſt verſe of the tragedie of *Oedipus* COLONIAN, wrytten by *Sophocles*, chaunging onely ſome word.

Crates the Philoſopher deliuereth Athens from Demetrius ſiege.

Demetrius marieth Ptolemæide.

Demetrius troubles in Aſia.

Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus,
To vvhat a point haſt thou novv caried vs?

Plague, by ill meate.

But in the end, the plague began alſo in the middeſt of this famine, (a common thing, and almoſt a matter of neceſſitie, it ſhould ſo be) bicauſe that men being driuen to neede and neceſſitie, doe frame them ſelues to eate all that comes to hande: whereupon he was driuen to bring backe thoſe few men that remained, hauing loſt of all ſortes (good and bad) not ſo fewe as eight thowſand fully told. When he came into the prouince of TARSVS, he commaunded his men in no caſe to meddle with any thing, bicauſe the contrie was ſubiect vnto king *Seleucus*, whom he would in no wiſe diſpleaſe. But when he ſawe it was impoſſible to ſtay his men being now brought to ſuch extremitie and neede, & that *Agathocles* had bard vp the ſtraights and paſſages of mount Taurus againſt him: he wrote a letter vnto *Seleucus*, firſt declaring his miſerable ſtate and hard fortune, and then preſenting his humble petition and requeſt vnto him, praying him to take pitie vpon his frend, whom ſpitefull fortune had throwen into ſuch miſerie and calamitie, that coulde not but moue his greateſt enemies to haue compaſſion of him. Theſe letters ſomewhat ſoftened *Seleucus* hart, inſomuche that he wrote to his Gouernors and Lieutenauntes of thoſe partes, to furniſh *Demetrius* perſon with all thinges neede-full for a Princes houſe, and vittells ſufficient to maintaine his men. But one *Patrocles*, a graue wiſe man accounted, and *Seleucus* faithfull frend alſo, came to tell him, that the charge to entertaine *Demetrius* ſouldiers, was not the greateſt fault he made therin, & moſt to be accõpted of: but that he did not wiſely looke into his affaires, to ſuffer *Demetrius* to remaine in his cõtry, conſidering that he had alway bene a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterpriſe any matters of great importaunce, and nowe he was brought to ſuch diſpaire and extremitie, that he had framed his men which were but ranke cowardes (contrarie to their nature) to be moſt deſperat & hardie in greateſt daungers. *Seleucus* being moued with theſe perſwaſions, preſently tooke his iorney into CILICIA with a great armie. *Demetrius* being aſtonied with this ſodaine chaunge, and dreading ſo great an armie, got him to the ſtrongeſt places of mount Taurus. Then he ſent vnto *Seleucus*, firſt of all to pray him to ſuffer him to conquer certaine barbarous people thereaboutes, who liued according to their owne lawes, and neuer had king: to thend that he might yet there with ſafetie end the reſt of his life and exile, ſtaying at length in ſome place where he might be ſafe. Secondly if that liked him not, then that it woulde yet pleaſe him to vittell his men for the winter time onely, in the ſame place where they were, and not to be ſo hard harted vnto him as to driue him thence, lacking all needefull thinges, and ſo to put him into the mouth of his moſt cruell and mortall enemies. But *Seleucus* miſtruſting his domaundes, ſent vnto him that he ſhoulde winter if he thought good, two monethes, but no more, in the contrie of CATAONIA, ſo he gaue him the chiefeſt of his frendes for oſtages: howbeit in the meane time he ſtopped vp all the wayes & paſſages going from thence into SYRIA. *Demetrius* nowe ſeeing him ſelfe kept in of all ſides, like a beaſt to be taken in the toyle: he was driuen to truſt to his owne ſtrength. Thereuppon he ouerranne the contry thereaboutes, and as often as it was his chaunce to haue any skirmiſh or conflict with *Seleucus*, he had euer the better of him: and ſometime alſo when they draue the armed cartes with ſithes againſt him, he ouercame them, and put the reſt to flight. Then he draue them away that kept the toppe of the mountaines, and had barred the paſſages to kepe him that he ſhould not goe into SYRIA, and ſo kept them him ſelfe. In fine, finding his mens hartes lift vp againe, and pretily encoraged: his hart alſo grewe ſo bigge, that he determined to fight a battell with *Seleucus*, and to ſet all at ſixe and ſeuen. So that *Seleucus* was at a ſtraight with him ſelfe, and wiſt not what to doe. For he had returned backe the ayde which *Lyſimachus* ſent vnto him, bicauſe he was affrayed of him, and miſtruſted him. On thother ſide alſo he durſt not fight with *Demetrius* alone, being affrayed to venter him ſelfe with a deſperate man: and alſo miſtruſting muche his vnconſtant fortune, the which hauing brought him to great extremitie, raiſed him vp againe to great proſperitie. But in the meane ſpace *Demetrius* fell into a great ſickeneſſe, the which brought his bodie very weake and low, and had almoſt vtterly ouerthrowen his affaires. For his ſouldiers, ſome of them yeelded them ſelues to his enemies, and others ſtale away without leaue, and went where they liſted. Afterwardes when he had hardly recouered his health, and within forty dayes ſpace was pretily growen to ſtrength againe: with thoſe few ſouldiers that remained with him, he ſeemed to his enemies, that

Demetrius famine.

Patrocles ſtirreth vp Seleucus againſt Demetrius.

Deſperate men are not to be fought with.

A that he would goe and inuade CILICIA. But then sodainly in the night without sownding any trumpet, he remoued his campe, and went another way: and hauing passed ouer mount Amanus, he spoyled all the contry vnder it, as farre as the region of CYRRESTICA. But *Seleucus* followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereuppon *Demetrius* sodainly armed his men, and went out by night to assault *Seleucus*, and to take him sleping when he mistrusted nothing. So that *Seleucus* knew nothing of his stealing on him but late enough, vntil that certaine traitors of *Demetrius* campe that fled before, went quickly to aduertise him finding him asleepe, and brought him newes of the daunger he was in. Then *Seleucus* in a mase and feare withall, got vp, and sownded the alarom: and as he was putting on his hose and making him ready he cryed out, (speaking to his friends and familliers about him) we haue now a cruell and daun-
B gerous beast to deale with. *Demetrius* on the other side perceiuing by the great sturre & noyse he heard in the enemies campe, that his enterprise was discouered: he retyred againe with speede, and the next morning by breake of day, *Seleucus* went and offred him battell. *Demetrius* prepared him selfe to ioyne with him, and hauing giuen one of his faithfull friendes the leading of one of the wings of his armie, him selfe led the other, and ouerthrew some of his enemies on his side. But *Seleucus* in the middest of the battell lighted from his horse, and taking his helmet from his head, he tooke a target on his arme, and went to the first ranckes of his armie, to make him selfe knowen vnto *Demetrius* men: perswading them to yeeld them selues vnto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that he had so long time deferred to giue them battell, rather to saue them, then to spare *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* souldiers hearing him say so, they
C did him humble reuerence, and acknowledging him for their king, they all yeelded vnto him. *Demetrius* hauing sundry times before proued so many chaunges & ouerthrowes of fortune, thinking yet to scape this last also, & to passe it ouer: he fled vnto the gates Amanides, which are certaine straights of the mount Amanus. There he founde certaine litle thicke groues, where he determined to stay all night with certaine gentlemen of his house, and a fewe other of his household seruaunts & officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could possible, to take his way towards the citie of CAVNVS, to goe to that sea coast, hoping to heare of his shippes there. But when it was tolde him he had no vittells nor prouision left onely to serue him that day: he began then to deuise some other way. At length, one of his familliar friends *Sosigenes* came vnto him, that had foure hundred peeces of golde about him in his girdell. So
D hoping that with the same money he might flie to the sea, they tooke their way by night directly, to the toppe of the mountaine. But when they perceiued that the enemies kept watch there, and that there were great store of fires hard by them: they then dispaired to passe any further, least they should be seene. So they returned to the selfe same place from whence they came, not all of them, for some of them fled: neither had they that remayned also any life in them as before. So, one among the rest tooke vpon him, to say, that there was no other way to scape, but to put *Demetrius* into *Seleucus* hands. *Demetrius* therewithall drew out his sword, and would haue slaine him selfe: but his friends about him would not suffer him, but perswaded him to yeld him selfe vnto *Seleucus*. Thereuppon he sent vnto *Seleucus*, to tell him that he yelded him selfe vnto him. *Seleucus* was so ioyfull of the newes, that he sayd it was not *Deme-*
E *trius* good fortune that saued him, but his owne: who besides many other happy good turnes she had done him, gaue him yet so honorable occasion and good happe, as to make the world to knowe his clemencie & curtesie. Thereuppon immediatly he called for his officers of household, and commaunded them to set vp his richest pauilion, and to prepare all thinges meete to receiue him honorably. There was one *Appolonides* a gentleman in *Seleucus* Court, who sometime had bene very familliar with *Demetrius*: Him *Seleucus* sent immediatly vnto *Demetrius*, to will him to be of good chere, and not to be affrayd to come to the king his Maister, for he should find him his very good friend. So soone as the kings pleasure was knowen, a few of his Courtiers went at the first to meete him: but afterwards, euery man striued who should goe meete him first, bicause they were all in hope that he should presently be much made of,
F and growe in credit with *Seleucus*. But hereby they turned *Seleucus* pitie into enuie, and gaue occasion also to *Demetrius* enemies and spitefull men, to turne the kings bountifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and daungers, saying, that certainly so

Amanus mons

Demetrius dispairing of his good successe: attempteth to assault Seleucus by night.

Demetrius army forsooke him, and yelded them selues to Seleucus.

Demetrius flyeth from Seleucus.

Demetrius yeldeth him selfe vnto Seleucus.

soone as the souldiers sawe him, there would grow great sturre and chaunge in their campe. A
And therefore, shortly after that *Apollonides* was come vnto *Demetrius*, being glad to bringe him these good newes, and as others also followed him one after another, bringing him some good words from *Seleucus*, and that *Demetrius* him self after so great an ouerthrow (although that before he thought it a shamefull part of him to haue yeelded his body into his enemies hands) chaunged his mind at that time, and began then to grow bold, & to haue good hope to recouer his state againe: behold, there came one of *Seleucus* Captaines called *Pausanias*, accompanied with a thowsand footemen & horsemen in all, who compassed in *Demetrius* with them, and made the rest depart that were come vnto him before, hauing charge giuen him not to bring him to the Court, but to conuey him into CHERRONESVS of SYRIA, whether he was brought, and euer after had a strong garrison about him to keepe him. But otherwise, *Se-* B
Demetrius kept as prisoner in Syria, by Seleucus.
leucus sent him Officers, money, and all things els meete for a Princes house: and his ordinary fare was so delicate, that he could wishe for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of libertie and pleasure appointed him, both to ride his horse in, and also pleasaunt walkes, and goodly arbors to walke or sit in, & fine parkes full of beasts where he might hunt: moreouer, the king suffered his owne household seruaunts that followed him when he fled, to remaine with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other vnto him from *Seleucus*, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that so soone as *Antiochus* & *Stratonice* were come, they would make some good agreement and peace betwene them. *Demetrius* remaining in this estate, wrote vnto his sonne *Antigonus*, and to his friends and Lieuetenants which he had at CORINTHE, & ATHENS, that they should giue no credit to any letters C
written in his name, though his seale were to them: but that they should keepe the townes they had in charge for his sonne *Antigonus*, and all the rest of his forces, as if he him selfe were
The naturall loue of Antigonus, to his father Demetrius.
dead. When *Antigonus* heard the pitifull captiuitie of his father, he maruelous greeuously tooke his hard fortune, wearing blackes for sorrow, and wrote vnto all the other kings, but vnto *Seleucus* specially, beseeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, & that he was ready to yeld vp al that he kept, to haue his fathers libertie. The like request did many cities make vnto him, and in manner all Princes, but *Lysimachus*: who promised *Seleucus* a great summe of money to put *Demetrius* to death. But *Seleucus*, who of long time had no great fancie to *Lysimachus*, but rather vtterly despised him: did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wicked request he made vnto him. Wherefore he still delayed time, bicause D
he would haue *Demetrius* deliuered by his sonne *Antiochus* and *Stratonices* meanes, for that *Demetrius* should be bownd to them for his deliuerie, and for euer should acknowledge it to them. Now for *Demetrius*, as he from the beginning paciently tooke his hard fortune, so did
Demetrius turned his captiuitie into pleasure.
he daily more and more forget the miserie he was in. For first of al, he gaue him selfe to riding and hunting, as farre as the place gaue him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very grosse, and to giue ouer such pastimes, and therewithall he fell into dronkennes and dycing: so that in that sort he passed away the most part of his time, as it should seeme, either to auoid the greuous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was sober: or els vnder culler of dronkennes and eating, to shadow the thoughts he had: or els finding in
him selfe that it was that manner of life he had long desired, and that through his vaine am- E
bition and follie till that time he could neuer attayne vnto, greatly turmoyling and troubling him selfe and others, supposing to find in warres, by sea & land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in ease and idlenes, when he nether thought of it, nor loked for it. For what better ende can euill and vnaduised kings and Princes looke for, of all their troubles, daungers, and warres? who in deede deceiue them selues greatly, not onely for that they followe their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicitie, in steede of vertue and honest life: but also, bicause that in truth they can not be mery, and take their pleasure as they would. So, *Demetrius*
The death of Demetrius in Cherronesus.
after he had bene shut vp in CHERRONESVS three yeares together, by ease, grossenes, & dronkennes, fell sicke of a disease whereof he dyed, when he was foure and fiftye yeare old. There- F
fore was *Seleucus* greatly blamed, and he him selfe also did much repent him that he so suspected him as he did, and that he followed not *Dromichetes* curtesie, a barbarous man borne in THRACIA, who had so royally and curteously intreated *Lysimachus*, whom he had taken prisoner

A ner in the warres. But yet there was ſome tragicall pompe in the order of his funerall. For his ſonne *Antigonus* vnderſtãding that they brought him the aſhes of his bodie, he tooke ſea with all his ſhippes, and went to meete them, to receiue them in the Iles: and when he had receiued them, he ſet vp the funerall pot of golde (in the which were his embers) vppon the poope of his Admirall galley. So, all the cities and townes whereby they paſſed, or harbered, ſome of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others alſo ſent a number of men thether in mourning apparell, to accompany and honor the conuoye, to the very ſolemnitie of his funeralls. In this ſort ſayled all the whole fleete towards the citie of CORINTHE, the pot being plainely ſeene farre of, ſtanding on the toppe of the Admirall galley: all the place about it being hanged about with purple, and ouer it, the diademe or royall band, and about it alſo were

The funeralls of Demetrius

B goodly younge men armed, which were as Penſioners to *Demetrius*. Furthermore, *Xenophantus* the famouſeſt Muſition in that time, being ſet hard by it, played a ſweete and lamentable ſonge on the flute, wherewithall the ores keeping ſtroke and meaſure, the ſownd did meete with a gallant grace, as in a conuoye where the mourners doe knocke their breaſtes, at the foote of euery verſe. But that which moſt made the people of CORINTHE to weepe and lament, which ranne to the peere, and all alongeſt the ſhore ſide to ſee it: was *Antigonus*, whom they ſawe all beblubbored with teares, apparrelled as a mourner in blackes. Nowe, after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and noſegayes, and caſt them vppon the funerall pot, and had ſolemnized all the honors poſſible for the funeralls at CORINTHE: *Antigonus* caried away the pot to burye it in the citie of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the name of *De-*

Xenophantus a famous muſition.

C *metrius* that was deade, and was a newe citie, that had bene repleniſhed with people, and built of litle townes which are about IOLCOS. *Demetrius* left two children by his firſt wife *Phila*, to wete, *Antigonus*, and *Stratonice*: and two other ſonnes, both of them named *Demetrius*, the one ſurnamed the leane, of a woman of ILLYRIA, and the other king of the CYRENIANS, of his wife *Ptolemæide*: and another by *Deidamia* called *Alexander*, who liued in ÆGYPT. And it is reported alſo, that he had another ſonne called *Corrhæbus*, by his wife *Eurydice*, and that his poſteritie raigned by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, vntil the time of *Perſeus*: who was the laſt king of MACEDON, whome the ROMANES ouercame by

Demetrius poſteritie.

D *Paulus AEmylius*, & wanne all the Realme of MACEDON vnto the Empire of ROME. Now that the MACEDONIAN hath played his part, giue the ROMANE alſo leaue to come vppon the ſtage.

Perſeus king of Macedon, (the laſt king of Macedon) came of the poſteritie of Demetrius.

ſoone as the ſouldiers ſawe him, there would grow great ſturre and chaunge in their campe. A
And therefore, ſhortly after that *Apollonides* was come vnto *Demetrius*, being glad to bringe him theſe good newes, and as others alſo followed him one after another, bringing him ſome good words from *Seleucus*, and that *Demetrius* him ſelf after ſo great an ouerthrow (although that before he thought it a ſhamefull part of him to haue yeelded his body into his enemies hands) chaunged his mind at that time, and began then to grow bold, & to haue good hope to recouer his ſtate againe: behold, there came one of *Seleucus* Captaines called *Pauſanias*, accompanied with a thowſand footemen & horſemen in all, who compaſſed in *Demetrius* with them, and made the reſt depart that were come vnto him before, hauing charge giuen him not to bring him to the Court, but to conuey him into CHERRONESVS of SYRIA, whether he was brought, and euer after had a ſtrong garriſon about him to keepe him. But otherwiſe, *Seleucus* ſent him Officers, money, and all things els meete for a Princes houſe: and his ordinary fare was ſo delicate, that he could wiſhe for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of libertie and pleaſure appointed him, both to ride his horſe in, and alſo pleaſaunt walkes, and goodly arbors to walke or ſit in, & fine parkes full of beaſts where he might hunt: moreouer, the king ſuffered his owne houſhold ſeruaunts that followed him when he fled, to remaine with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came ſome one or other vnto him from *Seleucus*, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that ſo ſoone as *Antiochus* & *Stratonice* were come, they would make ſome good agreement and peace betwene them. *Demetrius* remaining in this eſtate, wrote vnto his ſonne *Antigonus*, and to his friends and Lieuetenants which he had at CORINTHE, & ATHENS, that they ſhould giue no credit to any letters C
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he would haue *Demetrius* deliuered by his ſonne *Antiochus* and *Stratonices* meanes, for that *Demetrius* ſhould be bownd to them for his deliuerie, and for euer ſhould acknowledge it to them. Now for *Demetrius*, as he from the beginning paciently tooke his hard fortune, ſo did he daily more and more forget the miſerie he was in. For firſt of al, he gaue him ſelfe to riding and hunting, as farre as the place gaue him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very groſſe, and to giue ouer ſuch paſtimes, and therewithall he fell into dronkennes and dycing: ſo that in that ſort he paſſed away the moſt part of his time, as it ſhould ſeeme, either to auoid the greuous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was ſober: or els vnder culler of dronkennes and eating, to ſhadow the thoughts he had: or els finding in him ſelfe that it was that manner of life he had long deſired, and that through his vaine am- E
bition and follie till that time he could neuer attayne vnto, greatly turmoyling and troubling him ſelfe and others, ſuppoſing to find in warres, by ſea & land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in eaſe and idlenes, when he nether thought of it, nor loked for it. For what better ende can euill and vnaduiſed kings and Princes looke for, of all their troubles, daungers, and warres? who in deede deceiue them ſelues greatly, not onely for that they followe their pleaſure and delights as their chiefeſt felicitie, in ſteede of vertue and honeſt life: but alſo, bicauſe that in truth they can not be mery, and take their pleaſure as they would. So, *Demetrius* after he had bene ſhut vp in CHERRONESVS three yeares together, by eaſe, groſſenes, & dronkennes, fell ſicke of a diſeaſe whereof he dyed, when he was foure and fiftye yeare old. There- F
fore was *Seleucus* greatly blamed, and he him ſelfe alſo did much repent him that he ſo ſuſpected him as he did, and that he followed not *Dromichetes* curteſie, a barbarous man borne in THRACIA, who had ſo royally and curteouſly intreated *Lyſimachus*, whom he had taken priſoner

Demetrius kept as priſoner in Syria, by Seleucus.

The naturall loue of Antigonus, to his father Demetrius.

Demetrius turned his captiuitie into pleaſure.

The death of Demetrius in Cherroneſus.

A ner in the warres. But yet there was some tragicall pompe in the order of his funerall. For his sonne *Antigonus* vnderstãding that they brought him the ashes of his bodie, he tooke sea with all his shippes, and went to meete them, to receiue them in the Iles: and when he had receiued them, he set vp the funerall pot of golde (in the which were his embers) vppon the poope of his Admirall galley. So, all the cities and townes whereby they passed, or harbered, some of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others also sent a number of men thether in mourning apparell, to accompany and honor the conuoye, to the very solemnitie of his funeralls. In this sort sayled all the whole fleete towards the citie of CORINTHE, the pot being plainely seene farre of, standing on the toppe of the Admirall galley: all the place about it being hanged about with purple, and ouer it, the diademe or royall band, and about it also were
B goodly younge men armed, which were as Pensioners to *Demetrius*. Furthermore, *Xenophantus* the famousest Musition in that time, being set hard by it, played a sweete and lamentable songe on the flute, wherewithall the ores keeping stroke and measure, the sownd did meete with a gallant grace, as in a conuoye where the mourners doe knocke their breastes, at the foote of euery verse. But that which most made the people of CORINTHE to weepe and lament, which ranne to the peere, and all alongest the shore side to see it: was *Antigonus*, whom they sawe all beblubbored with teares, apparrelled as a mourner in blackes. Nowe, after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and nosegayes, and cast them vppon the funerall pot, and had solemnized all the honors possible for the funeralls at CORINTHE: *Antigonus* caried away the pot to burye it in the citie of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the name of *De-*
C *metrius* that was deade, and was a newe citie, that had bene replenished with people, and built of litle townes which are about IOLCOS. *Demetrius* left two children by his first wife *Phila*, to wete, *Antigonus*, and *Stratonice*: and two other sonnes, both of them named *Demetrius*, the one surnamed the leane, of a woman of ILLYRIA, and the other king of the CYRENIANS, of his wife *Ptolemaide*: and another by *Deidamia* called *Alexander*, who liued in ÆGYPT. And it is reported also, that he had another sonne called *Corrhæbus*, by his wife *Eurydice*, and that his posteritie raigned by succession from the father to the sonne, vntil the time of *Perseus*: who was the last king of MACEDON, whome the ROMANES ouercame by
D *Paulus AEmylius*, & wanne all the Realme of MACEDON vnto the Empire of ROME. Now that the MACEDONIAN hath played his part, giue the ROMANE also leaue to come vppon the stage.

The funeralls of Demetrius

Xenophantus a famous musition.

Demetrius posteritie.

Perseus king of Macedon, (the last king of Macedon) came of the posteritie of Demetrius.

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Antonius.

Antonius parentage.

ANTONIVS grandfather was that famous Orator whome *Marius* A
ſlue, bicauſe he tooke *Syllaes* parte. His father was an other *Antonius* ſurnamed **Cretan*, who was not ſo famous, nor bare any great ſway in the common wealth: howbeit otherwiſe he was an honeſt man, and of a very good nature, and ſpecially very liberall in giuing, as appeareth by an acte he did. He was not very wealthie, and therefore his wife would not let him vſe his liberalitie and francke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to praye him to helpe him to ſome money, hauing great neede: *Antonius* by chaunce had no money to giue him, but he commaunded one of his men to bringe him ſome water in a ſiluer baſen, & after he had brought it him, he waſhed his beard as though he ment to haue ſhauen it, and B
then found an arrant for his man to ſend him out, and gaue his friend the ſiluer baſen, and bad him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great ſturre in the houſe among the ſeruaunts, ſeeking out this ſiluer baſen. Inſomuch as *Antonius* ſeeing his wife maruelouſly offended for it, & that ſhe would examine all her ſeruaunts, one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confeſſed he had giuen it away, & prayed her to be contented. His wife was *Iulia*, of the noble houſe and familie of *Iulius Cæſar*: who for her vertue & chaſtitie, was to be compared with the nobleſt Lady of her time. *M. Antonius* was brought vp vnder her, being married after her firſt husbands death, vnto *Cornelius Lentulus*, whom *Cicero* put to death with *Cethegus*, and others, for that he was of *Catilines* conſpiracie againſt the common wealth. And this ſeemeth to be the originall cauſe and beginning of the cruell and C
mortall hate *Antonius* bare vnto *Cicero*. For *Antonius* ſelfe ſayth, that he would neuer giue him the body of his father in law to bury him, before his mother went firſt to intreat *Ciceroes* wife: the which vndoubtedly was a flat lye. For *Cicero* denied buriall to none of them, whom he executed by law. Now *Antonius* being a fayer younge man, and in the pryme of his youth: he fell acquainted with *Curio*, whoſe friendſhip and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague vnto him. For he was a diſſolute man, giuen ouer to all luſt and inſolencie, who to haue *Antonius* the better at his commaundement, trayned him on into great follies, and vaine expences

** Bicauſe that by his death he ended the warre which he vnfortunately made againſt thoſe of Creta.*

The liberalitie of Antonius father.

Iulia the mother of M. Antonius.

Antonius corrupted by Curio.

vpon

A vpon women, in rioting & banketing. So that in short time, he brought *Antonius* into a marueious great det, & too great for one of his yeres, to wete: of two hundred & fifty talents, for all which summe *Curio* was his suertie. His father hearing of it, did put his sonne from him, and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with *Clodius*, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in ROME. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great sturre and mischiefe in ROME: but at length he forsooke him, being weary of his rashnes and folly, or els for that he was affraid of them that were bent against *Clodius*. Thereupon he left ITALY, and went into GRÆCE, and there bestowed the most parte of his tyme, sometime in warres, and otherwhile in the studie of eloquence. He vsed a manner of phrase in his speeche, called Asiatik, which caried the best grace and estimation at that time, and B was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolishe brauerie, and vaine ambition. After he had remayned there some tyme, *Gabinius* Proconsul going into SYRIA, perswaded him to goe with him. *Antonius* tolde him he would not goe as a priuate man: Wherefore *Gabinius* gaue him charge of his horsemen, and so tooke him with him. So, first of all he sent him against *Aristobulus*, who had made the IEVVES to rebell, & was the first man him selfe that got vp to the wall of a castell of his, and so draue *Aristobulus* out of all his holds: and with those few men he had with him, he ouercame al the IEVVES in set battel, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, tooke *Aristobulus* him selfe prisoner with his sonne. Afterwards *Ptolomy* king of ÆGYPT, that had bene driuen out of his contry, went vnto *Gabinius* to intreate him to goe with his armie with him into C ÆGYPT, to put him againe into his kingdom: and promised him if he would goe with him, tenne thowsand talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to goe thither, & *Gabinius* him selfe made it daintie to enter into this warre: although the couetousnes of these tenne thowsand talents stucke sorely with him. But *Antonius* that sought but for oportunitie and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratifie *Ptolomyes* request: he went about to perswade *Gabinius* to goe this voyage. Now they were more affrayd of the way they should goe, to come to the citie of PELVSIVM, then they feared any daunger of the warre besides: bicause they were to passe through deepe sandes & desert places, where was no freshe water to be had all the marisses thorough, which are called the marisses Serbonides, which the ÆGYPTIANS call the exhalations or fume, by the which the Gyant *Typhon* D breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the ouerflowing of the red sea, which breaketh out vnder the ground in that place, where it is deuided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So *Antonius* was sent before into ÆGYPT with his horsemen, who did not onely winne that passage, but also tooke the citie of PELVSIVM, (which is a great citie) with all the souldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the armie, and the hope of the victorie also certaine for his Captaine. Nowe did the enemies them selues feele the frutes of *Antonius* curtesie, and the desire he had to winne honor. For when *Ptolomy* (after he had entred into the citie of PELVSIVM) for the malice he bare vnto the citie, would haue put all the ÆGYPTIANS in it to the sword: *Antonius* withstoode him, & by no meanes would suffer him to doe it. And in all other great battells and skirmishes which they fought, and E were many in number, *Antonius* did many noble actes of a valliant and wise Captaine: but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giuing them the victorie that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honorable reward, as his valliantnes deserued. So was his great curtesie also much commended of all, the which he shewed vnto *Archelaus*. For hauing bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will while he liued: but after his death he sought for his bodye, and gaue it honorable buriall. For these respects he wanne him selfe great fame of them of ALEXANDRIA, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the souldiers in the ROMANES campe. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenaunce of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke beard, a broad forehead, crooke nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenaunce, F as is commonly seene in *Hercules* pictures, stamped or grauen in mettell. Now it had bene a speeche of old time, that the familie of the *Antony* were discended from one *Anton*, the sonne of *Hercules*, whereof the familie tooke name. This opinion did *Antonius* seeke to confirme in

Antonius vsed in his pleading the Asiatik phrase

Antonius had charge of horsemen, vnder Gabinius Proconsul, going into Syria.

Antonius acts against Aristobulus.

Antonius tooke Aristobulus prisoner

Antonius acts in AEgypt vnder Gabinius.

Antonius curtesie vnto Archelaus being dead.

Antonius shape & presence.

The house of the Antonij discended from Hercules

all his doings: not onely resembling him in the likenes of his bodye, as we haue sayd before, A
but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shewe him selfe abroad
before many people, he would alwayes weare his cassocke gyrt downe lowe vpon his hippes,
with a great sword hanging by his side, and vpon that, some ill fauored cloke. Furthermore,
things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to ieast with one or other,
to drinke like a good fellow with euery body, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to
eate and drinke with them souldierlike: it is incredible what wonderfull loue it wanne him a-
mongest them. And furthermore, being giuen to loue: that made him the more desired, and
by that meanes he brought many to loue him. For he would further euery mans loue, and al-
so would not be angry that men should merily tell him of those he loued. But besides all this,
Antonius liberalitie. that which most procured his rising and aduauncement, was his liberalitie, who gaue all to B
the souldiers, and kept nothing for him selfe: and when he was growen to great credit, then
was his authoritie and power also very great, the which notwithstanding him selfe did ouer-
throwe, by a thowsand other faults he had. In this place I will shewe you one example onely
of his wonderful liberalitie. He commaunded one day his coferer that kept his money, to giue
a friend of his 25. Myriades: which the Romanes call in their tongue, Decies. His coferer
marueling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this money in a heape
together, to shewe him what a maruelous masse of money it was. *Antonius* seeing it as he
went by, asked what it was: his coferer aunswered him, it was the money he willed him to
giue vnto his friend. Then *Antonius* perceiuing the spight of his man, I thought, sayd he, that
Decies had bene a greater summe of money then it is, for this is but a trifle: and therefore he C
gaue his friend as much more another tyme, but that was afterwardes. Nowe the Romanes
mainteyning two factions at Rome at that tyme, one against the other, of the which, they
that tooke part with the Senate, did ioyne with *Pompey* being then in Rome: and the contra-
ry side taking part with the people, sent for *Cæsar* to ayde them, who made warres in Gavle.
Then *Curio Antonius* friend, that had chaunged his garments, and at that tyme tooke parte
with *Cæsar*, whose enemie he had bene before: he wanne *Antonius*, and so handled the matter,
partly through the great credit and swaye he bare amongest the people, by reason of his elo-
quent tongue: and partly also by his exceeding expence of money he made which *Cæsar*
Antonius Tribune of the people, and Augure. gaue him: that *Antonius* was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a
great helpe and furtheraunce to *Cæsars* practises. For so soone as *Antonius* became Tribune D
he did oppose him selfe against those thinges which the Consul *Marcellus* preferred: (who
ordeyned that certaine legions which had bene already leauied and billed, should be giuen
vnto *Cneus Pompey*, with further commission and authoritie to leauye others vnto them) and
set downe an order, that the souldiers which were already leauied and assembled, should be
sent into Syria, for a newe supplie vnto *Marcus Bibulus*, who made warre at that tyme a-
gainst the Parthians. And furthermore, prohibition that *Pompey* should leauy no more
Antonius acts for Cæsar. men, and also that the souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where *Pompeys* friends and
followers would not suffer *Cæsars* letters to be receiued, and openly red in the Senate: *Anto-
nius* hauing power and warrant by his person, through the holines of his tribuneship, did read
them openly, and made diuers men chaunge their mindes: for it appeared to them that *Ca-* E
sar by his letters required no vnreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two mat-
ters of consideracion vnto the Senate, whether they thought good that *Pompey*, or *Cæsar*,
should leaue their armie: there were few of the Senators that thought it meete *Pompey* should
leaue his armie, but they all in manner commaunded *Cæsar* to doe it. Then *Antonius* rising vp,
asked whether they thought it good that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* both, should leaue their armies.
Thereunto all the Senators ioyntly together gaue their whole consent, and with a great crye
commending *Antonius*, they prayed him to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. But the
Consuls would not allowe of that. Therefore *Cæsars* friendes preferred other reasonable de-
maunds and requests againe, but *Cato* spake against them: and *Lentulus*, one of the Consuls
draue *Antonius* by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made greuous curses against F
Antonius flyeth from Rome vnto Cæsar. him. After that, he tooke a slaues gowne, and speedily fled to *Cæsar*, with *Quintus Cassius*, in a
hyered coch. When they came to *Cæsar*, they cryed out with open mouth, that all went hand

ouer

A ouer head at ROME: for the Tribunes of the people might not ſpeake their mindes, and were driuen away in great daunger of their liues, as many as ſtoode with lawe and iuſtice. Hereuppon *Cæſar* incontinently went into ITALY with his army, which made *Cicero* ſay in his Philippides: that as *Hellen* was cauſe of the warre of TROY, ſo was *Antonius* the author of the ciuill warres, which in deede was a ſtarke lye. For *Cæſar* was not ſo fickle headed, nor ſo eaſily caried away with anger, that he would ſo ſodainly haue gone and made warre with his contry, vpon the ſight onely of *Antonius* and *Caſſius*, being fled vnto him in miſerable apparell, and in a hyered coche: had he not long before determined it with him ſelfe. But ſith in deed *Cæſar* looked of long time but for ſome culler, this came as he wiſhed, and gaue him iuſt occaſion of warre. But to ſay truely, nothing els moued him to make warre with all the world as he did, but one

Cicero reproued for lying.

B ſelfe cauſe, which firſt procured *Alexander* and *Cyrus* alſo before him: to wit, an inſatiable deſire to raigne, with a ſenſeles couetouſnes to be the beſt man in the world, the which he could not come vnto, before he had firſt put downe *Pompey*, and vtterly ouerthrowen him. Now, after that *Cæſar* had gotten ROME at his commaundement, & had driuen *Pompey* out of ITALY, he purpoſed firſt to goe into SPAYNE, againſt the legions *Pompey* had there: and in the meane time to make prouiſion for ſhippes and marine preparacion, to follow *Pompey*. In his abſence, he left *Lepidus* that was Prætor, gouernor of ROME: and *Antonius* that was Tribune, he gaue him charge of all the ſouldiers, and of ITALY. Then was *Antonius* ſtraight maruelouſly commended and beloued of the ſouldiers, bicauſe he commonly exerciſed him ſelf among them, and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, and alſo be liberall vnto them, according to

Alexander, Cyrus, & Cæſar: all contended to raigne.

Cæſars ambition the onely cauſe of the ciuill warre.

Cæſar gaue the charge of Italy vnto Antonius.

C his abilitie. But then in contrary manner, he purchaſed diuers other mens euill willes, bicauſe that through negligence he would not doe them iuſtice that were iniuried, & delt very churliſhly with them that had any ſute vnto him: and beſides all this, he had an ill name to intiſe mens wiues. To conclude, *Cæſars* friends that gouerned vnder him, were cauſe why they hated *Cæſars* gouernment (which in deede in reſpect of him ſelfe was no leſſe then a tyrannie) by reaſon of the great inſolencies & outragious parts that were committed: amongſt whom *Antonius*, that was of greateſt power, and that alſo committed greateſt faultes, deſerued moſt blame. But *Cæſar* notwithſtanding, when he returned from the warres of SPAYNE, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put vp againſt him: but contrarily, bicauſe he found him a hardy man, & a valliant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefeſt affayres, and was no

Antonius vices.

D whit deceiued in his opinion of him. So he paſſed ouer the IONIAN ſea vnto BRVNDVSIVM, being but ſlenderly accompanied: & ſent vnto *Antonius*, & *Gabinius*, that they ſhould imbarke their men as ſoone as they could, and paſſe them ouer into MACEDON. *Gabinius* was affrayd to take the ſea, bicauſe it was very roughe, and in the winter time: & therefore fetched a great compaſſe about by land. But *Antonius* fearing ſome daunger might come vnto *Cæſar*, bicauſe he was compaſſed in with a great number of enemies: firſt of all he draue away *Libo*, who roade at ancker with a great armie, before the hauen of BRVNDVSIVM. For he manned out ſuch a number of pynnaſies, barks, and other ſmall boates about euery one of his gallies, that he draue him thence. After that, he imbarked into ſhippes twenty thouſand footemen, and eyght hundred horſemen, and with this armie he hoyſed ſayle. When the enemies ſawe him,

Antonius takeih ſea with his army at Brundiſium, and goeth vnto Cæſar.

E they made out to followe him: but the ſea roſe ſo highe, that the billowes put backe their gallies that they could not come neare him, and ſo he ſcaped that daunger. But withall he fell vppon the rockes with his whole fleete, where the ſea wrought very highe: ſo that he was out of all hope to ſaue him ſelfe. Yet by good fortune, ſodainely the winde turned South-weſt, and blewe from the gulffe, driuing the waues of the riuer into the mayne ſea. Thus *Antonius* loofing from the lande, and ſayling with ſafetie at his pleaſure, ſoone after he ſawe all the coaſtes full of ſhippewracks. For the force and boyſterouſnes of the winde, did caſt away the gallies that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and ſplitted, and diuers alſo caſt away, and *Antonius* tooke a great number of them priſoners, with a great ſumme of money alſo. Beſides all theſe, he tooke the citie of LYSSVS, and brought *Cæſar* a great

F ſupplie of men, and made him coragious, comming at a pynche with ſo great a power to him. Now there were diuers hotte skyrmiſhes and encownters, in the which *Antonius* fought ſo valliantly, that he caried the prayſe from them all: but ſpecially at two ſeuerall tymes,

Antonius manhood in warres

when *Cæsars* men turned their backes, and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and A
compelled them to returne againe to fight: so that the victorie fell on *Cæsars* side. For this
cause he had the seconde place in the campe amonge the souldiers, and they spake of no o-
ther man vnto *Cæsar*, but of him: who shewed playnely what opinion he had of him, when
at the last battell of PHARSALIA (which in deede was the last tryall of all, to giue the Con-
queror the whole Empire of the worlde) he him selfe did leade the right wing of his armie,
Antonius led the left wing of Cæsars battell at Pharsalia where Pompey lost the field. and gaue *Antonius* the leading of the left wing, as the valliantest man, and skilfullest soul-
dier of all those he had about him. After *Cæsar* had wonne the victorie, and that he was cre-
ated Dictator, he followed *Pompey* steppe by steppe: howbeit before, he named *Antonius* ge-
nerall of the horsemen, and sent him to ROME. The generall of the horsemen is the second
The dignitie of the general of the horsemen. office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the citie: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest B
man, and almost the onely man that remayneth, and all the other officers and Magistrates are
put downe, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, *Dolabella* being at that tyme
Tribune, and a younge man desirous of chaunge and innouation: he preferred a law which
the ROMANES call Nouas tabulas (as much to saye, as a cutting of and cancelling of all obli-
gacions and specialties, & were called the newe tables, bicause they were driuen then to make
bookes of daily receit and expense) and perswaded *Antonius* his friend (who also gaped for a
good occasion to please and gratifie the common people) to aide him to passe this lawe. But
Trebellius & *Asinius* disswaded from it al they could possible. So by good hap it chaunced that
Dissention betwixt Antonius and Dolabella. *Antonius* mistrusted *Dolabella* for keeping of his wife, and tooke suche a conceite of it, that he
thrust his wife out of his house being his Cosin Germane, & the daughter of *C. Antonius*, who C
was Consul with *Cicero*: & ioyning with *Asinius*, he resisted *Dolabella*, & fought with him. *Dola-
bella* had gotten the market place where the people doe assemble in counsel, & had filled it ful
of armed men, intending to haue this law of the newe tables to passe by force. *Antonius* by cō-
maundement of the Senate, who had giuen him authoritie to leauy men, to vse force against
Dolabella: he went against him, & fought so valliantly, that men were slaine on both sides. But
by this meanes, he got the il will of the cōmon people, & on the other side, the noble men (as
Cicero saith) did not only mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor
his banckets & dronkē feasts he made at vnseasonable times, & his extreme wastful expences
vpon vaine light huswiues, & then in the day time he would sleepe or walke out his dronken-
nes, thinking to weare away the fume of the aboundaunce of wine which he had taken ouer D
Antonius abo minable life. night. In his house they did nothing but feast, daunce, & maske: and him selfe passed away the
time in hearing of fooliish playes, or in marrying these plaiers, tomblers, ieasters, & such sort of
people. As for prose hereof it is reported, that at *Hippias* mariage, one of his ieasters, he drank
wine so lustely all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people as-
Antonius laid vp his stomack before the whole assembly. sembled in counsel, who had sent for him: he being quesie stomaked with his surfet he had ta-
kē, was compelled to lay all before them, & one of his friends held him his gowne in stead of a
basen. He had another pleasaunt player called *Sergius*, that was one of the chiefest men about
him, & a woman also called *Cytheride*, of the same profession, whom he loued derely: he caried
Antonius insolency. her vp & downe in a litter vnto all the townes he went, & had as many men waiting apon her
litter, she being but a player, as were attending vpon his owne mother. It greued honest men E
also very much, to see that when he went into the contry, he caried with him a great number
of cubbords ful of siluer & gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had ben the pompe
or shewe of some triumphe: & that eftsoones in the middest of his iorney he would set vp his
hales and tents hard by some greene groue or pleasaunt riuer, and there his Cookes should
prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lyons were harnesed in trases to drawe
his carts: and besides also, in honest mens houses in the cities where he came, he would haue
common harlots, curtisans, & these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it greued men much, to see
that *Cæsar* should be out of ITALY following of his enemies, to end this great warre, with such
great perill and daunger: and that others in the meane time abusing his name and authoritie,
should commit such insolent and outragious parts vnto their Citizens. This me thinkes was F
the cause that made the conspiracie against *Cæsar* increase more and more, and layed the
reynes of the brydle vppon the souldiers neckes, whereby they durst boldlier commit many
extorsions,

A extorſions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore *Cæſar* after his returne pardoned *Dolabella*, & being created Conſul the third time, he tooke not *Antonius*, but choſe *Lepidus*, his colleague and fellow Conſul. Afterwards when *Pompeys* houſe was put to open ſale, *Antonius* bought it: but when they asked him money for it, he made it very ſtraung, and was offended with them, and writeth him ſelfe that he would not goe with *Cæſar* into the warres of AFRICK, bicauſe he was not well recompenced for the ſeruice he had done him before. Yet *Cæſar* did ſomewhat bridle his madnes and inſolencie, not ſuffering him to paſſe his faulte ſo lightly away, making as though he ſawe them not. And therefore he left his diſſolute manner of life, and married *Fuluia* that was *Clodius* widowe, a woman not ſo baſely minded to ſpend her time in ſpinning and houſewiuery, and was not contented to maſter her husband at home, but would B alſo rule him in his office abroad, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great armies: ſo that *Cleopatra* was to giue *Fuluia* thankes for that ſhe had taught *Antonius* this obedience to women, that learned ſo well to be at their commaundement. Nowe, bicauſe *Fuluia* was ſomewhat ſower, and crooked of condition, *Antonius* deuiſed to make her pleaſaunter, & ſomewhat better diſpoſed: and therefore he would playe her many prety youthfull partes to make her mery. As he did once, when *Cæſar* returned the laſt time of all Conqueror out of SPAYNE, euery man went out to meete him: and ſo did *Antonius* with the reſt. But on the ſodeine there ranne a rumor through ITALY, that *Cæſar* was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great armie. Thereuppon he returned with ſpeede to ROME, and tooke one of his mens gownes, and ſo apparelled came home to his houſe in a darke night, ſaying that he C had brought *Fuluia* letters from *Antonius*. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being knowen: but ſhe taking the matter heauily, asked him if *Antonius* were well. *Antonius* gaue her the letters, and ſayd neuer a word. So when ſhe had opened the letters, and beganne to read them: *Antonius* ramped of her necke, and kiſſed her. We haue told you this tale for examples ſake onely, and ſo could we alſo tell you of many ſuch like as theſe. Nowe when *Cæſar* was returned from his laſt warre in SPAYNE, all the chiefeſt nobilitie of the citie road many dayes iorney from ROME to meete him, where *Cæſar* made maruelous much of *Antonius*, aboue all the men that came vnto him. For he alwayes tooke him into his coche with him, through out all ITALY: and behind him, *Brutus Albinus*, and *Octauius*, the ſonne of his Nece, who afterwards was called *Cæſar*, and became Emperor of ROME long time after. D So *Cæſar* being afterwards choſen Conſul the fift time, he immediatly choſe *Antonius* his colleague and companion: and deſired by depoſing him ſelfe of his Conſulſhip, to make *Dolabella* Conſul in his roome, and had already moued it to the Senate. But *Antonius* did ſtowtly withſtand it, and openly reuiled *Dolabella* in the Senate: and *Dolabella* alſo ſpared him as litle. Thereuppon *Cæſar* being aſhamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time alſo when *Cæſar* attempted againe to ſubſtitute *Dolabella* Conſul in his place, *Antonius* cryed out, that the ſignes of the birdes were againſt it: ſo that at length *Cæſar* was compelled to giue him place, and to let *Dolabella* alone, who was maruelouſly offended with him. Now in truth, *Cæſar* made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that *Cæſar* aunſwered one that did accuſe *Antonius* and *Dolabella* vnto him for ſome matter of conſpiracie: tuſhe ſaid he, they E be not thoſe fat fellowes and fine comed men that I feare, but I miſtruſt rather theſe pale and leane men, meaning by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who afterwards conſpired his death, and ſlue him. *Antonius* vnwares afterwards, gaue *Cæſars* enemies iuſt occaſion and culler to doe as they did: as you ſhall heare. The ROMANES by chaunce celebrated the feaſt called Lupercalia, & *Cæſar* being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was ſet in the Tribune where they vſe to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the ſport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble houſe, and thoſe ſpecially that be chiefe Officers for that yeare: who running naked vp & downe the citie annointed with the oyle of olyue, for pleaſure do ſtrike them they meete in their way, with white leather thongs they haue in their hands. *Antonius* being one amonge the reſt that was to ronne, F leauing the auncient ceremonies & old cuſtomes of that ſolemnitie: he ranne to the Tribune where *Cæſar* was ſet, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, hauing a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the auncient marke and token of a king. When he

Cæſar, & Lepidus, Conſuls

Antonius by-eth Pompeys houſe.

Antonius married Fuluia, Clodius widow

Fuluia ruled Antonius, at home, and abroad.

Cæſar, & Antonius, Conſuls.

Antonius vnwittingly gaue Cæſars enemies occaſion to conſpire againſt him.

Antonius Lupercian putteth the diademe vpon Cæsars head.

was come to *Cæsar*, he made his fellow ronners with him lift him vp, & so he did put this laurell crowne vpon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserued to be king. But *Cæsar* making as though he refused it, turned away his heade. The people were so reioyced at it, that they all clapped their hands for ioy. *Antonius* againe did put it on his head: *Cæsar* againe refused it, and thus they were striuing of and on a great while together. As oft as *Antonius* did put this laurell crowne vnto him, a fewe of his followers reioyced at it: & as oft also as *Cæsar* refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they suffered all things subiects should doe by commaundement of their kings: & yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the vtter destructiō of their liberty. *Cæsar* in a rage rose out of his seate, and plucking downe the choller of his gowne from his necke, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike of his head that would. This laurel crowne was afterwards put vpō the head of one of *Cæsars* statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt of. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they wayted on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit *Cæsar* did turne thē out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragemēt for *Brutus* & *Cassius* to conspire his death, who fel into a cōsort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise: but yet stood doubtful whether they should make *Antonius* priuy to it or not. Al the rest liked of it, sauing *Trebonius* only. He told them, that when they rode to meete *Cæsar* at his returne out of SPAYNE, *Antonius* & he alwaies keping company, & lying together by the way, he felt his mind a farre of: but *Antonius* finding his meaning, would harken no more vnto it, & yet notwithstanding neuer made *Cæsar* acquainted with this talke, but had faithfully kept it to him self. After that they cōsulted whether they should kil *Antonius* with *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* would in no wise consent to it, saying: that ventring on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenāce of law & iustice, it ought to be clere from all villanie. Yet they fearing *Antonius* power, & the authoritie of his office, appointed certain of the cōspiracy, that when *Cæsar* were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keepe *Antonius* in a talke out of the Senate house. Euen as they had deuised these matters, so were they executed: and *Cæsar* was slaine in the middest of the Senate. *Antonius* being put in a feare withall, cast a slaues gowne vpon him, and hid him selfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers slue no man els, and that they went onely into the Capitoll: he sent his sonne vnto them for a pledge, & bad them boldly come downe vpon his word. The selfe same day he did bid *Cassius* to supper, and *Lepidus* also bad *Brutus*. The next morning the Senate was assembled, & *Antonius* him selfe preferred a lawe that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint prouinces, vnto *Cassius* and *Brutus*: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordeyned, that they should cancell none of *Cæsars* lawes. Thus went *Antonius* out of the Senate more praysed, and better esteemed, then euer man was: bicause it seemed to euery man that he had cut of all occasion of ciuill warres, and that he had shewed him selfe a maruelous wise gouernor of the common wealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great waight & importance. But nowe, the opinion he conceiued of him selfe after he had a litle felt the good will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make him selfe the chiefest man if he might ouercome *Brutus:* did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore when *Cæsars* body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funeral oration in cōmendacion of *Cæsar*, according to the auncient custom of praising noble men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to heare *Cæsar* spoken of, & his praises vttered: he mingled his oration with lamentable wordes, and by amplifying of matters did greatly moue their harts and affections vnto pitie & compassion. In fine to conclude his oration, he vnfolded before the whole assembly the bloudy garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, & called the malefactors, cruell & cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently toke *Cæsars* body, & burnt it in the market place, with such tables & fourmes as they could get together. Then whē the fire was kindled, they toke firebrands, & ran to the murtherers houses to set thē afire, & to make thē come out to fight. *Brutus* therfore & his accomplices, for safety of their persons were driuē to fly the city. Then came all *Cæsars* friends vnto *Antonius*, & specially his wife *Calpurnia* putting her trust in him, she brought the moste part of her money into his

Brutus & Cassius conspire Cæsars death.

Consultation about the murther of Antonius with Cæsar.

Antonius maketh vprore among the people, for the murther of Cæsar.

Calpurnia, Cæsars wife.

A his houſe, which amounted to the ſumme of foure thowſand talents, & furthermore brought him al *Cæſars* bokes & writings, in the which were his memorials of al that he had done & ordeyned. *Antonius* did daily mingle with them ſuch as he thought good, and by that meanes he created newe officers, made newe Senators, called home ſome that were baniſhed, and deliuered thoſe that were priſoners: and then he ſayde that all thoſe thinges were ſo appoynted and ordeyned by *Cæſar*. Therefore the ROMANES mocking them that were ſo moued, they called them CHARONITES: bicauſe that when they were ouercome, they had no other helpe but to ſaye, that thus they were found in *Cæſars* memorialls, who had ſayled in *Charons* boate, and was departed. Thus *Antonius* ruled abſolutely alſo in all other matters, bicauſe he was Conſul, and *Caius* one of his brethren Prætor, and *Lucius* the other, Tribune. Now thinges re-

Charonites, why ſo called.

M. Antonius Conſul. Caius Antonius Prætor. Lucius Antonius Tribune, all three brethren.

B mayning in this ſtate at ROME, *Octauius Cæſar* the younger came to ROME, who was the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſars* Nece, as you haue heard before, and was left his lawefull heire by will, remayning at the tyme of the death of his great Vncle that was ſlayne, in the citie of APOLLONIA. This young man at his firſt arriuall went to ſalute *Antonius*, as one of his late dead father *Cæſars* friendes, who by his laſt will and teſtament had made him his heire: and withall, he was preſently in hande with him for money and other thinges which were left of truſt in his handes, bicauſe *Cæſar* had by will bequeathed vnto the people of ROME, three ſcore and fifteene ſiluer Drachmas to be giuen to euery man, the which he as heire ſtoode charged withall. *Antonius* at the firſt made no reckoning of him, bicauſe he was very younge: and ſayde he lacked witte, and good friendes to aduiſe him, if he looked to take ſuch a charge in

Variance betwixt Antonius and Octauius Cæſar, heire vnto Iulius Cæſar.

C hande, as to vndertake to be *Cæſars* heire. But when *Antonius* ſaw that he could not ſhake him of with thoſe wordes, and that he was ſtill in hande with him for his fathers goods, but ſpecially for the ready money: then he ſpake and did what he could againſt him. And firſt of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and alſo when *Octauius Cæſar* beganne to meddle with the dedicating of the chayer of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honor *Cæſar* with: he threatned to ſend him to priſon, and moreouer deſiſted not to put the people in an vprore. This young *Cæſar* ſeeing his doings, went vnto *Cicero* and others, which were *Antonius* enemies, and by them crept into fauor with the Senate: and he him ſelf ſought the peoples good will euery manner of way, gathering together the olde ſouldiers of the late deceaſed *Cæſar*, which were diſperſed in diuers cities and colonyes. *Antonius* being af-

Octauius Cæſar ioyned in friendſhip with Cicero. Antonius and Octauius became friends.

D frayd of it, talked with *Octauius* in the capitoll, and became his friend. But the very ſame night *Antonius* had a ſtraunge dreame, who thought that lightning fell vpon him, & burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that *Cæſar* lay in waite to kil him. *Cæſar* cleered him ſelfe vnto him, and told him there was no ſuch matter: but he could not make *Antonius* beleue the contrary. Whereuppon they became further enemies then euer they were: inſomuch that both of them made friends of either ſide to gather together all the old ſouldiers through ITALY, that were diſperſed in diuers townes: & made them large promiſes, & ſought alſo to winne the legions of their ſide, which were already in armes. *Cicero* on the other ſide being at that time the chiefeſt man of authoritie & eſtimation in the citie, he ſtirred vp al mē againſt *Antonius*: ſo that in the end he made the Senate pronoūce him an enemy to his contry, & appoin-

Antonius dreame.

Antonius iudged an enemy by the Senate Hircius and Pansa Conſuls.

E ted young *Cæſar* Sergeaunts to cary axes before him, & ſuch other ſignes as were incident to the dignitie of a Conſul or Prætor: & moreouer ſent *Hircius* and *Panſa*, then Conſuls, to driue *Antonius* out of ITALY. Theſe two Conſuls together with *Cæſar*, who alſo had an armye, went againſt *Antonius* that beſeeged the citie of MODENA, and there ouerthrew him in battell: but both the Conſuls were ſlaine there. *Antonius* flying vpon this ouerthrowe, fell into great miſerie all atonce: but the chiefeſt want of all other, & that pinched him moſt, was famine. Howbeit he was of ſuch a ſtrong nature, that by pacience he would ouercome any aduerſitie, and the heauier fortune lay vpon him, the more conſtant ſhewed he him ſelfe. Euery man that feleth want or aduerſitie, knoweth by vertue and diſcretion what he ſhould doe: but when in deede they are ouerlayed with extremitie, and be ſore oppreſſed, few haue the harts to follow

Antonius ouerthrowen in battell by the citie of Modena.

Antonius pacient in aduerſitie.

F that which they praiſe and commend, and much leſſe to auoid that they reproue and miſlike. But rather to the contrary, they yeld to their accuſtomed eaſie life: and through faynt hart, & lacke of corage, doe chaunge their firſt mind and purpoſe. And therefore it was a wonderfull

Antonius hardnes in aduersitie, notwithstanding his fine bringing vp.

example to the ſouldiers, to ſee *Antonius* that was brought vp in all finenes and ſuperfluitie, ſo A
eaſily to drinke puddle water, and to eate wild frutes and rootes: and moreouer it is reported,
that euen as they paſſed the Alpes, they did eate the barcks of trees, and ſuch beaſts, as neuer
man taſted of their fleſh before. Now their intent was to ioyne with the legions that were on
the other ſide of the Mountaines, vnder *Lepidus* charge: whō *Antonius* tooke to be his friend,
bicauſe he had holpen him to many things at *Cæſars* hand, through his meanes. When he was
come to the place where *Lepidus* was, he camped hard by him: and when he ſaw that no man
came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter him ſelfe, and to goe vnto *Le-*
pidus. Since the ouerthrow he had at MODENA, he ſuffred his beard to grow at length and ne-
uer clypt it, that it was maruelous long, and the heare of his heade alſo without koming: and
beſides all this, he went in a mourning gowne, and after this ſort came hard to the trenches B
of *Lepidus* campe. Then he beganne to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers, and many of them their
hartes yerned for pitie to ſee him ſo poorely arrayed, and ſome alſo through his wordes be-
ganne to pitie him: inſomuch that *Lepidus* beganne to be affrayd, and therefore commaun-
ded all the trompetts to ſownd together to ſtoppe the ſouldiers eares, that they ſhould not
harken to *Antonius*. This notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers tooke the more pitie of him, & ſpake
ſecretly with him by *Clodius* & *Lælius* meanes, whom they ſent vnto him diſguiſed in womens
apparel, & gaue him counſel that he ſhould not be affraid to enter into their campe, for there
were a great number of ſouldiers that would receiue him, and kill *Lepidus*, if he would ſay the
word. *Antonius* would not ſuffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his ar-
my to wade a ford, at a litle riuer that ranne betweene them: and him ſelfe was the foremoſt C
man that tooke the riuer to get ouer, ſeeing a number of *Lepidus* campe that gaue him their
handes, plucked vp the ſtakes, and layed flat the bancke of their trenche to let him in to their

Antonius wan all Lepidus army from him.

campe. When he was come into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commaun-
dement: he vſed *Lepidus* very curteouſly, imbraced him, and called him father: and though
in deede *Antonius* did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gaue *Lepidus* the name and
honor of the Captaine. *Munatius Plancus*, lying alſo in campe hard by with an armye: vnder-
ſtanding the report of *Antonius* curteſie, he alſo came and ioined with him. Thus *Antonius* be-
ing a foote againe, and growen of great power, repaſſed ouer the Alpes, leading into ITALY
with him ſeuenteene legions, and tenne thowſand horſemen, beſides ſix legions he left in gar-

Varius, ſurnamed Cotylon.

riſon amonge the GAVLES, vnder the charge of one *Varius*, a companion of his that would D
drinke luſtely with him, and therefore in mockery was ſurnamed *Cotylon*: to wit, a bibber. So
Octauius Cæſar would not leane to *Cicero*, when he ſaw that his whole trauail and endeuor was
onely to reſtore the common wealth to her former libertie. Therefore he ſent certaine of his
friends to *Antonius*, to make them friends againe: and thereuppon all three met together, (to

The conſpiracie and meeting of Cæſar, Antonius, & Lepidus.

wete, *Cæſar*, *Antonius*, & *Lepidus*) in an Iland enuyroned round about with a litle riuer, & there
remayned three dayes together. Now as touching all other matters, they were eaſily agreed,
& did deuide all the Empire of ROME betwene them, as if it had bene their owne inheritance.
But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for euery one of them would
kill their enemies, and ſaue their kinſmen and friends. Yet at length, giuing place to their gre-
dy deſire to be reuenged of their enemies, they ſpurned all reuerence of bloud, and holines of E

The proſcription of the Triumviri.

friendſhip at their feete. For *Cæſar* left *Cicero* to *Antonius* will, *Antonius* alſo forſooke *Lucius*
Cæſar, who was his Vncle by his mother: and both of them together ſuffred *Lepidus* to kill his
owne brother *Paulus*. Yet ſome writers affirme, that *Cæſar* & *Antonius* requeſted *Paulus* might
be ſlain, & that *Lepidus* was contēted with it. In my opinion there was neuer a more horrible,
vnnatural, & crueller chaunge then this was. For thus chaunging murther for murther, they
did aſwel kill thoſe whom they did forſake & leaue vnto others, as thoſe alſo which others left
vnto them to kil: but ſo much more was their wickednes & cruelty great vnto their friends, for
that they put them to death being innocents, & hauing no cauſe to hate them. After this plat
was agreed vpon betwene thē: the ſouldiers that were thereabouts, would haue this friendſhip
& league betwixt them cōfirmed by mariage, & that *Cæſar* ſhould mary *Claudia*, the daughter F
of *Fuluia*, & *Antonius* wife. This mariage alſo being agreed vpon, they condēned three hūdred
of the chiefeſt citizens of ROME, to be put to death by proſcriptiō. And *Antonius* alſo cōmaū-

ded

A ded thē to whō he had geuen cōmiſſion to kil *Cicero*, that they ſhould ſtrik of his head & right hand, with the which he had written the inuectiue Orations (called Philippides) againſt *Antonius*. So whē the murtherers brought him *Ciceroes* head & hand cut of, he beheld them a long time with great ioy, & laughed hartily, & that oftentimes for the great ioy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleaſure of the ſight of them, he cauſed them to be ſet vp in an open place, ouer the pulpit for Orations (where when he was aliue, he had often ſpoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not bleamiſhed his owne fortune, ſhewing him ſelfe (to his great ſhame and infamie) a cruell man, and vnworthie the office and authoritie he bare. His vncle *Lucius Cæſar* alſo, as they ſought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fledde vnto his ſiſter. The murtherers comming thither, forcing to breake into her chamber, ſhe B ſtoode at her chamber dore with her armes abroade, crying out ſtill: you ſhall not kill *Lucius Cæſar*, before you firſt kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes ſhe ſaued her brothers life. Now the gouernment of theſe Triumuiri grewe odious and hatefull to the Romanes, for diuers reſpects: but they moſt blamed *Antonius*, bicauſe he being elder then *Cæſar*, and of more power and force then *Lepidus*, gaue him ſelfe againe to his former riot and exceſſe, when he left to deale in the affaires of the common wealth. But ſetting aſide the ill name he had for his inſolencie, he was yet much more hated in reſpect of the houſe he dwelt in, the which was the houſe of *Pompey* the great: a man as famous for his temperaunce, modeſtie, and ciuill life, as for his three triumphes. For it grieued them to ſee the gates commonly ſhut againſt the Captaines, Magiſtrates of the citie, and alſo Ambaſſadors of ſtraunge na- C tions, which were ſometimes thruſt from the gate with violence: and that the houſe within was full of tomblers, anticke dauncers, iuglers, players, ieaſters, and dronkards, quaffing and goſeling, and that on them he ſpent and beſtowed the moſt parte of his money he got by all kind of poſſible extorcions, briberie and policie. For they did not onely ſell by the crier, the goods of thoſe whom they had outlawed, and appointed to murther, ſlaunderouſly deceiued the poore widowes and young orphanes, & alſo raiſed all kind of impoſts, ſubſidies, and taxes: but vnderſtanding alſo that the holy veſtall Nunnes had certaine goods & money put in their cuſtodie to keepe, both of mens in the citie, and thoſe alſo that were abroade: they went thither, and tooke them away by force. *Octauius Cæſar* perceiuing that no money woulde ſerue *Antonius* turne, he prayed that they might deuide the money betwene them, and ſo did they D alſo deuide the armie, for them both to goe into Macedon to make warre againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*: and in the meane time they left the gouernment of the citie of Rome vnto *Lepidus*. When they had paſſed ouer the ſeas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, *Antonius* againſt *Caſſius*, and *Cæſar* againſt *Brutus*: *Cæſar* did no great matter, but *Antonius* had alway the vpper hand, and did all. For at the firſt battell *Cæſar* was ouerthrowen by *Brutus*, and loſt his campe, and verie hardly ſaued him ſelfe by flying from them that followed him. Howebeit he writeth him ſelfe in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was geuen, bicauſe of a dreame one of his frends had. *Antonius* on the other ſide ouerthrewe *Caſſius* in battell, though ſome write that he was not there him ſelfe at the battell, but that he came after the ouerthrowe, whileſt his men had the enemies in chaſe. E So *Caſſius* at his earneſt requeſt was ſlaine by a faithfull ſeruaunt of his owne called *Pindarus*, whom he had infranchiſed: bicauſe he knewe not in time that *Brutus* had ouercomen *Cæſar*. Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which *Brutus* was ouerthrowen, who afterwardes alſo ſlue him ſelfe. Thus *Antonius* had the chiefeſt glorie of all this victorie, ſpecially bicauſe *Cæſar* was ſicke at that time. *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* body after this battel, blaming him muche for the murther of his brother *Caius*, whom he had put to death in Macedon for reuenge of *Ciceroes* cruell death, and yet laying the fault more in *Hortenſius* then in him: he made *Hortenſius* to be ſlaine on his brothers tumbe. Furthermore, he caſt his coate armor (which was wonderfull rich and ſumptuous) vpon *Brutus* bodie, and gaue commaundement to one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards, F *Antonius* hearing that his infranchiſed bondman had not burnt his coate armor with his bodie, bicauſe it was verie riche, and worth a great ſumme of money, and that he had alſo kept backe much of the ready money appointed for his funerall & tombe: he alſo put him to death.

Antonius cruelty vnto Cicero.

Lucius Cæſars life ſaued, by his ſiſter.

Antonius riot in his Triumuirate.

The praiſe of Pompey the great.

The valiantnes of Antonius againſt Brutus.

The death of Caſſius.

Brutus ſlue him ſelfe.

Antonius gaue honorable buriall vnto Brutus.

After that *Cæsar* was conueied to ROME, and it was thought he would not liue long, nor scape the sickenes he had. *Antonius* on thother side went towardes the East prouinces and regions, to leauie money: and first of all he went into GRÆCE, and caried an infinite number of souldiers with him. Now, bicause euerie souldier was promised fiue thowsande siluer Drachmas, he was driuen of necessitie to impose extreame tallages and taxacions. At his first comming into GRÆCE, he was not hard nor bitter vnto the GRÆCIANS, but gaue him selfe onely to heare wise men dispute, to see playes, and also to note the ceremonies & sacrifices of GRÆCE, ministring iustice to euerie man, and it pleased him maruelously to heare them call him *Philellen*, (as much to say, a louer of the GRÆCIANS) and specially the ATHENIANS, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the MEGARIANS, to excede the ATHENIANS, thinking to shew *Antonius* a goodly sight: they prayed him to come & see their Senate house, & counsell hall. *Antonius* went thither to see it: so when he had seene it at his pleasure, they asked him, my Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinkes (q he) it is litle, old, and ready to fall downe. Furthermore, he tooke measure of the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into ASIA, hauing left *Lucius Censorinus* Gouernor in GRÆCE, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East partes, and that Princes, great Lordes and Kinges, came to waite at his gate for his comming out, and that Queenes and Princesses to excell one an other, gaue him verie riche presentes, and came to see him, curiously setting forth them selues, and vsing all art that might be to shewe their beawtie, to win his fauor the more: (*Cæsar* in the meane space turmoyling his wits and bodie in ciuill warres at home, *Antonius* liuing merily & quietly abroad) he easely fell againe to his old licētious life. For straight one *Anaxenor* a player of the citherne, *Xoutus* a player of the flutes, *Metrodorus* a tombler, and such a rabble of minstrells & fit ministers for the pleasures of ASIA, (who in finenes & flattery passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of ITALIE) all these flocked in his court, & bare the whole sway: & after that, all went awry. For euery one gaue them selues to riot and excesse, when they saw he delighted in it: and all ASIA was like to the citie *Sophocles* speaketh of in one of his tragedies:

Antonius great courtesie in Grece.

The plagues of Italie, in riot.

VVas full of swweete perfumes, and pleasant songs,
VVith swoefull swweping mingled thereamongs.

For in the citie of EPHESVS, women attyred as they goe in the feastes and sacrifice of *Bacchus*, came out to meete him with such solemnities & ceremonies, as are then vsed: with men and children disguised like Fawnes and Satyres. Moreouer, the citie was full of Iuey, & darts wreathed about with Iuey, psalterions, flutes and howboyes, and in their songes they called him *Bacchus*, father of mirth, curteous, and gentle: and so was he vnto some, but to the most parte of men, cruell, and extreame. For he robbed noble men and gentle men of their goods, to geue it vnto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged mens goods liuing, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gaue a citizens house of MAGNESIA vnto a cooke, bicause (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the ende he doubled the taxacion, and imposed a seconde vpon ASIA. But then *Hybræas* the Orator sent from the estates of ASIA, to tell him the state of their contrie, boldly sayd vnto him: if thou wilt haue power to lay two tributes in one yere vpon vs, thou shouldest also haue power to geue vs two sommers, two autumnes, and two haruests. This was gallantly and pleasauntly spoken vnto *Antonius* by the Orator, and it pleased him well to heare it: but afterwardes amplifying his speache, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose. ASIA hath payed the two hundred thowsand talents. If all this money be not come to thy cofers, then aske accompt of them that leauied it: but if thou haue receiued it, and nothing be left of it, then are we vtterly vndone. *Hybræas* words nettled *Antonius* roundly. For he vnderstoode not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treasure and affaires: not so muche bicause he was careles, as for that he ouersimply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without suttletie, and therefore ouerlate founde out the fowle faultes they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was muche offended, and would plainly confesse it vnto them whome his officers had done iniurie vnto, by countenaunce of his authoritie. He had a noble minde, as well to punish offendors, as to reward well doers: and yet he

Antonius cruelnes in Asia.

Hybræas wordes vnto Antonius, touching their great payments of money vnto him.

Antonius simplicity.

A he did exceede more in geuing, then in puniſhing. Now for his outragious manner of railing he commonly vſed, mocking and flouting of euerie man: that was remedied by it ſelfe. For a man might as boldly exchaunge a mocke with him,& he was as well cõtented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that thoſe which told him ſo plainly,& truly in mirth: would neuer flatter him in good earneſt, in any matter of weight. But thus he was eaſely abuſed by the praiſes they gaue him, not finding howe theſe flatterers mingled their flatterie, vnder this familiar and plaine manner of ſpeach vnto him,as a fine deuiſe to make difference of meates with ſharpe and tart ſauce,& alſo to kepe him by this franke ieaſting & bourding with him at the table,that their common flatterie ſhould not be troublesome vnto him, as men do eaſely miſlike to haue too muche of one thing: and that they hadled him finely thereby,when they would geue him place in any matter of waight,and follow his counſell, that it might not appeare to him they did it ſo muche to pleaſe him, but becauſe they were ignoraunt, and vnderſtoode not ſo muche as he did. *Antonius* being thus inclined,the laſt and extreameſt miſchiefe of all other(to wit,the loue of *Cleopatra*)lighted on him, who did waken and ſtirre vp many vices yet hidden in him, and were neuer ſeene to any: and if any ſparke of goodneſſe or hope of riſing were left him, *Cleopatra* quenched it ſtraight, and made it worſe then before. The manner how he fell in loue with her was this. *Antonius* going to make warre with the PARTHIANS, ſent to commaunde *Cleopatra* to appeare perſonally before him, when he came into CILICIA, to aunſwere vnto ſuche accuſacions as were layed againſt her, being this: that ſhe had aided *Caſſius* and *Brutus* in their warre againſt him. The meſſenger ſent vnto *Cleopatra* to make this ſummons vnto her, was called *Dellius:* who when he had throughly conſidered her beawtie, the excellent grace and ſweeteneſſe of her tongue, he nothing miſtruſted that *Antonius* would doe any hurte to ſo noble a Ladie, but rather aſſured him ſelfe, that within few dayes ſhe ſhould be in great fauor with him. Thereupon he did her great honor, and perſwaded her to come into CILICIA, as honorably furniſhed as ſhe could poſſible, and bad her not to be affrayed at all of *Antonius,* for he was a more curteous Lord, then any that ſhe had euer ſeene. *Cleopatra* on thother ſide beleuing *Dellius* wordes, and geſſing by the former acceſſe and credit ſhe had with *Iulius Cæſar,* and *Cneus Pompey* (the ſonne of *Pompey* the great)only for her beawtie: ſhe began to haue good hope that ſhe might more eaſely win *Antonius*. For *Cæſar* and *Pompey* knew her when ſhe was but a young thing,& knew not then what the worlde ment: but nowe ſhe went to *Antonius* at the age when a womans beawtie is at the prime,and ſhe alſo of beſt iudgement. So,ſhe furniſhed her ſelfe with a world of gifts, ſtore of gold and ſiluer, and of riches and other ſumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough ſhe might bring from ſo great a houſe, and from ſo wealthie and rich a realme as ÆGYPT was. But yet ſhe caried nothing with her wherein ſhe truſted more then in her ſelfe,and in the charmes and inchauntment of her paſſing beawtie and grace. Therefore when ſhe was ſent vnto by diuers letters, both from *Antonius* him ſelfe, and alſo from his frendes, ſhe made ſo light of it, and mocked *Antonius* ſo much, that ſhe diſdained to ſet forward otherwiſe, but to take her barge in the riuer of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the ſailes of purple, and the owers of ſiluer, which kept ſtroke in rowing after the ſounde of the muſicke of flutes, howboyes, citherns, violls,and ſuch other inſtruments as they played vpon in the barge. And now for the perſon of her ſelfe: ſhe was layed vnder a pauillion of cloth of gold of tiſſue, apparelled and attired like the goddeſſe *Venus,* commonly drawen in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as painters doe ſet forth god *Cupide,* with litle fannes in their hands,with the which they fanned wind vpon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen alſo, the faireſt of them were apparelled like the nymphes *Nereides* (which are the mermaides of the waters) and like the *Graces,* ſome ſtearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull paſſing ſweete ſauor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes ſide, peſtered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongeſt the riuers ſide: others alſo ranne out of the citie to ſee her comming in. So that in thend, there ranne ſuch multitudes of people one after an other to ſee her,that *Antonius* was left poſt alone in the market place,in his Imperiall ſeate to geue audience: and there went a rumor in the peoples mouthes, that the goddeſſe *Venus*

Antonius manere.

Antonius loue to Cleopatra whom he ſent for into Cilicia.

The wonderfull ſumptuouſnes of Cleopatra, Queene of AEgypt, going vnto Antonius. Cydnus fl.

was come to play with the god *Bacchus*, for the generall good of all ASIA. When *Cleopatra* landed, *Antonius* sent to inuite her to supper to him. But she sent him word againe, he should doe better rather to come and suppe with her. *Antonius* therefore to shew him selfe curteous vnto her at her arriuall, was contented to obey her, & went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can expresse it. But amongest all other thinges, he most wondered at the infinite number of lightes and torches hanged on the toppe of the house, geuing light in euerie place, so artificially set and ordered by deuises, some round, some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discerne, or that euer bookes could mencion. The next night, *Antonius* feasting her, contended to passe her in magnificence and fineness: but she ouercame him in both. So that he him selfe began to skorne the grosse seruice of his house, in respect of *Cleopatraes* sumptuousnes and fineness. And when *Cleopatra* found *Antonius* ieasts and slents to be but grosse, and souldier like, in plaine manner: she gaue it him finely, and without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beawtie (as it is reported) was not so passing, as vnmatchable of other women, nor yet such, as vpon present viewe did enamor men with her: but so sweete was her companie and conuersacion, that a man could not possiblie but be taken. And besides her beawtie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her curteous nature that tempered her words & dedes, was a spurre that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voyce and words were maruelous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of musicke to diuers sports and pastimes, the which she easely turned to any language that pleased her. She spake vnto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them aunswere her selfe, or at the least the most parte of them: as the ÆTHIOPIANS, the ARABIANS, the TROGLODYTES, the HEBRVES, the SYRIANS, the MEDES, and the PARTHIANS, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas diuers of her progenitors, the kings of ÆGYPT, could scarce learne the ÆGYPTIAN tongue only, and many of them forgot to speake the MACEDONIAN. Nowe, *Antonius* was so rauished with the loue of *Cleopatra*, that though his wife *Fuluia* had great warres, and much a doe with *Cæsar* for his affaires, and that the armie of the PARTHIANS, (the which the kings Lieutenauntes had geuen to the onely leading of *Labienus*) was now assembled in MESOPOTAMIA readie to inuade SYRIA: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yeelded him selfe to goe with *Cleopatra* into ALEXANDRIA, where he spent and lost in childish sports, (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spende, as *Antiphon* sayth: and that is, time. For they made an order betwene them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to say, no life comparable and matcheable with it) one feasting ech other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for proofe hereof, I haue heard my grandfather *Lampryas* report, that one *Philotas* a Phisition, borne in the citie of AMPHISSA, told him that he was at that present time in ALEXANDRIA, and studied Phisicke: and that hauing acquaintance with one of *Antonius* cookes, he tooke him with him to *Antonius* house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchin, and saw a world of diuersities of meates, and amongst others, eight wilde boares rosted whole: he began to wonder at it, and sayd, sure you haue a great number of ghests to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him, no (quoth he) not many ghestes, nor aboue twelue in all: but yet all that is boyled or roasted must be serued in whole, or else it would be marred straight. For *Antonius* peraduenture will suppe presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath dronke well to day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we doe not dresse one supper only, but many suppers, bicause we are vncerteine of the houre he will suppe in. *Philotas* the Phisition tolde my grandfather this tale, and sayd moreouer, that it was his chaunce shortly after to serue the eldest sonne of the sayd *Antonius*, whome he had by his wife *Fuluia*: and that he sate commonly at his table with his other frendes, when he did not dine nor suppe with his father. It chaunced one day there came a Phisition that was so full of words, that he made euery man wearie of him at the bord: but *Philotas* to stoppe his mouth, put out a suttle proposition to him. It is good in some sorte to let a man drinke colde water that hath an agew: euerie man that hath an agew hath it in some sorte, ergo it is good for a man

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Cleopatraes beawtie.

An order set vp by Antonius & Cleopatra.

The excessiue expences of Antonius and Cleopatra in AEgypt.

Eight wilde boares rosted whole.

Philotas a Phisition, borne in Amphissa, reporter of this feast.

Philotas, Phisition to the younger Antonius.

Philotas subtil proposition.

A man that hath an agew to drinke cold water. The Phisition was so grauelled and amated with-
all, that he had not a word more to say. Young *Antonius* burst out in such a laughing at him,
and was so glad of it, that he sayd vnto him: *Philotas*, take all that, I geue it thee: shewing him
his cubbord full of plate, with great pots of gold and siluer. *Philotas* thanked him, and told him
he thought himselfe greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would neuer haue thought
that he had had power to haue geuen so many things, and of so great value. But muche more
he maruelled, when shortly after one of young *Antonius* men brought him home all the pots
in a basket, bidding him set his marke and stampe vpon them, and to locke them vp. *Philotas*
returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproued if he tooke them. Then the young gentle-
man *Antonius* sayd vnto him: alas poore man, why doest thou make it nise to take them?
B Knowest thou not that it is the sonne of *Antonius* that geues them thee, and is able to do it? If
thou wilt not beleue me, take rather the readie money they come to: bicause my father per-
aduenture may aske for some of the plate, for the antike & excellent workemanship of them.
This I haue heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to *Cleopatra*. *Plato* wryteth
that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but *Cleopatra* deuided it into many kinds. For she, were
it in sport, or in matter of earnest, still deuised sundrie new delights to haue *Antonius* at com-
maundement, neuer leauing him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For
she would play at dyce with him, drinke with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be
with him when he went to any exercise or actiuity of body. And somtime also, when he would
goe vp and downe the citie disguised like a slaue in the night, & would peere into poore mens
C windowes & their shops, and scold & brawle with them within the house: *Cleopatra* would be
also in a chamber maides array, & amble vp & downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes
Antonius bare away both mockes & blowes. Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet
the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this iolity, & liked it well, saying verie gallant-
ly, and wisely: that *Antonius* shewed them a commicall face, to wit, a merie countenaunce:
and the Romanes a tragicall face, to say, a grimme looke. But to reckon vp all the foolishe
sportes they made, reuelling in this sorte: it were too fond a parte of me, and therefore I will
only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take
none, he was as angrie as could be, bicause *Cleopatra* stoode by. Wherefore he secretly com-
maunded the fisher men, that when he cast in his line, they should straight diue vnder the wa-
D ter, and put a fishe on his hooke which they had taken before: and so snatched vp his angling
rodde, and brought vp fish twise or thrise. *Cleopatra* found it straight, yet she seemed not to see
it, but wondred at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne
people, she told them howe it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see
the fishing. A number of people came to the hauen, and got into the fisher boates to see this
fishing. *Antonius* then threw in his line and *Cleopatra* straight commaunded one of her men to
diue vnder water before *Antonius* men, and to put some old salte fish vpon his baite, like vnto
those that are brought out of the contrie of Pont. When he had hong the fish on his hooke,
Antonius thinking he had taken a fishe in deede, snatched vp his line presently. Then they all
fell a laughing. *Cleopatra* laughing also, said vnto him: leaue vs (my Lord) Ægyptians (which
E dwell in the contry of Pharvs and Canobvs) your angling rodde: this is not thy profession:
thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and contries. Nowe *Antonius* delighting in these
fond and childish pastimes, verie ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from
Rome, that his brother *Lucius*, and *Fuluia* his wife, fell out first betwene them selues, and after-
wards fell to open warre with *Cæsar*, & had brought all to nought, that they were both driuen
to flie out of Italie. The seconde newes, as bad as the first: that *Labienus* conquered all A-
sia with the armie of the Parthians, from the riuer of Euphrates, and from Syria, vnto
the contries of Lydia and Ionia. Then began *Antonius* with much a doe, a litle to rouse him
selfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, comming out of
a great dronkennes. So, first of all he bent him selfe against the Parthians, and went as farre
F as the contrie of Phoenicia: but there he receiued lamentable letters from his wife *Fuluia*.
Whereuppon he straight returned towards Italie, with two hundred saile: and as he went,
tooke vp his frendes by the way that fled out of Italie, to come to him. By them he was in-

Plato writeth of foure kinds of flatterie. Cleopatra Queene of all flatterers.

Antonius fishing in Aegypt.

The warres of Lucius Antonius and Fuluia, against Octauius Cæsar.

formed, that his wife *Fuluia* was the only cause of this warre: who being of a peeuish, crooked, A
and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this vprore in ITALIE, in hope thereby to with-
The death of Fuluia Antonius wife. draw him from *Cleopatra*. But by good fortune, his wife *Fuluia* going to meete with *Antonius*,
sickened by the way, and dyed in the citie of SICYONE: and therefore *Octauius Cæsar*, and he
were the easelier made frendes together. For when *Antonius* landed in ITALIE, and that men
saw *Cæsar* asked nothing of him, and that *Antonius* on the other side layed all the fault & bur-
den on his wife *Fuluia*: the frendes of both parties would not suffer them to vnrippe any olde
matters, and to proue or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer
of this warre, fearing to make matters worse betwene them: but they made them frendes to-
gether, and deuided the Empire of ROME betwene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds
All the Empire of Rome deuided betwene the Triumuiri. of their diuision. For they gaue all the prouinces Eastward, vnto *Antonius*: and the contries B
Westward, vnto *Cæsar*: and left AFRICKE vnto *Lepidus*: and made a law, that they three one
after an other should make their frendes Consuls, when they would not be them selues. This
seemed to be a sound counsell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bonde, which
fortune offered thus. There was *Octauia* the eldest sister of *Cæsar*, not by one mother, for she
Octauia, the halfe sister of Octauius Cæsar, & daughter of Ancharia which was not Cæsars mother. came of *Ancharia*, & *Cæsar* him self afterwards of *Accia*. It is reported, that he dearly loued his
sister *Octauia*, for in deede she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband *Caius*
Marcellus, who dyed not long before: and it seemed also that *Antonius* had bene widower euer
since the death of his wife *Fuluia*. For he denied not that he kept *Cleopatra*, but so did he not
confesse that he had her as his wife: & so with reason he did defend the loue he bare vnto this
ÆGYPTIAN *Cleopatra*. Thereuppon euerie man did set forward this mariage, hoping thereby C
that this Ladie *Octauia*, hauing an excellent grace, wisedom, & honestie, ioyned vnto so rare a
beawtie, that when she were with *Antonius* (he louing her as so worthy a Ladie deserueth) she
should be a good meane to keepe good loue & amitie betwext her brother and him. So when
Cæsar & he had made the matche betwene them, they both went to ROME about this mariage,
A law at Rome for marying of widowes. although it was against the law, that a widow should be maried within tenne monethes after
Antonius maried Octauia, Octauius Cæsars halfe sister. her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the mariage proce-
ded accordingly. *Sextus Pompeius* at that time kept in SICILIA, and so made many an inrode
into ITALIE with a great number of pynnasies and other pirates shippes, of the which were
Captaines two notable pirats, *Menas*, and *Menecrates*, who so scoored all the sea thereabouts,
that none durst peepe out with a sayle. Furthermore, *Sextus Pompeius* had delt verie frendly D
with *Antonius*, for he had curteously receiued his mother, when she fled out of ITALIE with
Antonius and Octauius Cæsar, doe make peace with Sextus Pompeius. *Fuluia*: and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three to-
gether by the mount of Misena, vpon a hill that runneth farre into the sea: *Pompey* hauing his
shippes ryding hard by at ancker, and *Antonius* and *Cæsar* their armies vpon the shoare side, di-
rectly ouer against him. Now, after they had agreed that *Sextus Pompeius* should haue SICILE
and SARDINIA, with this condicion, that he should ridde the sea of all theeues and pirats, and
make it safe for passengers, and withall that he should send a certaine of wheate to ROME: one
of them did feast an other, and drew cuts who should beginne. It was *Pompeius* chaunce to in-
uite them first. Whereupon *Antonius* asked him: & where shall we suppe? There, said *Pompey*,
and shewed him his admirall galley which had six bankes of owers: that (sayd he) is my fathers E
Sextus Pompeius taunts to Antonius. house they haue left me. He spake it to taunt *Antonius*, bicause he had his fathers house, that
was *Pompey* the great. So he cast ankers enowe into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then
built a bridge of wodde to conuey them to his galley, from the heade of mount Misena: and
Sextus Pompeius being offered wonderfull great fortune: for his honestie and faithes sake, refused it. there he welcomed them, and made them great cheere. Now in the middest of the feast, when
they fell to be merie with *Antonius* loue vnto *Cleopatra*: *Menas* the pirate came to *Pompey*, and
whispering in his eare, said vnto him: shall I cut the gables of the ankers, and make thee Lord
not only of SICILE and SARDINIA, but of the whole Empire of ROME besides? *Pompey* ha-
uing pawsed a while vpon it, at length aunswered him: thou shouldest haue done it, and neuer
haue told it me, but now we must content vs with that we haue. As for my selfe, I was neuer
taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feast F
him in their campe, and then he returned into SICILE. *Antonius* after this agreement made,
sent *Ventidius* before into ASIA to stay the PARTHIANS, and to keepe them they should come

no

A no further: and he him ſelfe in the meane time, to gratefie *Cæſar*, was contented to be choſen *Iulius Cæſars* prieſt and ſacrificer,& ſo they ioyntly together diſpatched all great matters,concerning the ſtate of the Empire. But in all other maner of ſportes and exerciſes,wherein they paſſed the time away the one with the other: *Antonius* was euer inferior vnto *Cæſar*,and alway loſt,which grieued him much. With *Antonius* there was a ſoothſayer or aſtronomer of Ægypt, that coulde caſt a figure, and iudge of mens natiuities, to tell them what ſhould happen to them. He, either to pleaſe *Cleopatra*, or elſe for that he founde it ſo by his art, told *Antonius* plainly, that his fortune (which of it ſelfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether bleamiſhed,and obſcured by *Cæſars* fortune: and therefore he counſelled him vtterly to leaue his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could. For thy *Demon* ſaid he, (that is to
B ſay,the good angell and ſpirit that kepeth thee)is affraied of his: and being coragious & high when he is alone, becometh fearefull and timerous when he commeth neere vnto the other. Howſoeuer it was,the euents enſuing proued the Ægyptians words true. For,it is ſaid,that as often as they two drew cuts for paſtime,who ſhould haue any thing,or whether they plaied at dice,*Antonius* alway loſt.Oftentimes when they were diſpoſed to ſee cockefight,or quailes that were taught to fight one with an other: *Cæſars* cockes or quailes did euer ouercome.The which ſpighted *Antonius* in his mind,although he made no outward ſhew of it:and therefore he beleued the Ægyptian the better. In fine,he recommended the affaires of his houſe vnto *Cæſar*,& went out of Italie with *Octauia* his wife,whom he caried into Græce, after he had had a daughter by her. So *Antonius* lying all the winter at Athens, newes came vnto him of
C the victories of *Ventidius*,who had ouercome the Parthians in battel,in the which alſo were ſlaine, *Labienus*,and *Pharnabates*,the chiefeſt Captaine king *Orodes* had. For theſe good newes he feaſted all Athens,and kept open houſe for all the Græcians, and many games of price were plaied at Athens,of the which he him ſelfe would be iudge. Wherfore leauing his gard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his houſe, he came into the ſhow place(or liſtes)where theſe games were played, in a long gowne and ſlippers after the Græcian facion, and they caried tippeſtaues before him,as marſhalls men do cary before the Iudges to make place: and he himſelfe in perſon was a ſtickler to part the young men,when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the warres, he made him a garland of the holy Oliue, and caried a veſſell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepſydra, bicauſe of an Oracle he had receiD ued that ſo commaunded him. In the meane time, *Ventidius* once againe ouercame *Pacorus*, (*Orodes* ſonne king of Parthia)in a battell fought in the contrie of Cyrrestica, he being come againe with a great armie to inuade Syria: at which battell was ſlaine a great number of the Parthians, & among them *Pacorus*, the kings owne ſonne ſlaine. This noble exployt as famous as euer any was, was a full reuenge to the Romanes, of the ſhame and loſſe they had receiued before by the death of *Marcus Craſſus*: and he made the Parthians flie, and glad to kepe them ſelues within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia, and Media, after they had thriſe together bene ouercome in ſeuerall battells. Howbeit *Ventidius* durſt not vndertake to follow them any further,fearing leaſt he ſhould haue gotten *Antonius* diſpleaſure by it. Notwithſtanding, he led his armie againſt them that had rebelled, and conquered them
E againe: amongeſt whome he beſieged *Antiochus*, king of Commagena, who offered him to giue a thowſand talentes to be pardoned his rebellion, and promiſed euer after to be at *Antonius* commaundement.But *Ventidius* made him aunſwere, that he ſhould ſend vnto *Antonius*, who was not farre of, and would not ſuffer *Ventidius* to make any peace with *Antiochus*,to the end that yet this litle exployt ſhould paſſe in his name, and that they ſhould not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenaunt *Ventidius*.The ſiege grew verie long, bicauſe they that were in the towne, ſeeing they coulde not be receiued vpon no reaſonable compoſition: determined valliantly to defende them ſelues to the laſt man. Thus *Antonius* did nothing, and yet receiued great ſhame, repenting him much that he tooke not their firſt offer. And yet at laſt he was glad to make truce with *Antiochus*, and to take three hundred talentes for compoſition.
F Thus after he had ſet order for the ſtate & affaires of Syria, he returned againe to Athens: and hauing giuen *Ventidius* ſuche honors as he deſerued, he ſent him to Rome, to triumphe for the Parthians. *Ventidius* was the only man that euer triumphed of the Parthians vn-

Antonius told by a Soothſayer, that his fortune was inferior vnto Octauius Cæſar.

Antonius vnfortunate in ſport and earneſt, againſt Octauius Cæſar.

Orodes king of Parthia.

Ventidius notable victorie of the Parthians.

The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthiaes ſonne.

Ventidius the only man of the Romanes, that triumphed for the Parthians.

till this preſent day, a meane man borne, and of no noble houſe nor family: who only came to A
that he attained vnto, through *Antonius* frendſhippe, the which deliuered him happie occaſion to achieue to great matters. And yet to ſay truely, he did ſo well quit him ſelfe in all his enterpriſes, that he confirmed that which was ſpoken of *Antonius* and *Cæſar*: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by them ſelues. For *Soſius*, one of *Antonius* Lieutenauntes in SYRIA, did notable good ſeruice: and *Canidius*, whom he had alſo left his Lieutenaunt in the borders of ARMENIA, did conquer it all. So did he alſo ouercome the kinges of the IBERIANS and ALBANIANS, and went on with his conqueſts vnto mount Caucaſus. By theſe conqueſts, the fame of *Antonius* power increaſed more and more, and grew dreadfull vnto all the barbarous nations. But *Antonius* notwithſtanding, grewe to be maruelouſly offended with *Cæſar*, vpon certaine reportes that had bene brought B
vnto him: and ſo tooke ſea to go towards ITALIE with three hundred ſaile. And bicauſe thoſe of BRVNDVSIVM would not receiue his armie into their hauen, he went further vnto TARENTVM. There his wife *Octauia* that came out of GRÆCE with him, beſought him to ſend her vnto her bother: the which he did. *Octauia* at that time was great with child, and moreouer had a ſecond daughter by him, and yet ſhe put her ſelfe in iorney, and met with her brother *Octauius Cæſar* by the way, who brought his two chiefe frendes, *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa* with him. She tooke them aſide, and with all the inſtance ſhe could poſſible, intreated them they would not ſuffer her that was the happieſt woman of the world, to become nowe the moſt wretched and vnfortunateſt creature of all other. For now, ſaid ſhe, euerie mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the ſiſter of one of the Emperours and wife of the other. And if the worſt councell C
take place, (which the goddes forbidde) and that they growe to warres: for your ſelues, it is vncertaine to which of them two the goddes haue aſſigned the victorie, or ouerthrowe. But for me, on which ſide ſoeuer victorie fall, my ſtate can be but moſt miſerable ſtill. Theſe words of *Octauia* ſo ſoftned *Cæſars* harte, that he went quickely vnto TARENTVM. But it was a noble ſight for them that were preſent, to ſee ſo great an armie by lande not to ſturre, and ſo many ſhippes aflote in the roade, quietly and ſafe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindeneſſe of frendes, louinglie imbracing one an other. Firſt, *Antonius* feaſted *Cæſar*, which he graunted vnto for his ſiſters ſake. Afterwardes they agreed together, that *Cæſar* ſhould geue *Antonius* two legions to go againſt the PARTHIANS: and that *Antonius* ſhould let *Cæſar* haue a hundred gallies armed with braſen ſpurres at the prooes. Beſides all this, *Octauia* obteyned of her D
husbande, twentie brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husbande, a thowſande armed men. After they had taken leaue of eache other, *Cæſar* went immediatly to make warre with *Sextus Pompeius*, to gette SICILIA into his handes. *Antonius* alſo leauing his wife *Octauia* and litle children begotten of her, with *Cæſar*, and his other children which he had by *Fuluia*: he went directlie into ASIA. Then beganne this peſtilent plague and miſchiefe of *Cleopatraes* loue (which had ſlept a longe tyme, and ſeemed to haue bene vtterlie forgotten, and that *Antonius* had geuen place to better counſell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, ſo ſoone as *Antonius* came neere vnto SYRIA. And in the ende, the horſe of the minde as *Plato* termeth it, that is ſo hard of rayne (I meane the vnreyned luſt of concupiſcence) did put out of *Antonius* heade, all honeſt and commendable thoughtes: for he E
ſent *Fonteius Capito* to bring *Cleopatra* into SYRIA. Vnto whome, to welcome her, he gaue no trifling things: but vnto that ſhe had already, he added the prouinces of PHOENICIA, thoſe of the nethermoſt SYRIA, the Ile of CYPRVS, and a great parte of CILICIA, and that contry of IVRIE where the true balme is, and that parte of ARABIA where the NABATHEIANS doe dwell, which ſtretcheth out towardes the Ocean. Theſe great giftes muche miſliked the ROMANES. But now, though *Antonius* did eaſely geue away great ſeigniories, realmes, & mighty nations vnto ſome priuate men, and that alſo he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmes: (as from *Antigonus* king of the IEWES, whom he openly beheaded, where neuer king before had ſuffred like death) yet all this did not ſo much offend the ROMANES, as the vnmeaſurable honors which he did vnto *Cleopatra*. But yet he did much more aggrauate their malice & il wil F
towards him, bicauſe that *Cleopatra* hauing brought him two twinnes, a ſonne and a daughter, he named his ſonne *Alexander*, & his daughter *Cleopatra*, and gaue them to their ſurnames, the

Canidius conqueſts.

Newe diſpleaſures betweene Antonius and Octauius Cæſar.

The wordes of Octauia vnto Mæcenas and Agrippa.

Octauia pacifieth the quarrell betwixt Antonius, and her brother Octauius Cæſar.

Plato calleth concupiſcence: the horſe of the minde.

Antonius ſent for Cleopatra into Syria.

Antonius gaue great prouinces vnto Cleopatra.

Antigonus king of Iurie, the firſt king beheaded by Antonius.

Antonius twinnes by Cleopatra, & their names.

Sunne

A Sunne to the one,& the moone to the other. This notwithſtanding,he that could finely cloke his ſhamefull deedes with fine words, ſaid that the greatnes & magnificence of the Empire of ROME appeared moſt,not where the ROMANES tooke,but where they gaue much: & nobility was multiplied amongeſt men,by the poſterity of kings,when they left of their ſeede in diuers places: and that by this meanes his firſt aunceſter was begotten of *Hercules*, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and poſterity,in the wombe of one only woman,fearing *Solons* lawes, or regarding the ordinaunces of men touching the procreacion of children: but that he gaue it vnto nature,and eſtabliſhed the fundacion of many noble races and families in diuers places. Nowe when *Phraortes* had ſlaine his father *Orodes*, and poſſeſſed the kingdom: many gentlemen of PARTHIA forſooke him,and fled from him. Amongſt them was *Monæſes*, *Phraortes ſlue his father Orodes king of Perſia.*

B a noble man, and of great authority among his contry men,who came vnto *Antonius*,that receiued him, & compared his fortune vnto *Themiſtocles*,and his owne riches & magnificence, vnto the kings of PERSIA. For he gaue *Monæſes* three cities,LARISSA,ARETHVSA,& HIERAPOLIS,which was called before BOMBYCE. Howbeit the king of PARTHIA ſhortly after called him home againe, vpon his faith & word. *Antonius* was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to ſteale vpon *Phraortes* vnprouided. For he ſent vnto him, & told him that they would remaine good frends, & haue peace together, ſo he would but only redeliuer the ſtanderds & enſignes of the ROMANES, which the PARTHIANS had wonne in the battell where *Marcus Craſſus* was ſlaine,& the men alſo that remained yet priſoners of this ouerthrow. In the meane time he ſent *Cleopatra* backe into ÆGYPT,& tooke his way towards ARABIA & ARMENIA,& there tooke

C a generall muſter of all his army he had together,& of the kings his cõfederats that were come by his cõmaundement to aide him,being a maruelous number: of the which,the chiefeſt was *Artauaſdes*, king of ARMENIA, who did furniſh him with ſix thowſande horſemen, and ſeuen thowſand footemen. There were alſo of the ROMANES about three ſcore thowſand footmen, *Antonius great & puiſſans army.*

& of horſemen(SPANIARDS & GAVLES reckoned for ROMANES)to the number of ten thouſand,& of other nations thirty thowſand men,reckoning together the horſemen and light armed footemen. This ſo great & puiſant army which made the INDIANS quake for feare,dwelling about the contry of the BACTRIANS,and all ASIA alſo to tremble:ſerued him to no purpoſe,& all for the loue he bare to *Cleopatra*. For the earneſt great deſire he had to lye all winter *Antonius dronke with the loue of Cleopatra.*

with her,made him begin his warre out of due time,and for haſt,to put all in hazard, being ſo

D rauiſhed & enchaunted with the ſweete poyſon of her loue,that he had no other thought but of her, & how he might quickly returne againe:more then how he might ouercome his enemies. For firſt of all,where he ſhould haue wintered in ARMENIA to refreſh his men, wearied with the long iorney they had made,hauing comen eight thowſand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the ſpring to go and inuade MEDIA, before the PARTHIANS ſhould ſtirre out of their houſes & garriſons: he could tary no lenger, but led them forthwith vnto the prouince of ATROPATENE,leauing ARMENIA on the left hand,& forraged al the contry. Furthermore, making all the haſt he coulde, he left behinde him engines of battery which were caried with him in three hũdred carts,(among the which alſo there was a ramme foure ſcore foote long) being things moſt neceſſary for him,and the which he could not get againe for money if they

E were onee loſt or marred. For the hie prouinces of ASIA haue no trees growing of ſuch height and length,neither ſtrong nor ſtraight enough to make ſuch like engines of battery. This notwithſtanding, he left them all behind him, as a hinderance to bring his matters & intent ſpeedily to paſſe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them,and gaue them in charge vnto one *Tatianus*. Then he went to beſiege the citie of PHRAATA, being the chiefeſt and greateſt *Antonius beſiegeth the city of Phraata in Media.*

citie the king of MEDIA had, where his wife and children were. Then he ſtraight founde his owne fault, and the want of his artillerie he left behinde him, by the worke he had in hande: for he was fayne for lacke of a breache (where his men might come to the ſworde with their enemies that defended the walle) to force a mount of earth hard to the walles of the citie, the which by litle and litle with greate labour, roſe to ſome height. In the meane time

F king *Phraortes* came downe with a great armie: who vnderſtanding that *Antonius* had left his engines of batterie behind him,he ſent a great number of horſemen before,which enuironed *Tatianus* with all his cariage,and ſlue him,and ten thowſand men he had with him. After this,

The Parthiãs tooke Antonius engines of battery.

the barbarous people tooke theſe engines of battery and burnt them, and got many priſoners, amongſt whom they tooke alſo king *Polemon*. This diſcomfiture maruelouſly troubled all *Antonius* army, to receiue ſo great an ouerthrow (beyond their expectacion) at the beginning of their iorney: inſomuche that *Artabazus*, king of the ARMENIANS, diſpairing of the good ſucceſſe of the ROMANES: departed with his men, notwithſtanding that he was him ſelfe the firſt procurer of this warre and iorney. On the other ſide, the PARTHIANS came coragiouſly vnto *Antonius* campe, who lay at the ſiege of their chiefeſt citie, and cruelly reuiled and threatned him. *Antonius* therefore fearing that if he lay ſtill and did nothing, his mens harts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or enſignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the gard of the Generall) and all his horſemen, and caried them out to forrage, hoping therby he ſhould eaſely allure the PARTHIANS to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a dayes iorney from his campe, he ſaw the PARTHIANS wheeling round about him to geue him the onſet, & to skirmiſh with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he ſet out his ſignall of battell, & yet cauſed his tents and fardells to be truſſed vp, as though he ment not to fight, but only to lead his men back againe. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marſhald like a creſſant or halfe moone: and commaunded his horſemen, that as ſoone as they thought the legions were nere enough vnto their enemies to ſet vpon the voward, that then they ſhould ſet ſpurres to their horſes, & begin the charge. The PARTHIANS ſtanding in battell ray, beholding the countenaunce of the ROMANES as they marched: they appeared to be ſouldiers in deede, to ſee them marche in ſo good array as was poſſible. For in their march, they kept the rankes a like ſpace one from an other, not ſtraggling out of order, and ſhaking their pikes, ſpeaking neuer a word. But ſo ſoone as the allarom was giuen, the horſemen ſodainly turned head vpon the PARTHIANS, and with great cries gaue charge on them: who at the firſt receiued their charge coragiouſly, for they were ioined nerer thẽ within an arrowes ſhoote. But when the legions alſo came to ioine with them, ſhowting out alowde, & ratling of their armors: the PARTHIANS horſes and them ſelues were ſo affrayed and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the ROMANES could come to the ſword with them. Then *Antonius* followed thẽ hard in chaſe, being in great good hope by this conflict to haue brought to end all, or the moſt part of this warre. But after that his footemen had chaſed them fiftie furlonges of, and the horſemen alſo thriſe as farre: they found in all but thirty priſoners taken, and about foure ſcore men only ſlaine. But this did much diſcorage them, when they cõſidered with them ſelues, that obtaining the victory, they had ſlaine ſo few of their enemies: and where they were ouercome, they loſt as many of their men, as they had done at the ouerthrow when the cariage was taken. The next morning, *Antonius* army truſſed vp their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the firſt a fewe of the PARTHIANS: then going further, they met a few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reuiled them, & troubled them on euery ſide, as freſhly & coragiouſly, as if they had not bene ouerthrowen: ſo that the ROMANES very hardly got to their campe with ſafety. The MEDES on the other ſide, that were beſieged in their chiefe city of PHRAATA, made a ſaly out vpon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and caſt againſt the wall of the city, and draue them for feare, from the mount they kept. *Antonius* was ſo offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he deuided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and to the other nine, he cauſed them to haue barley giuen them in ſtead of wheate. Thus this warre fell out troubleſome vnto both parties, and the ende thereof muche more fearefull. For *Antonius* could looke for no other of his ſide, but famine: bicauſe he could forrage no more, nor fetche in any vittells, without great loſſe of his men. *Phraortes* on the other ſide, he knew well enough that he could bring the PARTHIANS to any thing els, but to lye in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was affrayed, that if the ROMANES continued their ſiege all winter long, & made warre with him ſtill: that his mẽ would forſake him, & ſpecially bicauſe the time of the yere went away apace, & the ayer waxed clowdy, & cold, in the equinoctiall autumne. Therupon he called to mind this deuiſe. He gaue the chiefeſt of his gentlemẽ of the PARTHIANS charge, that when they met the ROMANES out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their

Battell betwext the Parthians & Antonius.

The Romanes good order in their march.

Decimacion a marſhall puniſhment.

A B C D E F

A their horſe, or for ſome other prouiſion: that they ſhould not diſtreſſe them too muche, but ſhould ſuffer them to carie ſomewhat away, and greatly commend their valliantnes and hardines, for the which their king did eſteeme them the more, and not without cauſe. After theſe firſt baytes and allurements, they beganne by litle and litle to come neerer vnto them, and to talke with them a horſebacke, greatly blaming *Antonius* ſelfewill that did not geue their king *Phraortes* occaſion to make a good peace, who deſired nothing more, then to ſaue the liues of ſo goodly a companie of valliant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greateſt and moſt dreadfull enemies he could haue, to wit: winter, and famine, the which they ſhould hardly away withall, though the PARTHIANS did the beſt they could to aide & accompany them. Theſe words being oftentimes brought to *Antonius*, they made him a litle pliant, B for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he woulde not ſende vnto the king of PARTHIA, before they had firſt asked theſe barbarous people that ſpake ſo curteouſly vnto his men, whether they ſpake it of them ſelues, or that they were their maiſters words. When they told them the king him ſelfe ſayd ſo, and did perſwade them further not to feare or miſtruſt them: then *Antonius* ſent ſome of his frends vnto the king, to make demaund for the deliuery of the enſignes and priſoners he had of the ROMANES, ſince the ouerthrow of *Craſſus*: to the ende it ſhould not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they ſhoulde thinke he were glad that he might only ſcape with ſafety out of the daunger he was in. The king of PARTHIA anſwered him: that for the enſignes & priſoners he demaunded, he ſhould not breake his head about it: notwithſtãding, that if he would preſently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable maner, C and without daunger. Wherefore *Antonius* after he had giuen his men ſome time to truſſe vp their cariage, he raiſed his campe, & tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to enterteine his ſouldiers and men of warre, and that he could paſſingly well do it, as well, or better then any Captaine in his time: yet being aſhamed for reſpects, he would not ſpeake vnto them at his remouing, but willed *Domitius AEnobarbus* to do it. Many of them tooke this in very ill parte, & thought that he did it in diſdaine of them: but the moſt part of them preſently vnderſtoode the truth of it, and were alſo aſhamed. Therefore they thought it their dueties to carie the like reſpect vnto their Captaine, that their Captaine did vnto them: and ſo they became the more obedient vnto him. So *Antonius* was minded to returne the ſame way he came, being a plaine barren contry without wodde. But there came a D ſouldier to him, borne in the contry of the MARDIANS, who by oft frequenting the PARTHIANS of long time, knew their facions very wel, and had alſo ſhewed him ſelfe very true & faithfull to the ROMANES, in the battell where *Antonius* engines of battery and cariage were taken away. This man came vnto *Antonius*, to counſell him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a pray, being heauily armed, vnto ſo great a number of horſemen, all archers in the open field, where they ſhould haue nothing to let them to compaſſe him round about: and that this was *Phraortes* fetch to offer him ſo frendly cõdicions & curteous words to make him raiſe his ſiege, that he might afterwards meete him as he would, in the plaines: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, an other way on the right hand, through woddes & mountaines, a farre neerer way, and where he ſhould finde great plenty of all things needefull E for his army. *Antonius* hearing what he ſaid, called his counſel together, to conſult vpon it. For after he had made peace with the PARTHIANS, he was loth to geue them cauſe to thinke he miſtruſted them: and on thother ſide alſo he would gladly ſhorten his way, and paſſe by places wel inhabited, where he might be prouided of al things neceſſary: therfore he asked the MARDIAN what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promiſed. The MARDIAN gaue himſelf to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his army into the contry of ARMENIA. So he guided the army thus bound, two dayes together, without any trouble or ſight of enemy. But the third day, *Antonius* thinking the PARTHIANS would no more follow him, & truſting therin, ſuffred the ſouldiers to march in diſorder as euery mã liſted. The MARDIAN perceiuing that the dammes of a riuer were newly broken vp, which they ſhould haue paſſed ouer, & that the F riuer had ouerflowen the bankes and drowned all the way they ſhoulde haue gone: he geſſed ſtraight that the PARTHIANS had done it, and had thus broken it open, to ſtay the ROMANES for getting too farre before them. Therupon he bad *Antonius* looke to him ſelfe, and told him

The craft of the Parthians againſt the Romanes.

Antonius returneth from the iorney of the Parthiãs.

that his enemies were not farre from thence. *Antonius* hauing ſet his men in order, as he was placing of his archers & ſling men to reſiſt the enemies, & to driue them backe: they diſcried the PARTHIANS that wheeled round about the army to compaſſe them in on euery ſide, & to breake their rankes, & their light armed men gaue charge apon them. So after they had hurt many of the ROMANES with their arrowes, and that they them ſelues were alſo hurt by them with their dartes and plummets of leade: they retyred a litle, and then came againe and gaue charge. Vntill that the horſemen of the GAVLES turned their horſes, & fiercely gallopped towards them, that they diſperſed them ſo, as al that day they gathered no more together. Therby *Antonius* knew what to do, and did not only ſtrengthen the rereward of his army, but both the flanks alſo, with darters and ſling men, and made his army march in a ſquare battell: commaunding the horſemen, that when the enemies ſhould come to aſſaile them, they ſhoulde driue them backe, but not follow them too farre. Thus the PARTHIANS foure daies after, ſeeing they did no more hurte to the ROMANES, then they alſo receiued of them: they were not ſo hotte vpon them as they were commaunded, but excuſing them ſelues by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day, *Flauius Gallus*, a valliant man of his handes, that had charge in the armie: came vnto *Antonius* to pray him to let him haue ſome moe of his light armed men then were alreadie in the rereward, and ſome of the horſemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to doe ſome notable exploite. *Antonius* graunting them vnto him, when the enemies came according to their maner to ſet vpon the taile of the army, and to skirmiſh with them: *Flauius* coragiouſly made them retire, but not as they were wont to doe before, to retire and ioyne preſently with their army, for he ouerraſhly thruſt in among them to fight it out at the ſword. The Capteines that had the leading of the rereward, ſeeing *Flauius* ſtray too farre from the army: they ſent vnto him to will him to retire, but he would not harken to it. And it is reported alſo, that *Titius* himſelfe the Treaſorer, tooke the enſignes, & did what he could to make the enſigne bearers returne backe, reuiling *Flauius Gallus*, bicauſe that through his folly and deſperatnes he cauſed many honeſt and valliant men to be both hurt & ſlaine to no purpoſe. *Gallus* alſo fel out with him, and commaunded his men to ſtay. Wherefore *Titius* returned againe into the army, and *Gallus* ſtil ouerthrowing and driuing the enemies backe whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compaſſed in. Then ſeeing him ſelfe enuironned of all ſides, he ſent vnto the army, that they ſhould come and aide him: but there the Captaines that led the legions (among the which *Canidius*, a man of great eſtimacion about *Antonius* made one) committed many faults. For where they ſhould haue made head with the whole army vpon the PARTHIANS, they ſent him aide by ſmall cõpanies: and when they were ſlaine, they ſent him others alſo. So that by their beaſtlineſſe and lacke of conſideracion, they had like to haue made all the armie flie, if *Antonius* him ſelfe had not come frõ the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the middeſt of them that fled, vntill they came to front of the enemies, & that they ſtayed them from chaſing any further. Howbeit at this laſt conflict there were ſlaine no leſſe thẽ three thowſand men, and fiue thowſande beſides brought ſore hurt into the campe, and amongeſt them alſo *Flauius Gallus*, whoſe body was ſhot through in foure places, whereof he died. *Antonius* went to the tents to viſite & comfort the ſicke & wounded, and for pities ſake he could not refraine from weeping: and they alſo ſhewing him the beſt countenaunce they coulde, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dreſſed, and not to trouble him ſelfe for them, moſt reuerently calling him their Emperour & Captaine: & that for them ſelues, they were whole & ſafe, ſo that he had his health. For in deede to ſay truly, there was not at that time any Emperour or Captaine that had ſo great & puiſant an army as his together, both for luſty youths, & corage of the ſouldiers, as alſo for their pacience to away with ſo great paines & trouble. Furthermore, the obedience & reuerẽce they ſhewed vnto their captaine, with a maruelous earneſt loue & good wil, was ſo great: & all were indifferẽtly (as wel great as ſmal, the noble men, as meane men, the Captaines and ſouldiers) ſo earneſtly bent to eſteeme *Antonius* good will & fauor, aboue their owne life & ſafety: that in this point of marſhall diſcipline, the auncient ROMANES could not haue don any more. But diuers things were cauſe therof, as we haue told you before: *Antonius* nobility & ancient houſe, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality & magnificence,

The Parthiãs doe ſet vpon Antonius in his returne.

The bold act of Flauius Gallus.

Canidius fault, Antonius Captaine.

Flauius Gallus ſlaine. Antonius care of them that were wounded.

The loue and reuerence of the ſouldiers vnto Antonius.

The rare and ſingular gifts of Antonius.

A gnificence,& his familiarity to ſport & to be mery in company: but ſpecially the care he tooke at that time to help,viſite,& lament thoſe that were ſicke & woũded,ſeing euery man to haue that which was meete for him:that was of ſuch force & effect,as it made them that were ſicke & wounded to loue him better,& were more deſirous to do him ſeruice,then thoſe that were whole & ſoũd. This victory ſo encoraged the enemies,(who otherwiſe were weary to follow *Antonius* any further) that all night longe they kept the fieldes, and houered about the Romanes campe,thinking that they would preſently flie,& then that they ſhould take the ſpoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of daye, there were gathered together a farre greater nũber of the Parthians, then they were before. For the rumor was,that there were not much fewer then forty thowſand horſe,bicauſe their king ſent thither euen the very gard B about his perſon, as vnto a moſt certaine and aſſured victorie, that they might be partners of the ſpoyle and booty they hoped to haue had: for as touching the king him ſelfe, he was neuer in any conflict or battell. Then *Antonius* deſirous to ſpeake to his ſouldiers, called for a blacke gowne,to appeare the more pitifull to them: but his friends did diſſwade him from it. Therefore he put on his coate armor,and being ſo apparelled, made an oration to his armie: in the which he highly commended them that had ouercome and driuen backe their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backes. So that thoſe which had ouercome,prayed him to be of good chere: the other alſo to cleere them ſelues,willingly offred to take the lotts of *Decimation* if he thought good,or otherwiſe,to receiue what kind of puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe him to laye vpon them, ſo that he would forget any more to C miſlike,or to be offended with them. *Antonius* ſeeing that,did lift vp his hands to heauen, and made his prayer to the goddes,that if in exchaunge of his former victories,they would nowe ſende him ſome bitter aduerſitie: then that all might light on him ſelfe alone, and that they would giue the victorie to the reſt of his armie. The next morning,they gaue better order on euery ſide of the armie,and ſo marched forward: ſo that when the Parthians thought to returne againe to aſſaile them,they came farre ſhort of the reckoning. For where they thought to come not to fight,but to ſpoyle and make hauock of all: when they came neare them,they were ſore hurt with their ſlings and darts,and ſuch other iauelings as the Romanes darted at them,& the Parthians found them as rough and deſperat in fight,as if they had bene freſh men they had delt withall. Whereuppon their harts beganne againe to fayle them. But yet D when the Romanes came to goe downe any ſteepe hills or mountaines, then they would ſet on them with their arrowes,bicauſe the Romanes could goe downe but fayer and ſoftly. But then againe,the ſouldiers of the legion that caried great ſhields,returned backe,and incloſed them that were naked or light armed, in the middeſt amongeſt them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground,and ſo ſet downe their ſhields before them: and they of the ſecond ranck alſo couered them of the firſt rancke,and the third alſo couered the ſecond,and ſo from ranck to rancke all were couered. Inſomuch that this manner of couering and ſheading them ſelues with ſhields,was deuiſed after the facion of laying tiles vpon houſes,and to ſight,was like the degrees of a Theater,and is a moſt ſtronge defence and bulwarke againſt all arrowes and ſhot that falleth vpon it. When the Parthians ſaw this countenaunce of the Romane ſouldiers E of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that ſorte vpon one knee,ſuppoſing that they had bene wearied with trauell: they layed downe their bowes,& tooke their ſpeares & launces,and came to fight with them man for man. Then the Romanes ſodainely roſe vpon their feete,and with the darts that they threwe from them,they ſlue the formoſt,and put the reſt to flight,and ſo did they the next dayes that followed. But by meanes of theſe daungers and lets, *Antonius* armie could winne no way in a day,by reaſon whereof they ſuffred great famine: for they could haue but litle corne,and yet were they driuen daily to fight for it, and beſides that, they had no inſtruments to grynd it,to make bread of it. For the moſt part of them had bene left behind,bicauſe the beaſts that caried them were either dead,or els imployed to cary them that were ſore and wounded. For the famine was ſo extreame great,that the eight parte of a F buſhell of wheate was ſold for fifty Drachmas,and they ſold barley bread by the waight of ſiluer. In the ende,they were compelled to liue of erbes and rootes,but they found few of them that men doe commonly eate of,and were inforced to taſt of them that were neuer eaten be-

The king of Parthia neuer came to fight in the field.

Antonius charitable prayer to the gods for his army.

The Romanes teſtudo, and couering againſt ſhot.

Great famine in Antonius army.

A deadly erbe incurable without wine.

fore: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their witts. For A
he that had once eaten of it, his memorye was gone from him, and he knewe no manner of
thing, but onely busied him selfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another,
as though it had bene a matter of great waight, and to be done with all possible speede. All
the campe ouer, men were busily stouping to the ground, digging and carying of stones from
one place to another: but at the last, they cast vp a great deale of choller, and dyed sodainly,
bicause they lacked wine, which was the onely soueraine remedy to cure that disease. It is re-
ported that *Antonius* seeing such a number of his men dye dayly, and that the PARTHIANS left
them not, nether would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentymes cryed out sighing, and sayd:

The valliantnes of tenne thowsand Græcians, whome Xenophon brought away after the ouerthrow of Cyrus

O, tenne thowsand. He had the valliantnes of tenne thowsand GRÆCIANS in such admirati-
on, whome *Xenophon* brought away after the ouerthrow of CYRVS: bicause they had comen B
a farder iorney from BABYLON, and had also fought against much moe enemies many tymes
told, then them selues, and yet came home with safetie. The PARTHIANS therfore seeing that
they could not breake the good order of the armie of the ROMANES, and contrarily that they
them selues were oftentymes put to flight, and welfauoredly beaten: they fell againe to their
olde craftie suttelties. For when they found any of the ROMANES scattered from the armie to

The Parthians very suttell and craftie people.

goe forrage, to seeke some corne, or other vittells: they would come to them as if they had
bene their friends, and shewed them their bowes vnbent, saying, that them selues also did re-
turne home to their contry as they did, and that they would follow them no further, howbeit
that they should yet haue certaine MEDES that would follow them a dayes iorney or two, to
keepe them that they should doe no hurt to the villages from the high wayes: and so holding C
them with this talke, they gently tooke their leaue of them, and bad them farewell, so that the
ROMANES began againe to thinke them selues safe. *Antonius* also vnderstanding this, being ve-
ry glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine contry, bicause also they should
find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported vnto him. So as he was determined to take

Mithridates a Parthian, bewrayeth vnto Antonius the conspiracie of his own contry men against him.

this course, there came into his hoast one *Mithridates*, a gentleman from the enemies campe,
who was Cosen vnto *Monæzes* that fled vnto *Antonius*, and vnto whome he had giuen three
cities. When he came to *Antonius* campe, he praied them to bring him one that could speake
the PARTHIAN, or SYRIAN tongue. So one *Alexander* ANTIOCHIAN, a famillier of *Antonius*,
was brought vnto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and sayde, that *Monæzes*
had sent him to *Antonius*, to requite the honor and curtesie he had shewed vnto him. After he D
had vsed this ceremonious speeche, he asked *Alexander* if he sawe those highe Mountaines a
farre of, which he poynted vnto him with his finger. *Alexander* aunswered he did. The PAR-
THIANS (sayd he) doe lye in ambushe at the foote of those Mountaines, vnder the which ly-
eth a goodly playne champion contry: and they thinke that you beeing deceiued with their
craftie suttill wordes, will leaue the way of the Mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the
other way, it is very hard and painefull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well
acquainted withall: but if *Antonius* take the lower way, let him assure him selfe to runne the
same fortune that *Marcus Crassus* did. So *Mithridates* hauing sayd, he departed. *Antonius* was
marueilously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, & therfore called for his friends,
to heare what they would say to it. The MARDIAN also that was their guide, being asked his E
opinion, aunswered: that he thought as much as the gentleman *Mithridates* had sayd. For,
sayd he, admit that there were no ambushe of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked
way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine waye, though it be stonye and painefull, yet
there is no other daunger, but a whole dayes trauelling without any water. So *Antonius* chaũ-
ging his first mind and determination, remoued that night, and tooke the Mountaine way,
commaunding euery man to prouide him selfe of water. But the most part of them lacking
vessells to cary water in, some were driuen to fill their salletts and murrians with water, and o-
thers also filled goates skinnes to cary water in. Nowe they marching forwarde, worde was
brought vnto the PARTHIANS that they were remoued: whereuppon, contrary to their man-
ner, they presently followed them the selfe same night, so that by breake of day they ouertooke F
the rereward of the ROMANES, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lacke of sleepe,
that they were euen done. For, beyond expectacion, they had gone that night, two hundred

and

A and forty furlong, and further, to see their enemies so sodainly at their backs, that made them vtterly dispaire: but moste of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, bicause they were forced to fight as they marched, to driue their enemies backe, yet creeping on still. The voward of the armie by chaunce met with a riuer that was very cleere, and colde water, but it was salt and venemous to drinke: for straight it did gnawe the gutts of those that had dronke it, and made them maruelous drye, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the MARDIAN had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them backe that would haue kept them from drinking, and so dranke. But *Antonius* going vp and downe amongst them, prayed them to take a litle pacience for a while, for hard by there was another riuer that the water was excellent good to drinke, & that from
B thenceforth the way was so stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could followe them no further. So he caused the retreate to be sownded to call them backe that fought, and commaunded the tents to be set vppe, that the souldiers might yet haue shadow to refreshe them with. So when the tents were set vp, and the PARTHIANS also retyred according to their manner: the gentleman *Mithridates* before named, returned againe as before, and *Alexander* in like manner againe brought vnto him for Interpreter. Then *Mithridates* aduised him, that after the armie had reposed a litle, the ROMANES should remoue forthwith, and with all possible speede get to the riuer: bicause the PARTHIANS would goe no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. *Alexander* caried the report thereof vnto *Antonius*, who gaue him a great deale of gold plate to bestowe vpon *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* tooke as much of him as
C he could well cary away in his gowne, and so departed with speede. So *Antonius* raysed his campe being yet day light, and caused all his army to marche, & the PARTHIANS neuer troubled any of them by the way: but amongest them selues it was as ill and dreadfull a night as euer they had. For there were Villens of their owne company, who cut their fellowes throates for the money they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and cariage of such money as they caried: and at length, they set vpon *Antonius* slaues that draue his owne sumpters and cariage, they brake goodly tables & riche plate in peeces, and deuided it among them selues. Thereuppon all the campe was straight in tumult and vprore: For the residue of them were affraid it had bene the PARTHIANS that had giuen them this alarom, and had put all the armie
D out of order. Insomuch that *Antonius* called for one *Rhamnus*, one of his slaues infranchised that was of his gard, and made him giue him his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut of his head: bicause he might not be taken aliue of his enemies, nor knowen when he were dead. This grieued his friends to the hart, that they burst out a weeping for sorrow. The MARDIAN also did comfort him, and assured him that the riuer he sought for was hard by, and that he did gesse it by a sweete moyst wind that breathed vpon them, and by the ayer which they found fresher then they were wont, and also, for that they fetched their wind more at libertie: and moreouer, bicause that since they did set forward, he thought they were neare their iorneys ende, not lacking much of day. On the other side also, *Antonius* was informed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile couetousnes and villany of certaine of his souldiers. Therefore *Antonius*
E to set his armie againe in order, and to pacifie this vprore, sownded the trompet that euery man should lodge. Now day began to breake, and the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to cease, when the PARTHIANS drewe neare, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his army. Thereuppon the signall of battell was giuen to the light armed men, and the legioners did couer them selues as they had done before with their shields, with the which they receiued & defended the force of the PARTHIANS arrowes, who neuer durst any more come to hand strokes with them: and thus they that were in the voward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they spyed the riuer. There *Antonius* placed his armed men vpon the sands to receiue and driue backe the enemies, and first of all, got ouer his men that were sicke and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left
F to resist the enemies, had leysure enough to drinke safely, and at their pleasure. For when the PARTHIANS saw the riuer, they vnbent their bowes, and bad the ROMANES passe ouer without any feare, and greatly commended their valliantnes. When they had all passed ouer the

A salt riuer.

Antonius great liberalitie vnto Mithridates, for the care he had of his safetie.

The tumult of Antonius souldiers through couetousnes.

Antonius desperate minde.

riuer at their eaſe, they tooke a litle breath, and ſo marched forward againe, not greatly tru- A
Araxes ſt. ſting the PARTHIANS. The ſixt daye after this laſt battell, they came to the riuer of Araxes, which deuideth the contry of ARMENIA from MEDIA: the which appeared vnto them very daungerous to paſſe, for the depth and ſwiftnes of the ſtreame. And furthermore, there ranne a rumor through the campe, that the PARTHIANS lay in ambuſhe thereabouts, and that they would come & ſet vpon them whileſt they were troubled in paſſing ouer the riuer. But now, after they were all comen ſafely ouer without any daunger, and that they had gotten to the other ſide, into the prouince of ARMENIA: then they worſhipped that land, as if it had bene the firſt land they had ſeene after a long and daungerous voyage by ſea, being now arriued in a ſafe and happy hauen: and the teares ranne downe their cheekes, and euery man imbraced eache other for the great ioy they had. But nowe, keeping the fields in this frutefull contry ſo B
plentifull of all things, after ſo great a famine and want of all thinges: they ſo crammed them ſelues with ſuch plenty of vittells, that many of them were caſt into flyxes and dropſies. There *Antonius* muſtring his whole army, found that he had loſt twenty thowſand footemen, and foure thowſand horſemen, which had not all bene ſlayne by their enemies: for the moſt part of them dyed of ſicknes, making ſeuen and twenty dayes iorney, comming from the citie of
18 ſeuerall battels fought with the Parthians, PHRAATA into ARMENIA, and hauing ouercome the PARTHIANS in eighteene ſeuerall bat-
The trechery of Artabazus king of Armenia, vnto Antonius. tells. But theſe victories were not throughly performed nor accompliſhed, bicauſe they followed no long chaſe: and thereby it eaſily appeared, that *Artabazus* king of ARMENIA, had reſerued *Antonius* to end this warre. For if the ſixteene thowſand horſemen which he brought with him out of MEDIA, had bene at theſe battells, conſidering that they were armed and ap- C
parelled much after the PARTHIANS manner, and acquainted alſo with their fight: When the ROMANES had put them to flight that fought a battell with them, & that theſe ARMENIANS had followed the chaſe of them that fled, they had not gathered them ſelues againe in force, neither durſt they alſo haue returned to fight with them ſo often, after they had bene ſo many times ouerthrowen. Therefore, all thoſe that were of any credit and countenaunce in the army, did perſwade and egge *Antonius* to be reuenged of this ARMENIAN king. But *Antonius* wiſely diſſembling his anger, he told him not of his trechery, nor gaue him the worſe countenaunce, nor did him leſſe honor then he did before: bicauſe he knew his armie was weake, &
Antonius triumphed of Artabazus king of Armenia, in AEgypt. lacked things neceſſary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into ARMENIA with a great army, and ſo with fayer wordes, and ſweete promiſes of Meſſengers, he allured *Artabazus* to D
come vnto him: whome he then kept priſoner, and led in triumphe in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. This greatly offended the ROMANES, and made them much to miſlike it: when they ſaw that for *Cleopatraes* ſake he depriued his contry of her due honor and glory, onely to gratifie the ÆGYPTIANS. But this was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great haſte he made to returne vnto *Cleopatra*, cauſed him to put his men to ſo great paines, forcing them to lye in the field all winter long when it ſnew vnreaſonably, that by the way he loſt eight thowſand of his men, and ſo came downe to the ſea ſide with a ſmall companye, to a certaine place called BLANCBOVRG, which ſtandeth betwixt the cities of BERYTVS and SIDON, and there taried
Antonius pined away looking for Cleopatra. for *Cleopatra*. And bicauſe ſhe taried longer then he would haue had her, he pined away for loue and ſorrow. So that he was at ſuch a ſtraight, that he wiſt not what to doe, and therefore E
to weare it out, he gaue him ſelfe to quaffing and feaſting. But he was ſo drowned with the loue of her, that he could not abide to ſit at the table till the feaſt were ended: but many times while others banketted, he ranne to the ſea ſide to ſee if ſhe were comming. At length ſhe
Cleopatra came to Blãcbourg vnto Antonius. came, and brought with her a worlde of apparell and money to giue vnto the ſouldiers. But ſome ſaye notwithſtanding, that ſhe brought apparell, but no money, and that ſhe tooke of *Antonius* money, and cauſed it to be giuen amonge the ſouldiers in her owne name, as if ſhe had giuen it them. In the meane time it chaunced, that the king of the MEDES, and *Phraortes*
Warres betwixt the Parthians and Medes. king of the PARTHIANS, fell at great warres together, the which began (as it is reported) for the ſpoyles of the ROMANES: and grew to be ſo hot betwene them, that the king of MEDES F
was no leſſe affrayd, then alſo in daunger to loſe his whole Realme. Thereuppon he ſent vnto *Antonius* to pray him to come and make warre with the PARTHIANS, promiſing him that he would ayde him to his vttermoſt power. This put *Antonius* againe in good comfort, conſide-

ring

A ring that vnlooked for, the onely thing he lacked, (which made him he could not ouercome the PARTHIANS, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slings enough) was offred him in that sort: that he did him more pleasure to accept it, then it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereuppon, after he had spoken with the king of MEDES at the riuer of Araxes, he prepared him selfe once more to goe through ARMENIA, and to make more cruell warre with the PARTHIANS, then he had done before. Now whileſt *Antonius* was busie in this preparation, *Octauia* his wife, whome he had left at ROME, would needes take sea to come vnto him. Her brother *Octauius Cæsar* was willing vnto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors doe report) as for that he might haue an honest culler to make warre with *Antonius* if he did misuse her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be. But when she was come
B to ATHENS, she receiued letters from *Antonius*, willing her to stay there vntill his comming, & did aduertise her of his iorney and determination. The which though it grieued her much, and that she knewe it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of aunswer, she asked him whether he would haue those thinges sent vnto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for souldiers, a great number of horse, summe of money, and gifts, to bestow on his friendes and Captaines he had about him: and besides all those, she had two thowsand souldiers chosen men, all well armed, like vnto the Prætors bands. When *Niger*, one of *Antonius* friends whome he had sent vnto ATHENS, had brought these newes from his wife *Octauia*, and withall did greatly prayse her, as she was worthy, and well deserued: *Cleopatra* knowing that *Octauia* would haue *Antonius* from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and
C honest behauior, (besides the great power of her brother *Cæsar*) she did adde thereunto her modest kind loue to please her husband, that she would then be too stronge for her, and in the end winne him away: she suttelly seemed to languish for the loue of *Antonius*, pyning her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, she euery way so framed her countenaunce, that when *Antonius* came to see her, she cast her eyes vpon him, like a woman rauished for ioy. Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering, looked rufully of the matter, and still found the meanes that *Antonius* should oftentymes finde her weeping: and then when he came sodainely vppon her, she made as though she dryed her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were vnwilling that he should see her weepe. All these tricks she vsed, *Antonius* being in readines to goe into SYRIA, to speake with the king of MEDES. Then the flat-
D terers that furthered *Cleopatraes* mind, blamed *Antonius*, and tolde him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had small loue in him, that would see a poore Ladye in such torment for his sake, whose life depended onely vpon him alone. For, *Octauia*, sayd they, that was maryed vnto him as it were of necessitie, bicause her brother *Cæsars* affayres so required it: hath the honor to be called *Antonius* lawefull spowse and wife: and *Cleopatra*, being borne a Queene of so many thowsands of men, is onely named *Antonius* Leman, and yet that she disdayned not so to be called, if it might please him she might enioy his company, and liue with him: but if he once leaue her, that then it is vnpossible she should liue. To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought *Antonius* effeminate mind, that fearing least she would make her selfe away: he returned againe vnto ALEXANDRIA, and referred the king of MEDES
E to the next yeare following, although he receyued newes that the PARTHIANS at that tyme were at ciuill warres amonge them selues. This notwithstanding, he went afterwardes and made peace with him. For he maried his Daughter which was very younge, vnto one of the sonnes that *Cleopatra* had by him: and then returned, beeing fully bent to make warre with *Cæsar*. When *Octauia* was returned to ROME from ATHENS, *Cæsar* commaunded her to goe out of *Antonius* house, and to dwell by her selfe, bicause he had abused her. *Octauia* aunswered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thinge, that two so famous Captaines should bringe in ciuill warres among the ROMANES, the one for the loue of a womā, & the other for the ielousy betwixt one
F an other. Now as she spake the worde, so did she also performe the deede. For she kept still in *Antonius* house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly and honorably kept his children, not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by *Fuluia*. Further-

Octauia, Antonius wife, came to Athens to meete with him.

The flickering enticements of Cleopatra, vnto Antonius.

The occasion of ciuil warres betwixt Antonius and Cæsar.

The loue of Octauia to Antonius her husband, and her wise and womanly behauior.

more, when *Antonius* ſent any of his men to ROME, to ſue for any office in the cõmon wealth: A
ſhe receiued him very curteouſly, and ſo vſed her ſelfe vnto her brother, that ſhe obtained the
thing ſhe requeſted. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, ſhe did *Antonius* great hurt. For her
honeſt loue and regard to her husband, made euery man hate him, when they ſawe he did ſo
vnkindly vſe ſo noble a Lady: but yet the greateſt cauſe of their malice vnto him, was for the
diuiſion of lands he made amongſt his children in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. And to confeſſe
a troth, it was too arrogant and inſolent a part, and done (as a man would ſay) in deriſion and
contempt of the ROMANES. For he aſſembled all the people in the ſhow place, where younge
men doe exerciſe them ſelues, and there vpon a high tribunall ſiluered, he ſet two chayres of
gold, the one for him ſelfe, and the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower chaires for his children: then
he openly publiſhed before the aſſembly, that firſt of all he did eſtabliſh *Cleopatra* Queene of B
ÆGYPT, of CYPRVS, of LYDIA, and of the lower SYRIA, and at that time alſo, *Cæſarion* king of
the ſame Realmes. This *Cæſarion* was ſuppoſed to be the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſar*, who had left
Cleopatra great with child. Secondly he called the ſonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, and
gaue *Alexander* for his portion, ARMENIA, MEDIA, and PARTHIA, when he had conquered
the contry: and vnto *Ptolomy* for his portion, PHENICIA, SYRIA, and CILICIA. And there-
withall he brought out *Alexander* in a long gowne after the facion of the MEDES, with a high
copped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the MEDES and ARMENI-
ANS doe vſe to weare them: and *Ptolomy* apparelled in a cloke after the MACEDONIAN man-
ner, with ſlippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the
apparell and old attyre of the auncient kinges and ſucceſſors of *Alexander* the great. So after C
his ſonnes had done their humble duties, and kiſſed their father and mother: preſently a com-
pany of ARMENIAN ſouldiers ſet there of purpoſe, compaſſed the one about, and a like com-
pany of the MACEDONIANS the other. Now for *Cleopatra*, ſhe did not onely weare at that time
(but at all other times els when ſhe came abroad) the apparell of the goddeſſe *Iſis*, and ſo gaue
audience vnto all her ſubiects, as a new *Iſis*. *Octauius Cæſar* reporting all theſe thinges vnto the
Senate, and oftentimes accuſing him to the whole people and aſſembly in ROME: he thereby
ſtirred vp all the ROMANES againſt him. *Antonius* on thother ſide ſent to ROME likewiſe to ac-
cuſe him, and the chiefeſt poyntes of his accuſations he charged him with, were theſe. Firſt,
that hauing ſpoyled *Sextus Pompeius* in SICILE, he did not giue him his parte of the Ile. Se-
condly, that he did deteyne in his hands the ſhippes he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, D
that hauing put *Lepidus* their companion and triumuirate out of his part of the Empire, and
hauing depriued him of all honors: he retayned for him ſelfe the lands and reuenues thereof,
which had bene aſſigned vnto him for his part. And laſt of all, that he had in manner deuided
all ITALY amongeſt his owne ſouldiers, and had left no part of it for his ſouldiers. *Octauius Cæ-
ſar* aunſwered him againe: that for *Lepidus*, he had in deede depoſed him, and taken his part
of the Empire from him, bicauſe he did ouercruelly vſe his authoritie. And ſecondly, for the
conqueſts he had made by force of armes, he was contented *Antonius* ſhould haue his part of
them, ſo that he would likewiſe let him haue his part of ARMENIA. And thirdly, that for his
ſouldiers, they ſhould ſeeke for nothing in ITALY, bicauſe they poſſeſſed MEDIA and PAR-
THIA, the which prouinces they had added to the Empire of ROME, valliantly fighting with E
their Emperor and Captaine. *Antonius* hearing theſe newes, being yet in ARMENIA, com-
maunded *Canidius* to goe preſently to the ſea ſide with his ſixteene legions he had: and he
him ſelfe with *Cleopatra*, went vnto the citie of EPHESVS, & there gathered together his gal-
lies and ſhippes out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the
great ſhippes of burden: and of thoſe, *Cleopatra* furniſhed him with two hundred, and twenty
thowſand talents beſides, and prouiſion of vittells alſo to mainteyne al the whole army in this
warre. So *Antonius*, through the perſwaſions of *Domitius*, commaunded *Cleopatra* to returne
againe into ÆGYPT, and there to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of this warre. But *Cleopatra*, fearing
leaſt *Antonius* ſhould againe be made friends with *Octauius Cæſar*, by the meanes of his wife
Octauia: ſhe ſo plyed *Canidius* with money, and filled his purſe, that he became her ſpokes F
man vnto *Antonius*, and told him there was no reaſon to ſend her from this warre, who defrai-
ed ſo great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, bicauſe that thereby the ÆGYPTIANS
would

Antonius arrogantly deuideth diuers prouinces vnto his children by Cleopatra.

Cæſarion, the ſuppoſed ſone of Cæſar, by Cleopatra.

Alexander & Ptolomy, Antonius ſonnes by Cleopatra.

Accuſations betwixt Octauius Cæſar, & Antonius.

Antonius came with eight hundred ſaile againſt Octauius Cæſar.

A would then be vtterly discoraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea: considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederats, that *Cleopatra* was inferior vnto, either for wisedom or iudgement, seeing that longe before she had wisely gouerned so great a realme as Ægypt, & besides that she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manedge great affayres. These fayer perswasions wan him: for it was predestined that the gouernment of all the world should fall into *Octauius Cæsars* handes. Thus, all their forces being ioyned togethey, they hoysed sayle towards the Ile of Samos, and there gaue them selues to feasts and sollace. For as all the kings, Princes, & communalties, peoples and cities from Syria, vnto the marishes Mæotides, and from the Armenians to the Illyrians, were sent vnto, to send and bringe all munition and warlike preparation they could:

Antonius carieth Cleopatra with him to the warres, against Octauius Cæsar: & kept great feasting at the Ile of Samos together.

B euen so all players, minstrells, tumblers, fooles, and ieasters, were commaunded to assemble in the Ile of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in euery place was full of lamentations, sighes and teares: onely in this Ile of Samos there was nothing for many dayes space, but singing and pyping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minstrells, and singing men. Besides all this, euery citie sent an oxe thither to sacrifice, and kings did striue one with another who should make the nobleste feasts, & giue the richest gifts. So that euery man sayd, what can they doe more for ioy of victorie, if they winne the battell? When they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done, he gaue the whole rabble of these minstrells, & such kind of people, the citie of Priene to keepe them withal, during this warre. Then he went vnto the citie of Athens, and there gaue him selfe a-

C gaine to see playes and pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. *Cleopatra* on the other side, being ielous of the honors which *Octauia* had receiued in this citie, where in deede she was maruelously honored and beloued of the Athenians: to winne the peoples good will also at Athens, she gaue them great gifts: and they likewise gaue her many great honors, and appointed certain Ambassadors to cary the decree to her house, amõg the which *Antonius* was one, who as a Citizen of Athens reported the matter vnto her, & made an oration in the behalfe of the citie. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife *Octauia* out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all *Antonius* children, sauing the eldest of them he had by *Fuluia*, who was with her father, bewailing & lamenting her cursed hap that had brought her to this, that she was accompted one of the chiefest causes of this ciuill warre. The Romanes

Antonius put his wife Octauia out of his house at Rome

D did pitie her, but much more *Antonius*, & those specially that had seene *Cleopatra*: who nether excelled *Octauia* in beawtie, nor yet in young yeares. *Octauius Cæsar* vnderstanding the sodain & wonderful great preparation of *Antonius*, he was not a litle astonied at it, (fearing he should be driuen to fight that sommer) bicause he wanted many things, & the great and grieuous exactions of money did sorely oppresse the people. For all manner of men els, were driuen to pay the fourth part of their goods and reuenue: but the Libertines, (to wete, those whose fathers or other predecessors had some time bene bond men) they were sessed to pay the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereuppon, there rose a wonderfull exclamation and great vprore all Italy ouer: so that among the greatest faults that euer *Antonius* committed, they blamed him most, for that he delayed to giue *Cæsar* battell. For he gaue *Cæsar* leysure to

Octauius Cæsar exacteth grieuous payments of the Romanes.

E make his preparacions, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great summe of money was demaunded of them, they grudged at it, and grewe to mutinie vpon it: but when they had once paied it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, *Titius* and *Plancus* (two of *Antonius* chiefest friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great iniuries *Cleopatra* did them, bicause they hindered all they could, that she should not come to this warre: they went and yelded them selues vnto *Cæsar*, and tolde him where the testament was that *Antonius* had made, knowing perfitly what was in it. The will was in the custodie of the Vestall Nunnes: of whom *Cæsar* demaunded for it. They aunswered him, that they would not giue it him; but if he would goe and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereuppon *Cæsar* went thither, & hauing red it first to him self, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch:

Titius and Plancus reuolt from Antonius, and doe yeld to Cæsar.

F so assembling all the Senate, he red it before them all. Whereuppon diuers were maruelously offended, and thought it a straunge matter that he being aliue, should be punished for that he had appoynted by his will to be done after his death. *Cæsar* chiefly tooke hold of this that he

ordeyned touching his buriall: for he willed that his bodie, though he dyed at Rome, should A
be brought in funerall pompe through the middeſt of the market place, and that it ſhould be
ſent into Alexandria vnto *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, among diuers other faultes wherewith
Antonius was to be charged, for *Cleopatraes* ſake: *Caluiſius*, one of *Cæſars* friends reproued him,
A famous libraric in the citie of Pergamon. bicauſe he had franckly giuen *Cleopatra* all the libraries of the royall citie of Pergamvm, in
the which ſhe had aboue two hundred thowſand ſeueral bookes. Againe alſo, that being on a
time ſet at the table, he ſodainly roſe from the borde, and trode vpon *Cleopatraes* foote, which
was a ſigne giuen betwene them, that they were agreed of. That he had alſo ſuffred the Ephe-
sians in his preſence to call *Cleopatra*, their ſoueraine Ladye. That diuers times ſitting in his
tribunall and chayer of ſtate, giuing audience to all kings and Princes: he had receiued loue
letters from *Cleopatra*, written in tables of onyx or chriſtall, and that he had red them, ſitting B
Furnius, an eloquens Orator among the Romanes. in his imperial ſeate. That one day when *Furnius*, a man of great accompt, and the eloqueneſt
man of all the Romanes, pleaded a matter before him: *Cleopatra* by chaunce cõming through
the market place in her litter where *Furnius* was a pleading: *Antonius* ſtraight roſe out of his
ſeate, and left his audience to followe her litter. This notwithſtanding, it was thought *Caluiſi-
us* deuiſed the moſt part of all theſe accuſations of his owne head. Neuertheles they that lo-
ued *Antonius*, were interceſſors to the people for him, and amongeſt them they ſent one
Geminius ſent from Rome to Antonius, to bid him take heede to him ſelfe. *Geminius* vnto *Antonius*, to pray him he would take heede, that through his negligence his
Empire were not taken from him, and that he ſhould be counted an enemie to the people of
Rome. This *Geminius* being arriued in Græce, made *Cleopatra* ielous ſtraight of his cõming:
bicauſe ſhe ſurmiſed that he came not but to ſpeake for *Octauia*. Therefore ſhe ſpared not to C
tawnt him all ſupper tyme, and moreouer to ſpyte him the more, ſhe made him be ſet loweſt
of all at the borde, the which he tooke paciently, expecting occaſion to ſpeake with *Antonius*.
Now *Antonius* commaunding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither: he
aunſwered him, that it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morrow morning faſ-
ting: but dronke or faſting, howſoeuer it were, he was ſure of one thing, that all would not go
well on his ſide, vnles *Cleopatra* were ſent backe into Ægypt. *Antonius* tooke theſe wordes in
very ill part. *Cleopatra* on the other ſide aunſwered him, thou doeſt well *Geminius*, ſayd ſhe, to
tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within fewe dayes after, *Geminius*
ſtale away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers alſo to pleaſe *Cleopatra*, did make her driue many
Many of Antonius friends doe forſake him. other of *Antonius* faithfull ſeruaunts and friends from him, who could not abide the iniuries D
done vnto them: amonge the which theſe two were chiefe, *Marcus Syllanus*, and *Dellius* the
Hiſtoriographer: who wrote that he fled, bicauſe her Phiſitian *Glaucus* tolde him, that *Cleo-
patra* had ſet ſome ſecretly to kill him. Furthermore he had *Cleopatraes* diſpleaſure, bicauſe he
ſayde one night at ſupper, that they made them drinke ſower wine, where *Sarmentus* at
Rome drancke good wine of Falerna. This *Sarmentus* was a pleaſaunt younge boye, ſuch
as the Lordes of Rome are wont to haue about them to make them paſtyme, which they
call their ioyes, and he was *Octauius Cæſars* boye. Nowe, after *Cæſar* had made ſufficient pre-
paration, he proclaymed open warre againſt *Cleopatra*, and made the people to aboliſhe the
Antonius Empire taken from him. power and Empire of *Antonius*, bicauſe he had before giuen it vppe vnto a woman. And
Cæſar ſayde furthermore, that *Antonius* was not Maiſter of him ſelfe, but that *Cleopatra* had E
brought him beſide him ſelfe, by her charmes and amorous poyſons: and that they that
ſhould make warre with them, ſhould be *Mardian* the Euenuke, *Photinus*, and *Iras*, a wo-
man of *Cleopatraes* bedchamber, that friſeled her heare, and dreſſed her head, and *Charmion*, the
Signes and wonders before the ciuill warres betwixt Antonius and Oct. Cæſar. which were thoſe that ruled all the affaires of *Antonius* Empire. Before this warre, as it is re-
ported, many ſignes & wonders fel out. Firſt of all, the citie of Pisavrvm which was made a
colony to Rome, and repleniſhed with people by *Antonius*, ſtanding vpon the ſhore ſide of the
ſea Adriatick, was by a terrible earthquake ſonck into the ground. One of the images of ſtone
which was ſet vp in the honor of *Antonius*, in the citie of Alba, did ſweate many dayes toge-
ther: and though ſome wyped it away, yet it left not ſweating ſtill. In the citie of Patras,
Peſaro, a citie in Italy, ſonck into the ground by an earthquake. whileſt *Antonius* was there, the temple of *Hercules* was burnt with lightning. And at the citie F
of Athens alſo, in a place where the warre of the gyants againſt the goddes is ſet out in i-
magerie: the ſtatue of *Bacchus* with a terrible winde was throwen downe in the Theater.

It

A It was sayd that *Antonius* came of the race of *Hercules*, as you haue heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed *Bacchus*: and therefore he was called the new *Bacchus*. Furthermore, the same blustering storme of wind, ouerthrew the great mõstrous images at ATHENS, that were made in the honor of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the which men had named and intituled, the *Antonians*, and yet they did hurt none of the other images which were many besides. The Admirall galley of *Cleopatra*, was called Antoniade, in the which there chaunced a maruelous ill signe. Swallowes had bred vnder the poope of her shippe, & there came others after them that draue away the first, & plucked downe their neasts. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight: it was found that *Antonius* had no lesse then fiue hundred good ships of warre, among the which there were many gallies that had eight & ten bancks of owers, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meete for fight, as for triumphe: a hundred thowsand footemen, & twelue thowsand horsemen, & had with him to ayde him these kinges and subiects following. *Bocchus* king of LYBIA, *Tarcondemus* king of high CILICIA, *Archelaus* king of CAPPADOCIA, *Philadelphus* king of PAPHLAGONIA, *Mithridates* king of COMAGENA, and *Adallas* king of THRACIA. All the which were there euery man in person. The residue that were absent sent their armies, as *Polemõ* king of PONT, *Manchus* king of ARABIA, *Herodes* king of IVRY: & furthermore, *Amyntas* king of LYCAONIA, & of the GALATIANS: and besides all these, he had all the ayde the king of MEDES sent vnto him. Now for *Cæsar*, he had two hundred and fifty shippes of warre, foure score thowsand footemen, & well neare as many horsemen as his enemy *Antonius*. *Antonius* for his part, had all vnder his dominiõ from ARMENIA, & the riuer of Euphrates, vnto the sea IONIVM & ILLYRICVM. *Octauius Cæsar* had also for his part, all that which was in our HEMISPHÆRE, or halfe part of the world, from ILLYRIA, vnto the Occean sea vpon the west: then all from the Occean, vnto Mare Siculũ: & from AFRICK, all that which is against ITALY, as GAVLE, & SPAYNE. Furthermore, all from the prouince of CYRENIA, vnto ÆTHIOPIA, was subiect vnto *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* was made so subiect to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the stronger by land, yet for *Cleopatraes* sake, he would needes haue this battell tryed by sea: though he sawe before his eyes, that for lacke of water men, his Captaines did presse by force all sortes of men out of GRÆCE that they could take vp in the field, as trauellers, muletters, reapers, haruest men, and younge boyes, and yet could they not sufficiently furnishe his gallies: so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant rowe, bicause they lacked water men enowe. But on the contrary side, *Cæsars* shippes were not built for pompe, highe, and great, onely for a fight and brauery, but they were light of yarage, armed and furnished with water men as many as they needed, and had them all in readines, in the hauens of TARENTVM, and BRVNDVSIVM. So *Octauius Cæsar* sent vnto *Antonius*, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into ITALY: and that for his owne part he would giue him safe harber, to lande without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his armie from the sea, as farre as one horse could runne, vntil he had put his army a shore, & had lodged his men. *Antonius* on the other side brauely sent him word againe, and chalenged the combate of him man to man, though he were the elder: and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of PHARSALIA, as *Iulius Cæsar*, and *Pompey* had done before. Now whilest *Antonius* rode at anker, lying idely in harber at the head of ACTIVM, in the place where the citie of NICOPOLIS standeth at this present: *Cæsar* had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called TORYNE, before *Antonius* vnderstoode that he had taken shippe. Then began his men to be affraid, bicause his army by land was left behind. But *Cleopatra* making light of it: and what daunger, I pray you, said she, if *Cæsar* keepe at * TORYNE? The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of owers in battell against him, *Antonius* was affraid that if they came to ioyne, they would take and cary away his shippes that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his water men, and set them in order of battell vpon the forecastell of their shippes, and then lift vp all his rancks of owers towards the element, as well of the one side, as the other, with the prooes against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of ACTIVM, and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with water men and souldiers. Thus *Octauius Cæsar* beeing finely deceyued by this stratageame, re-

An ill signe, foreshewed by swallowes breding in Cleopatraes shippe

Antonius power against Oct. Cæsar.

Antonius had eyght kings, & their power to ayde him.

The army & power of Octauius Cæsar against Antonius.

Antonius dominions.

Octauius Cæsars dominiõs.

Antonius too much ruled by Cleopatra.

Antonius rode at anker at the head of Actiũ, where the citie of Nicopolis stãdeth.

**The grace of this tawnt can not properly be expressed in any other tongue, bicause of the equiuocation of this word Toryne, which signifieth a*

tyred preſently, and therewithall *Antonius* very wiſely and ſodainely did cut him off from freſh water. For, vnderſtanding that the places where *Octauius Cæſar* landed, had very litle ſtore of water, and yet very bad: he ſhut them in with ſtronge ditches and trenches he caſt, to keepe them from ſalying out at their pleaſure, and ſo to goe ſeeke water further of. Furthermore, he delt very friendely and curteouſly with *Domitius*, and againſt *Cleopatraes* mynde. For, he being ſicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a litle boate to goe to *Cæſars* campe, *Antonius* was very ſory for it, but yet he ſent after him all his caryage, trayne, and men: and the ſame *Domitius*, as though he gaue him to vnderſtand that he repented his open treaſon, he died immediatly after. There were certen kings alſo that forſooke him, and turned on *Cæſars* ſide: as *Amyntas*, and *Deiotarus*. Furthermore, his fleete and nauy that was vnfortunate in all thinges, and vnready for ſeruice, compelled him to chaunge his minde, and to hazard battell by land. And *Canidius* alſo, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow *Antonius* determination: he turned him cleane contrary, and counſelled him to ſend *Cleopatra* backe againe, and him ſelfe to retyre into MACEDON, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that *Dicomes* king of the GETES, promiſed him to ayde him with a great power: and that it ſhould be no ſhame nor diſhonor to him to let *Cæſar* haue the ſea, (bicauſe him ſelfe & his men both had bene well practiſed & exerciſed in battels by ſea, in the warre of SICILIA againſt *Sextus Pompeius*) but rather that he ſhould doe againſt all reaſon, he hauing ſo great skill and experience of battells by land as he had, if he ſhould not employ the force and valliantnes of ſo many luſty armed footemen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by deuiding them into ſhippes. But now, notwithſtanding all theſe good perſwaſions, *Cleopatra* forced him to put all to the hazard of battel by ſea: conſidering with her ſelfe how ſhe might flie, & prouide for her ſafetie, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to flie more eaſily after the battel loſt. Betwixt *Antonius* campe & his fleete of ſhippes, there was a great hie point of firme lande that ranne a good waye into the ſea, the which *Antonius* often vſed for a walke, without miſtruſt of feare or daunger. One of *Cæſars* men perceiued it, & told his Maiſter that he would laugh & they could take vp *Antonius* in the middeſt of his walke. Thereuppon *Cæſar* ſent ſome of his men to lye in ambuſh for him, & they miſſed not much of taking of him: for they tooke him that came before him, bicauſe they diſcouered to ſoone, & ſo *Antonius* ſcaped verie hardly. So when *Antonius* had determined to fight by ſea, he ſet all the other ſhippes a fire, but three ſcore ſhippes of ÆGYPT, & reſerued onely but the beſt & greateſt gallies, from three bancks, vnto tenne bancks of owers. Into them he put two & twenty thowſand fighting men, with two thowſand darters & ſlingers. Now, as he was ſetting his men in order of battel, there was a Captaine, & a valliant man, that had ſerued *Antonius* in many battels & conflicts, & had all his body hacked & cut: who as *Antonius* paſſed by him, cryed out vnto him, & ſayd: O, noble Emperor, how commeth it to paſſe that you truſt to theſe vile brittle ſhippes? what, doe you miſtruſt theſe woundes of myne, and this ſword? let the ÆGYPTIANS & PHÆNICIANS fight by ſea, and ſet vs on the maine land, where we vſe to conquer, or to be ſlayne on our feete. *Antonius* paſſed by him, and ſayd neuer a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand & head, as though he willed him to be of good corage, although in deede he had no great corage him ſelfe. For when the Maſters of the gallies & Pilots would haue let their ſailes alone, he made them clap them on, ſaying to culler the matter withall, that not one of his enemies ſhould ſcape. All that day, & the three dayes following, the ſea roſe ſo high, & was ſo boyſterous, that the battel was put of. The fift day the ſtorme ceaſed, & the ſea calmed againe, & thē they rowed with force of owers in battaile one againſt the other: *Antonius* leading the right wing with *Publicola*, & *Cælius* the left, & *Marcus Octauius*, & *Marcus Iuſtetus* the middeſt. *Octauius Cæſar* on thother ſide, had placed *Agrippa* in the left winge of his armye, and had kept the right winge for him ſelfe. For the armies by lande, *Canidius* was generall of *Antonius* ſide, and *Taurus* of *Cæſars* ſide: who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, vppon the ſea ſide, without ſtirring one agaynſt the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaynes: *Antonius* being in a ſwift pinnaſe, was caried vp and downe by force of owers through his army, & ſpake to his people to encorage them to fight valliantly, as if they were on maine land, bicauſe of the ſteadines & heauines of their ſhips: & commaunded the Pilots & maſters of the gallies,

citie of Albania, and alſo, a ladell to ſcoome the pot with: as if ſhe ment, Cæſar ſat by the fire ſide, ſcomming of the pot.

Domitius forſaketh Antonius, & goeth vnto Octauius Cæſar.

Amyntas, and Deiotarus, do both reuolt from Antonius, and goe vnto Cæſar.

Antonius in daunger of taking at Actium.

Antonius regardeth not the good counſell of his ſouldier.

Battail by ſea at Actium, betwixt Antonius and Cæſar.

A gallies, that they ſhould not ſturre, none otherwiſe then if they were at anker, and ſo to receiue the firſt charge of their enemies, and that they ſhould not goe out of the ſtraight of the gulfe. *Cæſar* betymes in the morning going out of his tent, to ſee his ſhips thorough out: met a man by chaunce that draue an aſſe before him. *Cæſar* asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him, his name was *Eutychus*, to ſay, fortunate: and his aſſes name Nicon, to ſay, Conquerer. Therefore *Cæſar* after he had wonne the battell, ſetting out the market place with the ſpurres of the gallies he had taken, for a ſigne of his victorie: he cauſed alſo the man and his aſſe to be ſet vp in braſſe. When he had viſited the order of his armie thorough out, he tooke a litle pinnaſe, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he ſawe his enemies lye ſtil in the ſtraight, & ſturred not. For, decerning them a farre of, men would haue thought B they had bene ſhippes riding at anker, and a good while he was ſo perſwaded: So he kept his gallies eight furlong from his enemies. About noone there roſe a litle gale of winde from the ſea, and then *Antonius* men waxing angry with tarying ſo long, and truſting to the greatnes and height of their ſhipps, as if they had bene inuincible: they began to march forward with their left wing. *Cæſar* ſeeing that, was a glad man, and began a litle to giue backe from the right wing, to allure them to come further out of the ſtraight & gulfe: to thend that he might with his light ſhippes well manned with water men, turne and enuirone the gallies of the enemies, the which were heauy of yarage, both for their biggenes, as alſo for lacke of watermen to row them. When the skirmiſh began, and that they came to ioyne, there was no great hurt at the firſt meeting, neither did the ſhippes vehemently hit one againſt the other, as they doe com- C monly in fight by ſea. For on the one ſide, *Antonius* ſhippes for their heauines, could not haue the ſtrength and ſwiftnes to make their blowes of any force: and *Cæſars* ſhippes on thother ſide tooke great heede, not to ruſhe & ſhocke with the forecaſtells of *Antonius* ſhippes, whoſe proues were armed with great braſen ſpurres. Furthermore they durſt not flancke them, bicauſe their points were eaſily broken, which way ſoeuer they came to ſet vpon his ſhippes, that were made of great mayne ſquare peeces of tymber, bounde together with great iron pinnes: ſo that the battel was much like to a battel by land, or to ſpeake more properly, to the aſſault of a citie. For there were alwaies three or foure of *Cæſars* ſhippes about one of *Antonius* ſhippes, and the ſouldiers fought with their pykes, halberds, and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. *Antonius* ſhips on the other ſide beſtowed among them, with their crosbowes D and engines of battery, great ſtore of ſhot from their highe towers of wodde, that were apon their ſhippes. Now *Publicola* ſeing *Agrippa* put forth his left wing of *Cæſars* army, to compaſſe in *Antonius* ſhippes that fought: he was driuen alſo to looſe of to haue more roome, & going a litle at one ſide, to put thoſe further of that were affraid, and in the middeſt of the battel. For they were ſore diſtreſſed by *Arruntius*. Howbeit the battell was yet of euen hand, and the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when ſodainely they ſaw the three ſcore ſhippes of *Cleopatra* buſie about their yard maſts, and hoyſing ſaile to flie. So they fled through the mid- *Cleopatra flyeth.* deſt of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great ſhippes, & did marueloully diſorder the other ſhippes. For the enemies them ſelues wondred much to ſee them ſaile in that ſort, with ful ſaile towards PELOPONNESVS. There *Antonius* ſhewed plainely, that E he had not onely loſt the corage and hart of an Emperor, but alſo of a valliant man, & that he was not his owne man: (prouing that true which an old man ſpake in myrth, that the ſoule of *The ſoule of a louer liueth in another body.* a louer liued in another body, and not in his owne) he was ſo caried away with the vaine loue of this woman, as if he had bene glued vnto her, & that ſhe could not haue remoued without mouing of him alſo. For when he ſaw *Cleopatraes* ſhippe vnder ſaile, he forgot, forſooke, & betrayed them that fought for him, & imbarked vpon a galley with fiue bankes of owers, to follow her that had already begon to ouerthrow him, & would in the end be his vtter deſtruction. When ſhe knew this galley a farre of, ſhe lift vp a ſigne in the poope of her ſhippe, and ſo *Antonius* comming to it, was pluckt vp where *Cleopatra* was, howbeit he ſaw her not at his firſt comming, nor ſhe him, but went and ſate down alone in the prowe of his ſhippe, and ſaid ne- F uer a word, clapping his head betwene both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light brigantynes of *Cæſars* that followed him hard. So *Antonius* ſtraight turned the prowe of his ſhippe, and preſently put the reſt to flight, ſauing one *Eurycles* LACEDÆMONIAN, that follow-

A lucky ſigne vnto Octauius Cæſar. Eutychus Nicon, fortunate Conqueror.

ed him neare,and preſt vpon him with great corage,ſhaking a dart in his hand ouer the prow, A
as though he would haue throwen it vnto *Antonius*. *Antonius* ſeing him,came to the fore caſtell of his ſhip,& asked him what he was that durſt follow *Antonius* ſo neare? I am,aunſwered he,*Eurycles* the ſonne of *Lachares*,who through *Cæſars* good fortune ſeketh to reuenge the death of my father. This *Lachares* was condemned of fellonie, and beheaded by *Antonius*. But yet *Eurycles* durſt not venter on *Antonius* ſhippe, but ſet vpon the other Admirall galley (for there were two) and fell with him with ſuch a blowe of his braſen ſpurre,that was ſo heauy and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with very rich ſtuffe and cariage. After *Eurycles* had left *Antonius*, he returned againe to his place,and ſate downe,ſpeaking neuer a word as he did before: and ſo liued three dayes alone, without ſpeaking to any man. But when he arriued at the head of Tænarus, there *Cleopatraes* women B
firſt brought *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* to ſpeake together, and afterwards,to ſuppe and lye together. Then beganne there agayne a great number of Marchaunts ſhippes to gather about them,and ſome of their friends that had eſcaped from this ouerthrow: who brought newes, that his army by ſea was ouerthrowen,but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Thē *Antonius* ſent vnto *Canidius*,to returne with his army into Asia,by Macedon. Now for him ſelf, he determined to croſſe ouer into Africk,& toke one of his carects or hulks loden
Antonius lyceuceth his friends to depart,and gineth them a ſhippe loden with gold and ſiluer. with gold and ſiluer,and other rich cariage,and gaue it vnto his friends: commaunding them to depart,and to ſeeke to ſaue them ſelues. They aunſwered him weeping, that they would nether doe it,nor yet forſake him. Then *Antonius* very curteouſly and louingly did comfort them,and prayed them to depart: and wrote vnto *Theophilus* gouernor of Corinthe, that C
he would ſee them ſafe,and helpe to hide them in ſome ſecret place,vntil they had made their way and peace with *Cæſar*. This *Theophilus* was the father of *Hipparchus*,who was had in great eſtimation about *Antonius*. He was the firſt of all his infranchiſed bondmen that reuolted from him,and yelded vnto *Cæſar*,and afterwardes went and dwelt at Corinthe. And thus it ſtoode with *Antonius*. Now for his armie by ſea, that fought before the head or foreland of Activm: they helde out a longe tyme, and nothing troubled them more then a great boyſterous wind that roſe full in the prooes of their ſhippes, and yet with much a doe, his nauy
Antonius nauy ouerthrowen by Cæſar. was at length ouerthrowen,fiue howers within night. There were not ſlaine aboue fiue thowſand men: but yet there were three hundred ſhippes taken, as *Octauius Cæſar* writeth him ſelfe in his commentaries. Many plainely ſawe *Antonius* flie, and yet could hardly beleeue D
it,that he that had nyneteene legions whole by lande, and twelue thowſand horſemen vpon the ſea ſide, would ſo haue forſaken them, and haue fled ſo cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proued both the one and the other fortune,& that he had not bene throughly acquainted with the diuers chaunges and fortunes of battells. And yet his ſouldiers ſtill wiſhed for him,and euer hoped that he would come by ſome meanes or other vnto them. Furthermore, they ſhewed them ſelues ſo valliant and faithfull vnto him,that after they certainly knewe he was fled,they kept them ſelues whole together ſeuen daies. In the ende *Canidius*, *Antonius* Lieuetenant,flying by night,and forſaking his campe: when they ſaw them ſelues thus deſti-
Antonius legions doe yeld them ſelues vnto Octauius Cæſar. tute of their heads and leaders,they yelded themſelues vnto the ſtronger. This done,*Cæſar* ſailed towards Athens,and there made peace with the Græcians,and deuided the reſt of the E
corne that was taken vp for *Antonius* army,vnto the townes and cities of Græce,the which had bene brought to extreme miſery & pouerty,cleane without money,ſlaues,horſe,& other beaſtes of cariage. So that my grandfather *Nicarchus* tolde,that all the Citizens of our citie of Chæronea,(not one excepted)were driuen them ſelues to cary a certaine meaſure of corne on their ſhoulders to the ſea ſide,that lieth directly ouer againſt the Ile of Anticyra,& yet were they driuen thether with whippes. They caried it thus but once: for,the ſecond tyme that they were charged againe to make the like cariage,all the corne being ready to be caried, newes came that *Antonius* had loſt the battel,& ſo ſcaped our poore city. For *Antonius* ſouldiers & deputies fled immediatly,& the citizens deuided the corne amongſt them. *Antonius* being arriued in Libya,he ſent *Cleopatra* before into Ægypt from the citie of Parætonivm:& F
he him ſelfe remained very ſolitary,hauing onely two of his friends with him,with whom he wandred vp & down,both of them orators,the one *Ariſtocrates* a Græcian,& the other *Lucilius*

A *cilius* a ROMANE. Of whom we haue written in an other place, that at the battell where *Brutus* was ouerthrowen, by the citie of PHILIPPES, he came & willingly put him self into the hands of those that followed *Brutus*, saying that it was he: bicause *Brutus* in the meane time might haue liberty to saue him selfe. And afterwards bicause *Antonius* saued his life, he still remained with him: and was very faithfull and frendly vnto him till his death. But when *Antonius* heard, that he whom he had trusted with the gouernment of LIBYA, and vnto whom he had geuen the charge of his armie there, had yelded vnto *Cæsar*: he was so madde withall, that he would haue slaine him selfe for anger, had not his frendes about him withstoode him, and kept him from it. So he went vnto ALEXANDRIA, and there found *Cleopatra* about a wonderfull enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the redde sea, and the sea betwene the landes that poynt B vpon the coast of ÆGYPT, there is a litle peece of land that deuideth both the seas, and separateth AFRICKE from ASIA: the which straight is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not aboue three hundred furlonges ouer. *Cleopatra* went about to lift her shippes out of the one sea, and to hale them ouer the straight into the other sea: that when her shippes were come into this goulfe of ARABIA, she might then carie all her gold & siluer away, and so with a great companie of men goe and dwell in some place about the Ocean sea farre from the sea Mediterranium, to scape the daunger and bondage of this warre. But now, bicause the ARABIANS dwelling about the citie of PETRA, did burne the first shippes that were brought alande, and that *Antonius* thought that his armie by lande, which he left at ACTIVM was yet whole: she left of her enterprise, and determined to keepe all the portes and C passages of her realme. *Antonius*, he forsooke the citie and companie of his frendes, and built him a house in the sea, by the Ile of PHAROS, vpon certaine forced mountes which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished him selfe from all mens companie: saying that he would lead *Timons* life, bicause he had the like wrong offered him, that was afore offered vnto *Timon:* and that for the vnthankefulnes of those he had done good vnto, and whom he tooke to be his frendes, he was angry with all men, and would trust no man. This *Timon* was a citizen of ATHENS, that liued about the warre of PELOPONNESVS, as appeareth by *Plato*, and *Aristophanes* commedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a vyper, & malicious man vnto mankind, to shunne all other mens companies, but the companie of young *Alcibiades*, a bolde and insolent youth, whom he woulde greatly feast, and make D much of, and kissed him very gladly. *Apemantus* wondering at it, asked him the cause what he ment to make so muche of that young man alone, and to hate all others: *Timon* aunswered him, I do it sayd he, bicause I know that one day he shall do great mischiefe vnto the ATHENIANS. This *Timon* sometimes would haue *Apemantus* in his companie, bicause he was much like to his nature & condicions, and also followed him in maner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feasts called Choæ at ATHENS, (to wit, the feasts of the dead, where they make sprincklings and sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by them selues, *Apemantus* said vnto the other: O, here is a trimme banket *Timon*. *Timon* aunswered againe, yea said he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this *Timon* on a time (the people being assembled in the market place about dispatch of some affaires) got vp E into the pulpit for Orations, where the Orators commonly vse to speake vnto the people: & silence being made, euerie man listning to heare what he would say, bicause it was a wonder to see him in that place: at length he began to speake in this maner. My Lordes of ATHENS, I haue a litle yard in my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens haue hāged them selues: & bicause I meane to make some building vpon the place, I thought good to let you all vnderstand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time goe hang your selues. He dyed in the citie of HALES, and was buried vpon the sea side. Nowe it chaunced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tombe rounde about, that no man coulde come to it: and vpon the same was wrytten this epitaphe.

Lucillus spoken of in Brutus life.

The fidelitie of Lucilius vnto Antonius.

The wonderful attempt of Cleopatra.

Antonius followeth the life and example of Timō Misanthropus the Athenian.

Plato, & Aristophanes testimony of Timon Misanthropus, what he was.

F *Heere lyes a vvretched torse, of vvretched soule bereft,*
Seeke not my name: a plague consume you vvicked vvretches left.

The epitaphe of Timon Misanthropus.

It is reported, that *Timon* him selfe when he liued made this epitaphe: for that which is

commonly rehearſed was not his, but made by the Poet *Callimachus*.

Heere lye I Timon vvho aliue all liuing men did hate,
Paſſe by, and curſe thy fill: but paſſe, and ſtay not here thy gate.

Many other things could we tell you of this *Timon*, but this litle ſhall ſuffice at this preſent. But now to returne to *Antonius* againe. *Canidius* him ſelfe came to bring him newes, that he had loſt all his armie by land at ACTIVM. On thother ſide he was aduertiſed alſo, that *Herodes* king of IVRIE, who had alſo certeine legions and bandes with him, was reuolted vnto *Cæſar*, and all the other kings in like maner: ſo that, ſauing thoſe that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithſtanding did nothing trouble him, and it ſeemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and ſo to be ridde of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his ſolitarie houſe he had built in the ſea which he called Timoneon, and *Cleopatra* receiued him into her royall pallace. He was no ſooner comen thither, but he ſtraight ſet all the city of rioting and banketing againe, and him ſelfe, to liberalitie and giftes. He cauſed the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſar* and *Cleopatra*, to be enrolled (according to the maner of the ROMANES) amongeſt the number of young men: & gaue *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſonne he had by *Fuluia*, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne, without gard or imbroderie of purple. For theſe things, there was kept great feaſting, banketing, and dauncing in ALEXANDRIA many dayes together. In deede they did breake their firſt order they had ſet downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to ſay, no life comparable) & did ſet vp an other which they called Synapothanumenon (ſignifying the order and agreement of thoſe that will dye together) the which in exceeding ſumptuouſnes and coſt was not inferior to the firſt. For their frendes made them ſelues to be inrolled in this order of thoſe that would dye together, and ſo made great feaſtes one to an other: for euerie man when it came to his turne, feaſted their whole companie and fraternitie. *Cleopatra* in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all ſorts of poyſons together to deſtroy men. Now to make proofe of thoſe poyſons which made men dye with leaſt paine, ſhe tried it vpon condemned men in priſon. For when ſhe ſaw the poyſons that were ſodaine and vehement, and brought ſpeedy death with grieuous torments: & in contrary maner, that ſuche as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke ſpeede and force to make one dye ſodainly: ſhe afterwardes went about to proue the ſtinging of ſnakes and adders, and made ſome to be applied vnto men in her ſight, ſome in one ſorte, and ſome in an other. So when ſhe had dayly made diuers and ſundrie proofes, ſhe found none of all them ſhe had proued ſo fit, as the biting of an Aſpicke, the which only cauſeth a heauines of the head, without ſwounding or complaining, and bringeth a great deſire alſo to ſleepe, with a litle ſwet in the face, and ſo by litle and litle taketh away the ſences and vitall powers, no liuing creature perceiuing that the pacientes feele any paine. For they are ſo ſorie when any bodie waketh them, and taketh them vp: as thoſe that being taken out of a ſound ſleepe, are very heauy and deſirous to ſleepe. This notwithſtanding, they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Octauius Cæſar* in ASIA, *Cleopatra* requeſting the realme of ÆGYPT for her children, and *Antonius* praying that he might be ſuffered to liue at ATHENS like a priuate man, if *Cæſar* would not let him remaine in ÆGYPT. And bicauſe they had no other men of eſtimacion about them, for that ſome were fledde, and thoſe that remained, they did not greatly truſt them: they were inforced to ſende *Euphronius* the ſchoolemaiſter of their children. For *Alexas* LAODICIAN, who was brought into *Antonius* houſe and fauor by meanes of *Timagenes*, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other GREGIAN: (for that he had alway bene one of *Cleopatraes* miniſters to win *Antonius*, and to ouerthrow all his good determinations to vſe his wife *Octauia* well) him *Antonius* had ſent vnto *Herodes* king of IVRIE, hoping ſtill to keepe him his frend, that he ſhould not reuolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed *Antonius*. For where he ſhould haue kept *Herodes* from reuolting from him, he perſwaded him to turne to *Cæſar*: & truſting king *Herodes*, he preſumed to come in *Cæſars* preſence. Howbeit *Herodes* did him no pleaſure: for he was preſently taken priſoner, and ſent in chaines to his owne contrie, & there by *Cæſars* commaundement put to death. Thus was *Alexas* in *Antonius* life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, *Cæſar* would not graunt vnto *Antonius* requeſts: but for *Cleopatra*, he made her aunſwere, that he woulde deny her nothing reaſonable, ſo that ſhe would either put *Antonius*

Antonius rioting in Alexandria after his great loſſe & ouerthrow.
Toga virilis.
Antillus, the eldeſt ſonne of Antonius by his wife Fuluia.
An order erected by Antonius, and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumenon, reuoking the former called Amimetobion.
Cleopatra verie buſie in prouing the force of poyſon.
The property of the biting of an Aſpick.
Antonius and Cleopatra ſend Ambaſſadors vnto Octauius Cæſar.
Alexas treaſon iuſtly puniſhed.

to

A to death, or driue him out of her contrie. Therewithall he ſent *Thyreus* one of his men vnto her, a verie wiſe and diſcreete man, who bringing letters of credit from a young Lorde vnto a noble Ladie, and that beſides greatly liked her beawtie, might eaſely by his eloquence haue perſwaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man elſe was, and the Queene her ſelfe alſo did him great honor: inſomuch as he made *Antonius* gealous of him. Whereupon *Antonius* cauſed him to be taken and well fauoredly whipped, and ſo ſent him vnto *Cæſar*: and bad him tell him that he made him angrie with him, bicauſe he ſhewed him ſelfe prowde and diſdainfull towards him, and now ſpecially when he was eaſie to be angered, by reaſon of his preſent miſerie. To be ſhort, if this miſlike thee ſaid he, thou haſt *Hipparchus* one of my infranchiſed bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleaſure, that we may
B crie quittaunce. From thenceforth, *Cleopatra* to cleere her ſelfe of the ſuſpicion he had of her, ſhe made more of him then euer ſhe did. For firſt of all, where ſhe did ſolemniſe the day of her birth very meanely and ſparingly, fit for her preſent misfortune: ſhe now in contrary maner did keepe it with ſuch ſolemnitie, that ſhe exceeded all meaſure of ſumptuouſnes and magnificence: ſo that the gheſts that were bidden to the feaſts, and came poore, went away rich. Nowe things paſſing thus, *Agrippa* by diuers letters ſent one after an other vnto *Cæſar*, prayed him to returne to Rome, bicauſe the affaires there did of neceſſity require his perſon and preſence. Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned againe through Syria by the coaſt of Africke, to make warres againſt *Antonius*, and his other Captaines. When the citie of Pelvsivm was taken, there ran a ru-
C mor in the citie, that *Seleucus*, by *Cleopatraes* conſent, had ſurrendered the ſame. But to cleere her ſelfe that ſhe did not, *Cleopatra* brought *Seleucus* wife and children vnto *Antonius*, to be reuenged of them at his pleaſure. Furthermore, *Cleopatra* had long before made many ſumptuous tombes and monumentes, as well for excellencie of workemanſhippe, as for height and greatnes of building, ioyning hard to the temple of *Iſis*. Thither ſhe cauſed to be brought all the treaſure & pretious things ſhe had of the auncient kings her predeceſſors: as gold, ſiluer, emerods, pearles, ebbanie, iuorie, and ſinnamon, and beſides all that, a maruelous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So *Octauius Cæſar* being affrayed to looſe ſuche a treaſure and maſſe of riches, and that this woman for ſpight would ſet it a fire, and burne it euery whit: he alwayes ſent ſome one or other vnto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whileſt he in
D the meane time drewe neere the citie with his armie. So *Cæſar* came, and pitched his campe hard by the city, in the place where they runne and manage their horſes. *Antonius* made a ſaly vpon him, and fought verie valliantly, ſo that he draue *Cæſars* horſemen backe, fighting with his men euen into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boaſting of this victorie, and ſweetely kiſſed *Cleopatra*, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes vnto her, that had valliantly fought in this skirmiſh. *Cleopatra* to reward his manlines, gaue him an armor and head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the man at armes when he had receiued this rich gift, ſtale away by night, and went to *Cæſar*. *Antonius* ſent againe to chalenge *Cæſar*, to fight with him hande to hande. *Cæſar* aunſwered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then ſo. Then *Antonius* ſeeing there was no way more
E honorable for him to dye, then fighting valliantly: he determined to ſette vp his reſt, both by ſea and lande. So being at ſupper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and houſehold ſeruauntes that waited on him at his bord, that they ſhould fill his cuppes full, and make as muche of him as they could: for ſaid he, you know not whether you ſhall doe ſo much for me to morrow or not, or whether you ſhall ſerue an other maiſter: and it may be you ſhall ſee me no more, but a dead bodie. This notwithſtanding, perceiuing that his frends and men fell a weeping to heare him ſay ſo: to ſalue that he had ſpoken, he added this more vnto it, that he would not leade them to battell, where he thought not rather ſafely to returne with victorie, then valliantly to dye with honor. Furthermore, the ſelfe ſame night within litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare, and ſorrowe, thinking what would be the iſſue and
F ende of this warre: it is ſaid that ſodainly they heard a maruelous ſweete harmonie of ſundrie ſortes of inſtrumentes of muſicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had ſong as they vſe in *Bacchus* feaſtes, with mouinges and turninges after the

Peluſium was yeelded vp to Octauius Cæſar.

Cleopatraes monumentes ſet vp by the temple of Iſis.

Straunge noiſes heard, and nothing ſeene.

maner of the Satyres: & it ſeemed that this daunce went through the city vnto the gate that A
opened to the enemies,& that all the troupe that made this noiſe they heard,went out of the
city at that gate. Now,ſuch as in reaſon ſought the depth of the interpretacion of this wōder,
thought that it was the god vnto whom *Antonius* bare ſingular deuotion to counterfeate and
reſemble him,that did forſake them. The next morning by breake of day,he went to ſet thoſe
few footemen he had in order vpon the hills adioyning vnto the citie: and there he ſtoode to
behold his gallies which departed from the hauen, and rowed againſt the gallies of his ene-
mies, and ſo ſtoode ſtill, looking what exployte his ſouldiers in them would do. But when by
force of rowing they were come neere vnto them, they firſt ſaluted *Cæſars* men: and then *Cæ-*
Antonius na- *ſars* men reſaluted them alſo, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row
uie doe yeeld toward the citie. When *Antonius* ſawe that his men did forſake him, and yeelded vnto *Cæſar*, B
them ſelues and that his footemen were broken and ouerthrowen: he then fled into the citie, crying out
vnto Cæſar. that *Cleopatra* had betrayed him vnto them, with whom he had made warre for her ſake. Then
Antonius o- ſhe being affraied of his fury,fled into the tombe which ſhe had cauſed to be made,and there
uerthrowen locked the dores vnto her, and ſhut all the ſpringes of the lockes with great boltes, and in the
by Octauius meane time ſent vnto *Antonius* to tell him that ſhe was dead. *Antonius* beleuing it, ſaid vnto
Cæſar. him ſelfe: what doeſt thou looke for further, *Antonius*, ſith ſpitefull fortune hath taken from
Cleopatra thee the only ioy thou haddeſt,for whom thou yet reſeruedſt thy life? when he had ſayd theſe
flieth into her words,he went into a chamber & vnarmed him ſelfe,and being naked ſaid thus:O *Cleopatra*,it
tombe or mo- grieueth me not that I haue loſt thy companie,for I will not be long from thee: but I am ſory,
nument. that hauing bene ſo great a Captaine and Emperour, I am in deede condemned to be iudged C
of leſſe corage and noble minde, then a woman. Now he had a man of his called *Eros*,whom
he loued and truſted much,and whom he had long before cauſed to ſweare vnto him, that he
ſhould kill him when he did commaunde him: and then he willed him to keepe his promiſe.
Eros Anto- His man drawing his ſworde, lift it vp as though he had ment to haue ſtriken his maiſter: but
nius ſeruant, turning his head at one ſide,he thruſt his ſword into him ſelfe,and fell downe dead at his mai-
ſlue him ſelfe. ſters foote. Then ſaid *Antonius*, O noble *Eros*, I thanke thee for this,and it is valliantly done of
thee, to ſhew me what I ſhould doe to my ſelfe, which thou couldeſt not doe for me. There-
Antonius did withall he tooke his ſword, and thruſt it into his bellie, and ſo fell downe vpon a litle bed. The
thruſt his wounde he had killed him not preſently, for the blood ſtinted a litle when he was layed: and
ſword into when he came ſomwhat to him ſelfe againe, he praied them that were about him to diſpatch D
him ſelfe, him. But they all fled out of the chamber,and left him crying out & tormenting him ſelfe: vn-
but died not till at laſt there came a ſecretarie vnto him called *Diomedes*, who was commaunded to bring
preſently. him into the tombe or monument where *Cleopatra* was. When he heard that ſhe was aliue,he
Antonius ca- verie earneſtlie prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and ſo he was caried in his mens
ried vnto armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithſtāding, *Cleopatra* would not open the gates,
Cleopatraes but came to the high windowes, and caſt out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which *Anto-*
tombe. *nius* was truſſed: and *Cleopatra* her owne ſelfe, with two women only, which ſhe had ſuffered
A lamentable to come with her into theſe monumentes, triſed *Antonius* vp. They that were preſent to be-
ſight to ſee hold it, ſaid they neuer ſaw ſo pitiefull a ſight. For, they plucked vp poore *Antonius* all bloody
Antonius and as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding vp his hands to *Cleopatra*, raiſed E
Cleopatra. vp him ſelfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for theſe women to do, to lift him vp: but
Cleopatra ſtowping downe with her head, putting to all her ſtrength to her vttermoſt power,
did lift him vp with much a doe, and neuer let goe her hold, with the helpe of the women be-
neath that bad her be of good corage, and were as ſorie to ſee her labor ſo, as ſhe her ſelfe. So
when ſhe had gotten him in after that ſorte, and layed him on a bed: ſhe rent her garments v-
pon him, clapping her breſt, and ſcratching her face & ſtomake. Then ſhe dried vp his blood
that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting
her owne miſerie and calamity,for the pitie and compaſſion ſhe tooke of him. *Antonius* made
her ceaſſe her lamenting, and called for wine, either bicauſe he was a thirſt, or elſe for that he
thought thereby to haſten his death. When he had dronke, he earneſtly prayed her, and per- F
ſwaded her, that ſhe would ſeeke to ſaue her life, if ſhe could poſſible, without reproache and
diſhonor: and that chiefly ſhe ſhould truſt *Proculeius* aboue any man elſe about *Cæſar*. And as

for

A for him ſelfe, that ſhe ſhould not lament nor ſorowe for the miſerable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that ſhe ſhould thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes & honors he had receiued, conſidering that while he liued he was the nobleſt and greateſt Prince of the world, & that now he was ouercome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a ROMANE by an other ROMANE. As *Antonius* gaue the laſt gaſpe, *Proculeius* came that was ſent from *Cæſar*. For after *Antonius* had thruſt his ſworde in him ſelfe, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of *Cleopatra*, one of his gard called *Dercetæus*, tooke his ſword with the which he had ſtriken him ſelfe, and hidde it: then he ſecretly ſtale away, and brought *Octauius Cæſar* the firſt newes of his death, & ſhewed him his ſword that was bloodied. *Cæſar* hearing theſe newes, ſtraight withdrewe him ſelfe into a ſecret place of his tent, and there burſt

B out with teares, lamenting his hard and miſerable fortune, that had bene his frende and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in ſundry great exploytes and battells. Then he called for all his frendes, and ſhewed them the letters *Antonius* had written to him, and his aunſweres alſo ſent him againe, during their quarrell and ſtrife: & how fiercely and prowdly the other anſwered him, to all iuſt and reaſonable matters he wrote vnto him. After this, he ſent *Proculeius*, and commaunded him to doe what he could poſſible to get *Cleopatra* aliue, fearing leaſt otherwiſe all the treaſure would be loſt: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*, and bring her aliue to ROME, ſhe would maruelouſly beawtifie and ſette out his triumphe. But *Cleopatra* would neuer put her ſelfe into *Proculeius* handes, al-

C though they ſpake together. For *Proculeius* came to the gates that were very thicke & ſtrong, and ſurely barred, but yet there were ſome cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and ſo they without vnderſtoode, that *Cleopatra* demaunded the kingdome of ÆGYPT for her ſonnes: and that *Proculeius* aunſwered her, that ſhe ſhould be of good cheere, and not be affrayed to referre all vnto *Cæſar*. After he had viewed the place verie well, he came and reported her aunſwere vnto *Cæſar*. Who immediatly ſent *Gallus* to ſpeake once againe with her, and bad him purpoſely hold her with talke, whileſt *Proculeius* did ſet vp a ladder againſt that high windowe, by the which *Antonius* was triſed vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* ſtoode to heare what *Gallus* ſayd vnto her. One of her women which was ſhut in her monumẽts with her, ſaw *Proculeius* by chaunce as he came downe, and ſhreeked out: O, poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when ſhe ſawe

D *Proculeius* behind her as ſhe came from the gate, ſhe thought to haue ſtabbed her ſelfe in with a ſhort dagger ſhe ware of purpoſe by her ſide. But *Proculeius* came ſodainly vpon her, and taking her by both the hands, ſaid vnto her. *Cleopatra*, firſt thou ſhalt doe thy ſelfe great wrong, and ſecondly vnto *Cæſar*: to depriue him of the occaſion and oportunitie, openly to ſhew his bountie and mercie, and to geue his enemies cauſe to accuſe the moſt curteous and noble Prince that euer was, and to appeache him, as though he were a cruell and mercieleſſe man, that were not to be truſted. So euen as he ſpake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and ſhooke her clothes for feare of any poyſon hidden about her. Afterwardes *Cæſar* ſent one of his infranchiſed men called *Epaphroditus*, whom he ſtraightly charged to looke well vnto her, and to beware in any caſe that ſhe made not her ſelfe away: and for the reſt, to vſe her with all

E the curteſie poſſible. And for him ſelfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of ALEXANDRIA, and as he went, talked with the Philoſopher *Arrius*, and helde him by the hande, to the end that his contrie men ſhould reuerence him the more, bicauſe they ſaw *Cæſar* ſo highly eſteeme and honor him. Then he went into the ſhow place of exerciſes, and ſo vp to his chaire of ſtate which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commaundement, all the people of ALEXANDRIA were aſſembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craued mercie. *Cæſar* bad them all ſtande vp, and told them openly that he forgaue the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed againſt him in this warre. Firſt, for the founders ſake of the ſame citie, which was *Alexander* the great: ſecondly, for the beawtie of the citie, which he muche eſteemed and wondred

F at: thirdly, for the loue he bare vnto his verie frend *Arrius*. Thus did *Cæſar* honor *Arrius*, who craued pardon for him ſelfe and many others, & ſpecially for *Philoſtratus*, the eloquenteſt man of all the ſophiſters and Orators of his time, for preſent and ſodaine ſpeech: howbeit he falſly

The death of Antonius.

Octauius Cæſar lamenteth Antonius death.

Proculeius ſent by Octauius Cæſar to bring Cleopatra aliue.

Cleopatra taken.

Cæſar tooke the citie of Alexandria.

Cæſar greatly honored Arrius the Philoſopher.

Philoſtratus, the eloquenteſt Orator in

his time, for presens speech vpon a sodaine.

named him selfe an Academicke Philosopher. Therefore, *Cæsar* that hated his nature & con- A
dicions, would not heare his sute. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed *Arrius* steppe by steppe in a long mourning gowne, still bussing in his eares this Greeke verse:

A vvise man it that he be vvise in deede,
May by a vvise man haue the better speede.

Cæsar vnderstanding this, not for the desire he had to deliuer *Philostratus* of his feare, as to ridde *Arrius* of malice & enuy that might haue fallen out against him: he pardoned him. Now touching *Antonius* sonnes, *Antyllus*, his eldest sonne by *Fuluia* was slaine, bicause his schoolemaister *Theodorus* did betray him vnto the souldiers, who strake of his head. And the villaine tooke a pretious stone of great value from his necke, the which he did sowe in his girdell, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was founde about him, and so *Cæsar* trussed him vp for B
it. For *Cleopatraes* children, they were verie honorablie kept, with their gouernors and traine that waited on them. But for *Cæsarion*, who was sayd to be *Iulius Cæsars* sonne: his mother *Cleopatra* had sent him vnto the INDIANS through ÆTHIOPIA, with a great summe of money. But one of his gouernors also called *Rhodon*, euen such an other as *Theodorus*, perswaded him to returne into his contrie, & told him that *Cæsar* sent for him to geue him his mothers kingdom. So, as *Cæsar* was determining with him selfe what he should doe, *Arrius* sayd vnto him.

Antyllus, Antonius eldest sonne by Fuluia, slaine.

The saying of Arrius the Philosopher.

Too Many Cæsars is not good.

Alluding vnto a certaine verse of *Homer* that sayth:

Too Many Lords doth not vvell.

Cæsarion Cleopatraes sonne, put to death.

Therefore *Cæsar* did put *Cæsarion* to death, after the death of his mother *Cleopatra*. Many C
Princes, great kings and Captaines did craue *Antonius* body of *Octauius Cæsar*, to giue him honorable burial: but *Cæsar* would neuer take it from *Cleopatra*, who did sumptuously and royally burie him with her owne handes, whom *Cæsar* suffred to take as much as she would to bestow vpon his funeralls. Now was she altogether ouercome with sorow & passion of minde, for she had knocked her brest so pitiefully, that she had martired it, and in diuers places had raised vlsers and inflamacions, so that she fell into a feuer withal: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to haue good colour to absteine from meate, and that so she might haue dyed easely without any trouble. She had a Phisition called *Olympus*, whom she made priuie of her intent, to thend he shoulde helpe her to ridde her out of her life: as *Olympus* wryteth him selfe, who wrote a booke of all these thinges. But *Cæsar* mistrusted the matter, by many coniectures he D
had, and therefore did put her in feare, & threatned her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, *Cleopatra* for feare yelded straight, as she would haue yelded vnto strokes: and afterwards suffred her selfe to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, *Cæsar* came him selfe in person to see her, and to comfort her. *Cleopatra* being layed vpon a litle low bed in poore estate, when she sawe *Cæsar* come into her chamber, she sodainly rose vp, naked in her smocke, and fell downe at his feete maruelously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her heare from her head, as also for that she had martired all her face with her nailes, and besides, her voyce was small and trembling, her eyes sonke into her heade with continuall blubbering and moreouer, they might see the most parte of her stomake torne in sunder. To be short, her bodie was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelynes, and the force E
of her beawtie was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ougly and pitiefull state of hers, yet she showed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When *Cæsar* had made her lye downe againe, and sate by her beddes side: *Cleopatra* began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of *Antonius*. *Cæsar*, in contrarie maner, reproued her in euery poynt. Then she sodainly altered her speache, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affrayed to dye, & desirous to liue. At length, she gaue him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money & treasure she had. But by chaunce there stoode *Seleucus* by, one of her Treasorers, who to seeme a good seruant, came straight to *Cæsar* to disproue *Cleopatra*, that she had not set in al, but kept many things back of purpose. *Cleopatra* was in such a rage with him, that she flew vpon him, and tooke him by the heare of the head, F
and boxed him wellfauoredly. *Cæsar* fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, said she, O *Cæsar*: is not this a great shame and reproche, that thou hauing vouchesaued to take the peines

Cæsar came to see Cleopatra.

Cleopatra, a martired creature, through her owne passion and fury.

Seleucus, one of Cleopatraes Treasorers.

Cleopatra bet her treasorer before Octauius Cæsar.

Cleopatraes words vnto Cæsar.

Olympus Cleopatraes Phisition.

to

A to come vnto me, and haſt done me this honor, poore wretche, and caitife creature, brought into this pitiefull & miſerable eſtate: and that mine owne ſeruaunts ſhould come now to accuſe me, though it may be I haue reſerued ſome iuells & trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore ſoule) to ſet out my ſelfe withall, but meaning to geue ſome pretie preſents & gifts vnto *Octauia* and *Liuia*, that they making meanes & interceſſion for me to thee, thou mighteſt yet extend thy fauor and mercie vpon me? *Cæſar* was glad to heare her ſay ſo, perſwading him ſelfe thereby that ſhe had yet a deſire to ſaue her life. So he made her anſwere, that he did not only geue her that to diſpoſe of at her pleaſure, which ſhe had kept backe, but further promiſed to vſe her more honorably and bountifully then ſhe would thinke for: and ſo he tooke his leaue of her, ſuppoſing he had deceiued her, but in deede he was deceiued him ſelfe. There
B was a young gentleman *Cornelius Dolabella*, that was one of *Cæſars* very great familiars, & beſides did beare no euil will vnto *Cleopatra*. He ſent her word ſecretly as ſhe had requeſted him, that *Cæſar* determined to take his iorney through SYRIA, & that within three dayes he would ſende her away before with her children. When this was tolde *Cleopatra*, ſhe requeſted *Cæſar* that it would pleaſe him to ſuffer her to offer the laſt oblations of the dead, vnto the ſoule of *Antonius*. This being graunted her, ſhe was caried to the place where his tombe was, & there falling downe on her knees, imbracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheekes, ſhe began to ſpeake in this ſorte: O my deare Lord *Antonius*, not long ſithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer vnto thee the funerall ſprinklinges and oblations, being a captiue and priſoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing & mur-
C dering this captiue body of mine with blowes, which they carefully gard and keepe, onely to triumphe of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other honors, offeringes, nor ſacrifices from me, for theſe are the laſt which *Cleopatra* can geue thee, ſith nowe they carie her away. Whileſt we liued together, nothing could ſeuer our companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will make vs chaunge our contries. For as thou being a ROMANE, haſt bene buried in ÆGYPT: euen ſo wretched creature I, an ÆGYPTIAN, ſhall be buried in ITALIE, which ſhall be all the good that I haue receiued by thy contrie. If therefore the gods where thou art now haue any power and authoritie, ſith our gods here haue forſaken vs: ſuffer not thy true frend and louer to be caried away aliue, that in me, they triumphe of thee: but receiue me with thee, and let me be buried in one ſelfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miſeries be in-
D finite, yet none hath grieued me more, nor that I could leſſe beare withall: then this ſmall time, which I haue bene driuē to liue alone without thee. Then hauing ended theſe doleful plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and ſundry noſegayes, and maruelous louingly imbraced the ſame: ſhe commaunded they ſhould prepare her bath, and when ſhe had bathed and waſhed her ſelfe, ſhe fell to her meate, and was ſumptuouſly ſerued. Nowe whileſt ſhe was at dinner, there came a contrieman, and brought her a basket. The ſouldiers that warded at the gates, asked him ſtraight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out the leaues that couered the figges, and ſhewed them that they were figges he brought. They all of them maruelled to ſee ſo goodly figges. The contrieman laughed to heare them, and bad them take ſome if they would. They beleued he told them truely, and ſo bad him carie them
E in. After *Cleopatra* had dined, ſhe ſent a certaine table written and ſealed vnto *Cæſar*, and commaunded them all to go out of the tombes where ſhe was, but the two women, then ſhe ſhut the dores to her. *Cæſar* when he receiued this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requeſting him that he would let her be buried with *Antonius*, founde ſtraight what the ment, and thought to haue gone thither him ſelfe: howbeit he ſent one before in all haſt that might be, to ſee what it was. Her death was very ſodaine. For thoſe whom *Cæſar* ſent vnto her ran thither in all haſt poſſible, & found the ſouldiers ſtanding at the gate, miſtruſting nothing, nor vnderſtanding of her death. But when they had opened the dores, they founde *Cleopatra* ſtarke dead, layed vpon a bed of gold, attired and araied in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called *Iras*, dead at her feete: and her other woman called *Charmion* halfe
F dead, and trembling, trimming the Diademe which *Cleopatra* ware vpon her head. One of the ſouldiers ſeeing her, angrily ſayd vnto her: is that well done *Charmion*? Verie well ſayd ſhe againe, and meete for a Princes diſcended from the race of ſo many noble kings. She ſayd no

Cleopatra finely deceiueth Octauius Cæſar, as though ſhe deſired to liue.

Cleopatraes lamentation ouer Antonius tombe.

The death of Cleopatra.

Cleopatraes two waiting women dead with her.

more, but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report that this Aſpicke was brought vnto her in the basket with figs, & that ſhe had cõmaunded them to hide it vnder the figge leaues, that when ſhe ſhoulde thinke to take out the figges, the Aſpicke ſhoulde bite her before ſhe ſhould ſee her: howbeit, that when ſhe would haue taken away the leaues for the figges, ſhe perceiued it, and ſaid, art thou here then? And ſo, her arme being naked, ſhe put it to the Aſpicke to be bitten. Other ſay againe, ſhe kept it in a boxe, and that ſhe did pricke and thruſt it with a ſpindell of golde, ſo that the Aſpicke being angerd withall, lept out with great furie, and bitte her in the arme. Howbeit fewe can tell the troth. For they report alſo, that ſhe had hidden poyſon in a hollow raſer which ſhe caried in the heare of her head: and yet was there no marke ſeene of her bodie, or any ſigne diſcerned that ſhe was poyſoned, neither alſo did they finde this ſerpent in her tombe. But it was reported onely, that there were ſeene certeine freſh ſteppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe ſide toward the ſea, and ſpecially by the dores ſide. Some ſay alſo, that they found two litle pretie bytings in her arme, ſcant to be diſcerned: the which it ſeemeth *Cæſar* him ſelfe gaue credit vnto, bicauſe in his triumphe he caried *Cleopatraes* image, with an Aſpicke byting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now *Cæſar*, though he was maruelous ſorie for the death of *Cleopatra*, yet he wondred at her noble minde and corage, and therefore commaunded ſhe ſhould be nobly buried, and layed by *Antonius*: and willed alſo that her two women ſhoulde haue honorable buriall. *Cleopatra* dyed being eight and thirtie yeare olde, after ſhe had raigned two and twenty yeres, and gouerned aboue foureteene of them with *Antonius*. And for *Antonius*, ſome ſay that he liued three and fitie yeares: and others ſay, ſix and fiftie. All his ſtatues, images, and mettalls, were plucked downe and ouerthrowen, ſauing thoſe of *Cleopatra* which ſtoode ſtill in their places, by meanes of *Archibius* one of her frendes, who gaue *Cæſar* a thowſande talentes that they ſhould not be handled, as thoſe of *Antonius* were. *Antonius* left ſeuen children by three wiues, of the which, *Cæſar* did put *Antyllus*, the eldeſt ſonne he had by *Fuluia*, to death. *Octauia* his wife tooke all the reſt, and brought them vp with hers, and maried *Cleopatra*, *Antonius* daughter, vnto king *Iuba*, a maruelous curteous & goodly Prince. And *Antonius*, the ſonne of *Fuluia* came to be ſo great, that next vnto *Agrippa*, who was in greateſt eſtimacion about *Cæſar*, and next vnto the children of *Liuia*, which were the ſecond in eſtimacion: he had the third place. Furthermore, *Octauia* hauing had two daughters by her firſt husband *Marcellus*, and a ſonne alſo called *Marcellus*: *Cæſar* maried his daughter vnto that *Marcellus*, and ſo did adopt him for his ſonne. And *Octauia* alſo maried one of her daughters vnto *Agrippa*. But when *Marcellus* was deade, after he had bene maried a while, *Octauia* perceiuing that her brother *Cæſar* was very buſie to chooſe ſome one among his frends, whom he truſted beſt to make his ſonne in law: ſhe perſwaded him, that *Agrippa* ſhould mary his daughter, (*Marcellus* widow) and leaue her owne daughter. *Cæſar* firſt was contented withall, and then *Agrippa*: and ſo ſhe afterwards tooke away her daughter and maried her vnto *Antonius*, and *Agrippa* maried *Iulia*, *Cæſars* daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of *Octauia* and *Antonius*. *Domitius AEnobarbus* maried the one: and the other, which was *Antonia*, ſo fayer and vertuous a young Ladie, was maried vnto *Druſus* the ſonne of *Liuia*, and ſonne in law of *Cæſar*. Of this mariage, came *Germanicus* and *Clodius*: of the which, *Clodius* afterwards came to be Emperour. And of the ſonnes of *Germanicus*, the one whoſe name was *Caius*, came alſo to be Emperour: who, after he had licentiouſly raigned a time, was ſlaine, with his wife and daughter. *Agrippina* alſo, hauing a ſonne by her firſt husbande *AEnobarbus* called *Lucius Domitius*: was afterwardes maried vnto *Clodius*, who adopted her ſonne, and called him *Nero Germanicus*. This *Nero* was Emperour in our time, and ſlue his owne mother, and had almoſt deſtroyed the Empire of Rome, through his madnes and wicked life, being the fift Emperour of Rome after *Antonius*.

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an Aſpicke.

The image of Cleopatra, caried in triumphe at Rome, with an Aſpicke biting of her arme,

The age of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Of Antonius iſſue came Emperors.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF
Demetrius with Antonius.

NOw, sithence it falleth out, that *Demetrius* and *Antonius* were one of them much like to the other, hauing fortune a like diuers and variable vnto them: let vs therefore come to consider their power and authoritie, and how they came to be so great. First of all, it is certaine that *Demetrius* power and greatnes fell vnto him by inheritance from his father *Antigonus*: who became the greatest and mightiest Prince of all the successors of *Alexander*, and had won the most parte of ASIA, before *Demetrius* came of full age. *Antonius* in contrary maner, borne of an honest man, who otherwise was no man of warre, and had not left him any meane to arise to such greatnes: durst take vpon him to contend for the Empire with *Cæsar*, that had no right vnto it by inheritaunce, but yet made him selfe successor of the power, the which the other by great paine and trauell had obteyned, and by his owne industrie became so great, without the helpe of any other: that the Empire of the whole worlde being deuided into two partes, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greatest countenaunce and power. *Antonius* being absent, oftentimes ouercame the PARTHIANS in battell by his Lieutenaunts, and chased away the barbarous people dwelling about mount Caucasus, vnto the sea Hyrcanium: insomuche as the thing they most reproue him for, did most witnes his greatnes. For, *Demetrius* father made him gladly marrie *Phila*, *Antipaters* daughter, although she was too old for him: bicause she was of a nobler house then him selfe. *Antonius* on thother side was blamed for marying of *Cleopatra*, a Queene that for power and nobilitie of blood, excelled all other kings in her time, but *Arsaces*: and moreouer made him selfe so great, that others thought him worthie of greater things, then he him selfe required. Now for the desire that moued the one and the other to conquer realmes: the desire of *Demetrius* was vnblameable & iust, desiring to raigne ouer people, which had bene gouerned at all times, & desired to be gouerned by kings. But *Antonius* desire was altogether wicked & tyrannicall: who sought to keepe the people of ROME in bondage and subiection, but lately before rid of *Cæsars* raigne and gouernment. For the greatest and most famous exployte *Antonius* euer did in warres (to wit, the warre in the which he ouerthrew *Cassius* and *Brutus*) was begon to no other ende, but to depriue his contriemen of their libertie and freedom. *Demetrius* in contrarie maner, before fortune had ouerthrowen him, neuer left to set GRÆCE at libertie, and to driue the garrisons away, which kept the cities in bondage: and not like *Antonius*, that bosted he had slaine them that had set ROME at libertie. The chiefest thing they commended in *Antonius*, was his liberalitie and bountie: in the which *Demetrius* excelled him so farre, that he gaue more to his enemies, then *Antonius* did to his frends: although he was maruelously well thought of, for the honorable and sumptuous funerall he gaue vnto *Brutus* bodie. Howbeit *Demetrius* caused all

The power of Demetrius & Antonius.

Demetrius & Antonius ambition to gouerne.

The liberalitie and bountie of Demetrius and Antonius.

his enemies be buried that were slaine in battel, and returned vnto *Ptolomy* all the prisoners he had taken, with great giftes and presentes he gaue them. They were both in their prosperitie, verie riotouslie and licentiouslie geuen: but yet no man can euer say, that *Demetrius* did at any time let slippe any oportunitie or occasion to followe great matters, but onelie gaue him selfe in deede to pleasure, when he had nothing else to doe. And further, to say truely, he tooke pleasure of *Lamia*, as a man woulde haue a delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing else to doe, or is desirous to sleepe: but in deede when he was to make any preparation for warre, he had not then Iuey at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came not out of Ladies closets, picked and princt to go to battell: but he let all dauncing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet *Euripides* saith,

Demetrius & Antonius vices.

The souldier of Mars, cruell, and bloodie.

But to conclude, he neuer had ouerthrowe or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to followe his owne pleasure: as we see in painted tables, where *Omphale* secretlie stealeth away *Hercules* clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him. Euen so *Cleopatra* oftentimes vnarmed *Antonius*, and intised him to her, making him lose matters of great importaunce, and verie needefull iorneys, to come and be dandled with her, about the riuers of Canobus, and Taphosiris. In the ende, as *Paris* fledde from the battell, and went to hide him selfe in *Helens* armes: euen so did he in *Cleopatraes* armes, or to speake more properlie, *Paris* hidde him selfe in *Helens* closet, but *Antonius* to followe *Cleopatra*, fledde and lost the victorie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* had many wiues that he had maried, and all at one time: the which was not disalowable or not forbidden by the kinges of MACEDON, but had bene vsed from *Philippe* and *Alexanders* time, as also king *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomy* had, and did honor all them that he maried. But *Antonius* first of all maried two wiues together, the which neuer ROMANE durst doe before, but him selfe. Secondly, he put away his first ROMANE wife, which he had lawfully maried: for the loue of a straunge woman, he fondly fell in fancy withall, and contrarie to the lawes and ordinaunces of ROME. And therefore *Demetrius* mariages neuer hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wiues: but *Antonius* contrarily was vndone by his wiues. Of all the lasciuious partes *Antonius* played, none were so abhominable, as this onely fact of *Demetrius*. For the historiographers write, that they would not suffer dogges to come into the castell of ATHENS, bicause of all beastes he is too busie with bitcherie: and *Demetrius*, in *Mineruaes* temple it selfe lay with Curtisans, and there defiled many citizens wiues. And besides all this, the horrible vice of crueltie, which a man would thinke were least mingled with these wanton delightes, is ioyned with *Demetrius* concupiscence: who suffered, (or more properly compelled) the goodliest young boy of ATHENS, to dye a most pitiefull death, to saue him selfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, *Antonius* by his incontinencie, did no hurte but to him selfe: and *Demetrius* did hurte vnto all others. *Demetrius* neuer hurte any of his frendes: and *Antonius* suffered his Vncle by his mothers side to be slaine, that he might haue his will of *Cicero* to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruell of it selfe, that he hardlie deserued to haue bene pardoned, though he had killed *Cicero*, to haue saued his Vncles life. Nowe where they falsefied and brake their othes, the one making *Artabazus* prisoner, and the other killing of *Alexander*: *Antonius* out of doubt had best cause, and iustest colour. For *Artabazus* had betrayed him, and forsaken him in MEDIA. But *Demetrius* (as diuers doe reporte) deuised a false matter to accuse *Alexander*, to cloke the murther he had committed: and some thinke he did accuse him, to whom he him selfe had done iniurie vnto: and was not reuenged of him, that woulde doe him iniurie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* him selfe did many noble feates in warre, as we haue recited of him before: and contrarilie *Antonius*, when he was not there in person, wanne many famous and great victories by his Lieutenauntes: and they were both ouerthrowen being personallie in battell, but yet not both after one sorte. For the one was forsaken of his men being MACEDONIANS, and the other contrarily forsooke his that were ROMANES: for he fled, & left them that ventred their liues for his honor. So that the fault the one did was, that he made them his enemies that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he so beastlie left them that loued him best, and were most faithfull to him. And for their deathes, a man can not praise the one nor the

Canobus, and Taphosiris fl.

Demetrius & Antonius wiues.

Antonius the first Romane that euer maried two wiues together.

Demetrius lasciuiousnes. Dogges not suffred in Athens castle, bicause of bitcherie.

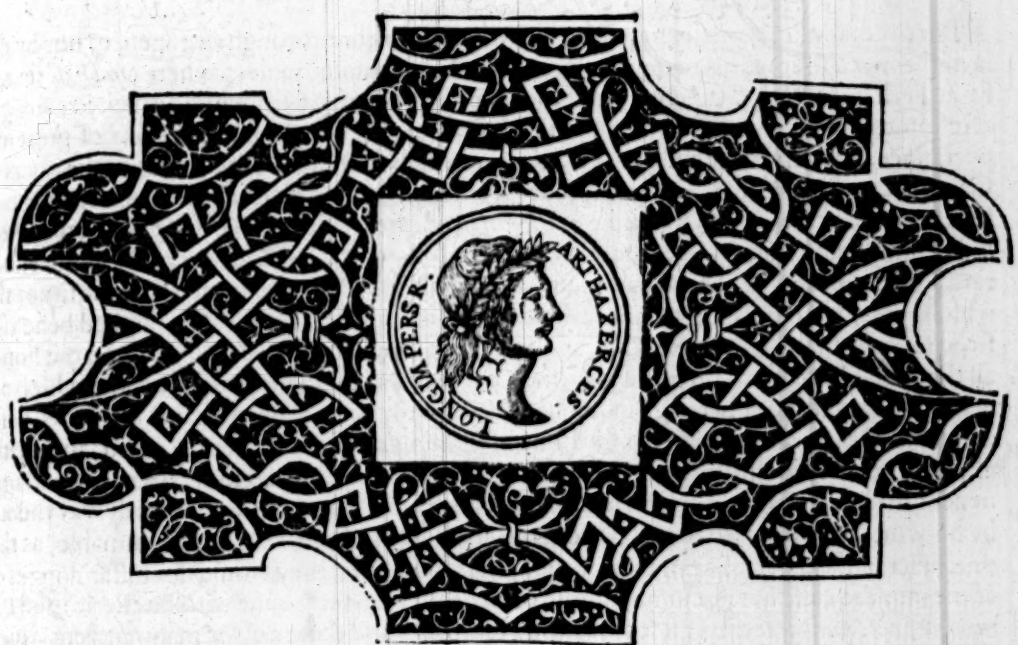
The lone and impietie: the faith & falsehode of Demetrius and Antonius.

Demetrius & Antonius acts in warres.

A the other, but yet *Demetrius* death the more reproachefull. For he ſuffered him ſelfe to be taken priſoner, and when he was ſent away to be kept in a ſtraunge place, he had the hart to liue yet three yeare longer, to ſerue his mouth and bellie, as brute beaſtes doe. *Antonius* on the other ſide ſlue him ſelfe, (to confeſſe a troth) cowardly, and miſerably, to his great paine and griefe: and yet was it before his bodie came into his enemies hands.

THE LIFE OF *Artaxerxes.*

B



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ARtaxerxes, the firſt of this name of all the kinges of PERSIA, a noble and curteous Prince as any of all his houſe: was ſurnamed long hand, bicauſe his right hand was longer then his left, and he was the ſonne of king *Xerxes*. But the ſeconde, whoſe life we preſentlie intend to wryte, was ſurnamed *Mnemon*, as muche to ſay, great memorie: and he was the ſonne of the daughter of the firſt *Artaxerxes*. For king *Darius*, and his wife *Paryſatis*, had foure ſonnes: of the which, the eldeſt was this *Artaxerxes*, the ſeconde *Cyrus*, and two other younger, *Oſtanes* and *Oxathres*. *Cyrus* from the beginning bare the name of the former auncient *Cyrus*, which in the PERSIAN tongue ſignifieth the ſunne. But *Artaxerxes* was called before *Arſicas*, although *Dinon* wryteth, that he was called *Oarſes*. Howebeit it is vnlikelie that *Cteſias* (although his bookes otherwiſe be full of fables, and as vntrue as they are founde) ſhould forget the name of the Prince with whom he dwelt, whom he ſerued, and continuallie followed, both him, his wife, and children. *Cyrus* from his cradell was of a hotte ſturring minde, and *Artaxerxes* in contrarie manner, more mylde and gentle in all his actions and doinges. He was maried to a verie fayer Ladie, by his father and mothers commaundement: & afterwards kept her againſt their wills, being forbidden by them. For king *Darius* his father, hauing put his ſonnes wiues brother to death, he woulde alſo haue put her to death: but her husband with teares made ſuche humble ſute to his mother for her, that with muche a doe, he did not onely gette pardon for her life, but graunt alſo that ſhe ſhoulde not be put from him. This notwithſtanding, his mother alwayes loued *Cyrus* better then him, and praied

The parentage of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

The diuerſity of natures betwixt Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

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F

that he might be king after his fathers death. Wherfore *Cyrus* being in his prouinces of ASIA by the ſea ſide, when he was ſent for to come to the Court, at what time his father lay ſicke of the diſeaſe he dyed: he went thither in good hope his mother had preuailed with his father, that in his will he would make him his heire of the realme of PERSIA. For his mother *Paryſatis* alleaged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did helpe king *Xerxes* in the like caſe, through *Demaratus* counſell. She ſaid that *Arſicas* was borne before her husband *Darius* was king, & *Cyrus* after he was crowned king. All this could not preuaile. For her eldeſt ſonne *Arſicas*, ſurnamed *Artaxerxes*, was aſſigned king of PERSIA, & *Cyrus* gouernor of LYDIA, and the kings Lieutenaunt generall of all the low contries of ASIA toward the ſea ſide. Shortly after king *Darius* death, the new king *Artaxerxes* went vnto *Paſargades*, there to be conſecrated and annoynted king, by the Prieſtes of the contrie of PERSIA. The place of this *Paſargades*, is a temple dedicated vnto *Minerua* the goddeſſe of battells, as I take it: where the newe king muſt be conſecrated, and when he commeth into the temple, he putteth of his gowne, and putteth on that which the old auncient *Cyrus* ware before he was king. Furthermore, he muſt eate of a certaine tart or fricacie made of figges with turpentine: and then he muſt drinke a drinke made with vineger and milke. There are alſo certeine other ſecret ceremonies which they muſt keepe, and none doe know, but the verie Prieſtes them ſelues. Now *Artaxerxes* being readie to enter into all theſe ceremonies, *Tiſaphernes* came vnto him, & brought him one of the Prieſtes that had bene *Cyrus* ſchoolemaiſter in his youth, and had taught him magicke: who by reaſon ſhoulde haue bene more offended then any man elſe, for that he was not appointed king. And this was the cauſe why they beleued him the better, when he accuſed *Cyrus*. For he ſayd that *Cyrus* had conſpired treaſon againſt the king his brothers owne perſon, & that he ment traiterouſly to kill him in the temple, when he ſhould put of his gowne. Some doe reporte, that *Cyrus* was apprehended vpon this ſimple accuſacion by word of mouth. Others write alſo, that *Cyrus* came into the temple, and hiding him ſelfe, he was taken with the maner, and bewraied by the Prieſt. So as he was going to ſuffer death, his mother tooke *Cyrus* in her armes, and wounde the heare of her heade about his necke, and tyed him ſtraightly to her: and withall ſhe wept ſo bitterly, and made ſuche pitieſull mone vnto the king her ſonne, that through her interceſſion, the king graunted him his life, & ſent him againe into his contrie and gouernment. But this ſatisfied not *Cyrus*, neither did he ſo muche remember the king his brothers fauor vnto him, in graunting him his life: as he did the deſpite he had offred him, to be made priſoner. Inſomuch that for this grudge and euill will, he euer after had a greater deſire then before to be king. Some wryters alleage, that he entred into actuall rebellion againſt his brother by force of armes, bicauſe he had not ſufficient reuenue to defray the ordinary expence of his houſe: howbeit it is a meere folly to ſay ſo. For though he had had no other helpe but his mother, he might haue had of her what he would haue taken, and deſired. Againe, to ſhew that of him ſelfe he had abilitie enough: we neede but alleage the ſouldiers and ſtraungers he gaue pay vnto, in diuers places, as *Xenophon* wryteth. For he brought them not all together into one armie, bicauſe he deſired to kepe his enterpriſe as ſecret as he could: but he had frendes and ſeruaunts that leauied them in diuers places, and vnder diuers colours. And furthermore, he had his mother alway about the king, that cleered all ſuſpicions conceiued againſt him. He him ſelfe alſo on the other ſide, whileſt he made theſe preparacions, wrote verie humbly vnto his brother, ſomtime asking ſomwhat of him, and an other time accuſing *Tiſaphernes*: all to blinde the king, to make him thinke that he bent all his malice and ſpite againſt him, beſides that the king of his owne nature was ſomwhat dull, and ſlow, which the common people thought to proceede of his curteſie and good nature. At his firſt comming to the crowne, he followed the firſt *Artaxerxes* goodnes and curteſie, by whom he had his name. For he gaue more eaſie audience vnto ſuters, he did alſo more honorably reward & recompence thoſe that had deſerued well: & he vſed ſuch moderacion in puniſhng of offendors, that it appeared he did it not of any malicious minde and deſire of reuenge, nor yet of will to hurte any man. When he had any thing geuen him, he tooke it as thankefully, as they offered it him, and did as willingly and frankely alſo geue againe. For, how litle a thing ſoeuer was offered him, he tooke it well. And it is reported that one *Romiſes* on a time preſented him

Arſicas, ſurnamed Artaxerxes, aſſigned to be king of Perſia.

The maner of the conſecrating of the kings of Perſia, at Paſargades.

Cyrus accuſed vnto his brother Artaxerxes.

Cyrus lay in waite to kill Artaxerxes.

Note the flatterie and diſſimulation of a woman.

Artaxerxes curteous, and eaſie to haue acceſſe vnto.

A a maruelous fayer pomegarnet. By the ſunne ſayd he, this man in a ſhort time of a litle towne would make a great citie, he that would make him gouernor of it. Another time there was a poore laborer ſeing euery mā giue the king a preſent, ſome one thing, ſome another as he paſſed by them: he hauing nothing at hand to giue him, ranne to the riuers ſide, & tooke both his hands full of water, and came and offred it him. King *Artaxerxes* was ſo glad of it, that he ſent him in a cuppe of maſſy gold, a thowſand Darecks, which were peeces of gold ſo named, bicauſe the image of *Darius* was ſtamped vpon them. And vnto one *Euclidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN, that preſumed to giue him bold words, it pleaſed him to aunſwer him by one of his Captaines: thou mayſt ſay what thou lyſt, and I as king, may ſay and doe what I lyſt. Another time as he was a hunting, *Tiribazus* ſhewed the king his gowne that was all to tattered: well, ſayd

Artaxerxes liberalitie to a poore man that gaue him a litle water.

B the king, and what wouldeſt thou haue me to doe? *Tiribazus* aunſwered him, I praye your grace take another, and giue me that you haue on. The king did ſo, and told him: *Tiribazus*, I giue thee my gowne, but I commaund thee not to weare it. *Tiribazus* tooke it, and cared not for the kings commaundement that he ſhould not weare it, not that he was any euill diſpoſed man, but bicauſe he was a fond light headed fellowe that cared for nothing: thereuppon he ſtraight put the kings gowne on his backe, and not contented therewith, he did beſides ſet on many iewells of gold which kings onely are wont to weare, and womens trinckets and ornaments. Therewithal euery man in the Court murmured at him, bicauſe it was a preſumption, directly againſt the lawes and ordinaunces of PERSIA. Howbeit the king did but laugh at it, &

Tiribazus lightnes, and Artaxerxes liberalitie.

tolde him: I giue thee leaue *Tiribazus* to weare thoſe womens gawdes as a woman, and the

C kings robe as a foole. Furthermore, where the manner was in PERSIA that no perſon ſate at the kings bord, but his mother and wife, of the which, his mother ſate vppermoſt, & his wife lowermoſt: *Artaxarxes* made his two brethren *Oſtanes* and *Oxathres* ſit at his owne bord. But yet he pleaſed the PERSIANS beſt of all, bicauſe he was content his wife *Statyra* ſhould ſit openly in her charret, and that ſhe might be ſeene and reuerenced by the other Ladyes of the contry. And this made him ſingularly beloued of the people. Now, ſuch as deſired innouation and chaunge, and that could not away with quiet life: they gaue out that the Realme of PERSIA required ſuch a Prince as *Cyrus*, that was liberall of nature, giuen to armes, & greatly rewarded his ſeruaunts, and that the greatnes of the Empire of PERSIA ſtoode in neede of a

Statira, king Artaxerxes wife.

king, whoſe mind was bent to high attempts and noble enterpriſes. So *Cyrus* thereuppon be-

D gan to make warre vpon his brother, not onely truſting vnto them that were of the lowe contries about him, but hoping of thoſe alſo in the high prouinces neare vnto the king. Furthermore he wrote alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, to pray them to ſend him men of warre, promiſing to giue the footemen they ſent, horſes: and the horſemen, coches: landed men, whole villages: and to thoſe that had villages, to giue them cities. Beſides all this, that for the ordinary wages of them that ſhould ſerue him in this warre, he would not pay them by accompt, but by full meaſure: and boaſting largely of him ſelfe, he ſayd he had a greater mind then his brother, that he could better away with hardnes then he, that he vnderſtoode magick better then he, and that he could drinke more wine then he, and cary it better. And that the king his brother in contrary manner was ſo womaniſhe and fearefull, that when he went a hunting, he

Cyrus maketh warre againſt his brother Artaxerxes. Cyrus wonderfull promiſes.

E durſt ſcarce get vp vpon his horſe backe: and when he went to the warres, he would hardly take his charriot. When the LACEDÆMONIANS had red his letters, they ſent a litle ſcrowle vnto *Clearchus*, commaunding him to obey *Cyrus* in any thing he would commaund him. So *Cyrus* did ſet forward to make warre againſt his brother, hauing leauied a great number of fighting men of barbarous nations, and of GRÆCIANS, litle leſſe then thirteene thowſand men: ſometime aduertiſing one cauſe, ſometime another, why he leauied ſuch a multitude of men. But his purpoſe could not be long diſſembled: for *Tiſaphernes* went him ſelfe vnto the Court, to bringe newes of his attempt. Then all the Court was ſtraight in an vprore withall. Many men alſo did accuſe the Queene mother, for the practiſe of this warre, & all her friends & ſeruaunts were vehemently ſuſpected to be conſpyrators with *Cyrus*: but the greateſt thing

F that troubled *Paryſatis* moſt, was Queene *Statyra* her Daughter in lawe, who ſtormed maruelouſly to ſee this warre begon againſt king *Artaxerxes* her husband, and inceſſantly cryed out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedſt by othe? whereto are thy interceſſions come thou

madeſt,for the pardon of his life: who now conſpyreth his brothers death? By ſauing of his life,art not thou now the cauſe of this warre and troubles we ſee at hand? After this reproch and ſhame receiued by *Statira*,*Paryſatis*,being a cruell and malicious woman of nature,ſo hated her, that from thenceforth ſhe ſought all the wayes ſhe could to put her to death. And *Dinon* the Hiſtoriographer ſayth,that during this warre,ſhe did execute her wicked purpoſe vpon her: but *Cteſias* writeth,that it was after the warre. And therfore it is liker, that he being daily in the king of PERSIAES Court,ſhould certainely knowe the tyme when ſhe did execute her treaſon againſt her, and alſo there is no cauſe why he ſhould rather write it in any other time, then in that in the which the facte was done: although in many other places he commonly vſeth to fitten,and to write deuiſes of his owne head. Therefore let vs leaue the report of this fact to the ſelfe ſame time and place as he hath written it. Now when *Cyrus* drew neare vnto his brothers contry, he had newes, and a rumor ranne through his campe,that the king was not determined to come and fight with him ſo ſoone: and that he ment firſt to goe further into PERSIA,and to tary there til he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for proofe hereof,the king hauing caſt a great trenche of ten yardes broad,and as many high, the ſpace of foure hundred furlong in length: he left it without gard, and let *Cyrus* winne it, who came on further without any reſiſtaunce,euen to the very citie ſelfe of BABYLON. Howbeit in the ende,*Tiribazus* (as it is reported) was the firſt man that durſt tell the king, that he ſhould not flie fight in that ſort, nor hide him ſelfe in the furdeſt part of PERSIA, leauing his enemy the Realmes of MEDIA,BABYLON,and SVSA: conſidering alſo that he had many moe ſouldiers in readines then his enemye, and an infinite number of Captaines more skilfull,and abler to giue counſell,and to fight,then he was. Theſe words of *Tiribazus* made the king alter his mind,and to determine to giue battell as ſoone as he could. Thereuppon he marched forward againſt his enemie,with nyne hundred thowſand fighting men,excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That maruelouſly aſtonied *Cyrus* men, and made them affrayd at the firſt, when they ſaw them in ſo excellent good order before them: for that they were diſperſed ſtragling here and there without any order, and men vnarmed, truſting too much in them ſelues,in deſpiſing of their enemie: ſo that *Cyrus* had much a doe to ſet his men in battell raye,and yet was it with great noyſe and tumult. But the GRÆCIANS wondred moſt of all other, when they ſawe the kinges armye marche in ſo good order of battell without any noyſe. For they thought to haue ſeene a wonderfull great diſorder and confuſion, in ſuch an infinite multitude of people: and ſuppoſed they would haue made ſuch a noyſe, that one of them ſhould not haue heard another. Where in deede to the contrary, all was ſo well marſhalled, ſpecially bicauſe he had placed before his battell the beſt carts he had armed with ſiethes,and drawen with the ſtrongeſt and biggeſt great horſe he had in all his armie: hoping by the fiercenes and furye of their careere,to breake into the ranckes of the enemies, before they could come to ioyne with theirs. But ſith this battell is deſcribed by diuers Hiſtoriographers,but ſpecially by *Xenophon*,who hath (as a man would ſay) liuely ſet it out to the eye, & ietteth it forth to the Reader,not as a battell already fought, but preſently a fighting, ſtirring vp their mindes as if them ſelues were in the action and inſtant daunger, he hath ſo paſſingly ſet it downe: it were but a folly therefore of me to take vppon me to make any further deſcription of it,ſauing to touch ſome ſpeciall poynts worthy of note,which he peraduenture hath left out. As,the place where the battell was fought,is called COVNAXA,fiue hundred furlongs from BABYLON: and how that before the battell, *Clearchus* gaue *Cyrus* counſell to keepe behind the ſquadron of the GRÆCIANS, and not to hazard his perſon among the firſt: and that *Cyrus* aunſwered him, what ſayeſt thou *Clearchus*? wouldeſt thou haue me that ſtriues to be king,to ſhew my ſelfe vnworthy to be a king? But *Cyrus* hauing made this fault, not ſtanding vpon his ſafetie and garde,but ouer raſhely thruſting him ſelfe into great daunger: *Clearchus* ſelfe alſo committed as great a fault (if it were not worſe) when he would not ſet his men in order directly againſt the battel of the enemies,where the kings perſon ſtoode, but went and pent them vp by the riuers ſide, being affrayd leaſt they ſhould haue bene compaſſed in behind. For if he would haue looked ſo ſtraightly to him ſelfe, and haue prouided euery way for his ſafetie,that no man might come to hurt him: he ſhould haue kept him ſelfe at home, and

Artaxerxes army,of nyne hundred thowſand fighting men,againſt his brother Cyrus.

Xenophon the Hiſtoriographer excellently deſcribeth this battell betwixt Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus.

Safetie in a generall,requiſite in battell.

Clearchus cowardlines reproued.

not

A not haue ſturred one foote out of the dores. But ſith he had comen ſo farre, as from the low contries of Asia, vnto the place where the field was fought, and vncompelled, onely to put *Cyrus* in his fathers ſeate & imperiall crowne, to goe chooſe a place in the battell, not where he might doe his Lord beſt ſeruice that had hyered him, but rather where he might fight more at his eaſe, and at leſſe daunger: it was euen as much, as if through cowardlines his wits had bene taken from him when he ſhould haue fought, or that through treaſon he had forſaken his enterpriſe. For, to proue that the trowpes which were about the kinges perſon, had neuer bene able to haue receiued the charge of the Græcians, and that thoſe being ouerthrowen, the king had bene ſlayne in the field, or els forced to flie, and that *Cyrus* had wonne the field, and by this victorie had bene king: the ſucceſſe of this battell doth plainely
B ſhewe it. And therefore *Clearchus* ouer curious reſpect, deſerued more blame for the loſſe of this battell: then *Cyrus* ouerhardines. For if king *Artaxerxes* would haue choſen or wiſhed a place where the Græcians might haue done him leſſe hurt: he could not haue deuiſed a fitter place that was ſo farre from him, and from whence the Græcians could neither ſee nor heare what was done where he was, as it fell out in ſequell. For *Cyrus* was ſlayne before he could preuaile by *Clearchus* victorie, he was ſo farre from him: and furthermore, *Cyrus* therein knew before what was meeteſt to be done. For he commaunded *Clearchus* to place him ſelfe with his company in the middeſt of the battell: who aunſwered him, he ſhould take no thought for nothing, for he would ſee all things well ordered. And when he had ſayd ſo, he marred all afterwardes: For where the Græcians were, they ouerthrewe the barbarous
C people that made head againſt them, & had thē in chaſe while they were weary of following of them. *Cyrus* being mowntedvpon a whot ſtirring horſe, that had a hard head, and was very fierce and dogged, called Paſacas, as *Cteſias* writeth: *Artagerſes*, the gouernor of the prouince of the Cadvsians, ſpyed him a farre of, and when he had found him, clapped ſpurres to his horſe, and came with full cariere vnto him, and cryed out: O traytor, and moſt vnfaithfull and deſperate man, thou now diſhonoreſt the name of *Cyrus* (which is the goodlieſt and moſt honorableſt name of all the Persians) for that thou haſt brought ſo valliant Græcians hether to ſo wicked an enterpriſe, to ſpoyle the Persians goods, in hope to deſtroy thy ſoueraine Lord and onely brother, who hath an infinite number of ſlaues and ſeruaunts farre honeſter men then thou wilt be while thou liueſt, and that thou ſhalt preſently knowe by
D proofe, for thou ſhalt dye before thou ſee the king thy brothers face: and therewithall he threw his dart at him with all the force he had. But *Cyrus* armor was ſo good, that it pearſed him not: yet the blowe came with ſuch good will, that it made him ſtagger on his horſe back. When *Artagerſes* had giuen him that blowe, he preſently turned his horſe. But *Cyrus* therewithall threw a dart at him ſo happily, that he ſlue him right in the place aboue the bone that ioyneth the two ſhoulders together: ſo that the head of his dart, ranne quite through his necke. Nowe, that *Cyrus* ſlue *Artagerſes* with his owne hands in the field, all the Hiſtoriographers doe agree vpon it: but for the death of *Cyrus*, bicauſe *Xenophon* toucheth it but a litle by the way, for that he was not preſent in the very place where he was ſlayne: it ſhal not be hurtfull particularly to ſet downe the manner thereof, both according to the report of *Dinon*, and
E alſo of *Cteſias*. Firſt, *Dinon* writeth, that after *Cyrus* had ſlayne *Artagerſes*, he went with great fury, and flue in amongeſt the trowpe of them which were neareſt vnto the kings perſon, and that he came ſo neare the king, that he ſlue his horſe ſtarke dead vnder him, and the king fell to the ground withall. But *Tiribazus* that was hard by him, ſtraight mownted the king againe vpon an other horſe, and ſayd vnto him: your grace will remember this battell another day, for it is not to be forgotten. And *Cyrus* clapping ſpurres againe to his horſe, threwe an other dart at *Artaxerxes*, and hit him. But at the third charge, the king tolde them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather dye then ſuffer it: ſo therewithall he ſpurring his horſe to charge *Cyrus*, (who came fiercely and deſperatly, hauing an infinite number of blowes with darts throwen at him on euery ſide) threw his dart at him alſo. So did all thoſe
F that were about his perſon: and ſo was *Cyrus* ſlayne in this conflict. Some ſaye, that he was ſlayne with the wounde the kinge his brother gaue him. Others ſaye, that it was a man at armes of the contry of Caria, vnto whom the king for reward of his good ſeruice, gaue him

Paſacas Cyrus horſe.

Artagerſes the gouernor of the prouince of Cadvſia, giueth charge vpon Cyrus.

Cyrus ſlue Artagerſes.

Dinons report of Cyrus death

The Carians be called cocks, bicause they weare creasts on their headpeeces.

the honor in all battels to cary before the first ranke, a cocke of gold on the toppe of a speare: A for the PERSIANS doe cal the CARIANS cocks, bicause in the warres they vse to weare creasts in the toppe of their headpeeces. And this is *Dinons* reporte. But *Ctesias*, to cowche in fewe words that which *Dinon* reporteth at large, sayth: that *Cyrus* after he had slaine *Artagerses*, he gallopped on the spurre against the king him selfe, and the king against him, and not a worde betwene them both. *Arieus*, one of *Cyrus* flatterers, threwe the first dart at the king, but killed him not: and the king with all his force againe threwe his dart, thinking to haue hit *Cyrus*, but he missed him, and slue *Tisaphernes*, one of the valliantest and stowtest men *Cyrus* had about him, and so fell downe dead. Then *Cyrus* hit *Artaxerxes* so sore a blowe on his breast, that he pearced his armor, and entred into his fleth two fingers deepe. The king with this blowe fell downe to the ground: wherewithall the most part of his men about him were so affrayd, that B they forsooke him, and fled. Howbeit he got vp againe, with the helpe of others that were about him, amongest whome *Ctesias* sayd he was one: and so recouered a litle hill not farre of, to take a litle breath. In the meane time, *Cyrus* horse that was whotte in the mouth, and hard headed as we haue told you: caried his master spyte of his hart farre from his men, amonge his enemies, and no man knew him, bicause it was night, and his men were very busie in seeking for him. But *Cyrus* hoping he had wonne the victory, being of a whot stirring nature, and valliant: he went vppe and downe in the thickest of his enemies, crying out in the PERSIAN tongue, saue your selues poore men, saue your selues. When they heard him say so, some made a lane for him to passe by them, and did him reuerence: But by euill fortune his Tiara (which is the highe royall hat after the PERSIAN manner) fell of of his head. Then a younge C PERSIAN called *Mithridates*, passing by him, hit him a blowe with his dart vpon one of his temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His wound straight fell of a maruelous bleeding. Whereuppon, *Cyrus* staggering at it, fell to the ground in a swownd, and his horse ranne away from him: but the cappariſon he had vppon him fell to the ground all bloudied, and his page that had hurt him, tooke it vp. Shortly after, *Cyrus* being comen to him selfe againe, some of his Euenukes (which were men gelt, and groomes of his chamber) that were about him, did lift him vp, thinking to set him vpon another horse, and to get him out of the prease: but he was not able to sit on his horse. Thereuppon he proued if he could better goe a foote, & the Euenuks held him vp by the armes, & led him amased as he was, not able to stād on his feete, although he thought he had won the battell: bicause he heard his enemies flying D about him cry, the gods saue king *Cyrus*, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receiue them to mercy. But in the meane time, there came certaine poore men of the citie of CAVNVS, who followed the kings campe, getting their liuing as drudges and slaues, to doe most vile seruice. They ioined with the trowpe where *Cyrus* was, supposing they had bene the kings men: but when they perceiued in the ende by the red coates they ware vpon their armors, that they were enemies, for that the kings men ware white coates: there was one among the rest that valliantly strake at *Cyrus* behind with his pertisan, not knowing in deede that it was *Cyrus*. The blowe lighted full on the hamme of his legge and cut his sinewes so, that *Cyrus* fell withall, and falling, by mis-fortune fell vpon a great stone with his browe, where he had bene hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth *Ctesias* report it, where me thinketh he cutteth E his throate with a dull edged knife, he hath such a doe to bring *Cyrus* to his ende. Now after *Cyrus* was dead, *Artasyras*, one of king *Artaxerxes* Euenukes, whome they called the kings eye in the Court: passing by a horsebacke, knewe *Cyrus* Euenukes that mourned very pitifully, lamenting the death of their master. So he asked the Euenuke whome *Cyrus* loued best: who is that that is dead, O *Parisca*, that thou weepest so bitterly? *Parisca* aunswered him againe, seest thou not *Artasyras*, that it is *Cyrus* but newly dead? *Artasyras* wondred much when he sawe him. So he comforted the Euenuke, and willed him in no case to goe from the body: and in the meane time he gallopped a pace to the king, who thought he had lost all, and was very ill beside, both for the great thirst he suffred, as also for his wound he had on his breast. Nowe when the Euenuke came vnto the king, & told him with a smyling countenaunce the newes, F how he had seene *Cyrus* dead: The king was so ioyfull at the newes, that he was desirous him selfe forthwith to goe vnto the place where he lay to see him, and commaunded *Artasyras* to bringe

Artaxerxes hurt by Cyrus.

Cyrus hurt.

Cyrus miserable destiny.

Ctesias report of Cyrus death.

A bring him thither. But after he had conſidered better of it, he was counſelled not to goe thither him ſelfe for feare of the GRÆCIANS, who they ſayd wonne all, and were yet chaſing & killing them in the field, that fled: But rather that he ſhould ſend a good company of men thither, to bring him iuſt report, whether the newes were true of his death or not. Vpon this aduiſe he ſtayed, and ſent thither thirtye men, euery man with torches in their handes? In the meane tyme, one of his Euenukes called *Satibarzanes*, ranne vp and downe to ſee if he could get any water for the king, that was almoſt dead for thirſt: for there was no water neare vnto him where he was, and beſides, his campe was farre from him. His Euenuke hauing ronne vp and downe a great way to ſeeke it, mette by chaunce with theſe poore ſlaues and porters the CAVNIANS, amonge the which one of them caried in an olde ragged goates skinne, about
B eight glaſſefulles of naughty ſtincking water. So he preſently caried the ſame to the king, who dranke it vp euery whit. When the king had dronke it, the Euenuke asked him, if that naughty water did him no hurt. The king ſware by the goddes vnto him, that he neuer dranck better wine, nor ſweeter water then that was, nor that pleaſed him better then that did: and therefore, ſayde he, I beſeeche the goddes if it be not my happe to finde him that gaue thee this water to reward him, yet that it will pleaſe them to ſend him good fortune. As the king was talking thus with his Euenuke, the thirty men with their torches returned vnto him, who altogether with ioyfull countenaunce, confirmed the good newes he looked not for: & then there were comen together againe a great number of ſouldiers about him, and ſtill came moe one after another, that he beganne againe to be coragious. Then he came downe into the
C playne, with a world of lights and torches about him, and went ſtraight to the place where his brother *Cyrus* body lay. There, following the auncient manner of the PERSIANS againſt traytors to the king: he cauſed his head and right hand to be ſtriken of, and then made his head be brought vnto him, the which he tooke by the heares of his head (for *Cyrus* ware them long and thicke) and did him ſelfe ſhew it vnto them that fled ſtill, and were affraid, to encourage them againe. They wondering to ſee it, did him humble reuerence, and ſo gathered by companies about the king, that in a ſmal time there were gathered together about him, three ſcore and tenne thowſand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards the campe. In deede *Cteſias* ſayth, that he had but foure hundred thowſand fighting men in all: but *Dinon* and *Xenophon* ſay more. And for the number of them that were ſlayne, *Cteſias* ſayth, that
D word was brought to the king, that there were not aboue nyne thowſand ſlaine, howbeit that to ſight they ſeemed to be no leſſe then twenty thowſand. But for that point, he might be talked withall, in either of both. But furthermore, where he ſayth that the king did ſend him with *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN vnto the GRÆCIANS, and others with him: that is a flat lye. For *Xenophon* knew right well, that this *Cteſias* wayted vpon the king, bicauſe he ſpeaketh of him in diuers places of his hiſtorie: and if he had bene appoynted by the king to cary report vnto the GRÆCIANS of ſo waighty a matter, it is like enough *Xenophon* would not haue concealed it, when he nameth *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN. But *Cteſias* (as it appeareth by his writings) was a very ambitious man, and partiall vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, but ſpecially vnto *Clearchus:* & is glad when he can get any occaſion to ſpeake of him ſelfe for his glory, of LACEDÆMON, &
E of *Clearchus*. Now after this battell, king *Artaxerxes* ſent goodly riche gifts vnto *Artagerſes* ſonne, whoſe father *Cyrus* had ſlayne with his owne hands, and as it is reported, did alſo greatly honor *Cteſias* and many others: and did not forget alſo to cauſe the poore CAVNIAN ſlaue to be ſought out, that had giuen him the water to be caried to him which ſaued his life: and when he had found him out, of a poore wretch vnknowen before, he made him a riche noble man. He ſeuerely puniſhed thoſe alſo that had offended the martial law, as amongeſt others, *Arbaces*, one of the MEDES: who when the battell was ioyned, he fled firſt on *Cyrus* ſide, and then when he vnderſtoode he was ſlayne, he returned againe to the kings ſide. For, ſuppoſing that it was rather timerouſnes and cowardly nature, then for treaſon or euil will he bare him: he compelled him to carye a whore on his backe ſtarke naked, all daye long about the market
F place. And to another, who beſides he had yeelded him ſelfe to his enemies, falſely boaſted that he had ſlayne two: he made his tongue to be bored thorough in three ſeuerall places, with a cordiners alle. Now the king being of opinion that it was him ſelfe that had ſlayne his

King Artaxerxes being a thirſt, dranke ſtincking puddle water, and ſayd he neuer taſted ſo ſweet

The manner of the Perſians in warre, againſt a traitor to the king

Plutarck reproueth Cteſias for a lyer.

How Artaxerxes rewarded the good, and alſo puniſhed the euill.

brother *Cyrus* with his owne hand, and being desirous that euery man should so thinke & say: A
he sent presents vnto *Mithridates*, that had hurt him first in the forehead, and commaunded him that caried the giftes vnto him, to tell him from the king: the king doth send thee these presēts, bicause thou finding first the cappariſon of *Cyrus* horse, diddest bring it vnto the king. The CARIAN also that had cut the hamme of his legge wherewith *Cyrus* fell downe, asked his gift likewise: the which the king gaue him, and bad the Messenger tell him, the king doth giue thee this, bicause thou wast the second person that broughtest him the good newes. For *Artaxyras* was the first, and thou the second, that brought him newes of the death of *Cyrus*. Now *Mithridates*, albeit he was not well pleased in his mind with those wordes, he went his way, and sayd nothing then, nor made any thing a doe: but the vnfortunate CARIAN fondely fell into a fooliſh vaine, common vnto men. For, the sodeine ioy he felt (as it seemeth) to see such B
a goodly riche present before him, as the king sent him: made him so forget him selfe, that he began to aspyre, and to pretend greater things, then became his state and calling. And therefore he would not take the kings gifte, as in respecte that he had brought him worde of *Cyrus* death: but began to storme, and to rage, calling the gods to witnesse, that it was he onely, and none other, that slue *Cyrus*, and that they did him great wronge, to take this honor from him.

The punishment of them that slue Cyrus.

The king beeing told of it, tooke it so angrily: that he presently commaunded them to strike of his head. But *Parysatis* (the Queene mother) beeing present when the king gaue this commaundement, she prayed him not to put him to death in that sort: for the Villain, sayd she, let me alone, I will chastise him well enough for his presumption and rashe speeche. The king was contented she should haue him. Thereuppon she sent the Sergeaunts to take this curſed C
CARIAN, and made him be hanged vpon a gybbet ten dayes together, and at the tenne dayes end, caused his eyes to be pulled out of his head, and last of all, poored molten mettell into his eares, and so killed the Villaine with this kinde of torment. *Mithridates* also shortly after, died miserably, by a like follye. He was bidden to supper at a feast, whether came also the king and Queene mothers Euenukes: and when they came, *Mithridates* sate downe at the bord in the kings golden gowne he gaue him. When they had supped, and that they beganne to drinke one to another, one of *Parysatis* Euenukes sayd vnto *Mithridates*: the king hath in deede giuen thee a goodly gowne *Mithridates*, and goodly chaynes and carcanets of gold, and so is the sword very riche and good he gaue thee, so that when thou hast that by thy side, there is no man I warrant thee but will thinke thee a happy man. *Mithridates* then, the wine fuming D
into his brayne, aunswered straight: what meanest thou by that, *Sparamixes*? I deserued a better then this, when the battell was fought. Then *Sparamixes* langhing on him, aunswered, I do not speak it for any hurt or euil wil I beare thee, *Mithridates*: but to speake franckly among our selues, bicause the GRÆCIANS haue a common prouerbe, that wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valliant acte was it to take vp a cappariſon of a horse that fell on the ground, and to cary it to the king? which the Euenuke spitefully put forth vnto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to prouoke him to speake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a hasty man of nature, & could not kepe his tongue, & least of all when he had droncke so wel as he had done, and so it fell out in deede. For *Mithridates* could not byte it in, but replyed

See the perill of hastines, & rash aunswer.

straight: you may talke as long as you lyst of the cappariſon of a horse, & such trash, but I tell E
you plainly, that *Cyrus* was slayne with myne owne hands, and with no mans els. For I hit him not in vaine as *Artagerses* did, but full in the forehead hard by his eye, and strake him through and through his head againe, and so ouerthrewe him, of which blow he dyed. He had no soner spoken those words, but the rest that were at the bord, cast down their eyes, foreseeing the death of this pore & vnfortunat *Mithridates*. But then the master of the feast began to speake, and sayd vnto him: friend *Mithridates*, I pray thee let vs drincke and be mery, and reuerence and thanke the good fortune of our king, and for the rest, let this talke goe, it is too highe for vs. When the Euenuke went from thence, he tolde *Parysatis* the Queene mother what *Mithridates* had sayd before them all: and she went and told the king of it. Who was marueloussly offended withall to be so belyed, and to lose the thing that was most honorable, and best F
pleased him in his victorie. For it was his mind, that all the world (both GRÆCIANS and barbarous people) should certainly beleue, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was

hurt

A hurt, but yet that he ſlue *Cyrus* with his owne hand. So the king cõmaunded that *Mithridates* ſhould ſuffer the paines of death in botes, the which is after this maner. They take two botes made of purpoſe ſo euen, that the one is nether broder nor longer then the other, & then lay the offender in one of thẽ vpon his back, & ſo couer him with the other, & do ſow both botes together: So that the parties feete, hands, & head do come out at holes made of purpoſe for him, the reſt of his bodye is all hidden within. Now they giue him meate as much as he will eate, & if he wil not eate, they force him to it, by thruſting alles in his eies: then when he hath eaten, they giue him hony to drinke mingled with milke, & they do not only powre it into his mouth, but alſo all his face ouer, turning him ful into the ſunne, ſo that his face is all couered ouer with flies: & furthermore, being driuen to do his needes in that troughe, of his excre-
B ments there ingender wormes that eate his body euen to the very priuities. Then, when they ſee the man is dead, they take of the vppermoſt boate, & find all his fleſh deuowred with vermine ingendring of him, euen to his very intrals. So, when *Mithridates* had miſerably languiſhed in this manner, ſeuenteene daies together: at length he died in extreme torments. Now *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother) lacked no more to accompliſh her wicked deſire, but *Meſabates*, one of the kings Euenukes that had cut of *Cyrus* head and hand: & ſeing that he was very ware & circũſpect in his behauior, that ſhe could not take him at any aduauntage: in the end ſhe deuiſed a fine way to intrap him. She had a maruelous wit, & amonge other things could play paſſingly wel at all games at dyce, & did many times play with the king her ſonne before the warres: & after the warres alſo, when he had made peace, ſhe did play at dyce with him as
C ſhe had done before, inſomuch as ſhe knew all his ſecret loue, and furthered him to enioy it. To be ſhort, ſhe would neuer be out of his ſight but as litle as ſhe could, & would let his wife *Statira* haue as litle time with him as might be, that ſhe might gouerne and rule him as ſhe would: both bicauſe ſhe hated her of all creatures liuing, and alſo for that ſhe would beare the greateſt ſway and credit about him. When ſhe ſaw the king one day at leyſure, not knowing how to paſſe the time away: ſhe inticed him to play a thowſand Darecks at dyce, and was contented to loſe them willingly, and paied the thowſand Darecks downe, ſeeming notwithſtanding to be angry with her loſſe. So ſhe prayed him alſo to play one of his Euenukes with her: & the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed betwene thẽ that they ſhould both naime & except fiue of the truſtieſt & chieſeſt Euenukes they had:
D & then, which of them loſt, ſhould preſently deliuer vnto the winner his choyce of all the other Euenukes he would demaund. Thus they fel to play, & ſhe imploying all the cunning ſhe had, & playing as warely as ſhe could poſſible, beſides that the dyce ranne of her ſide, her luck ſerued her ſo, that ſhe wanne: & then ſhe required *Meſabates* for her winnings, being none of thoſe the king had excepted. Whẽ ſhe had him deliuered her, ſhe gaue him to the hangmen, & willed thẽ to flea him aliue, & then that they ſhould crucifie him, & naile him to a croſſe, & hang his skin vpon an other peece of tymber by him: the which was done accordingly. The king was maruelous angry withall when he knew it, & greeuouſly offended with his mother. Howbeit ſhe ſported it out, & laughing, told him: in deed it becomes thee wel to be angry for
E loſing an old gelded Villain, where I loſt a thowſand Darecks quietly, & ſaid neuer a word. So there came no other thing of it, ſauing that the king was a litle angry, & repented him that he had plaied ſo fondly & was ſo finely mocked. But Queene *Statira* on the other ſide, beſids that ſhe was againſt her in al other things: ſhe ſpared not to tel Queene mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the kings good & faithful ſeruaunts ſo cruelly to death, for *Cyrus* ſake. But now, after that *Tiſaphernes* (king *Artaxerxes* Lieuetenant) had deceiued *Clearchus*, & other captaines of Græce, deteſtably falſifying his word he had giuen thẽ, & that he had ſent them bound vnto the king: *Cteſias* ſayth, that *Clearchus* praied him to helpe him to a combe, & that hauing had one by his meanes, and alſo comed his head, it pleaſed him ſo wel, that to requite his good wil, he gaue him his ſeale of armes from his finger wherewith he ſealed his let-
F ters, for a witnes of the great friendſhip that was betwene them two. He ſayth alſo that in the ſtone of this ring there was grauen the daunce of the Caryatides. And furthermore, that the other ſouldiers which were priſoners with *Clearchus*, did take away the moſte part of the vittells that were ſent to him, and left him litle or nothing: and that he did remedye all this,

The terrible death of offenders, in boates or troughes, among the Perſians.

The miſerable death of Mithridates.

The deueliſh craft of Paryſatis, & her great skill & cunning at dyce.

Paryſatis craft and crueltie.

Tiſaphernes betrayeth the Captaines of Græce.

procuring a greater quantitie to be ſent vnto them, & that they ſhould put *Clearchus* portion apart, and all the other ſouldiers part alſo by them ſelues. This he did, as he ſayth, by *Paryſatis* conſent & commaundement, who knowing that amongeſt other vittells they dayly ſent *Clearchus* a gammon of bacon: ſhe tolde him one day he ſhould doe well to hide a litle knife in this gammon of bacon, and to ſend it him, to thend that the life of ſo noble & valliant a man as he was, ſhould not fall to the crueltie of the king. Howbeit, that he was affrayd to meddle withall, and durſt not doe it: & that the king ſware, & promiſed his mother, (who was an earneſt ſuter to him for *Clearchus*) that he would not put him to death. This notwithſtanding, the king being afterwards procured, and perſwaded to the contrary, by Queene *Statira* his wife: he put them all to death, but *Menon*. Therefore *Paryſatis*, Queene mother, after that time (ſayth *Cteſias*) deuiſed all the wayes ſhe could to poyſon Queene *Statira*, and to make her out of the way. But me thinketh this ſmelleth like a lye, that *Paryſatis* ſhould entend ſo wicked and daungerous an acte, as to put the kinges lawfull wife to death, by whome he had ſonnes that were to inherite the crowne, onely for the loue and reſpect of *Clearchus*: and it is too plaine that he coyned that, to honor and magnifie *Clearchus* memorie the more. But to proue it, a man may eaſily find it by the lyes he addeth afterwards vnto it: ſaying, that after the Captaines were ſlayne, all the bodies of the reſt were torne a peeces by dogges & fowles: and alſo that there came a boyſterous winde, and couered all *Clearchus* body with a great hill of duſt, and that out of this hill of duſt ſhortly after there ſpronge vp many palme trees, which made a prety thicke groue, that it ſhadowed all that place. Inſomuch that the king him ſelfe did afterwards maruelouſly repent him for putting of him to death, for that he was an honeſt man, & beloued of the gods. This was not for *Clearchus* ſake, but for an olde canckered malice *Paryſatis* had long time borne in her hart againſt Queene *Statira*: bicauſe ſhe ſaw wel enough, that the credit & authoritie her ſelf had with the king, was in reſpect of a ſonnes duty & obediēce to his mother, & in contrary maner, *Statiraes* credit & authoritie had a better ground & foūdaciō, bicauſe it came of the loue & good wil the king did beare her. And this is the onely cauſe that made her to practiſe the death of Quene *Statira*, hauing determined that her ſelf, or daughter in law, muſt nedes dye. Now Quene mother had one of the women of her chamber called *Gigis*, that was of great credit about her, & whome ſhe onely truſted. *Dinon* writeth, that this *Gigis* did help *Paryſatis* to make the poyſon. But *Cteſias* writeth contrarily, & ſaith that ſhe onely knew it, but otherwiſe that it was againſt her will: & that he that made the poyſon, was one *Belitaras*, but *Dinon* calleth him *Melantas*. Now, though in outward ſemblance and ſhew Queene mother & *Statira* ſemed to haue forgottē all malice betwene them, & that they begā again one of them to keepe company with the other, & did eate & drinke together: yet one of them miſtruſted the other, & tooke great heede to them ſelues, both of them eating one ſelfe meate, & in one diſhe together, and were both ſerued with one ſelf officers & men. In PERSIA there is a litle bird, of the which all the parts of it is excellent good to eate, & is ful of fat within: ſo that it is thought it liueth by ayer & dewe, and in the PERSIAN tongue they cal it Ryntaces. *Paryſatis*, as *Cteſias* ſayth, tooke one of theſe birdes, and cut it in the middeſt with a litle knife, the which was poyſoned onely on one of the ſides, and gaue that halfe which was poyſoned vnto *Statira*. Yet *Dinon* writeth, that it was not *Paryſatis* her ſelfe that gaue it her, but her caruer *Melantas* that carued her meate, & ſtill gaue Queene *Statyra* of that meate which the ſide of his poiſoned knife had touched. So Quene *Statira* preſētly fel ſick of the diſſeaſe wherof ſhe died, with greuous panges & gripings in her bowels, & found plainly that ſhe was poyſoned by *Paryſatis* meanes: wheruppō ſhe told the king as much, who was of the ſame opinion, & thought it was his mother, bicauſe he knew her cruel reuēging mind, that neuer pardoned any, againſt whō ſhe conceiued any grudge. The king therefore to know the troth, when his wife *Statira* was dead, apprehended all his mothers houſhold ſeruaunts & officers, & did put them to torments, to make them confeſſe the troth, ſauing *Gigis*, whome Queene mother kept cloſe in her chamber a long time, & would neuer ſuffer the king to haue her: who earneſtly requeſted her to deliuer her vnto him. Notwithſtanding, *Gigis* her ſelfe at length prayed Quene mother to giue her leaue one night to go home to her houſe. The king vnderſtanding it, layed waite for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when ſhe was taken, he condemned

Clearchus, & other Captaines of Grece put to death, by king Artaxerxes.

Cteſias vanity

The cauſe of Paryſatis hate vnto her Daughter in law, Statyra.

Paryſatis practiſeth to poyſon Queene Statira.

Ryntaces a bird of Perſia that hath no excrements.

How Statira was poyſoned.

A ned her to ſuffer the paynes of death ordeyned for poyſoners, the which in PERSIA is executed in this manner. They make them put their head vpon a great plaine ſtone, and with an other ſtone they preſſe and ſtrike it ſo long, till they haue daſhed the braynes of the malefactor out of their head. After this ſort was *Gigis* put to death. Now for *Paryſatis* his mother, the king did her no other hurt, nor ſayd no more vnto her, but confined her vnto BABYLON according to her deſire, & ſware, that whileſt ſhe liued, he would neuer ſee BABYLON. In this ſtate ſtoode the affaires of the king. But now, *Artaxerxes* hauing done the vtmoſt he could to haue ouercomen the GRÆCIANS which came to make warre with him in the hart of his Realme, and would haue bene as glad of that, as he was to haue ouercome *Cyrus*, & to keepe his crowne & Realme: he could neuer preuaile againſt them. For though they had loſt *Cyrus* that gaue them
B enterteinment, & all their priuate Captaines that led them: they ſaued them ſelues notwithſtanding, being in the hart of his Realme, and ſhewed the PERSIANS by experience, that all their doings was nothing but gold & ſiluer, curioſitie, & fayer women, & otherwiſe, nothing but pompe & vanity. Hereuppon al the GRÆCIANS became couragious, & deſpiſed the barbarous people: inſomuch that the LACEDÆMONIANS thought it a great ſhame & diſhonor vnto them, if they did not deliuer the GRÆCIANS that dwelt in ASIA, from the ſlauery & bōdage of the PERSIANS, & kept them from the open violence & cruelty of the barbarous people. For they hauing at other times attempted to doe it by their Captaine *Thimbron*, & afterwards alſo by *Dercyllidas*, whom they ſent thither with an army, & hauing done nothing worthy memory: at lēgth they determined to ſend their king *Ageſilaus* thither in perſon, who paſ-
C ſing through ASIA with his ſhipps, began preſently to make hot warre againſt the PERSIANS as ſoone as euer he had landed his army. For, at the firſt cōflict he ouerthrew *Tiſaphernes* (the king of PERSIAES Lieuetenant) in battel, and made the moſt part of the cities of GRÆCE that are in ASIA, to rebel againſt him. *Artaxerxes* loking into this warre, & wiſely cōſidering what way & meanes he was to take, to make warre with the GRÆCIANS: he ſent into GRÆCE one *Hermocrates* a RHODIAN, (of great credit about him) with a maruelous ſūme of gold & ſiluer, bountifully to beſtow in gifts among the nobilitie & chiefe rulers of the cities of GRÆCE, to make all the other GRÆCIANS to riſe againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Hermocrates* wiſely executed his cōmiſſion, for he made the chiefeſt cities of GRÆCE to rebel againſt LACEDÆMON: ſo that all PELOPONNESVS being vp in armes, and in great garboyle, the Ephori at LACEDÆ-
D MON were inforced to ſend for *Ageſilaus* home again. *Ageſilaus* being ſory to depart out of ASIA, ſaid vnto his friends: that the king of PERSIA had driuen him out of his Realme with thirty thowſand archers: bicauſe that the PERSIAN coyne is ſtāped with an archer, hauing a bow in his hand. *Artaxerxes* alſo draue the LACEDÆMONIANS out of all their iuriſdiction by ſea, by the meanes of *Conon*, general of the ATHENIANS, whō *Pharnabazus* (one of his Lieuetenants) had wonne to take his part. For *Conon*, after he was ouerthrowen in battel at a place called the goates riuer, kept euer after in the Ile of CYPRVS, not ſo much for the ſafetie of his perſon, as alſo for that it was a mete place to ſtay in, vntil the wars of GRÆCE were appeaſed. He know-
E ing that the deuiſe he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution, & on the contrary ſide, that the power of the king lacked a man of deepe iudgemēt to be imployed: he wrote letters vnto him of his deuiſe what he thought to doe, ſtraightly charging him whom he deliuered his letters vnto, that if he could poſſibly, he ſhould cauſe the ſame to be deliuered vnto the king by *Zenon* the CRETAN, one of the kings dauncers, or by one *Polycritus* his Phiſition, born in the city of MENDE: & in both their abſences, then to giue it vnto *Cteſias*, to deliuer vnto the king. It chaunced ſo that this letter came to the hands of *Cteſias*: who (as it is reported) added moreouer vnto the cōtents of the letter, that the king ſhould ſend him vnto *Conon*, bicauſe he was a neceſſary man to be employed in his ſeruice, but ſpecially by ſea. *Cteſias* ſayth not ſo, but writeth that the king of his owne voluntary motion gaue him this charge. Now, after *Artax-*
erxes had through the leading of *Conon* & *Pharnabazus*, won the battell by ſea neare to the Ile
F of GNIDVS, & that therby he had driuen all the LACEDÆMONIANS from their iuriſdiction by ſea, all GRÆCE had him in maruelous great eſtimation: ſo that he gaue vnto the GRÆCIANS with ſuch cōditions as he would, that ſo famous peace, called *Antalcidas* peace. This *Antalci-*
das was a citizē of SPARTA, the ſonne of one *Leon*, who fauoring king *Artaxerxes* affaires, pro-

The puniſhments for poyſoners in Perſia.

Ageſilaus king of Lacedæmon, maketh warre with the Perſians.

The Perſian coyne, how it is ſtamped.

Artaxerxes draue the Lacedæmonians from all their dominion by ſea.

Gnidus Inſ.

Antalcidas peace.

cured by the treatie of this peace, that the LACEDÆMONIANS left vnto *Artaxerxes* all the cities of GRÆCE in ASIA, & all the Iles conteined in the same, to enioy quietly, making thē pay tribute at his pleasure. This peace being cōcluded with the GRÆCIANS (if so shameful a treason, reproch, & common infamy to all GRÆCE may be called a peace, as neuer warre fell out more dishonorable & infamous for the vanquished) king *Artaxerxes* that otherwise hated the LACEDÆMONIANS to the death, & that estemed thē (as *Dinon* writeth) the impudentest men liuing: did notwithstanding loue *Antalcidas* passingly wel, & enterteined him very honorably, when he came into PERSIA vntō him. It is reported that the king one day tooke a garland of flowers, & did wet it with the most pretious & sweetest oyle of perfume that was prepared for the feast, & sēt the same vnto *Antalcidas*: insomuch as euery mā maruelled to see the kīg set so much by him. In deed he was a mete man to follow the vanity & curiositie of the PERSIANS, & had wel deserued such a garland to be sent him: who was so bold to daunce a daunce before the PERSIANS, mocking & coūterfeating *Leonidas* & *Callicratidas*, two of the valliantest men that euer were in GRÆCE. Therefore one said at that time in the presence of king *Agesilaus*: O how vnhappy is poore GRÆCE at this day, when the LACEDÆMONIANS come to follow the PERSIANS? But *Agesilaus* presently aūswered him againe, not so, said he: but rather the PERSIANS follow e the LACEDÆMONIANS. Notwithstanding, this wise aunswer *Agesilaus* made, did not take away the shame of the fact: & shortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS lost the battell of LEVCTRES, & therewith also the signiorie & principalitie they had kept of long time ouer all GRÆCE, although they had lost their estimatiō before, for cōsenting to so shameful & dishonorable a peace. Whē SPARTA florished most, & was chiefe of all the other cities of GRÆCE: so long did *Artaxerxes* stil cōtinue to make much of *Antalcidas*, & called him his friēd. But after that the LACEDÆMONIANS had lost the battell of LEVCTRES, hauing receiued so great an ouerthrow, & wanting money: they sent *Agesilaus* into ÆGYPT, & *Altalcidas* into PERSIA vnto king *Artaxerxes*, to pray him to ayde and helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS. Howbeit the king made so smal accompt of him, & disdained him so much, denying him, & his requests: that he returned backe to SPARTA, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the king. And there also seing that his enemies mocked him, & fearing that the Ephori would cōmit him to prison: he killed him self with famine. About that time also, the THEBANS after they had won the battell of LEVCTRES, sent *Ismenias* & *Pelopidas* into PERSIA, vnto king *Artaxerxes*: where *Pelopidas* did nothing vnworthy of him self. Howbeit *Ismenias* being commaunded to kneele to the king, he let fall his ringe at his feete, and stowped to take it vp: whereby it was thought of some that he did it to kneele to the king. Another time *Artaxerxes* liking a secret aduertisement very wel sent him from *Timagoras* the ATHENIAN: he gaue him ten thowsand daricks by his Secretary called *Belluris*. And bicause he had a sickly body, & was driuē to drink cowes milke to restore him: the king therfore sent foure score mylche kyne with him to giue milke to the paile, to haue fresh milke euery daye. Furthermore, he sent him a bed throughly furnished with al things necessary, & groomes of the chāber to make his bed, saying, that the GRÆCIANS could not tel how to make it: & did also let him haue men to cary him vpon their armes to the sea side, bicause he was sicke, & whilest he was at the Court, he enterteyned him very honorably & bountifully. So *Ostanes*, the kings brother, said one day vnto him: *Timagoras*, remēber how honorably thou art serued at thy bord, for it is not for no small matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his treason, then for any remēbrance of the benefit receiued. So the ATHENIANS afterwards condēned the same *Timagoras* to dye, bicause he had taken bribes & money of the king of PERSIA. But *Artaxerxes* in recōpence of so many other thinges that he had done, to despite the GRÆCIANS with, he did one thing that pleased them maruelously: when he did put *Tisaphernes* to death, who was the dreadfullest enemye the GRÆCIANS had. *Paryſatis* the Queene mother did helpe to bringe this to passe, aggrauating the accusations brought in against him. For the king kept not his anger longe against his mother, but fell in againe with her, and sent for her, knowing that she had an excellent witte and noble courage to gouerne a great kingdome: and besides, that there was nothing nowe to let them to come together as much as they would, to giue any occasion of ielousie or malice to any person. So euer after, his mother *Paryſatis* endeuored her selfe

Antalcidas Lacedæmonian, greatly esteemed of Artaxerxes.

The persians full of vanitie and curiositie.

The death of Antalcidas Lacedæmonian.

Timagoras Athenian, brybed by king Artaxerxes.

Timagoras was put to death, for taking brybes and gifts of the king of Persia.

King Artaxerxes killeth Tisaphernes.

Artaxerxes fell in againe with his mo-

to

A to feede the king her ſonnes humor euery manner of way, ſeeming to miſlike nothing that he did: Whereby ſhe grewe in great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatſoeuer ſhe asked him. So ſhe perceyued that the king was extreamely in loue with one of his owne Daughters, that was called *Atoſſa*: howbeit that he diſſembled his loue the beſt he could, and kept it ſecret, chiefly for feare of her, although ſome write, that in deede he had already had her maydenhead. Nowe *Paryſatis* hauing found his loue, ſhe beganne to make more of his Daughter then ſhe did before, and talking with her father, ſometyme ſhe prayſed her beauty, another tyme her grace and good countenaunce, ſaying that ſhe was like a Queene and noble Princeſſe. So that at length by litle and litle ſhe perſwaded him to marye her openly, not paſſing for the lawes and opinions of the GRÆCIANS, conſidering that God had giuen B him vnto the PERSIANS, to ſtabliſhe lawes vnto them, to decyde right from wronge, and the good from the bad. Some Hiſtoriographers doe write, and amongeſt them *Heraclides* of CVMES: that *Artaxerxes* did not onely marie the eldeſt of his Daughters, but the ſecond alſo called *Ameſtris*, of whome we will ſpeake hereafter. Nowe when he had maried the eldeſt, *Atoſſa*, he loued her ſo entierly well, that though ſhe fell ſicke of the diſſeaſe commonly called Vitiligo, that ranne ouer all her bodie: he loued her not the worſe for it, but prayed continually for her vnto the goddeſſe *Iuno*, honoring no other goddeſſe but her onely, and fell downe on his knees before her image, and ſent by his friendes and Lieuetenants ſo many offerings, that all the way from his Court gates vnto the temple of *Iuno*, (which was ſixteene furlong of) was full of gold, ſiluer, riche purple ſilkes, and horſe that were ſent thither. He beganne to C make warre alſo with the ÆGYPTIANS, and made *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates* ATHENIAN, his Lieuetenants, who did no good, bicauſe they fell at variance thone with thother. But afterwards, *Artaxerxes* him ſelfe went in perſon to conquer the CADVSIANS with three hundred thowſand footemen, and tenne thowſand horſemen. So he inuaded their contry, which was a very rude contry, alway darke and clowdy: The earth bringeth forth nothing that man ſoweth, but doth onely feede the inhabitants with peares, apples, and ſuch like frute, and yet the men be very ſtronge and valliant notwithſtanding. So when he was entred farre into the contry before he was ware, he fell into great want of vittells, and was alſo in great daunger. For his ſouldiers found nothing in all the contry that was good to eate, and worſt of all, no vittells could come vnto them from any place, bicauſe of the hardnes and naughty wayes of D the contry: So that his campe liued onely with the fleſhe of their beaſtes of cariage, and yet they ſold it dearely: for, an aſſes head was ſold for three skore ſiluer Drachmas. To conclude, the famyne was ſo great, that prouiſion fayled for the kings owne mouth, and there were but fewe horſe left, for all the reſt were eaten. Then *Tiribazus*, that had oftentimes bene chiefe about the king, bicauſe he was a valliant man, and that through his folly was many tymes alſo out of fauor, as at that preſent tyme, when he had no authoritie nor eſtimation: he deuiſed a ſtratageame, whereby he ſaued the king and all his campe. In this contry of the CADVSIANS, there were two kinges in the field with their armies, both of them camped a ſonder one from the other. *Tiribazus*, after he had ſpoken with king *Artaxerxes*, and had tolde him what he ment to doe: he went vnto one of the kinges, and at the ſelfe ſame tyme alſo ſeeretly ſent his E ſonne vnto the other king, and told either of them, that the other king had ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Artaxerxes* to make peace with him, vnwitting to his companion, and therefore he counſelled them if they were wiſe, one of them to ſeke to preuent another with all the poſſible ſpeede he could, and promiſed them both, one after another, to helpe them the beſt he could. Both the one and the other of the kings gaue credit to his wordes, either of them both miſtruſting one another: ſo that the one ſpeedily ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto king *Artaxerxes*, with *Tiribazus*, and the other alſo his Ambaſſadors with his ſonne. But *Tiribazus* tarying long in his iorney, king *Artaxerxes* beganne ſomewhat to ſuſpect him, his enemies alſo did accuſe him in his abſence, aud the king grewe very chollerycke, and repented him that he had truſted him ſo farre, and was willing to heare euery man that ſpake againſt him. Howbeit F *Tiribazus* at length returned, and his ſonne alſo, and either of them brought with them the Ambaſſadors of the CADVSIANS, and ſo peace was taken with them both. Then was *Tiribazus* aloft againe, and in greater credit then euer he was, and ſo departed with the king. The

ther Paryſatis, & ſent for her to come to the Court.

Artaxerxes maried his eldeſt Daughter Atoſſa.

King Artaxerxes iorney againſt the Caduſians. The contry of the Caduſians very barren.

Great famyne in Artaxerxes army.

Tiribazus ſtratageame ſaued Artaxerxes, and all his army.

Note, that soft apparell and riches, maketh not a man cowardly and effeminate: but a vile base mind, that followeth euill aduise and counsell.

The corage of king Artaxerxes, & his great paynes in marching.

King Artaxerxes curteſie to his ſouldiers.

king then ſhewed plainely, that cowardlines proceedeth not of pompe and curioſitie, as ſome take it, beleuing that it doth effeminate mens harts, but rather of a vile baſe mind, that commonly followeth euill, and the worſt counſell. For nether the iewells of gold, the kingly robe, nor other ſumptuous ornaments which the king euer ware about him, worth twelue thowſand talents as it is reported, did not hinder him at that tyme to trauaile, and to take as much payne as any man in all his army. For he him ſelfe marched a foote the foremoſt man, carying his owne truſſe in a ſcarfe vppon his ſhoulders, and his target on his arme, and trauelled through highe ſtony mountaines. So that his ſouldiers ſeeing the corage and payne the king him ſelfe tooke, they marched ſo nymbly, that it ſeemed they had wings: for he dayly marched aboue two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by fore trauell, came to one of his owne houſes, where there were goodly arbors and parkes, with goodly trees paſſingly ſette forth: but all the contry beſides was naked and barren, ſo that there was not a tree a great way from thence, and it was maruelous cold. The king ſuffred his ſouldiers to hewe downe the goodly pynes and cypres trees in his parkes: and bicauſe they durſt not preſume to touch them, he him ſelfe as he was tooke an axe in his hande and beganne to hewe downe the goodlieſt tree there. The ſouldiers ſeeing that, fell euery man of them alſo to hewing: ſo that in a very ſhort tyme they had prouided them ſelues well with wodde, and made them great fires in euery place, and ſo paſt ouer the night quietly by the fires ſide. This notwithſtanding, he loſt a great number of valliant men in this voyage, and almoſt all his horſes. Therefore thinking his men would mocke him, bicauſe he did fayle of his purpoſe: he beganne to growe miſtruſtfull, and to ſuſpect the chiefeſt noble men he had about him: ſo that in a rage he put many of them to death, but much more of them remayned, whome he miſtruſted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloud ſucker, then a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary manner nothing is more curteous, and leſſe ſuſpicious, then a valliant and hardy man. And therefore brute beaſtes that be neuer made tame nor maſtered, are commonly cowardly, and timerous: and the other to the contrary, that are noble and coragious, are bold ſtraight, and doe come to knowe a man, bicauſe they haue no feare, nether doe they flie from their clapping and making much of them as they doe. Afterwards king *Artaxerxes* being growen very olde, heard that there was great ſturre and contencion betwene his ſonnes, which of them ſhould be heire after his death, and that this contencion fell out alſo amonge his friends and men, of great calling. The wiſeſt of them wiſhed, that as he him ſelf came vnto the crowne, as his fathers eldeſt ſonne: ſo that he likewiſe ſhould after his death leaue it vnto his eldeſt ſonne, called *Darius*. But the younger, which was called *Ochus*, being a valliant man, and of a whot ſtirring nature, had ſome in the Court alſo that tooke his parte, and hoped to attayne to his purpoſe, by the meanes of his ſiſter *Atoſſa*, whome he loued and honored, promiſing to mary her, and to make her Queene, if he might come to be king after his fathers diſeaſe. And beſides, there went a report abroad, that in their fathers life time he ſecretly kept her: howbeit *Artaxerxes* neuer vnderſtoode it. Now, bicauſe he would betimes put his ſonne *Ochus* out of all hope to ſucceede him in the kingdom, leaſt this expectacion might make him to goe about to practiſe that which *Cyrus* did, and that by this meanes his Realme ſhould growe into faction and ciuill warres: he proclaymed his eldeſt ſonne *Darius* (beeing fiftye yeare olde) king after his death, and furthermore gaue him leaue from thenceforth to weare the poynt of his hat right vp. In PERSIA the cuſtom is, that when any commeth to be proclaymed ſucceſſor and heire apparant to the crowne, he ſhould require a gifte of him that proclaymeth him ſucceſſor. The which the other doth graunt him, whatſoeuer it be that he asketh, ſo it be not impoſſible. *Darius* then asked his father a concubine called *Aſpaſia*, who was firſt with *Cyrus*, & in greateſt fauor with him aboue all the reſt, but then was for the kings own bodye. She was borne in the contry of IONIA, of free parents: and being vertuouſly brought vp, ſhe was brought one night vnto *Cyrus* as he was at ſupper with other women, who ſate them downe, without too curious bidding, hard by him, and were verie glad when *Cyrus* offered to play and be merie with them, geuing euerie one of them ſome pleaſaunt word, and they made it not coy. But *Aſpaſia* ſtoode on her feete by the table, and ſayd neuer a word: and notwithſtanding that *Cyrus* called her, ſhe woulde not come at him. Moreouer, when one of the

Darius and Ochus, king Artaxerxes ſonnes.

Artaxerxes proclaymeth his ſonne Darius king.

Aſpaſia Ioniã, one of Artaxerxes concubines.

A the groomes of his chamber would haue taken her to haue brought her to him: the firſt ſaith ſhe, that layeth hands on me, ſhall repent it. Thereuppon all thoſe that were preſent, ſaid ſhe was a fooliſh thing, and ſimply brought vp, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit *Cyrus* being glad of it, paſſed it ouer with laughing, and told him that had brought them vnto him: doeſt thou not ſee, that of all theſe thou haſt brought me, there is not an honeſt woman but ſhe? After that, *Cyrus* began to make muche of her, and loued her better continually then all the reſt, & called her *Aſpaſia* the wiſe. This *Aſpaſia* was taken among the ſpoiles of *Cyrus* campe after he was ouerthrowen, and *Darius* as we haue told ye, did begge her of his father, who was verie angrie with it in his mind. For the barbarous people of all other things are maruelous gealous of their women, ſo that not onely he ſhould be put to death, that durſt
B but ſpeake to, or touch any concubine of the kings but in ſport: but alſo whoſoeuer came nere them, or neere their coches as they trauelled. The kings daughter *Atoſſa*, whom he had maried againſt all lawe, was yet liuing, and beſides her he had alſo three hundred and three ſcore paſſing fayer concubines: and yet when his ſonne *Darius* asked *Aſpaſia* of him, the king aunſwered, ſhe was a free woman borne, and therefore if ſhe woulde, he was content he ſhould haue her: but if ſhe were vnwilling to goe to him, then he would not haue him force her by no meanes. So *Aſpaſia* was ſent for, and ſhe was asked with whom ſhe had rather be. She anſwered, with *Darius*: contrarie to king *Artaxerxes* expectacion, who both by the cuſtome, and alſo the law, was compelled to let him haue her. But ſhortly after he tooke her from him againe, ſaying that he woulde place her in a Nunrie of *Diana*, in the contrie of ECBATANE,
C where they call her *Anitis*, there to ſerue the goddeſſe, and to liue chaſt all the daies of her life: ſuppoſing by this meanes to puniſh his ſonne, not rigorouſly, but moderatly, with grieſe mixt with ſporte and earneſt. Howebeit his ſonne tooke it not ſo pacientlie, either bicauſe he was deepelie in loue with *Aſpaſia*, or elſe for that he ſaw his father mocked him in that point. *Tiribazus* finding this, and perceiuing that *Darius* tooke it verie grieuouſlie: he aggrauated his anger againſt his father, knowing the paſſion of loue in *Darius*, by his owne, vpon the like occaſion. King *Artaxerxes* had many daughters, and had promiſed *Pharnabazus* one of them, called *Apama*: vnto *Orontes*, *Rodogoune*: and to *Tiribazus*, *Ameſtris*. The king performed the other two mariages, & did put *Tiribazus* by his wife. For the king him ſelfe maried his owne daughter *Ameſtris*, and for her, he promiſed *Tiribazus* the younger, *Atoſſa*: with whom alſo
D he him ſelfe fell in loue, and maried her. *Tiribazus* hereupon was in ſuch a rage with the king, that he hated him to the death: not bicauſe he was any traitor or ſeditious man in nature, but a madde harebrained fellow. For ſometime he was aloft, and in as good credit and authoritie as the beſt: ſodainly againe he woulde play ſome madde parte to anger the king, and then he was in as much diſgrace, and out of countenaunce: and could not away with neither fortune. For when he was in authoritie, he made euerie man hate him for his pride: and being in diſgrace, he could not humble him ſelfe, but looke bigger then before. Nowe there was fire and brimſtone met, when *Tiribazus* tooke parte with *Darius*. For he dayly blewe into his eares, that it was to no purpoſe for him to weare his hat right vp, if his affaires alſo went not rightly forward: and that he deceiued him ſelfe much, if he did not know that his brother (by meanes
E of the women he kept) ſecretlie aſpired to the crowne: and that his father being ſo vnconſtant as he was, he muſt not truſt in any ſorte to ſucceede his father in the kingdome, what proclamation ſoeuer he hath made in his behalfe to the contrarie. For, ſayd he, he that for a GRÆCIAN woman hath broken and violated the holieſt lawe that was in PERSIA: thou muſt not looke that he will performe that he hath promiſed thee. And furthermore he perſwaded him, that it was not a like repulſe vnto *Ochus*, to be denied that which he looked for: as it was for him to be turned out of all that euer he had gotten. For ſayd he, if it pleaſe *Ochus* to liue like a priuate man, he may ſafelie doe it, and no man will trouble him: but for him ſelfe that was alreadie proclaimed king, he muſt of neceſſitie make him ſelfe king, or elſe he muſt not liue. So the Poet *Sophocles* his ſaying moſt commonly proueth true:
F

Ill counſell eazly takes place.

For the way is large and plaine for a man to beleeue as he lyſt, and men commonly are giuen rather to beleue the euill then the good, bicauſe moſt men know not what goodnes mea-

The barbarous people can not away with rinalitie in loue.

Tiribazus incenſeth Darius againſt his father Artaxerxes.

Tiribazus manners, and condicions.

neth. But now beside these persuasions, the greatnes of the kingdome, and the feare Darius stoode in of his brother *Ochus*, tooke great force and effect with him: and it may be also, that *Venus* her selfe did somewhat in the matter, for the malice and spight that *Aspasia* was taken from him. But whatsoeuer the cause was, thus was it handled: that *Darius* flatly conspired against his father *Artaxerxes*, together with *Tiribazus*. Now, they hauing gotten many conspirators to ioyne with them, one of the kings Euenukes perceiuing it, ranne and told the king of it, and howe they had sodainly determined to assaile him, knowing certainly that it was agreed among them selues, that they should kill him in his bedde in the night. *Artaxerxes* receiuing this aduertisement, thought it was not good to be careless of a matter of so great importaunce as his life: and also that it were too great lightnes in him so sodainly to beleue his Euenuke, without better proofe or knowledge. So he tooke this way with him selfe. He commaunded the Euenuke that had geuen him this informacion, to keepe companie still with the conspirators, & to follow them whereseoeuer they went, to see their doings: and in the meane time he bet downe his wall behind his bed, and made a dore thorowe, and set vp a hanging of tapistrie before it. When the time was come, as the Euenuke had aduertised the king, that the traitors ment to doe their feate: *Artaxerxes* being layed on his bedde, rose not vp till he had seene euerie traitor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then when he sawe them comming towards him with their swords drawen, he sodainly lift vp the hanging, and got in to his inner chamber, & shut the dore after him, making an outcrie, murder, murder. So the traitors being plainly seene and knowen by the king, fled the same way they came, and failed of their purpose, and bad *Tiribazus* saue him selfe, bicause he was knowen. So they dispersed them selues, and scaped by flying. But *Tiribazus* was taken tardie, although he had slaine diuers of the kings gard, valliantly defending him selfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was striken with a dart a good way of, which slewe him. *Darius* was also taken and apprehended, and brought prisoner with his sonnes: and the king referred him to be iudged by his peeres. For the king him selfe would not be present to geue iudgement of him, but deputed others in his place to accuse him: howbeit he commaunded his secretaries to set downe in writing the opinion and sentence of euerie one of the Iudges and to bring it him. In fine, they all cast him, and condemned him to dye. Then the officers layed hold on him, and brought him into a chamber of the prison, where the hangman came with a raser in his hande with the which he vsed to cut mens throates so condemned to dye. So the hangman comming into the chamber, when he saw it was *Darius*, he was affrayed, and came out of the chamber againe, his hart failing him, and durst not lay handes vpon the person of the king. But the Iudges that stoode without the chamber, bad him goe and doe it, vnlesse he would haue his owne throate cut. So the hangman then came in, and tooke *Darius* by the heare of the head, and made him hold downe his head, and so cut his necke with his raser he had in his other hand. Others doe write, that this sentence was geuen in the presence of king *Artaxerxes* selfe, and that *Darius* seeing him selfe conuicted by manifest proofes brought in against him, he fell downe at his fathers feete, and besought him to pardon him: and then that his father being angrie, rose vp, and drew out his curtelax and wounded him in so many places withall, that at length he slue him. Then returning into the Court, he worshipped the sunne, and turning him to his Lords that were about him, he sayd vnto them. My Lordes, God be with you, and be merie at home in your houses, and tell them that were not here, how the great *Oromazes* hath taken reuenge of them that practised treason against me. This was the end of *Darius* treason. Now *Darius* being dead, *Ochus* his brother stoode in good hope to be next heire to the crowne, & the rather, through the meanes and frendshippe of his sister *Atossa*: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he feared him called *Ariaspes*, who was onely left of all the rest that were legitimate: and of his bastard brethren, *Arsames*: not bicause *Ariaspes* was elder than he, but for that he was of a soft & plaine nature, the PERSIANS desired he might be their king. On the other side, *Arsames* was wise, and valliant: and *Ochus* sawe that his father loued him dearely. So he determined to intrappe them both. Now *Ochus* being a suttle and malicious natured man, he first shewed his crueltie vpon *Arsames*, and his malice vpon *Ariaspes* his legitimate brother. For, bicause he knewe he was but simple and plaine, he sent dayly some of the kings Euenukes vnto him, who brought him

Darius conspireth against Artaxerxes his father.

A deuise of Artaxerxes how to preuent the conspirators and to saue him selfe.

Tiribazus the traitor slaine.

Darius condemned to dye, and executed.

King Artaxerxes sonnes

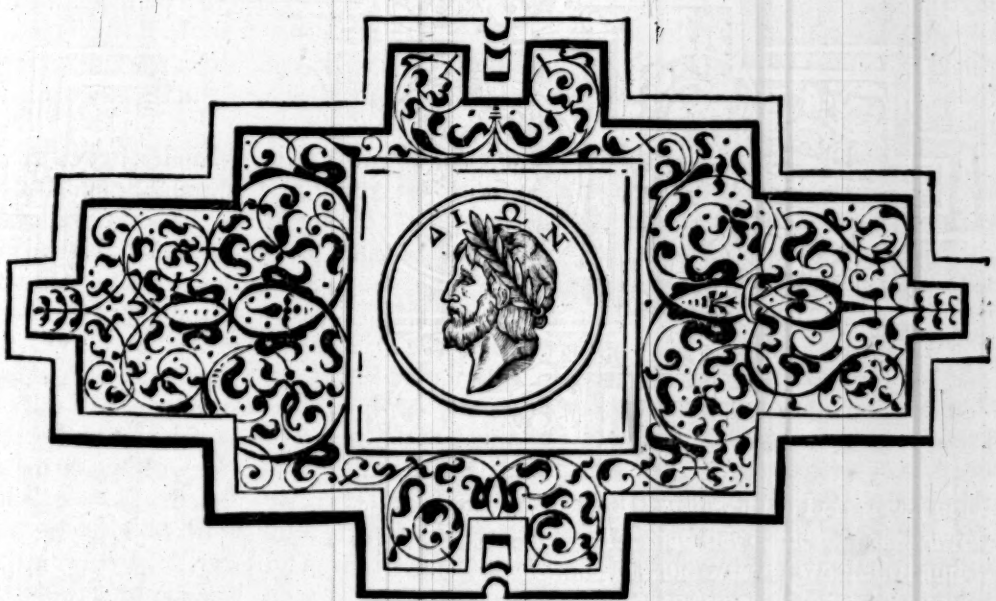
A B C D E F

A him threatning words and meſſages, as from the king: telling him that he had determined to put him to a ſhamefull and cruell death. So, forging theſe newes continuallie as things verie ſecret, they did ſo terrifie poore *Ariaſpes*, telling him that the king was fullie bent to put ſome of his threats in execution out of hand: that he was put in ſuch feare and diſpaire of his life, that he prepared him ſelfe a poyſon, and dranke it, to ridde him ſelfe of his life. King *Artaxerxes* vnderſtanding of his death, tooke it very heauily, & began to miſtruſt the cauſe that made him to make him ſelfe away: howebeit he coulde not ſeeke the proofe of it, for his extreame age. But this chaunce made him loue *Arſames* better then before, ſhewing plainly that he truſted him better then *Ochus*, and did make him priuie to all things. *Ochus* could no lenger abide to deferte his intent, and therefore entiſed *Harpates*, *Tiribazus* ſonne, to kill his baſtard bro-

B ther *Arſames*: the which he did. Now *Artaxerxes* was ſo extreame olde, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his ſonne *Arſames* was murdered, he coulde beare it no lenger, but tooke it ſo to his hart for ſorow, that when he had liued foure ſcore and fouretene yeares, and raigned three ſcore and two, he dyed. When he was dead, they then found that he had bene a gratious & curteous Prince, and one that loued his people and ſubiectes: when they ſaw the proofe of his ſucceſſor *Ochus*, that paſſed all men liuing, in crueltie and ſeuerity.

The death of king Artaxerxes. Artaxerxes, was 94. yeres olde at his death.

THE LIFE OF *Dion.*



LIke as *Simonides*, ô *Soſsius Senecio*, ſaith that the city of ILIVM was not offended with the CORINTHIANS, for that they came to make warre with them with other GRÆCIANS, bicauſe *Glaucus* (whoſe firſt aunceſters came from CORINTHE) had taken armes, & louingly fought for the ſame: euen ſo me thinkes, that neither the GRÆCIANS nor ROMANES haue cauſe to complaine of the Academy, ſith they be both alike praiſed of the ſame in this preſent booke, in the which are conteined the liues of *Dion* and *Brutus*. Of the which, the one of them hauing bene verie familiar with *Plato* him ſelfe, and the other from his childhoode brought vp in *Platoes* doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one ſelfe ſchoolehouſe, to attempt the greateſt enterpriſes amongeſt men. And it is no maruell if they two were muche like in many of their doinges, prouing that true which their ſchoolemaiſter

Dion & Brutus both Platonians.

Plato de virtute. *Plato* wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the gouernment of a common wealth, which A
How mens acts should be famous in the common wealth. ſhould be famous, and of credit, authoritie, and good fortune, muſt both meete in one ſelfe perſon, ioined with iuſtice and wiſedom. For, as a certaine ſenſer called *Hippomachus* ſaid, that he knewe his ſchollers farre of, if he did but ſee them comming from the market with meate in their handes: ſo it muſt needes follow, that men hauing bene vertuouſly brought vp, muſt nedes be wiſe in all their doings, and beſide that it bringeth them to ciuilitie and honeſty, euen ſo it frameth their condicions muche like one vnto an other. Furthermore, their fortunes hauing alſo fallen out both alike, more by chaunce then by any reaſon, do make their liues verie like to eache other. For, they were both of them ſlaine, before they coulde bring their enterpriſes to paſſe which they had determined. But the greateſt wonder of all is this: that their
A wicked ſpirite appeared vnto Dion & Brutus. deathes were foreſhewed vnto them both, by a wicked ſpirit that viſiblie appeared vnto either B
of them: albeit there be ſome that can not abide thoſe opinions, and doe maintaine that theſe ſights and euill ſpirits doe neuer appeare to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of litle children, or old women, or of ſome men that their wits are weakened by ſickenes, and ſo haue a certaine imagination of ſuche ſtraunge ſightes, being of this ſuperſtitious minde, that they haue a wicked ſpirit, and an euill angell in them. But if *Dion* and *Brutus*, both of them graue and learned Philoſophers, and verie conſtant men, not ouercome by any ſodaine paſſion or imagination of minde, haue bene moued by ſuch ſights and ſpirits, and haue alſo tolde it vnto their frendes: I can not tell whether we ſhall be inforced, to graunt the moſt ſtraungeſt and oldeſt opinion of this, which ſayth: that there be euill ſpirites which enuying the vertue of good men, to withdraw them from their godly mindes, doe make them affrayed C
with theſe fearefull ſights, intiſing them to forſake their godlynes, leaſt that perſiſting therein, they ſhould be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let vs referre this diſputacion to ſome other booke, and now in this twelfth couple of theſe famous mens liues compared, let vs firſt begin to write the life of him that is the elder of theſe two men we ſpeake of.

Dionyſius maried Hermocrates daughter. *Dionyſius* the elder, after he had the gouernment of SICILIA in his handes, he maried the daughter of *Hermocrates*, a citizen of SYRACVSA. But yet not being throughlie ſettled in his tyrannie, the SYRACVSANS did rebell againſt him, & did ſo cruellie and abhominablie handle the bodie of his wife, that ſhe willinglie poyſoned her ſelfe. So after he had eſtabliſhed him
Dionyſius wiues, Doride, of Locres: Ariſtomachè, of Syracuſa, Hipparinus daughter, and Dions ſiſter. ſelfe in his gouernment with more ſuretie then before, he maried againe two other wiues to- D
gether, the one a ſtraunger of the citie of LOCRES, called *Doride:* and the other of the contry it ſelfe, called *Ariſtomachè*, the daughter of *Hipparinus* the chiefeſt man of all SYRACVSA, and that had bene companion with *Dionyſius*, the firſt time he was choſen Generall. It was ſayd that *Dionyſius* maried them both in one day, and that they could neuer tell which of them he knewe firſt: but otherwiſe, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly ſate together with him at his table, and did either of them lye with him by turnes: though the SYRACVSANS would haue their owne contrywoman preferred before the ſtraunger. Howebeit the ſtraunge woman had this good happe, to bring foorth *Dionyſius* his eldeſt ſonne, which was a good countenaunce to defend her, being a forreiner. *Ariſtomachè* in contrarie maner, continued a long time with *Dionyſius*, without frute of her wombe, although he E
was verie deſirous to haue children by her: ſo that he put the LOCRIAN womans mother to death, accuſing her that ſhe had with ſorceries and witchcraft, kept *Ariſtomachè* from being
Dions kinded with Dionyſius. with child. *Dion* being the brother of *Ariſtomachè*, was had in great eſtimation at the firſt, for his ſiſters ſake: but afterwards the tyran finding him to be a wiſe man, he loued him thē for his owne ſake. Inſomuch, that among many ſundrie things & pleaſures he did for him: he commaunded his Treaſorers to let him haue what money he asked of them, ſo they made him acquainted withall the ſelfe ſame day they gaue him any. Nowe though *Dion* had euer before a noble minde in him by nature, yet muche more did that magnanimitie increaſe, when *Plato* by good fortune arriued in SICILE. For his comming thither ſurelie was no mans deuiſe,
Plato came out of Italie vnto Syracuſa. as I take it, but the verie prouidence of ſome god: who (bringing farre of the firſt beginning F
and fundation of the libertie of the SYRACVSANS, and to ouerthrow the tyrannicall ſtate) ſent *Plato* out of ITALIE vnto the citie of SYRACVSA, and brought him acquainted with *Dion*, who

was

A was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter witte to learne, and redier good will to follow vertue, then any young man elſe that followed *Plato*: as *Plato* him ſelfe writeth, and his owne doinges alſo doe witneſſe. For *Dion* hauing from a child bene brought vp with humble conditions vnder a tyran, and acquainted with a ſeruile timerous life, with a prowde and inſolent reigne, with all vanity and curioſitie, as placing chiefe felicity in couetouſnes: neuertheleſſe, after he had felt the ſweete reaſons of Philoſophie, teaching the broad way to vertue, his hart was enflamed ſtraight with earneſt deſire to follow the ſame. And bicauſe he found that he was ſo eaſelie perſwaded to loue vertue and honeſtie, he ſimplie thinking (being of an honeſt plaine nature) that the ſelfe ſame perſwaſions would moue a like affection in *Dionyſius*: obteined of *Dionyſius*, that being at leaſure, he was contented to ſee *Plato*, and to ſpeake with him. *Dion, Platoes ſcholler.*

B When *Plato* came to *Dionyſius*, all their talke in maner was of vertue, and they chiefely reaſoned what was fortitude: where *Plato* proued that tyrans were no valliant men. From thence paſſing further into iuſtice, he told him that the life of iuſt men was happy, and contrarily the life of vniuſt men vnfortunate. Thus the tyran *Dionyſius* perceiuing he was ouercomen, durſt no more abide him, and was angrie to ſee the ſtanders by to make ſuche eſtimacion of *Plato*, and that they had ſuch delight to heare him ſpeake. At length he angrily asked him, what buſineſſe he had to doe there? *Plato* aunſwered him, he came to ſeeke a good man. *Dionyſius* then replied againe: what, in Gods name, by thy ſpeache then it ſeemeth thou haſt founde none yet. Now *Dion* thought that *Dionyſius* anger would proceede no further, and therefore at *Platoes* earneſt requeſt, he ſent him away in a galley with three bankes of owers, the which *Plato and Dionyſius the elder talke together.*

C *Pollis* a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine caried backe againe into GRÆCE. Howbeit *Dionyſius* ſecretlie requeſted *Pollis* to kill *Plato* by the way, as euer he would doe him pleaſure: if not, yet that he would ſell him for a ſlaue, howſoeuer he did. For ſaid he, he ſhall be nothing the worſe for that: bicauſe if he be a iuſt man, he ſhall be as happie to be a ſlaue, as a freeman. Thus, as it is reported, this *Pollis* caried *Plato* into the Ile of ÆGINA, and there ſold him. For the ÆGINETES hauing warre at that time with the ATHENIANS, made a decree, that all the ATHENIANS that were taken in their Ile, ſhould be ſold. This notwithſtanding, *Dionyſius* refuſed not to honor and truſt *Dion*, as much as euer he did before, and did alſo ſende him Ambaſſador in matters of great weight. As when he ſent him vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, where he behaued him ſelfe ſo well, that he wan great reputacion by his iorney: and the tyran coulde well away with his plaine ſpeach. For no man but he, durſt ſay their mindes ſo boldly vnto him, to ſpeake what he thought good: as on a time he reproued him for *Gelon*. One day when they mocked *Gelons* gouernment before the tyrans face, and that *Dionyſius* him ſelfe ſayd (finely deskanting of his name, which ſignifieth laughture) that he was euen the verie laughing ſtocke him ſelfe of SICILE: the Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretacion of laughture paſſingly well. But *Dion* not being well pleaſed withall, ſayd vnto him: for his ſake, men truſted thee, whereby thou cameſt to be tyran: but for thine owne ſake they will neuer truſt any man. For, to ſay truly, *Gelon* ſhewed by his gouernment, that it was as goodly a thing as coulde be, to ſee a citie gouerned by an abſolute Prince: but *Dionyſius* by his gouernment on thother ſide, made it appeare as deteſtable a thing. This *Dionyſius* had by his LOCRIAN *Dionyſius malice vnto Plato.* *Plato ſolde in the Ile of AEgina.* *Dions boldnes in ſpeaking plainly to the tyran.* *Gelon ſignifieth laughture.*

E wife three children, and by *Ariſtomaché* foure: of the which, two were daughters, the one called *Sophroſynè*, and the other *Areté*. Of them, *Dionyſius* eldeſt ſonne maried *Sophroſyne*, and *Areté* was maried vnto his brother *Thearides*, after whoſe death *Dion* maried her, being his Nece. Now when *Dionyſius* her father fell ſicke, not likely to eſcape: *Dion* would haue ſpoken with him for his children he had by his ſiſter *Ariſtomaché*. Howbeit the Phiſitions about him, to currie fauor with the next heire and ſucceſſor of the tyrannie, would neuer let him haue any time or oportunitie to ſpeake with him. For, as *Timæus* writeth, they gaue *Dionyſius* the elder (as he had commaunded them) a ſtrong opiat drinke to caſt him in a ſleepe, and ſo thereby they tooke from him all his ſences and ioyned death with his ſleepe. Notwithſtanding, in the firſt counſell and aſſemblie holden by his frendes, to conſult about the ſtate and affaires of F the younger *Dionyſius*: *Dion* moued matter ſo neceſſarie and profitable for that preſent time, that by his wiſedom he ſhewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke ſpeach, made them know that they were but ſlaues of the tyranny: bicauſe they beaſtly and cowardly *Sophroſynè, and Areté: the daughters of Dionyſius by Ariſtomaché.* *Dion marieth his Nece Areté the daughter of Dionyſius & of his ſiſter Ariſtomaché.* *The death of Dionyſius the elder.*

gaue ſuche counſell and aduiſe, as might beſt pleaſe and feede the young tyrannes humor. A
But he made them moſt to wonder at him, when they fearing aboue all other thinges, the
daunger *Dionyſius* ſtate was in, by reaſon of CARTHAGE, he did promiſe them, that if *Dionyſius* would haue peace, he would then goe foorthwith into AFRICKE, and finde the meanes
honorablie to quenche the warres: or if otherwiſe he better liked of warre, that he woulde
furniſhe him at his owne proper coſtes and charges, fiftie gallies readie to rowe. *Dionyſius*
wondered greatlie at the noble minde of *Dion*, and thanked him muche for the good will he
bare vnto him, touching his eſtate. But all men elſe taking *Dions* noble offer to be a reproach
of their auarice, and his credit and authoritie, and impaire vnto theirs: they preſentlie vpon
this liberall offer tooke occaſion to accuſe him, not ſparing any reproachefull wordes againſt
Flattering Courtiers do incenſe Dionyſius the younger to hate Dion.
him, to moue *Dionyſius* to be offended with him. For they complayned of him, and ſayd that B
he cunninglie practiſed to poſſeſſe the tyrannie, making him ſelfe ſtrong by ſea, going about
by his gallies to make the tyrannie fall into the handes of the children of *Ariſtomache* his ſiſter. But the chiefeſt cauſe of all why they did malice and hate him, was his ſtraunge manner
of life: that he neither woulde keepe companie with them, nor liue after their manner. For
they that from the beginning were crept in fauour and frendſhippe with this younge euill
brought vp tyranne, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleaſures: ſtudied for
no other thing, but to enterteine him in loue matters, and other vaine exerciſes, as to riot
and bancket, to keepe light women companie, and all ſuche other vile vicious paſtimes and
recreacions, by the which the tyrannie became like iron ſoftened by fire, and ſeemed to be
verie pleaſaunt vnto the ſubiectes, bicauſe the ouergreat Maieſtie and ſeueritie thereof was C
ſomewhat milder, not ſo muche by the bountie and goodneſſe, as by the follie and rechleſnes
of the Lorde. Thus, this litle care and regarde increaſing more and more, ſtill winning way
with the young tyran: did at length melt and breake a ſunder thoſe ſtrong diamond chaines,
with the whiche *Dionyſius* the elder made his boaſt that he left his Monarchie and tyrannie
chained to his ſonne. For ſometime he would be three dayes together without intermiſſion,
The vices of Dionyſius the younger.
ſtill banketing and being dronke: and all that time his Court gates were kept ſhut vnto graue
and wiſe men, and for all honeſt matters, and was then full of dronkards, of common playes,
dauncinges, maskes, and mommeries, and full of all ſuche tromperie and diſſolute paſtimes.
And therefore *Dion* vndoubtedlie was muche enuied of them, bicauſe he gaue him ſelfe to
no ſport nor pleaſure: whereupon they accuſed him, and miſnamed his vertues, vices, being D
ſomwhat to be reſembled vnto them. As in calling his grauetie, pride: his plainnes and boldneſſe in his Oration, obſtinacie: if he did perſwade them, that he accuſed them: and bicauſe
he would not make one in their fonde paſtimes: that therefore he deſpiſed them. For to ſay
Dions maners, too graue and ſeuere.
truelie, his manners by nature had a certeine hawtineſſe of minde and ſeueritie, and he was a
ſower man to be acquainted with: whereby his companie was not onely troubleſome, but alſo vnpleſaunt to this younger *Dionyſius*, whoſe eares were ſo fine, that they could not away to
heare any other thing but flatterie. And furthermore, diuers of his verie frendes and familiars, that did like and commend his plaine manner of ſpeache and noble minde: they did yet
reproue his ſternenes, and auſtere conuerſation with men. For it ſeemed vnto them, that he
ſpake too roughlie, and delt ouerhardlie with them that had to doe with him, and more then E
became a ciuill or curteous man. And for proofe hereof, *Plato* him ſelfe ſometime wrote vnto him (as if he had prophecied what ſhoulde happen) that he ſhould beware of obſtinacie,
Obſtinacie, fellow and companion of ſolitarines.
the companion of ſolitarineſſe, that bringeth a man in the ende to be forſaken of euerie one.
This notwithſtanding, they did more reuerence him at that time, then any man elſe: bicauſe
of the ſtate and gouernment, and for that they thought him the onely man that coulde beſt
prouide for the ſafetie and quietneſſe of the tyrannie, the which ſtoode then in tickle ſtate.
Now *Dion* knew well enough, that he was not ſo well taken and eſteemed through the good
will of the tyran, as againſt his will, and for the neceſſitie of the ſtate and time. So *Dion* ſuppoſing that ignoraunce, and want of knowledge in *Dionyſius* was the cauſe: he deuiſed to put
him into ſome honeſt trade or exerciſe, and to teache him the liberall ſciences, to frame him F
to a ciuill life, that thencefoorth he ſhoulde no more be affrayed of vertue, and ſhoulde alſo take pleaſure and delight in honeſt thinges. For *Dionyſius* of his owne nature, was none of

the

A the worſt ſort of tyrans, but his father fearing that if he came once to haue a feeling and conceite of him ſelfe, or that he companied with wiſe and learned men, he would go neere to enter into practiſe, and put him out of his ſeate: he euer kept him locked vp in a chamber, and woulde ſuffer no man to ſpeake with him. Then the younger *Dionyſius* hauing nothing elſe to do, gaue himſelfe to make litle chariots, candleſticks, chaires, ſtooles, and tables of wodde. For his father *Dionyſius* was ſo fearefull and miſtruſtfull of euerie bodie, that he woulde ſuffer no man with a paire of barbers ſiſſers to polle the heares of his head, but cauſed an image maker of earth to come vnto him, and with a hotte burning cole to burne his goodly buſh of heare rounde about. No man came into his chamber where he was, with a gowne on his backe, no not his owne brother nor ſonne, but he was driuen before he coulde come in, to put of his
B gowne, and the garde of his chamber to ſtrippe him naked whatſoeuer he was: and then they gaue him an other gowne to caſt vpon him, but not his owne. One day his brother *Leptines*, going about to deſcribe vnto him the ſcituacion of ſome place, he tooke a halberd from one of the garde, and with the point thereof beganne to drawe out a platte of the ſame vpon the ground. *Dionyſius* was terriblie offended with him, and did put the ſouldier to death that gaue him his halberd. He ſayed he was affrayed of his frendes, yea and of the wiſeſt of them: bicauſe he knewe that they deſired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to commaunde, then to obey. He ſlewe one of his Captaines called *Marſyas*, whome he had preferred, and had geuen him charge of men: bicauſe he dreamed that he killed him: ſaying that he dreamed of this in the night, bicauſe that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now *Dionyſius*
C that was ſo timerous, and whoſe mind through fearefulnes was ſtill miſerablie occupied: he was notwithſtanding maruelouſlie offended with *Plato*, bicauſe he did not iudge him to be the nobleſt and valianteſt man aliue. *Dion* therefore ſeeing (as we haue ſayd) the younger *Dionyſius* cleane marred, and in manner caſt away for lacke of good education: perſwaded him the beſt he coulde to geue him ſelfe vnto ſtudie, and by the greateſt intreatie he coulde poſſiblie make, to pray the Prince of all Philoſophers to come into Sicile. And then when through his intreatie he were come, that he woulde referre him ſelfe whollie vnto him, to thende that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby: (the beſt example that can be poſſible, and by whom all the whole world is ruled and gouerned, which otherwiſe were out of all order and confuſed) he ſhoulde firſt obteine great happines to him
D ſelfe, and conſequently vnto all his citizens alſo, who euer after through the temperance and iuſtice of a father, would with good will doe thoſe thinges, which they preſentlie vnwillingly did for the feare of a Lorde, and in doing this, from a tyran he ſhould come to be a king. For, the chaines of a diamant to keepe a realme in ſafetie, were not force, and feare, as his father *Dionyſius* helde opinion: neither the great multitude of young ſouldiers, nor the garde of ten thowſand barbarous people: but in contrarie manner, that they were the loue and good will of their ſubiectes, which the Prince obteineth through vertue and iuſtice: the which chaines though they be ſlacker then the other that are ſo hard and ſtiffe, yet are they ſtronger, and will laſt longer time, to keepe a realme and kingdom in ſafetie. And furthermore, the Prince (ſayd he) is not deſirous of honor, neither is a man that deſerueth greatly to be praiſed and com-
E mended, that onely ſtudieth to weare ſumptuous apparell, and that glorieth to ſee his Court richelie furniſhed, and him ſelfe curiouſlie ſerued: and in the meane time doth not frame him ſelfe to ſpeake better, to be wiſer, and to carie a greater maieſty then any other meane or common perſon, not eſteeming to adorne and beawtifie the Princely pallace of his minde, as becommeth the royall maieſtie of a king. *Dion* oftentimes rehearſing theſe exhortacions vnto *Dionyſius*, and otherwhile enterlacing betwene, ſome reaſons he had learned of *Plato*: he graffed in him a wonderfull, and as it were a vehement deſire to haue *Plato* in his companie, and to learne of him. So ſundry letters came from *Dionyſius* vnto Athens, diuers requeſtes from *Dion*, and great intreaty made by certaine Pythagorian Philoſophers, that prayed and perſwaded *Plato* to come into Sicile, to bridle the light diſpoſition of this young man, by his graue
F and wiſe inſtructions: who without regard of reaſon, led a diſſolute and licentious life. Therefore *Plato*, as him ſelfe reporteth, bluſhing to him ſelfe, and fearing leaſt he ſhould geue men cauſe to thinke that it was but the opinion men had of him, and that of him ſelfe he was vn-

Dionyſius the elder, a maruelous timerous & ſuſpicious man.

Dionyſius dreame.

Dion perſwadeth the younger Dionyſius to fall to ſtudy.

The aſſured gard of Princes, is the loue of their ſubiects.

Plato goeth into Sicilia, to teach Dionyſius the younger.

willing to do any worthie act: and further, hoping that doing good but vnto one man alone, A
who was the only guide of all the reſt, he ſhould as it were recouer all SICILIA from her cor-
ruption and ſickenes: he performed their requeſts that ſent vnto him. But *Dions* enemies fea-
Philiſtus the Hiſtoriographer. ring the chaunge and alteracion of *Dionyſius*, they perſwaded him to call *Philiſtus* the Hiſto-
riographer home againe from baniſhment, who was a learned man, and had bene brought vp
and acquainted with the tyrans facions: to thend he ſhould ſerue as a counterpeace, to with-
ſtande *Plato* and his Philoſophie. For this *Philiſtus*, from the firſt time that the tyrannie be-
ganne to be eſtabliſhed, did ſhew him ſelfe verie willing and conformable to the ſtabliſhment
thereof, and had of long time kept the caſtell: and the voyce went, that he kept the mother
of *Dionyſius* the elder, and as it was ſuppoſed, not altogether without the tyrans knowledge.
But afterwardes, *Leptines* hauing had two daughters by one woman, whom he intiſed to fol- B
lie being an other mans wife: he maried one of theſe his daughters vnto *Philiſtus*, and made
not *Dionyſius* priuie to it before. The tyranne therewith was ſo offended, that he put *Lepti-*
Philiſtus the Hiſtoriographer baniſhed out of Sicilia, by Dionyſius the elder. *nes* woman in priſon faſt locked vp, and draue *Philiſtus* out of SICILIA. He being baniſhed
thus, repayred vnto ſome of his frendes that dwelt about the Adriaticke ſea, where it ſee-
meth he wrote the moſt parte of all his hiſtorie, being then at good leaſure. For he was not
called home againe during the life of *Dionyſius* the elder: but after his death, the malice the
Courtiers bare vnto *Dion*, cauſed them to procure *Philiſtus* calling home againe, as we haue
told you, as the man they thought would ſticke ſtowtly in defenſe of the tyranny. So *Philiſtus*
no ſooner returned, but he ſtowtly began to defend the tyranny: & others in contrary maner,
deuiſed accuſations to the tyran againſt *Dion*, accuſing him that he had practiſed with *Theo-* C
dotes and *Heraclides*, to ouerthrowe the tyrannie of *Dionyſius*. For *Dion*, in my opinion, hoped
by *Platoes* comming to bridle and leſſen a litle the ouerlicentious and imperious tyrannie of
Dionyſius, and thereby to frame *Dionyſius* a wiſe and righteous gouernor. But on the other ſide,
if he ſaw he would not follow his counſell, and that he yeelded not to his wiſe inſtructions: he
then determined to put him downe, & to bring the gouernment of the common wealth into
Democratia: the gouernment of the people. the handes of the SYRACVSANS: not that he allowed of *Democratia* (to wit, where the people
gouerne) but yet certainly thinking that *Democratia* was much better then the tyrannie, when
they could not come vnto *Ariſtocratia*, to wit, the gouernment of a few of the nobilitie. Now
Dion allowed not popular ſtate. things being in this ſtate, *Plato* arriued in SICILE, where he was maruelouſly receiued and ho-
Ariſtocratia: the gouernment of a few of the nobilitie. nored by *Dionyſius*. For when he landed on the ſhoare, leauing his galley that brought him: D
there was readie for him one of the kings rich and ſumptuous chariots to conuey him to the
caſtell: and the tyran made ſacrifice to geue the goddes thankes for his comming, as for ſome
wonderful great good happe chaunced vnto his ſeigniory. Furthermore, the wonderfull mo-
deſtie and temperaunce that was begon to be obſerued in feaſts and bankets, the Court cleane
chaunged, and the great goodnes and clemencie of the tyran in all thinges, in miniſtring iu-
Plato came into Sicilia, vnto Dionyſius the younger. ſtice to euerie man: did put the SYRACVSANS in great good hope of chaunge, and euerie
man in the Court was verie deſirous to geue him ſelfe to learning and Philoſophie. So that,
The chaunge of Dionyſius, vpon Platoes comming. as men reported, the tyrannes pallace was full of ſande and duſt, with the numbers of ſtu-
dentes that drewe plattes and figures of Geometrie. Shortlie after *Plato* was arriued, by
chaunce the time was comen about to doe a ſolemne ſacrifice within the caſtell, at whiche E
ſacrifice the Heraulde (as the manner was) proclaimed alowde the ſolemne prayer accu-
ſtomed to be done, that it woulde pleaſe the goddes long to preſerue the ſtate of the tyran-
nie: and that *Dionyſius* being harde by him, ſayd vnto him, what, wilt thou not leaue to curſe
me? This worde grieued *Philiſtus* and his companions to the harte, thinkinge that with
time, by litle and litle, *Plato* woulde winne ſuche eſtimacion and greate authoritie with *Dio-*
nyſius, that afterwardes they ſhoulde not be able to reſiſt him: conſidering that in ſo ſhorta
time as he had bene with *Dionyſius*, he had ſo altered his minde and courage. And there-
Philiſtus accuſations againſt Dion. fore they nowe beganne, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open
mowth together to accuſe *Dion:* and ſayed, that it was eaſie to be ſeene, howe he charmed
and inchaunted *Dionyſius* through *Platoes* eloquence, to make him willing to reſigne his go- F
uernment, bicauſe he woulde transferre it to the handes of the children of his ſiſter *Ari-*
ſtomachē. Others ſeemed to be offended, for that the ATHENIANS hauing comen before into

SICILIA

A Sicilia with a great armie, both by ſea and land, they were all loſt and caſt away, and could not win the city of Syracvsa: & that now by one only Sophiſter, they vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrewe the Empire of *Dionyſius*, perſwading him to diſcharge the ten thowſand ſouldiers he had about him for his garde, to forſake the foure hundred gallies, the ten thowſand horſemen, and as many moe footemen, to goe to the Academy to ſeeke an vnknowen happines neuer heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, reſigning his preſent happines and felicitie to be a great Lord, to haue money at will, and to liue pleaſauntlie, vnto *Dion* and his Neuewes. By ſuch like accuſations and wicked tongues, *Dionyſius* began firſt to miſtruſt *Dion*, and afterwardes to be openly offended with him, and to frowne vpon him. In the meane time they brought letters *Dion* wrote ſecretlie vnto the Gouernors of the citie of Carthage, wil- *Dions letters vnto Carthage.*
B ling them that when they would make peace with *Dionyſius*, they ſhoulde not talke with him vnleſſe he ſtoode by: aſſuring them that he would helpe them to ſet things in quietnes, & that all ſhould be well againe. When *Dionyſius* had red theſe letters with *Philiſtus*, & had taken his aduiſe & counſel what he ſhould do, as *Timæus* ſaid: he deceiued *Dion* vnder pretence of recõciliaciõ, making as though he ment him no hurt, & ſaying that he would become frends again with him. So he brought *Dion* one day to the ſea ſide vnder his caſtell, and ſhewed him theſe letters, burdening him to haue practiſed with the Carthaginians againſt him. And as *Dion* went about to make him anſwere, to cleere himſelf: *Dionyſius* would not heare him, but cauſed him to be taken vp as he was, and put into a pinnaſe, & commaunded the mariners to ſet him a lande vpon the coaſt of Italie. After this was done, and that it was knowen abroad in the *Dion ſent away by Dionyſius into Italie.*
C citie, euerie man thought it a cruell parte of *Dionyſius*: inſomuche that the tyrans pallace was in a maruelous pecke of troubles, for the great ſorowe the women made for the departure of *Dion*. Moreouer, the citie ſelfe of Syracvsa began to looke about them, looking for ſome ſodaine great chaunge & innouation, for the tumult & vprore that would happen by meanes of *Dions* baniſhment, and for the miſtruſt alſo that all men would haue of *Dionyſius*. *Dionyſius* conſidering this, and being affrayed of ſome misfortune, he gaue his frendes and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not baniſhed him, but was contented that he ſhould abſent him ſelfe for a time: being affrayed, that in his ſodaine angry moode he might peraduenture be compelled to do him ſome worſe turne if he remained, bicauſe of his obſtinacie and ſelfewill. Furthermore, he gaue vnto *Dions* frends two ſhippes, to carie as
D much goodes, money, and as many of *Dions* ſeruauntes as they woulde, and to conuey them vnto him vnto Peloponnesvs. *Dion* was a maruelous rich man, & for the pompe of his ſer- *Dions wealth.*
uice, and ſumptuous moueables of his houſe, they were like vnto the perſon of a tyran. All theſe riches *Dions* frendes brought abord vpon thoſe ſhippes, and caried them vnto him: beſides many other rich gifts, which the women and his frends ſent vnto him. So that by meanes of his great riches, *Dion* was maruelouſlie eſteemed among the Græcians: who by the riches of a baniſhed citizen, coniectured what the power of a tyranne might be. But now concerning *Plato*: when *Dion* was exiled, *Dionyſius* cauſed him to be lodged in his caſtell, and by this meanes craftilie placed, vnder cloke of frendſhippe, an honorable garde about him, bicauſe he ſhoulde not returne into Græce to ſeeke *Dion*, to tell him of the iniurie he had done
E vnto him. Howbeit *Dionyſius* often frequenting his companie, (as a wilde beaſt is made tame by companie of man) he liked his talke ſo well, that he became in loue with him, but it was a tyrannicall loue. For he woulde haue *Plato* to loue none but him, and that he ſhoulde e- *Dionyſius tyrannicall loue to Plato.*
ſteeme him aboue all men liuing, being readie to put the whole realme into his handes, and all his forces: ſo that he woulde thinke better of him, then of *Dion*. Thus was this paſſionate affection of *Dionyſius* grieuous vnto *Plato*. For he was ſo drowned with the loue of him, as men extreamelie gealous of the women they loue: that in a moment he woulde ſodainly fall out with him, and ſtraight againe become frendes, and pray him to pardon him. And to ſay truelie, he had a maruelous deſire to heare *Platoes* Philoſophie: but on the other ſide, he reuerenced them that did diſſwade him from it, and told him that he woulde ſpoyle him ſelfe,
F if he entred ouerdeepelie into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereuppon he ſent *Plato* againe away, promiſing him that the next ſpring he woulde ſende for *Dion* home. But *Dionyſius ſent Plato from him.*
he brake promiſe therein, and yet ſent him his reuenues: and prayed *Plato* to pardon him,

though he had not kept promiſe at his time appointed. For he alleaged the warre was the A
cauſe, and that ſo ſoone as he had ended his warre, he woulde ſende for *Dion*: whome in the
meane time he prayed to haue pacience and not to attempt any ſturre or alteracion againſt
him, nor to ſpeake euill of him among the GRÆCIANS. This *Plato* ſought to bring to paſſe,
Dions life in Græce. and brought *Dion* to ſtudie Philoſophie, and kept him in the Academy at ATHENS. *Dion* lay
in the citie of ATHENS with one *Callippus*, whome he had knowen of long time, howbeit he
bought him a houſe in the contrie, to lye there ſometime for his pleaſure, the which he gaue
afterwards (at his returne into SICILIA) vnto *Speuſippus* that kept him company, and was con-
tinually with him, more then with any other frend he had in ATHENS, through *Platoes* coun-
ſell: who to ſoften and recreate *Dions* maners, gaue him the company of ſome pleaſaunt con-
ceited man, knowing that this *Speuſippus* coulde modeſtlie obſerue time and place to be plea- B
ſaunt and merie: for which reſpect, *Timon* in his Satyricall ieaſts, calleth *Speuſippus* a good iea-
ſter. Nowe *Plato* himſelfe hauing vndertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the
dauncings of young children: *Dion* tooke the paines to teache and exerciſe them, and more-
ouer was him ſelfe at the whole charge of theſe playes, *Plato* ſuffering him to beſtowe that
liberality and curteſie vpon the ATHENIANS: the which wanne *Dion* a great deale more good
will, then *Plato* honor. *Dion* kept not ſtill at ATHENS, but went alſo to ſee the other good ci-
ties of GRÆCE, paſſing his time away. He being at common feaſtes and aſſemblies with the
chiefeſt men, and beſt learned in matters of ſtate and gouernment, & neuer ſhewing any light
partes, nor ſigne of tyrannicall pride in his maner of life, nor of a man that had bene brought
vp with all pompe and pleaſure, but like a graue vertuous man, and well ſtudied in Philoſo- C
phie, whereby he grew to be generallie beloued and eſteemed of all men: the cities graunted
him publike honors, and ſent him decrees of his glorie, made in their counſells & aſſemblies.
Dions vertues and honors done vnto him by the Græcians. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS made him a SPARTAN & burges of the city, not paſſing
for *Dionyſius* diſpleaſure, though at that time he had geuen them great aide, in the warre they
made againſt the THEBANS. Some report, that *Dion* on a time was intreated by *Ptæodorus* ME-
GARIAN, to come and ſee him at his houſe: and *Dion* went thither. This *Ptæodorus* was a mar-
uelous great rich man, & therefore *Dion* ſeeing a great number of people ſtanding at his gates,
and that it was a hard thing to come and ſpeake with him he had ſuch great buſines: he turned
vnto his frends that did accompanie him, who were angrie they made him tarie ſo long at the
gate, and ſayd vnto them: what cauſe haue we to thinke euill of him, ſith we did the like when D
we were at SYRACVSA? But *Dionyſius* being incenſed with enuie againſt him, and fearing the
good will the GRÆCIANS bare him: he kept backe his reuenue, and would no more ſende it
him, and ſeaſed all his goodes, the which he gaue to his receiuers to keepe. Furthermore, bi-
cauſe he woulde cleere him ſelfe of the infamie he had gotten amongeſt the Philoſophers for
Platoes ſake, he ſent for diuers wiſe and learned men, and vainly coueting to excell them all in
wiſedome, he was driuen improperlie, and out of time, to alleage many wiſe ſayinges he had
learned of *Plato*. Thereuppon he beganne againe to wiſh for him, and to condemne him ſelfe,
for that he had no wit to vſe him well when he had him at his commaundement, and that he
had not heard ſo muche as he ſhould haue done of him: and like a tyranne as he was, madlie
caried away with light deſires, and eaſilie chaunging minde from time to time, a ſodaine ve- E
hement deſire tooke him in the heade, to haue *Plato* againe. So he ſought all the meanes and
Archytas a Pythagorian Philoſopher. waies he could deuiſe, to pray *Archytas* the Pythagorian Philoſopher to tel him, that he might
boldly come, and to be his ſurety vnto him for that he would promiſe him: for firſt of all, they
were acquainted together by his meanes. Therefore *Archytas* ſent thither *Archidamus* the Phi-
loſopher. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent certeine gallies, and ſome of his frendes thither, to pray *Plato* to
Dionyſius ſendeth againe for Plato to come into Sicilia. come to him: and he him ſelfe wrote ſpecialiie, and plainly, that it ſhould not goe well with
Dion, if *Plato* came not into SICILIA: but if he woulde be perſwaded to come, that then he
would doe what he would haue him. Many letters and requeſts came vnto *Dion* from his wife
and ſiſter, inſomuche as *Dion* ſo vſed the matter, that *Plato* obeyed *Dionyſius*, without making
any excuſe at all. So *Plato* wryteth him ſelfe, that he was driuen to come againe the third time F
Platoes third iorney into Sicilia. into the ſtraight of SICILIA:

To trie if once againe he could Charibdis daungers paſſe.

Now

A Nowe *Plato* being arriued in SICILIA, he made *Dionyſius* a great ioyfull man, and filled all SICILIA againe with great good hope: for they were all verie deſirous, and did what they could, to make *Plato* ouercome *Philiſtus* and the tyrannie, with his Philoſophie. The women of *Dionyſius* Court did entertaine *Plato* the beſt they could: but aboue all, *Dionyſius* ſeemed to haue a maruelous truſt and affiance in him, and more then in any other of all his frendes. For he ſuffred *Plato* to come to him without ſearching of him, and oftentimes offred to geue him a great ſumme of money: but *Plato* would take none of it. Therefore *Ariſtippus* CYRENIAN being at that time in the tyrannes Court in SICILIA, ſayd that *Dionyſius* beſtowed his liberalitie ſurelie. For, to vs that aske much he geueth litle, and much vnto *Plato* that requireth nothing. After *Dionyſius* had geuen *Plato* his welcome, he beganne to moue him againe of *Dion*. *Ariſtippus ſaying of Dionyſius.*

B *Dionyſius* on the other ſide, at the firſt did vſe him with fine delayes, but afterwards he ſhewed him ſelfe angrie in deede: and at length fell out with *Plato*, but yet ſo couertlie, that others ſaw it not. For *Dionyſius* diſſembled that, and otherwiſe in all other things he did him as much honor as he could deuiſe, practiſing thereby to make him to forſake *Dions* frendſhippe. Now *Plato* found him at the firſt, that there was no truſt to be geuen to his wordes, and that all were but lyes and deuiſes he either ſayd or did: howebeit he kept it to him ſelfe, and euer paciently bare all things, hoping for the beſt, and made as though he beleued him. They two thus finelie diſſembling with eache other, thinking to deceiue all men, and that none ſhoulde vnderſtande their ſecrets: *Helycon* CYZICENIAN, one of *Platoes* frendes, did prognoſticate the eclipſe of the ſunne. The ſame falling out as he had prognoſticated, the tyran eſteemed mar- *Helycon a Mathematician.*

C uelouſly of him, and gaue him a ſiluer talent for his labor. Then *Ariſtippus* ſporting with other Philoſophers, ſayd he could tell them of a ſtraunger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognoſticate, ſayd he, that *Plato* and *Dionyſius* will *Ariſtippus diuination.* be enemies ere it be long. In thend it came to paſſe, that *Dionyſius* made porte ſale of all *Dions* goodes, and kept the money to him ſelfe, and lodged *Plato* that before lay the next Court to his pallace, among the ſouldiers of his gard, whom he knewe maliced him of long time, and ſought to kill him: bicauſe he did perſwade *Dionyſius* to leaue his tyranny and to liue without his gard. *Plato* being in this inſtant daunger, *Archytas* ſent Ambaſſadors foorthwith vnto *Dio-* *Architas requireth Plato of Dionyſius.*

D *nyſius*, in a galley of thirtie owers, to demaund *Plato* againe: declaring that *Plato* came againe to SYRACVSA, vppon his worde and caution. *Dionyſius* to excuſe him ſelfe, and to ſhewe that he was not angrie with him at his departure from him: he made him all the great cheere and feaſtes he coulde, and ſo ſent him home with great ſhewes of good will. One day among the reſt, he ſayd vnto *Plato*: I am affrayed *Plato*, ſayd he, that thou wilt ſpeake euill of me, when thou art among thy frendes and companions in the Academy. Then *Plato* ſmiling, aunſwered him againe: the goddes forbidde that they ſhoulde haue ſuche ſcarcetie of matter in the Academy, as that they muſt needes talke of thee. Thus was *Platoes* returne, as it is reported, although that which he him ſelfe wryteth agreeth not much with this reporte. Theſe things went to *Dions* harte, ſo that ſhortly after he ſhewed him ſelfe an open enemie vnto *Dionyſius*, but ſpecially when he heard how he had handled his wife. *Plato* vnder couert words, ſent *Dio-* *nyſius* worde of it by his letters. And thus it was. After *Dion* was exiled *Dionyſius* returning *Dionyſius maried Dions wife to another man.*

E *Plato* backe againe, he willed him ſecretlie to feele *Dions* minde, whether he woulde not be angrie that his wife ſhould be maried to an other man: bicauſe there ranne a rumor abroade (whether it were true, or inuented by *Dions* enemies) that he liked not his mariage, and coulde not liue quietlie with his wife. Therefore when *Plato* was at ATHENS, and had tolde *Dion* of all thinges, he wrote a letter vnto *Dionyſius* the tyranne, and did ſette all other thinges downe ſo plainelie, that euerie man might vnderſtande him, but this one thing only ſo darkelie, that he alone, and none other coulde vnderſtande him, but him to whom he had wrytten: declaring vnto him, that he had ſpoken with *Dion* about the matter he wote of, and that he did lette him vnderſtande he woulde be maruelous angrie, if *Dionyſius* did it. So at that time, bicauſe there was great hope of reconciliacion betwene them, the tyranne did no-

F thing latelie touching his ſiſter, but ſuffered her ſtill to remaine with *Dions* ſonne. But when they were ſo farre out, that there was no more hope to returne in fauour againe, and that he had alſo ſent home *Plato* in diſgrace and diſpleaſure: then he maried his ſiſter *Aretè*

(*Dions* wife) against her will, vnto one of his frends called *Timocrates*, not following therin his fathers iustice and lenitie. For *Polyxenus* that had maried his fathers sister *Thesta*, being also become his enemie: he fled out of SICILIA. *Dionysius* the elder sent for his sister *Thesta*, and tooke her vp verie sharpely, for that she knowing her husbande would flie, she did not come and tell him of it. *Thesta* noblie aunswered him againe, and neuer was affrayed nor abashed: why, *Dionysius*, doest thou thinke me a woman so faint harted and beastlie, that if I had knowen my husband would haue gone his way, and left me: that I would not haue taken the sea with him, and both haue runne one fortune together? Truely I knew not of his departure till he was gone: for it had bene more for mine honor to haue bene called the wife of the banished *Polyxenus*, then the sister of thee a tyran. *Dionysius* maruelled to heare his sister speake thus boldly, and the SYRACVSANS wondred at her noble corage: insomuch that when the tyrannie was vtterly destroyed, they did not refuse to doe her all the honor they could deuise, as vnto a Queene. And when she was deade also, all the citizens of SYRACVSA by a common decree, did accompanie her bodie at her buriall. This litle digression from our historie, is not altogether vnprofitable. But now againe to our matter. *Dion* from thenceforth disposed him selfe altogether vnto warre, against *Platoes* counsell and aduise: who did his best endeuour to dissuade him from it, both for the respect of *Dionysius* good enterteinment he had geuen him, as also for that *Dion* was of great yeares. Howbeit on the other side, *Speusippus*, and his other frendes did prouoke him vnto it, and did perswade him to deliuer SICILIA from the slauerie and bondage of the tyran, the which helde vp her handes vnto him, and woulde receiue him with great loue and good will. For whilest *Plato* lay at SYRACVSA, *Speusippus* keeping the citizens companie more then *Plato* did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the first they were affrayed to open them selues vnto him, and frankelie to speake what they thought, mistrusting he was a spie vnto the tyran, sent amongest them to feele their mindes: but within a short time they beganne to trust him, and were all of one minde, for they prayed and perswaded *Dion* to come, and not to care otherwise for bringing of shippes, souldiers, nor horses with him, but onely to hyre a shippe, and to lend the SICILIANS his bodie and name against *Dionysius*. *Speusippus* reporting these newes vnto *Dion*, did put him in good hart againe: wherupon he began secretly to leauie men by other mens meanes, to hide his purpose and intent. The Philosophers doe set forward *Dions* warres. Many citizens dealing in the affaires of the common wealth did aide him, and diuers of them also that onely gaue their mindes to the studie of Philosophie: and among them, *Eudemus* CYPRIAN (on whose death *Aristotle* wrote his dialogue of the soule) and *Timonides* LEVCADIAN went with him. Furthermore, there ioyned also with him *Miltas* THESSALIAN, a Soothsayer, and that had bene his companion in studie in the Academy. Nowe of all them whom the tyran had banished, (which were no lesse then a thowsande persons) there were but onely fiue and twentie that durst accompanie him in this warre. For all the other were suche dastardes, that they forsooke him, and durst not goe with him. The place where they appointed to meete, was the Ile of ZACYNTHE, where they leauied all their souldiers, that were not aboue eight hundred in all, but all of them braue souldiers, and valliant men, and excellentlie well trained in warres: and to conclude, such lustie men, as would incorage all the armie *Dion* hoped of at his ariuall in SICILE, to fight like valliant men with them. These hyered souldiers, the first time that they vnderstoode it was to go into SICILIA, to make warre with *Dionysius*: they were amased at the first, and misliked the iorney, bicause it was vndertaken rather of malice and spite that *Dion* had to be reuenged, then otherwise of any good cause or quarrell, who hauing no better hope, tooke vppon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therefore the souldiers were offended with their Captaines that had pressed them, bicause they had not told them of this warre before. But after that *Dion* by a notable Oration had told them, how tyrannies haue euill fundacions, & are subiect vnto ruine, & that he led them not into SICILIA so much for souldiers, as he did to make thē Captaines of the SYRACVSANS, & the other SICILIANS, who of long time desired nothing more then occasion to rise. And, when after him also *Alcimenes*, (a cōpanion with him in this warre, and the chiefest man of all the ACHAIANS, both for nobility & estimacion) did speake vnto them in like maner, then they were all contented to goe whether they would lead

Polyxenus maried Thesta, his father Dionysius sister.

The noble answere of Thesta, vnto her brother Dionysius the elder.

Dion beginneth to make warre against Dionysius.

The Philosophers aduanced Dions warre.

Aristoles dialogue de anima.

Dions army.

A lead them. It was then in the hart of ſommer, and the wind blew called the GRÆCIAN wind, the Moone being at the full, and *Dion* hauing prepared to make a ſumptuous ſacrifice vnto the god *Apollo*, he led all his men armed with white corſelets in proceſſion into the temple: and after the ſacrifice done, he made them a feaſt in the parke or ſhewe place of the ZACYNTHIANS. There the tables were layed, and the ſouldiers wondred to ſee the great ſtate & magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and ſiluer, and ſuch other furniture and preparation, as paſſed a priuate mans wealth: then they thought with them ſelues, that a man being ſo olde, and Lord of ſo great a good, would not attempt things of ſuch daunger, without good ground, and great aſſurance of his friends ayde & helpe. But after his oblations of wine, and common prayers made to the gods at feaſts: ſodainly the Moone eclipſed. *Dion* thought

Dions ſumptuous fare in feaſting.

B it not ſtraunge to ſee an eclipſe, conſidering the reuolutions of the eclipſes, and knowing very well it is a ſhadowe that falleth vpon the body of the Moone, bicauſe of the direct interpoſition of the earth betwixt her and the Sunne. But bicauſe the ſouldiers that were affrayd and aſtonied withall, ſtoode in neede of ſome comfort and encoragement: *Miltas* the Soothſayer ſtanding vp in the middeſt amongeſt them, ſayd vnto them. My fellowe ſouldiers, be of good cheere, and aſſure your ſelues that we ſhall proſper: for God doth foreſhewe vs by this light we ſee, that ſome one of the chiefeſt thinges nowe in higheſt place and dignitie ſhall be eclipſed. And at this preſent time what thing carieth greater glory and fame, than the tyrannie of *Dionyſius*? Therefore you muſt thinke, that ſo ſoone as you arriue in SICILIA, your ſelues ſhall put out his light and glory. This interpretacion of the eclipſe of the Moone, did

The eclipſe of the Moone, and cauſe of the eclipſe.

C *Miltas* the Soothſayer make, before all the whole companye. But touching the ſwarme of bees that lighted on the poope of *Dions* ſhippe, he told him, and his friends priuately: that he was affrayd his acts which ſhould fall out famous and glorious, ſhould laſt but a while, & floriſhing a few dayes, would ſtraight cõſume away. It is reported alſo, that *Dionyſius* in like manner had many ſtraunge ſignes and wonderfull tokens from aboue. Among others, there came an Eagle that ſnatched the partiſan out of the ſouldiers handes, and caried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the ſea. The ſea alſo beating againſt the walls of the caſtell, was as ſweete to drinke a whole day together, as any conduite or running water: as thoſe that taſted of it, found it true. Furthermore, a ſowe farrowed pygges that lacked no parts of the body, but onely their eares. This the Soothſayers ſayd did ſignifie rebellion, and diſobedience of his

VVonders ſhewed vnto Dion.

VVonders appearing vnto Dionyſius.

D ſubiects: & that the Citizens would no more heare him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told alſo, that the ſweetenes of the ſalt water prognoſticated to the SYRACVSANS, chaũg of cruell and euill time, vnto good and ciuil gouernment: and that the Eagle, *Iupiters* miniſter, and the partiſan, the marke and token of the kingdom and Empire, did betoken that *Iupiter* the chiefe of all gods had determined to deſtroy and put downe the tyranny. *Theopompus* reporteth this matter thus. So *Dions* ſouldiers were imbarked into two great ſhippes of burden, and another third ſhippe that was not very great, and two pynnaſes with thirtye owers followed them. For their armor and weapon, beſide thoſe the ſouldiers had: he caried two thowſand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pykes, and plenty of vittells: that they ſhould lacke nothing all the time they were vpon the ſea, conſidering that

Dions preparation.

E their iorney ſtoode altogether at the curteſie of the windes and ſea, and for that they were affrayd to lande, vnderſtanding that *Philiſtus* roade at anker in the coaſt of APVLGLIA, with a fleete of ſhippes that lay in wayte for their comming. So hauing a pleaſant gale of wind, they ſayled the ſpace of twelue dayes together, and the thirtene day they came to the foreland of SICILIA called Pachynus. There the Pilot thought it beſt they ſhould land preſently: for if they willingly loofed into the ſea, and loſt that poynt, they were ſure they ſhould loſe alſo many nights and dayes in vaine in the middeſt of the ſea, being then ſommer time, and the wind at the South. But *Dion* being affrayd to land ſo neare his enemies, he was deſirous to goe further, and ſo paſt by the foreland of Pachynus. Then the Northwind roſe ſo bigge and great,

Pachynus, the foreland of Sicilia.

A tempeſt on the ſea againſt Dion.

F ligthning and thunder mingled withall (bicauſe it was at that time when the ſtarre Arcturus beginneth to ſhewe) it made ſo terrible a tempeſt, and powred downe ſuch a ſore ſhower of rayne vpon them, that all the Mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whether the wind

would driue them: till that ſodainly they ſaw the ſtorme had caſt them vpon the Ile of CERCINA, (which is on the coaſt of LIBYA) and ſpecially where it is moſt daungerous to arriue for the rocks, for their ſhippes were like to haue runne vpon them, and to haue made ſhippe-wracke. But with much a doe they bare of the ſhippes with their great longe poles, and wandred vp and downe the ſea, not knowing whether they went, vntill the ſtorme ceaſed. Then they met a ſhippe, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Marriners call the heads of the great Syrte. Thus they wandring vp and downe, being maruelous angry that the ſea was calme, there roſe a litle South wind from the land, although they leaſt looked for any ſuch wind at that time, and litle thinking it would ſo haue chaunged: but ſeeing the wind riſe bigger and bigger, they packed on all the ſayles they had, and making their prayers vnto the gods they croſſed the ſea, and ſayled from the coaſt of LIBIA, directly vnto SICILE, and had the winde ſo lucky, that at the firſt daye they were neare vnto a litle village of SICILIA, called MINOA, the which was ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS. *Synalus* CARTHAGINIAN, being at that time Captaine and gouernor of the towne of MINOA, and *Dions* friende, was there by chaunce at that preſent, who being ignorant of his enterpriſe & comming, did what he could to keepe *Dions* ſouldiers from landing. But they notwithſtanding ſodainly lept a land armed, but ſlue no man. For *Dion* had commaunded them the contrary, for the friendſhip he bare the Captaine: and they following the townes men hard that fled before them, entred the towne, hand ouer head amongeſt them, and ſo wanne the market place. When both the Captaines met, and that they had ſpoken together, *Dion* redeliuered the towne into *Synalus* hands again, without any hurt or violence offred him. *Synalus* on the other ſide did indeuor him ſelfe all he could to make much of the ſouldiers, and holpe *Dion* to prouide him of all things neceſſary. But this did moſt of all encorage the ſouldiers, bicauſe *Dionyſius* at their arriuall, was not then in SICILIA: for it chaunced ſo, that not many dayes before he went into ITALY, with foure ſcore ſayle. Therefore when *Dion* willed them to remayne there a fewe dayes to refreſh them ſelues, bicauſe they had bene ſo ſore ſea beaten a long time together: they them ſelues would not, they were ſo glad to imbrace the occaſion offred them, and prayed *Dion* to leade them forthwith to SYRACVSA. *Dion* leauing all his ſuperfluous armor and prouiſion in the hands of *Synalus*, and praying him to ſende them to him when time ſerued: he tooke his way towardes SYRACVSA. So by the way, two hundred horſemen of the AGRIGENTINES, which dwell in that part called ECNOMVS, came firſt to ioyne with him, and after them, the GELOIANS. The rumor of their comming ranne ſtraight to SYRACVSA. Thereuppon *Timocrates* that had maried *Aretè*, *Dions* wife, and *Dionyſius* the fathers ſiſter, and vnto whom *Dionyſius* the yonger had left the charge and gouernment of all his men and friends in the citie: he preſently diſpatched a poſt with letters, to aduertiſe *Dionyſius* of *Dions* comming. He him ſelfe alſo in the meane time had taken ſuch order, that there roſe no tumult nor mutinie in the citie, though they all of them lacked no good will to rebell: but bicauſe they were vncerteine whether this rumor was true or falſe, being affrayd, euery man was quiet. Now there chaunced a ſtraunge miſfortune vnto the Meſſenger, that caried the letters vnto *Dionyſius*. For after he had paſſed the ſtraight, and that he was arriued in the citie of RHEGGIO of ITALYES ſide, making haſte to come to the citie of CAVLONIA, where *Dionyſius* was: he met by the way one of his acquaintance that caried a mutton but newly ſacrificed. This good fellow gaue him a peece of it, and the Meſſenger ſpurred away with all the ſpeede he could poſſible. But when he had ridden the moſt part of the night, he was ſo weary and drowſie for lacke of ſleepe, that he was driuen to lye downe. So he lay downe vpon the ground, in a wodde hard by the high way. The ſauor of this fleſhe brought a woulfe to him, that caried away the fleſhe and the portmantew it was wrapt in, and in the which alſo were his letters of aduertiſement, which he caried vnto *Dionyſius*. When he awoke out of his ſleepe, and ſaw that his portmantew was gone: he enquired for it, and went wandring vppe and downe a long time to ſeeke it: howbeit all in vaine, for he could neuer find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to goe to the tyranne without his letters, but rather to flie into ſome vnknowen place where no body knew him. Thus ouerlate receiued *Dionyſius* aduertiſement by others of this warre, which *Dion* made in SICILIA. In the meane time, the CAMARINIANS came and ioyned with *Dions* army, in the highe way

Synalus, Captaine of Minoa for the Carthaginians

Dion wanne Minoa.

Dion goeth to Syracuſa.

A ſtraunge chaunce happened vnto the Meſſenger ſent to Dionyſius.

A woulfe caried away the Meſſengers portmantean.

A way towards SYRACVSA: and ſtill there came vnto him alſo a great number of the SYRACVSANS that were vppe in armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other ſide, certaine CAMPANIANS and LEONTINES, which were gotten into the caſtell of EPIPOLES with *Timocrates*, of purpoſe to keepe it: Vpon a falſe rumor *Dion* gaue out (and which came vnto them) that he would firſt goe againſt their townes: they forſooke *Timocrates*, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. *Dion* vnderſtanding that, being lodged with his armie in a place called MACRÆ: he preſently remoued his campe being darke night, and marched forward till he came vnto the riuer of Anapus, which is not from the citie aboue tenne furlongs of: and there ſtaying a while, he ſacrificed vnto the riuer, and made his prayer, and worſhipped the riſing of the Sunne. At the ſelfe ſame inſtant alſo, the Soothſayers came and told him, that B the gods did promiſe him aſſured victorie. And the ſouldiers alſo ſeeing *Dion* weare a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremonie of the ſacrifice: all of them with one ſelfe good will, tooke euery man one of them, (beeing no leſſe then fiue thouſande men that were gathered together by the way, and but ſlenderly armed with ſuch thinges as came firſt to hand, howbeit ſupplying with good will their want of better furniture and armor) and when *Dion* commaunded them to marche, for ioy they ranne, and incoraged one another with great cryes, to ſhew them ſelues valliant for recouerye of their libertie. Nowe for them that were within the citie ſelf of SYRACVSA, the noble men & chief Citizens went to receiue them at the gates in their beſt gownes. The common people on the other ſide ranne and ſet vpon them that tooke part with the tyranne, and ſpoyled them that were called the PROSA- C GOGIDES (as much to ſay, the common Promoters of men) the deteſtableſt villaines, hateful to the gods and men. For they like Sicophants and buſie tale bearers, would iet vp and downe the citie, and mingle amonge the Citizens, hauing an oer in euery mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and buſie headed, to know what euery man ſayd and did, and then to goe cary it to the tyranne. Theſe men were they that had their payment firſt of all, for they killed them with dry blowes, beating them to death with ſtaues. When *Timocrates* could not enter into the caſtell with them that kept it, he tooke his horſe backe, and fled out of the citie, and flying made all men affrayd and amaſed where he came, enlarging *Dions* power by his report, bicauſe it ſhould not ſeeme that for feare of a trifle, he had forſaken the citie. In the meane time, *Dion* came on towards the citie with his men, and was come ſo neare, that they might ſee him D plainly from the citie, marching foremoſt of all, armed with a fayer bright white corſelet, hauing his brother *Megacles* on his right hande of him, & *Callippus* ATHENIAN on the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him alſo there followed a hundred ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, choſen for his gard about him, and the reſt came marching after in good order of battel, being led by their Captaines. The SYRACVSANS ſaw him comming, and went out and receiued him as a holy and bleſſed proceſſion, that brought them their libertie & popular ſtate againe, the which they had loſt the ſpace of eight and fortye yeares. When *Dion* was come into the citie by the gate called Menitide, he cauſed his trompetter ſownd to appeaſe the rumor and tumult of the people. Then he commaunded a Herawld to proclayme alowd, that *Dion* and *Megacles*, who were come to put downe the tyranny, did ſet all the SYRA- E CVSANS at libertie, and all the other SICILIANS alſo, from the bondage and ſubiection of the tyranne: and bicauſe *Dion* him ſelfe was deſirous to ſpeake vnto the people, he went to the vpper part of the towne called ACRADINA. The SYRACVSANS all the ſtreetes thorough as he paſſed by, had on either hand of him prepared ſacrifices, and ſet vp tables, and cuppes vppon them: and as he paſſed by their houſes, they caſt flowers and frutes on him, and made prayers vnto him, as if he had bene a god. Now vnder the caſtell there was a place called Pentapyla, a clocke to know by the Sunne how the day went, the which *Dionyſius* had cauſed to be made, and it was of a good prety height. *Dion* got vp vpon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perſwading his contry men to doe their endeuor to recouer their libertie againe, and to mainteyne it. They being in a F maruelous ioy withall, and deſirous to pleaſe *Dion:* did chooſe him and his brother *Megacles* their Lieuetenants generall, with abſolute power and authoritie. Afterwards alſo, by the conſent of *Dion* him ſelfe and his brother, and at their requeſtes in like manner, they choſe

Anapus fl.

Dionyſius picke thanke ſlayne.

Dion receiued into Syracuſa.

Dion reſtoreth the Syracuſans to libertie.

Dionyſius clocke.

twenty other Captaines, of the which the moſt part of them had bene baniſhed by the tyran, and were returned againe with *Dion*. The Soothſayers and Prognoſticators liked it well, and ſayd it was a good ſigne for *Dion*, that he trode that ſumptuous building and workemanſhip of the tyranne vnder his feete, when he made his oration: but bicauſe the hande of the diall did ſhewe the courſe of the Sunne, which neuer leaueth going, vpon the which he got vppe when he was choſen Lieuetenant generall with abſolute power and authoritie: they were affrayd againe, that it was a ſigne *Dions* affayres ſhould haue a ſodaine chaunge of fortune. After this, *Dion* hauing taken the caſtell of EPIPOLES, he ſet all the Citizens at libertie which were kept there as priſoners in captiuitie by the tyranne, and enuyroned the caſtell round about with a wall. Within ſeuen dayes after, *Dionyſius* returned by ſea to the caſtell of SYRACVSA, and therewithall alſo came the carts loden with armor and weapon to SYRACVSA, the which *Dion* had left with *Synalus*: the which *Dion* cauſed to be diſtributed amonge the Citizens of SYRACVSA that had none. Others did furniſhe them ſelues as well as they could, and ſhewed that they had corage and good will to fight for the maintenance and defence of their libertie. In the meane time, *Dionyſius* ſent Ambaſſadors, firſt vnto *Dion* priuately, to ſee if he would yeld to any compoſition. But *Dion* would not heare them, but bad them tell the SYRACVSANS openly what they had to ſay, being men that were free, and enioyed libertie. Then the Ambaſſadors ſpake in the behalfe of the tyranne, vnto the people of SYRACVSA, promiſing them with mild and gentle wordes, that they ſhould paye no more ſubſedies and taxes, but very litle, and ſhould be no more troubled with warres, other then ſuch as they them ſelues ſhould like of. The SYRACVSANS made a mockery at thoſe offers, and *Dion* alſo aunſwered the Ambaſſadors, and willed *Dionyſius* to ſend no more to the SYRACVSANS, before he had diſpoſſeſt him ſelfe of his tyranny: & ſo that he would leaue it, he would be his meane to obtayne all things iuſt and reaſonable of the people. *Dionyſius* liked very well of this good offer, and therefore ſent his Ambaſſadors againe to praye the SYRACVSANS that they would appoynte ſome amongeſt them to come to the caſtell, to talke with him for the benefit and commoditie of the common wealth, that he might heare what they would alleage, and they alſo what aunſwer he would make. *Dion* choſe certaine whome he ſent vnto him. Now there ranne a rumor in the citie amonge the SYRACVSANS, which came from the caſtell: that *Dionyſius* would willingly of him ſelfe, rather then by reaſon of *Dions* comming, depoſe him ſelfe of the tyrannie. But this was but a falſe alarom, and crafty fetche of *Dionyſius*, to intrappe the SYRACVSANS by. For thoſe that were ſent him from the citie, he kept them priſoners euery man of them: and one morning hauing made his ſouldiers drinke wine luſtely, which he kept in pay to gard his perſon, he ſent them with great furie to aſſault the wall the SYRACVSANS had built againſt the caſtell. Nowe, bicauſe the SYRACVSANS looked for nothing leſſe then for the ſodaine aſſault, and for that theſe barbarous people with a wonderfull corage & great tumult ouerthrew the wal, and others of them alſo did ſet vpon the SYRACVSANS: there was not a man of them that durſt make head to fight with them, ſauing the ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, whome *Dion* had brought with him. Who, when they heard the noyſe, ranne ſtraight to repulſe them, and yet they them ſelues could not well tell what they ſhould doe vpon that ſodaine. For they could heare nothing, for the great noyſe and hurly burley of the SYRACVSANS which fled with great diſorder, and came and mingled them ſelues amongeſt them. Til at length, *Dion* perceiuing he could not be heard, to ſhew them by deede what they ſhould doe: he went firſt him ſelfe againſt theſe barbarous people, and about him there was a cruell and bloody fight. For his enemies knewe him as well as his owne men, and they all ranne vpon him with great cryes. Now for *Dion* him ſelfe, in deede bicauſe of his age, he was heauier then was requiſite for one that ſhould away with the paynes of ſuch battells: but he had ſuch a valliant corage in him, that he went thorough withall luſtely, and ſlue them that did aſſaile him. Yet he had his hand alſo thruſt thorough with a pyke, and very hardly did his curaces holde out the blowes of the darts and thruſts by hande which he receiued on them, they were ſo mangled and hacked with ſuch a number of darts and pykes paſſed thorough his ſhield and broken on him, that in the ende he was beaten downe: howbeit his ſouldiers reſcued him ſtraight. Then he made *Timonides* their Captaine, and he him ſelfe tooke his horſe backe,

The predictions of the Soothſayers.

Dionyſius ſet Ambaſſadors vnto Dion.

Dion fighteth with Dionyſius.

Dion hurt.

A backe, and went vp and downe the citie, ſtaying and quieting the flying of the SYRACVSANS. Then he ſent for his ſouldiers the ſtraungers, which he had put in garriſon in that part of the citie called the ACRADINE to keepe it, and brought them being freſhe, againſt the barbarous people of the caſtell that were wearied, and almoſt all of them diſcoraged to attempt any further enterpriſe. For they had made this ſalye out, in hope to haue taken all the citie at the firſt onſet, onely running vp and downe: but when contrary to their expectation, they met theſe valliant ſouldiers and freſhe ſupply, they then beganne to retyre againe vnto the caſtell. And the GRÆCIAN ſouldiers on the other ſide, perceiuing they gaue backe, they came the faſter vpon them, ſo that they were compelled to turne their backes, and were driuen within their walls, after they had ſlayne three ſcore and foureteene of *Dions* men, and loſt a great number
B of their owne. This was a noble victorie and therefore the SYRACVSANS gaue the ſouldiers *Dions victory of Dionyſius.* that were ſtraungers, an hundred ſiluer Minas, in reward for their good ſeruice: & they gaue *Dion* their generall, a crowne of gold. After this, there came letters to *Dion* by a trompet from the caſtell, written from the women of his houſe: and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed: to my father: the which *Hipparinus* wrote vnto him. For that was *Dions* ſonnes name, though *Timæus* writeth he was called *Areteus*, after his mothers name *Areta*. But in ſuch matters, me thinkes *Timonides* is better to be credited, bicauſe he was his friend and companion in armes. All the other letters that were ſent, were openly red before the aſſembly of the SYRACVSANS, and did only concerne requeſts of theſe women vnto *Dion*. The SYRACVSANS would not haue the ſuppoſed letter of his ſonne to be openly red: but *Dion* a- *Dionyſius craft vnto Dion.*
C gainſt their mindes opened it, and found that it was *Dionyſius* letter, who by wordes, made the direction of it vnto *Dion*, but in effect, he ſpake vnto the SYRACVSANS. For in ſight, it ſeemed a manner of requeſt and iuſtification of him ſelfe: but in truth, it was written of purpoſe to accuſe *Dion*. Firſt of all he remembred him of the thinges he had done before, for the eſtabliſhing and preſeruation of the tyrannie: and afterwards of cruell threats againſt thoſe whome he ſhould loue beſt, as his wife, his ſonne and ſiſter: and laſt of all, full of moſt humble requeſts and intreaties with ſorowe and lamentacion. But that which moſt moued *Dion* of all other was, that he required him not to deſtroye the tyrannye, but rather to take it for him ſelfe, and not to ſet them at libertie that hated him, and would alwayes remember the miſchiefe he had done vnto them: & that he would him ſelfe take vpon him to be Lord, ſauing by that meanes
D the liues of his parents and friends. When theſe letters had bene red before the whole aſſembly of the people, the SYRACVSANS thought not how to reuerence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible conſtancy and magnanimitie of *Dion*, that ſtoode firme and faſt for iuſtice and vertue, againſt ſuch vehement intreatie and perſwaſion of his kinsfolke and friends: but they contrarily began to be affrayd, and to miſtruſt him, as he that of neceſſitie ſhould be forced to pardon the tyranne, for the great pledges and oſtages he had of him. Wherefore, they began to chooſe them new gouernors, and the rather, bicauſe they heard that *Heraclides* was comming vnto them, whome they loued ſingulerly well. This *Heraclides* was one of *Heraclides what he was.* them that had bene baniſhed, a good ſouldier and Captaine, and well eſteemed of for the charge and office he bare vnder the tyrannes: howbeit a very vnconſtant man in euery thing,
E & would not continue long in a mind, & leaſt conſtant in warres, where he had great charge of honor in hand. He had fallen out with *Dion* in PELOPONNESVS, wherefore he determined to come with a power by him ſelfe, and with his owne fleete againſt the tyranne. So he arri- *Heraclides returneth to Syracuſa.* ued at length at SYRACVSA, with ſeuen gallies, and three other ſhippes, where he found *Dionyſius* againe ſhut vp into his caſtell with a wall, and the SYRACVSANS alſo to haue the better hand of him. Then he began to curry fauor with the common people all the wayes he could poſſibly deuiſe, hauing by nature a certaine pleaſing manner to winne the common people, which ſeeke nothing els but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the eaſier for him to winne them, bicauſe the people did already miſlike *Dions* ſeueritie, as a man too ſeuere and cruell to gouerne a common wealth. For they had now their will ſo much, and were growen
F ſo ſtronge headed, bicauſe they ſawe them ſelues the ſtronger: that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they onely be Lordes, and doe rule) before they were fully ſet at libertie. Therefore firſt of all, not being called together by the authoritie

The Syracuſans do chooſe Heraclides Admirall,to ſpight Dion.

of the gouernors: they all ranne in a furye,of their owne light heads, vnto the place of common aſſemblies,and there choſe *Heraclides* Admirall. Then *Dion* vnderſtanding this,came to complaine of the iniurie they had done him, declaring vnto them, that to giue this power now vnto *Heraclides*, was to take that away which they had firſt giuen vnto him: bicauſe he ſhould no more be generall, if they choſe any other Admirall by ſea then him ſelfe. The SYRACVSANS then,as it were againſt their willes,did reuoke the power they had giuen vnto *Heraclides:* but afterwards *Dion* ſent for *Heraclides*,to pray him to come home to him. When he came,he rebuked him a litle, and tolde him that it was not honeſtly, nor profitably done of him,to ſue to the people,& to contend for honor againſt him in ſo daungerous a tyme,when the leaſt occaſion in the world was enough to haue marred all. Afterwards *Dion* him ſelfe called an aſſembly againe of the citie, and eſtabliſhed *Heraclides* Admirall: and perſwaded the Citizens to giue him ſouldiers,as he had in deede. *Heraclides* outwardly ſeemed to honor *Dion*,and confeſſed openly that he was greatly bound vnto him, and was alway at his heeles very lowly,being ready at his commaundement: but in the meane time, ſecretly he inticed the common people to rebell,& to ſtirre vp thoſe whom he knew meete men to like of chaunge. Whereby he procured *Dion* ſuch trouble, and brought him into ſuch perplexitie, that he knew not well what way to take. For if he gaue them aduiſe to let *Dionyſius* quietly come out of the caſtell: then they accuſed him,and ſayd he did it to ſaue his life. If on the other ſide,bicauſe he would not trouble them,he continued ſeege ſtill, and did eſtabliſhe nothing: then they thought he did it of purpoſe to draw out the warres in length, bicauſe he might the lenger time remaine their chiefetaine generall, and ſo to keepe the Citizens lenger in feare. At that time there was one *Soſis* in SYRACVSA,a man of no name, but noted amonge the SYRACVSANS for his villany and wickednes,eſteeming that full and ample libertie, when he might vnchecked licentiouſly ſpeake what he would,as in deede he did. For he ſeeking to doe *Dion* a diſpleaſure: firſt of all one day at a common counſel he ſtoode vp on his feete,and called the SYRACVSANS beaſtes, (amongeſt many other vile wordes he gaue them) if they did not perceiue,that being come from a fond and droncken tyrannie, they had nowe receiued a ſober maſter,and a wiſe and ware tyranne. So when he had thus openly ſhewed him ſelfe an enemy vnto *Dion*, he came no more that daye into the market place: but the next morning he was ſeene ronning vp and downe the citie naked,his head and face all of a gore bloud,as if he had bene followed by men to haue ſlayne him. Thus *Soſis* comming in this manner into the middeſt of the market place,cryed out,that *Dions* ſtraungers had lyen in wayte for him, and had handled him in this ſort,ſhewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this matter very grieuouſly, and cried out vpon *Dion*, and ſayd it was vilely and tyrannically done of him: by feare of murther and daunger,to take away the libertie from the Citizens to ſpeake. Nowe though the whole aſſembly hereuppon fell into an vprore withall, *Dion* notwithſtanding came thither to cleare him ſelfe of theſe accuſations, and made them preſently ſee,that this *Soſis* was brother to one of *Dionyſius* gard: who had put into his head,in this ſort to put the citie of SYRACVSA in an vprore, bicauſe *Dionyſius* had no other hope nor meanes to eſcape, but by ſtirring vp faction and ſedition amonge them, to make one of them fall out with another. The Surgions were ſent for forthwith to ſearche the wounde of this *Soſis:* who founde that it was rather a litle ſcratche,then any violent wound giuen him. For the woundes or cuts of a ſword,are euer deepeſt in the middeſt: and *Soſis* cut was but very litle,and not deepe,hauing had many beginnings,and giuen him (as it ſeemed) at ſundry times, that for very paine, the party that cut him was driuen to leaue of,& ſo came to cut him at diuers times. Furthermore,there came certaine of his friends in the meane time, that brought a raſer before the aſſembly,and reported that as they came, they met *Soſis* by the way all bloudied: who ſayd, that he fled from *Dions* ſouldiers,which had but newly hurt him. Whereuppon they preſently followed them,but found no man, and onely they ſaw a raſer, which ſome bodye had caſt vpon a hollow ſtone thereabout,where they firſt ſaw him comming vnto them. Thus *Soſis* deuiſe had but euill ſucceſſe. For beſide all theſe prooſes and tokens, *Dions* houſhold ſeruaunts came to be a witnes againſt him: that very earely in the morning he went abroad alone with a raſer in his hand Then they that before did burden and accuſe *Dion*, knewe not what to ſay

Heraclides,a diſſembler, practiſing to make the people to rebell againſt Dion.

Soſis a wicked man,moueth ſedition againſt Dion.

Dion cleareth Soſis accuſation againſt him.

to

A the matter,but ſhroncke away: whereuppon the people condēning *Soſis* to death, they were quiet againe with *Dion*.Yet were they alwaies affraid of theſe ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, ſpecially when they ſaw the greateſt conflicts they had with the tyranne,was by ſea,after that *Philiſtus* was come from the coaſt of APVGLIA with a great number of gallies to ayde the tyranne.For then they thought,that theſe ſouldiers the ſtraungers being armed at all partes to fight by land,they would do them no more ſeruice by ſea: bicauſe the Citizens them ſelues were they that kept them in ſafetie,for that they were men practiſed to fight by ſea, and were alſo the ſtronger by meanes of their ſhips.But beſide all this, the onely thing that made them to be coragious again,was the good fortune they had at the battel by ſea,in the which when they had ouercome *Philiſtus*,they cruelly and barbarouſly vſed him.Truely *Ephorus* ſaith,that

Soſis condemned to death.

Philiſtus ſlain

B *Philiſtus* ſlue him ſelfe, when he ſawe his galley taken. Howbeit *Timonides* (who was alway with *Dion* from the firſt beginning of this warre)writing vnto *Speuſippus* the Philoſopher,ſaith that *Philiſtus* was taken aliue,bicauſe his galley ranne a land: and that the SYRACVSANS firſt tooke of his curaces,and ſtripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villanie and ſpight they could,they cut of his head,and gaue his body vnto boyes,commaunding them to dragge it into that part of the citie called ACRADINE, and then to caſt it into the common priuie.*Timæus* alſo to ſpight him the more, ſayth that the boyes tyed the deade bodye by his lame legge,and ſo dragged him vp and downe the citie,where all the SYRACVSANS did what villanie to it they could, being glad to ſee him dragged by the legge, that had ſayd *Dionyſius* ſhould not flie from the tyranny vpon a light horſe, but that they ſhould pull him out by the

C legge againſt his will. Now *Philiſtus* reporteth this matter thus,not as ſpoken to *Dionyſius* by him ſelfe,but by ſome other.But *Timæus* taking a iuſt occaſion and culler to ſpeake euil of the good will,fidelitie,and care that *Philiſtus* had alwayes ſeemed to ſhew in the confirmation & defence of the tyrannie: doth liberally beſtow iniurious wordes on him in this place. Nowe for them whome he had in deede offended, if they of malice and ſpight to be reuenged,did offer him crueltie, peraduenture they were not much to be blamed: but for them that ſince his death haue written the ieaſts, who were neuer offended by him in his life time, and who ought to ſhewe them ſelues diſcreete in their writing, me thinkes that if they had regarded their owne credit and eſtimation, they ſhould not ſo fondly and outragiouſly haue reproued the aduerſities and misfortunes,which by fortune may as well chaunce to the honeſteſt man,

Timæus,and Ephorus the Hiſtoriographers reproued.

D as vnto him. Thus fondely doth *Ephorus* prayſe *Philiſtus*, who though he haue an excellent fine wit to counterfeate goodly excuſes,and cunningly to hide wicked and diſhoneſt partes, and eloquently to deuiſe by honeſt words to defend an euill cauſe: yet can not he with all the fiue wits he hath excuſe him ſelf,that he hath not bene the onely man of the world that hath moſt fauored tyrannes,and that hath euer loued,and ſpecially deſired power, wealth, and alliance with tyrannes. But he in my opinion taketh the right courſe of an Hiſtoriographer, that nether doth commend *Philiſtus* doings, nor yet caſteth his aduerſities in his teeth to his reproche.After *Philiſtus* death,*Dionyſius* ſent vnto *Dion*, to make him an offer to deliuer him the caſtell,armor, munition, and ſouldiers that were in it, with money alſo to paye them for fiue monethes ſpace.For him ſelfe,he prayed that he might be ſuffered to goe ſafely into ITA-

E LY,and to lye there,to take the pleaſure of the frutes of the contry called GYARTA,which was within the territorie of SYRACVSA,and lyeth out from the ſea towardes the mayne land.*Dion* refuſed this offer,and aunſwered the Ambaſſadors that they muſt moue the SYRACVSANS in it.They ſuppoſing they ſhould eaſily take *Dionyſius* aliue, would not heare the Ambaſſadors ſpeake,but turned them away. *Dionyſius* ſeeing no other remedie,left the caſtell in the handes of his eldeſt ſonne *Apollocrates*, and hauing a luſty gale of winde, he ſecretly imbarked certaine of his men he loued beſt, with the richeſt thinges he had, and ſo hoyſed ſayle, vnwares to *Heraclides*,the Admirall of SYRACVSA. The people were maruelouſly offended with *Heraclides* for it,and beganne to mutine againſt him. But *Heraclides*,to pacifie this tumult of the people,ſuborned one *Hippon* an Orator, who preferred the lawe Agraria vnto the people,for

Dionyſius flyeth from Syracuſa. Apollocrates the eldeſt ſonne of Dionyſius the yonger.

F the diuiſion of all the Iland amongeſt them: and that the beginning of libertie was equalitie, and of bondage pouertie,vnto them that had no landes. *Heraclides* giuing his conſent to this decree,and ſtirring the common people to ſedition againſt *Dion*,that withſtoode it: perſwa-

ded the SYRACVSANS not onely to confirme the lawe *Hippon* had propownded, but also to A
discharge the hyered straungers, to choose other Captaines and gouernors, and to rid them
selues of *Dions* seuere gouernment. But they supposing straight to haue bene rid from the ty-
ranny, as from a long and grieuous sicknes, ouerrashly taking vpon them like people that of
long time had bene at libertie, they vtterly vndid them selues, and ouerthrew *Dions* purpose:
who like a good Phisition was carefull to see the citie well ordered and gouerned. So when
they were assembled to choose new officers in the middest of sommer, there fel such horrible
Signes appearing to the Syracusans. thunders, and other terrible stormes, & vnfortunate signes in the element, that for the space
of fifteene dayes together, the people were stil scattered and dispersed when they were assem-
bled: insomuch, that being affraide of these signes aboue, they durst not at that time create
any new Captaines. Certaine dayes after, as the Orators had chosen a fayer time to proceede B
to the election of officers: an oxe drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with euery sight
and noyse) sodainly without any occasion offered, fell into a madnes against the carter that
draue him, and breaking his yoke asonder, ranne straight to the Theater, and there made the
people runne into euery corner, to flye and saue them selues: and then flinging, and bearing
all downe before him that stoode in his way, he ranne through as much of the citie, as the e-
nemies afterwards wanne of them. This notwithstanding, the SYRACVSANS making light ac-
compt of all these signes, they chose fiue and twenty Captaines, of the which *Heraclides* was
one: and secretly they sent to feele the hiered souldiers, to see if they could entice them from
Dion, to cause them to take their part, and made them large promises to make them free men,
as them selues of SYRACVSA. The souldiers would not be enticed from him, but faithfully & C
louingly tooke *Dion* amongest them with their armor and weapon, and putting him in the
Dion departeth out of Syracusa. middest of them, led him in this manner out of the citie, and did no man hurt, but reprouing
their vnthankfulnes and villanie vnto all those they met by the way. Then the SYRACVSANS
despising them for their smal number, & bicause they did not first set vpon them, but trusting
on the other side to them selues for that they were the greater number: they came to assayle
them, supposing they should easily ouercome them in the citie, & kil euery man of them. *Dion*
being thus at a straight, that of necessitie he must fight against his owne contry men, or els be
slaine him selfe with his souldiers: he held vp his hands to the SYRACVSANS & very earnestly
praied them to be content, pointing them with his finger to the castell that was full of their e-
nemies, which shewed them selues vpon the wals, & saw what they did. In the ende, when he D
saw that he could not pacifie their furie & tumult, and that all the citie was in an vprore with
the prittle prattle of these seditious people, who like the sea were caried with the wind: he did
yet forbid his souldiers to giue any charge vpon them, who notwithstanding made a coun-
tenaunce with great cryes, and ratling of their harnes, as if they had ment to ronne on them.
The cowardlines of the Syracusans. Then the SYRACVSANS durst not abide by it, but ranne away like sheepe through the streets,
& no man chased them. So *Dion* called backe his men againe, & led them directly into the cō-
try of the LEONTINES. Thē the new officers & gouernors of SYRACVSA, perceiuing that the
women laughed them to scorne: bicause they would recouer the shame they had lost, they
armed their men a new againe, & did marche after *Dion* to fight with him, whome they ouer-
tooke at a riuer, as he was ready to passe ouer. Then began their horsemen a litle to skirmishe E
with *Dions* company. But when they saw he did no more beare with their faults for contries
sake, but frowned in deede vpon them, & did set his men in battel ray against them: then they
turned their backs againe, with more shame and reproache then before, and so fled vnto the
The Leontines doe receiue Dion. citie of SYRACVSA, & had not many of their men slaine. The LEONTINES receiued *Dion* ve-
ry honorably, tooke the straungers his souldiers, and gaue them pay, & made them free Citi-
zens with them: & sent Ambassadors also vnto the SYRACVSANS, to wil them to let the straū-
gers haue their pay. The SYRACVSANS on their side also, sent Ambassadors vnto the LEON-
TINES to accuse *Dion*. So all their confederats were assembled in the citie of the LEONTINES,
& in that assembly, after both parties had bene heard, to heare what they would say: it was iud-
ged that the SYRACVSANS were to blame. Howbeit they would not stand to the iudgement of F
their confederats, for they were now growen proud & careles, bicause they were gouerned by
no man, but had Captaines that studied to please them, & were affraid also to displease them.

After

A After that, there arriued certain gallies of *Dionyſius*, at SYRACVSA, of the which, *Nypſius* NEAPOLITAN was captaine: which brought vittels & money, to help thē that were beſeged within the caſtel. Theſe gallies were fought with, & the SYRACVSANS obtained victorie, and tooke foure of the tyrannes gallies with three bancks of owers a peece: howbeit they fondly abuſed their victorie. For they hauing no body to commaund nor rule them, imployed all their ioy, in ryoting and bancketting, and in fond and diſſolute meetings, taking ſo litle care and regard to their buſines, that now when they thought the caſtel was ſure their owne, they almoſt loſt their citie. For *Nypſius* perceiuing that euery part of the citie was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long vnto darke night, but bybbe and drinke drunke, dauncing after their pypes and howboyes, and that the gouernors them ſelues were very
B glad alſo to ſee ſuch reasting, or els for that they diſſembled it, and durſt not commaund and compell them that were droncke: he wiſely tooke the occaſion offered him, and ſcaled the wall which had ſhut vp the caſtell, and wanne it, and ouerthrewe it. Then he ſent the barbarous ſouldiers into the citie, and commaunded them to doe with them they met, what they would or could. The SYRACVSANS then too late found their fault, and hardly gaue preſent remedie, they were ſo amazed and ſodainely ſet on: for in deede they made a right ſacke of the citie. Here men were killed, there they ouerthrewe the wall, in another place they caried away women and litle children priſoners into the caſtell, weeping and crying out: and laſtly, they made the Captaines at their wits ende, who could giue no preſent order, nor haue their men to ſerue them againſt their enemies, that came hand ouer head on euery ſide amongeſt
C them. The citie being thus miſerably in garboyle, and the ACRADINE alſo in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to riſe againe: euery man thought then with him ſelfe that *Dion* muſt be ſent for, but yet no man moued it notwithſtanding, being aſhamed of their vnthankefulnes and ouergreat folly they had committed, in driuing him away. Yet neceſſitie inforcing them vnto it, there were certaine of the horſemen and of their confederats that cryed, they muſt ſend for *Dion*, and the PELOPONNESIANS his ſouldiers, which were with him in the territorie of the LEONTINES. Aſſoone as the firſt worde was heard, and that one had the hart to tell it to the people, all the SYRACVSANS cryed out, there was the poynt: and they were ſo glad of it, that the water ſtoode in their eyes for ioy, and beſought the gods it would pleaſe them to bringe him vnto them, they were ſo
D deſirous to haue him againe. For they called to minde howe valliant and reſolute he was in daunger, and how that he was neuer affrayde, but did encorage them with his manhood in ſuch ſort, that being led by him, they were not affrayd to ſet vpon their enemies. So the confederats for them, ſent preſently *Archonides* and *Teleſides* vnto him: and the noble men that ſerued on horſebacke, they ſent him alſo fiue amongeſt them, beſide *Hellanicus*. Who tooke their horſes, and poſted for life, ſo that they came to the citie of the LEONTINES about Sunne ſet, and lighting from their horſes, they went firſt of all and kneeled downe at *Dions* feete, and weeping, tolde him the miſerable ſtate of the SYRACVSANS. Straight there came diuers of the LEONTINES, and many of the PELOPONNESIAN ſouldiers vnto *Dion*, miſtruſting then that there was ſome newes in hand, to ſee the earneſt and humble ſute the Ambaſ-
E ſadors of SYRACVSA made vnto him. Wherefore *Dion* tooke them preſently with him, and brought them him ſelfe vnto the Theater, where the common counſells and aſſemblies of the citie were holden. Thither ranne euery man to heare what the matter was. Then *Archonides* and *Hellanicus* brought in by *Dion*, tolde openly before the whole aſſemblie, the greatnes of their miſerie, and requeſted the hyered ſouldiers to come and ayde the SYRACVSANS, forgetting the iniurie they had receiued: conſidering that they had more dearely payd for their follye, then they them ſelues whome they had ſo iniured, would haue made them to haue ſuffered. When they had ſayd their mindes, there was a great ſilence through all the Theater: and then *Dion* roſe vp, and beganne to ſpeake. But the great teares that fell from his eyes would not ſuffer him to ſpeake: wherefore the hyered ſouldiers being ſory to
F ſee him weepe, prayed him not to trouble him ſelfe, but to be of good corage. Then *Dion* letting goe the ſorowe and griefe he had conceiued, he beganne to ſpeake vnto them in this manner. My Lordes of PELOPONNESVS, and you alſo the confederats: I haue called you

The negligence and troubles of the Syracuſans.

The Syracuſans doe ſend for Dion againe.

Dions oration vnto his ſouldiers.

diers, perſwading them to ayde the Syracuſans.

together to conſult with you, what you ſhould doe. For my ſelfe, it were no honeſty for me to A
conſult what I ſhould do now, when the city of SYRACVSA ſtandeth in peril of deſtruction: &
therefore if I can not ſaue it from deſtruction, yet at the leaſt I wil bury my ſelfe in the fire and
" ruine of my contry. But for you, if it pleaſe you once more to helpe vs, vnaduiſed & more vn-
" fortunate people: you ſhal by your meanes ſet the poore diſtreſſed city of SYRACVSA againe a
" foote, which is your deede. Or if it be ſo, that remẽbring the iniuries the SYRACVSANS haue
" offred you, you wil ſuffer it to be deſtroyed: yet I beſech the gods that at the leaſt they will re-
" quite your valliantnes, fidelity, & good loue you haue borne me vntil this preſent, beſeeching
" you to remẽber *Dion*, who nether forſooke you at any time when you haue bene iniuried, nor
his cõtry men, when they were in trouble. So, going on ſtil with his tale, the mercenary ſtraũ-
gers ſtepped forth with great noiſe, & praied him to leade them to ayde SYRACVSA. Then the B
Ambaſſadors alſo that were ſent from the SYRACVSANS, ſaluted & imbraced them, & prayed
the gods to bleſſe *Dion* & them, with al the good hap that might be. So when al was whiſht &
quiet, *Dion* willed them forthwith to goe & prepare them ſelues, & that they ſhould be there
ready armed after ſupper, determining the very ſame night to go to aide SYRACVSA. But now &
at SYRACVSA, while day light laſted, *Dionyſius* ſouldiers & captaines did al the miſchief & vil-
lany they could in the city: & when night came, they retired again into their caſtel, hauing loſt
very few of their men. Then the ſeditious gouernors of the SYRACVSANS tooke hart againe
vnto them, hoping that the enemies would be contẽted with that they had done: & therfore
began a new to perſwade the citizens to let *Dion* alone, & not to receiue him with his merce-
nary ſouldiers if they came to aide him, ſaying, that they them ſelues were honeſter men then C
the ſtraungers, to ſaue their city, & to defend their liberty without help of any other. So other

The inconſtancy of the Syracuſans.

Ambaſſadors were ſent again vnto *Dion*, ſome from the captaines & gouernors of the city, to
ſtay them that they ſhould not come: & others alſo from the horſemen, & noble Citizens his
friends to haſtẽ his iorney. Whereuppõ by reaſon of this variance, *Dion* marched very ſoftly
at his eaſe. Now by night, *Dions* enemies within the city got to the gates, & kept thẽ that *Dion*
ſhould not come in. *Nypſius* on the other ſide made a ſaly out of the caſtel with his mercenary
ſouldiers, being better appointed, & a greater nũber of thẽ then before: & with thẽ he ſtraight
plucked downe all the wal which they had built before the caſtel, & ran & ſacked the city. At
this ſaly out of the caſtel, they did not only kil the men they met, but women & litle children
alſo, & ſtaied no more to ſpoile, but to deſtroy & put all to hauock. For, bicauſe *Dionyſius* ſaw D
that he was brought to a ſtraight & deſperat caſe, he bare ſuch morral malice againſt the SY-
RACVSANS, that ſith there was no remedy but that he muſt needes forgo his tyranny: he deter-
mined to burye it, with the vtter deſtruction & deſolation of their citie. And therefore, to pre-
uent *Dions* ayde, & to make a quick diſpatch to deſtroy all: they came with burning torches in
their hands, & did ſet fire of all things they could come to: & further of, they fiered their darts
& arrowes, & beſtowed them in euery place of the city. So, they that fled for the fire, were met
withall, & ſlayne in the ſtreetes by the ſouldiers, and others alſo that ranne into their houſes,

Syracuſa ſet a fire by Dionyſius ſouldiers.

were driuen out againe by force of fire. For there were a number of houſes that were afire, and
fel downe vpon them that went and came. This miſery was the chiefeſt cauſe why all the SY-
RACVSANS agreed together, to ſet open the gates vnto *Dion*. For when *Dion* heard by the way, E
that *Dionyſius* ſouldiers were gone againe into the caſtell, he made no great haſte to marche
forward: but when day was broken, there came certaine horſemen from SYRACVSA vnto *Di-
on*, who brought him newes that the enemies had once againe taken the city. Then alſo came
other of his enemies vnto him, and prayed him to make haſte. Now their miſerie increaſing
ſtill, and they being brought into hard ſtate: *Heraclides* firſt ſent his brother vnto *Dion*, and
then *Theodotes* his Vncle, to pray him to come quickly, and helpe them. For now there was
no man left to reſiſt the enemies, bicauſe he him ſelfe was hurt, and the citie alſo was in man-
ner cleane burnt & deſtroyed. When theſe newes came to *Dion*, he was yet about three ſcore
furlong from the towne. So he told his mercenary ſouldiers the daunger the towne was in,
& hauing encoraged them, he led them no more fayer & ſoftly, but running towards the city, F
& meeting Meſſengers one of anothers neck as he went, that prayed him to make all the poſ-
ſible ſpede he could. By this meanes, the ſouldiers marching with wõderful ſpede & good will

toge-

A together, he entred the gates of the city at a place called HECATOMPEDON. First of all, he sent the lightest armed he had, against the enemies, to thende that the SYRACVSANS seeing them, they might take a good hart again to them: whilest he himself in the meane time did set al the other heauy armed souldiers and Citizens that came to ioyne with him, in battell raye, & did cast them into diuers squadrons, of greater length then breadth, and appointed them that should haue the leading of them, to thend that setting vpon the enemies in diuers places together, they should put them in the greater feare & terror. When he had set all things in this order, & had made his prayers vnto the gods, & that they saw him marching through the citie against their enemies: then there rose such a common noyse & reioycing, & great showte of the souldiers, mingled with vowes, prayers, and perswasions of all the SYRACVSANS: that
B they called *Dion* their god & sauior, & the mercenary souldiers their brethren & fellow Citizens. Furthermore, there was not a SYRACVSAN that so much regarded his owne life & person, but he seemed to be more affraid of the losse of *Dion* only, then of all the rest. For they saw him the foremost man ronning through the daũger of the fire, treading in bloud, & vpon dead bodies that lay slaine in the middest of the streets. Now, in deede to charge the enemies, it was a maruelous daungerous enterprise: for they were like mad beasts, & stoode beside in battell ray alongst the wal which they had ouerthrowen, in a very daungerous place, & hard to win. Howbeit the daunger of the fire did most of all trouble & amaze the straungers, & did stoppe their way. For, on which side soeuer they turned them, the houses round about them were all of a fire, and they were driuen to marche ouer the burnt timber of the houses, and to ronne in
C great daunger of the walls of the house sides that fell on them, & to passe through the thicke smoke mingled with dust, & beside, to keepe their rancks with great difficultie. And whẽ they came to assaile the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, bicause of the straightnes of the place: howbeit the SYRACVSANS with force of cries & showtes did so animat, & encorage their men, that at length they draue *Nypsius* & his men to forsake the place. The most part of them got into the castell, being very neare vnto them: the other that could not get in in time, fled straglingly vp and downe, whom the GRÆCIAN souldiers slue, chasing of them. The extremitie of the time did not presently suffer the Conquerors to reape the frute of their victory, nether the ioyes & imbracings meete for so great an exployte. For the SYRACVSANS went euery man home to his owne house, to quenche the
D fire, the which could scarcely be put out all the night. When daye brake, there was none of these seditious flatterers of the people that durst tary in the citie, but cõdemning them selues, they fled to take their fortune. *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* came together of their owne good wills to yeld them selues vnto *Dion*, confessing that they had done him wronge, and humbly praying him to shew him selfe better vnto them, then they had shewed them selues vnto him: & that it was more honorable for him, being euery way vnmatchable for his vertues, to shew him selfe more noble to conquer his anger, then his vnthankfull enemies had done: who contending with him before in vertue, did now confesse themselues to be farre inferior vnto him. This was the summe & effect of *Heraclides* & *Theodotes* submission vnto *Dion*. But his friends did perswade him not to pardon two such wicked men, who did malice & enuy his honor: and
E as he would doe the straungers his souldiers any pleasure, that he should put *Heraclides* into their hands, to roote out of the common wealth of SYRACVSA, his vile manner tò flatter and curry fauor with the people, the which was as daungerous and great a plague to a citie, as the tyranny. *Dion* pacifying them, aunswered. Other generals of armies, said he, do imploy al their wits in marshall exercise & warres: but for him selfe, that he had of long time studied, & learned in the schole of the Academy, to ouercome anger, enuy, & all malice & contencion. The noble proofe whereof is most seene, not in vsing honest men and his friends moderately, but shewing mercy also vnto his enemies, & forgetting his anger against them that haue offended him: and that for his part, he had rather ouercome *Heraclides*, not in riches and wisedom, but in clemency & iustice, for therein chiefly consisted excellencie, sith no man els in warres can
F challenge power & gouernment, but fortune, that ruleth most. And though *Heraclides*, sayd he, through enuy hath done like a wicked man: must *Dion* therefore through anger bleamish his vertue? In deede by mans law it is thought meeter, to reuenge an iniurie offered, then to

Dions fight in the citie of Syracusa.

Nypsius compelled by Dion to flie into the castell.

Dions mercy to his enemies & the great profit he tooke by study in the Academy at Athens.

Noman should be worse by an others wickednes.

" doe an iniurie: but nature ſheweth, that they both proceede of one ſelfe imperfection. Now, A
" though it be a hard thing to chaunge and alter the euill diſpoſition of a man, after he is once
" nuſeled in villany: yet is not man of ſo wild & bruti ſh a nature, that his wickednes may not be
" ouercome with often pleaſures, when he ſeeth that they are continually ſhewed him. *Dion* aũ-
ſwering his friends thus, he forgaue *Heraclides*, & beginning againe to ſhut vp the caſtell with
a wal round about, he cõmaũded the SYRACVSANS euery man of them to cut downe a ſtake,
& to bringe it thither. So, when night was come, ſetting his ſouldiers the ſtraungers in hand
withall, whileſt the SYRACVSANS ſlept & tooke their eaſe: by morning he had compaſſed the
caſtel round about with a pale. The next day, they that ſaw the greatnes & ſodaine expediti-
on of this worke, wondred much at it, as wel the enemies, as alſo the Citizens: & when he had
buried the dead bodies, & redeemed them that were taken priſoners, (which were not much B
leſſe then two thowſand perſons) he called a common counſel of the citie, in the which *Hera-
clides* made a motion, that *Dion* ſhould be choſen general of SYRACVSA, with abſolute power
& authoritie, both by ſea & land. The chiefeſt men of the citie liked very well of it, and would
haue had the people to haue paſt it. But the rabble of theſe mariners, and other mechanicall
people liuing by their labor, would not ſuffer *Heraclides* to be put from his Admiralſhip, but
fel to mutinie, thinking that though *Heraclides* did them no pleaſure els, yet he would euer be
The frowardnes of the Syracuſans againſt Dion. a more populer man then *Dion*, & pleaſe the common people better. *Dion* graunted their de-
ſire, & made *Heraclides* Admiral againe of the ſea: howbeit he did anger them as much an o-
ther way, whẽ he did not only reiect the earneſt ſute they made to haue the law Agraria paſſe
for diuiſion of lands in equalitie amongeſt them, but did alſo cancel & reuoke all that had ben C
Heraclides againe ſtirreth vp the Syracuſans, to rebell againſt Dion. done before. Wherefore *Heraclides* remaining at MESSINA, began thenceforth to enter into
new practiſes again, & to flatter the ſouldiers & ſea fairing men he had brought thether with
him, & to ſtirre them vp to rebel againſt *Dion*, ſaying, that he would make him ſelfe tyranne: &
him ſelfe in the meane time ſecretly practiſed with *Dionyſius*, by meanes of a SPARTAN called
Pharax. The nobleſt men of the SYRACVSANS miſtruſted it, & thereuppon there fell out great
mutinie in their campe, whereby alſo followed great famine in SYRACVSA: ſo that *Dion* was
at ſuch a ſtraight, that he could not tell what to ſay to it, & was reproued of all his friends for
that he had againe preferred to great authoritie againſt him ſelfe, ſo vntractable a man, & ſo
malicious & wicked a perſon as *Heraclides* was. Now, when *Pharax* laye in campe with an ar-
my neare vnto the citie of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTINES: *Dion* did bringe D
the army of the SYRACVSANS into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him til a-
nother time. But through *Heraclides*, & the ſea mens crying out, that ſaid he would not try this
warre by battel, but would draw it out in length bicauſe he would be ſtill generall: he was for-
ced to giue battell, and loſt it. Howbeit the ouerthrow was not great, and happened rather bi-
cauſe his men were at a iarre among them ſelues, by reaſon of their faction and diuiſion, then
otherwiſe. *Dion* therefore prepared to fight another battell, and gathered his men together a-
gaine, incoraging them, when euen at twylight word was brought him that *Heraclides* with al
his fleete was vnder ſaile towards SYRACVSA, meaning to take the citie, & to ſhut *Dion* & his
army out of it. Wherefore he preſently tooke with him the chiefeſt men of authoritie in the
citie, and the moſt willingeſt men, and rode all night with them in ſuch haſte, that they were E
at the gates of SYRACVSA the next morning by nyne of the clocke, hauing ridden ſeuen hun-
dred furlong. *Heraclides* that had ſayled with all the poſſible ſpeede he could to preuent him
with his ſhippes, perceiuing that he came ſhort, he turned ſaile, and taking ſeas at all aduen-
Gæſylus Lacedæmonian commeth to Syracuſa, to be generall of the Syracuſans. ture, by chaunce he met with *Gæſylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who tolde him he was ſent from LA-
CEDÆMON, to be general to the SICILIANS in this warre, as *Gylippus* was ſent at other times
before. He was glad he had met with him, to haue ſuch a remedy and defence againſt *Dion*, &
boaſted of it vnto the friends & confederats of SYRACVSA, and ſent a Herauld before vnto the
SYRACVSANS, sũmoning them to receiue *Gæſylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who was ſent to be their
general. *Dion* made aunſwer: that the SYRACVSANS had gouernors enow, & though that their
affayres did of neceſſitie require a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine, yet that him ſelfe was he, for F
Gæſylus maketh Dion & Heraclides friends againe. that he was made free in SPARTA. Thẽ *Gæſylus* perceiuing he could not obtaine to be general,
he went vnto SYRACVSA, & came to *Dion*, & there made *Heraclides* & him friends againe, by
the

A the great and solemne othes he made: & bicause *Gæsylus* also sware, that he him selfe would be reuenged of him for *Dions* sake, & punishe *Heraclides*, if euer after he did once more conspire against him. After that, the SYRACVSANS brake vp their army by sea, bicause it did them then no seruice, and was beside chargeable keeping of it, and further did also breede sedition and trouble amongest their gouernors: and so went to lay straighter siege to the castell then euer they did, and built vp the wall againe, which the enemies had ouerthrowen. Then *Dionysius* sonne seeing no aide to come to him from any parte, and that virtels failed them, and further, that the souldiers began to mutine, being vnable to keepe them: he fel to a composition with *Dion*, and deliuered vp the castell into his hands, with all the armor and munition in it: and so tooke his mother & his sisters of *Dion*, and put them abord vpon fiue gallies, with the which B he went vnto his father, through the safe conduit of *Dion*. There was not a man at that time in all SYRACVSA, but was there to see this sight, or if by chaunce there were any absent, the other that were there called them thither as lowde as they could crie, saying, that they did not see the goodliest day and sunne shine, which the citie of SYRACVSA might see then at her rising, the same being now restored againe to her former libertie. If vntill this present day they doe reckon the flying of *Dionysius*, for one of the rarest examples of fortunes chaunge, as one of the greatest and notablest thing that euer was: what ioy thinke we had they that draue him out, & what pleasure had they with them selues, that with the least meane that could be possible, did destroy the greatest tyrannie in the world? So, when *Apollocrates Dionysius* sonne was imbarked, and that *Dion* was entred into the castell: the women within the castell would not C tary till he came into the house, but went to meete him at the gates, *Aristomaché* leading *Dions* sonne in her hand, and *Areta* following her weeping, being verie fearefull how she should call and salute her husband, hauing lyen with an other man. *Dion* first spake to his sister, and afterwards to his sonne: and then *Aristomaché* offering him *Areta*, said vnto him. Since thy banishment, O *Dion*, we haue led a miserable and captiue life: but now that thou art returned home with victorie, thou hast ridde vs out of care and thraldom, and hast also made vs againe bolde to lift vp our heades, sauing her here, whom I wretched creature haue by force (thy selfe aliue) seene maried vnto an other man. Now then, sith fortune hath made thee Lord of vs all, what iudgement giuest thou of this compulsion? Howe wilt thou haue her to salute thee, as her Vncle, or husbande? As *Aristomaché* spake these wordes, the water stoode in *Dions* eyes: so, D he gently and louingly taking his wife *Areta* by the hand, he gaue her his sonne, and willed her to goe home to his house where he then remained, and so deliuered the castell to the SYRACVSANS. He hauing this prosperous successe and victorie, would not reape any present benefite or pleasure thereby, before he had shewed him selfe thankefull to his frends, geuen great gifts also vnto the confederats of SYRACVSA, and speciallie, before he had geuen euerie one of his frends in the citie, and his mercenarie souldiers the straungers, some honorable reward according to their deserts, exceeding his abilitie with magnanimitie of minde: when he him selfe liued soberly, and kept a moderate dyet, contenting him with any thing that came first to hand. Euery man that heard of it, wondered at him, considering that not only all SICILIA and CARTHAGE, but generallie all GRÆCE looked vpon his great prosperitie and good for- E tune, thinking no man liuing greater then him selfe, nor that any Captaine euer attained to such fame and wonderfull fortune, as he was come vnto. This notwithstanding, *Dion* liued as temperatly and modestly in his apparell, and also in his number of seruauntes, and seruice at his bord, as if he had liued with *Plato* in the Academy at ATHENS, and had not bene conuersant amongest souldiers and Captaines, which haue no other comfort nor pleasure for all the paines and daungers they suffer continuallie, but to eate and drinke their fill, and to take their pleasure all day long. *Plato* wrote vnto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But *Dion*, in my opinion, had no respect but to one place, and to one citie (to wit, the Academy) and would haue no other Iudges nor lookers into his doinges, but the schollers of the same: who neither wondered at his great exploytes, valliantnes, nor victorie, but only considered if he F did wiselie and modestlie vse this fortune he had, and could so keepe him selfe within modest boundes, hauing done so great thinges. Furthermore, touching the grauetie he had when he spake to any bodie, and his inflexible seueritie which he vsed towards the people, he determi-

The castell of Syracusa surrendred vnto Dion.

The words of Aristomaché vnto Dion, at his entry into the castell of Syracusa.

Dion taketh his wife Areta againe, which had forcibly bene maried vnto an other man.

Dions temperance and thriftines.

ned neuer to alter or chaunge it: notwithſtanding that his affaires required him to ſhew curteſie and lenitie, and that *Plato* alſo reproued him for it, and wrote, that ſeueritie and obſtinacie (as we ſayd before) was the companion of ſolitarines. But it ſeemeth to me that *Dion* did vſe it for two reſpectes. The firſt, bicauſe nature had not framed him curteous and affable to winne men: ſecondly, he did what he could to drawe the SYRACVSANS to the contrarie, who were ouerlicentious, & ſpoyled with too much flattery: for *Heraclides* began againe to be buſie with him. Firſt of all, *Dion* ſending for him to come to counſell, he ſent him word he would not come: and that being a priuate citizen, he woulde be at the common counſell amongeſt others when any was kept. Afterwards he accuſed him, for that he had not ouerthrowen and raſed the caſtell: and alſo bicauſe he would not ſuffer the people to breake open the tombe of *Dionyſius* the elder, to caſt out his bodie: & bicauſe he ſent for counſellers to CORINTHE, and diſdained to make the citizens his companions in the gouernment of the common wealth. In deede to confeſſe a troth, *Dion* had ſent for certaine CORINTHIANS, hoping the better to ſtabliſh the forme of a common wealth, which he had in his minde, when they were come. For his minde was vtterly to breake the gouernment of *Democratia*, (to wit, the abſolute gouernment and authoritie of the people in a citie, not being as it were a common wealth, but rather a fayer and market where thinges are ſolde, as *Plato* ſayth) and to ſtabliſhe the LACONIAN or CRETAN common wealth, mingled with a Princely, and popular gouernment: & that ſhould be, *Ariſtocratia*, to wit, the number of a fewe noble men that ſhoulde gouerne and direct the chiefeſt and waightieſt matters of ſtate. And for that purpoſe, he thought the CORINTHIANS the meteſt men to help him to frame this cõmon wealth, cõſidering that they gouerned their affaires more by chooſing a few number of the nobilitie, then otherwiſe, and that they did not referre many thinges to the voyce of the people. And bicauſe he was aſſured that *Heraclides* would be againſt him in it all that he could, and that otherwiſe he knewe he was a ſeditious, a troubleſome, and light headed fellow: he then ſuffered them to kill him who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it, & ſo they went home to his houſe, and ſlue him there. The murther of *Heraclides* was much miſliked of the SYRACVSANS: howbeit *Dion* cauſed him to be honorablie buried, and brought his bodie to the grounde, followed with all his armie. Then he made an Oration him ſelfe to the people, and told them, that it was impoſſible to auoyde ſedition and trouble in the citie, ſo long as *Dion* and *Heraclides* did both gouerne together. At that time there was one *Callippus* an ATHENIAN, a familiar of *Dions*, who (as *Plato* ſayth) came not acquainted with *Dion* through the occaſion of his ſtudie in Philoſophie: but bicauſe he had bene his guide to bring him to ſee the ſecret miſteries and ceremonies of the ſacrifices, and for ſuch other like common talke and companie. This notwithſtanding, *Callippus* did accompanie him in all this warre, and was verie muche honored of him, and was one of the firſt of all his frendes that entred into SYRACVSA with him, and did valliantlie behaue him ſelfe in all the battells and conflicts that were fought. This *Callippus* ſeeing that *Dions* beſt & chiefeſt frends were all ſlaine in this warre, & that *Heraclides* alſo was dead, that the people of SYRACVSA had no more any heade, and beſides, that the ſouldiers which were with *Dion* did loue him better then any other man: he became the vnfaithfulleſt man and the verieſt villan of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his frend *Dion*, he ſhould vndoubtedly come to haue the whole gouernment of all SICILIA, and as ſome doe reporte, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies of twentie talentes for his labor to commit this murther. So he began to practiſe, to bribe, and to ſubborne certaine of the mercenarie ſouldiers againſt *Dion*, and that by a maruelous craftie and ſuttle fetch. For, vſing commonly to report vnto *Dion* certeine ſeditious wordes, ſpoken peraduenture by the ſouldiers in deede, or elſe deuiſed of his owne head: he wan ſuch a libertie and boldnes by the truſt *Dion* had in him, that he might ſafely ſay what he would to any of the ſouldiers, and boldly ſpeake euill of *Dion* by his owne commaundement: to thend he might thereby vnderſtand the better whether any of the ſouldiers were angry with him, or wiſhed his death. By this pollicy, *Callippus* ſtraight foũd out thoſe that bare *Dion* grudge, & that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conſpiracy. And if any man vnwilling to geue eare vnto him, went and told *Dion*, that *Callippus* would haue intiſed him to conſpire againſt him: *Dion* was not angrie with him for it, thinking that he did, but as he had commaunded

Heraclides conſpireth againe againſt Dion.

Dion ſent to the Corinthians to ſtabliſh a common wealth to the Syracuſans.

Dion ment to abeliſh Democratia, and to aduaunce Ariſtocratia.

The authoritie of the people, reſembled by Plato to a fayer, or market.

The common wealth of the Corinthians.

The murther of Heraclides.

Callippus Athenian, conſpireth againſt Dion.

Note the ſuttletie of tale beaters.

A commaunded him to doe. Now as this treaſon was practiſing againſt *Dion*, there appeared a great and monſtruous ghoſt or ſpirit vnto him. By chaunce ſitting late one euening all alone, in a gallerie he had, and being in a deepe thought with him ſelfe, ſodainly he heard a noyſe: and therewith caſting his eye to thend of his gallery,(being yet day light)he ſaw a monſtrous great woman, like vnto one of the furies ſhewed in playes, and ſaw her ſweeping of the houſe with a broome. This viſion ſo amazed and affrighted him, that he ſent for his frends, and told them what a ſight he had ſeene: and prayed them to tarie with him all night, being as it were a man beſide him ſelfe, fearing leaſt the ſpirite woulde come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which notwithſtanding he neuer heard more afterwards. Howbeit ſhortly after, his ſonne being growen to mans ſtate, for a certaine light anger he had taken when he was B but a boy, he caſt him ſelfe hedlong downe from the toppe of the houſe, and ſo was ſlaine. *Dion* being in this ſtate, *Callippus* went on ſtill with his treaſon, and ſpred a rumor abroade among the SYRACVSANS, that *Dion* ſeeing him ſelfe nowe deſtitute of children, was determined to ſend for *Apollocrates*, *Dionyſius* ſonne, to make him his heire and ſucceſſor, being coſin germaine to his wife, and his ſiſters daughters ſonne. Then began *Dion*, his wife, and ſiſter to miſtruſt *Callippus* practiſes,and they were told of it by diuers ſundrie and manifeſt prooſes. But *Dion* being ſorie(as I ſuppoſe)for *Heraclides* death, and inwardlie taking that murther in very euill part, as a fowle blot to his life and doings: he ſayd he had rather dye a thowſand deaths, and to offer his throate to be cut to any that would, rather then he would liue in that miſerie, to be compelled to take heede as well of his frends,as of his enemies. *Callippus* then ſeeing the C women ſo buſie and inquiſitiue of his doings,& fearing leaſt he ſhould be bewrayed: he came weeping vnto them, and told them it was nothing, and that he was readie to aſſure them of it by any maner of way they would deuiſe. The women then willed him to ſweare by the great othe, which was in this maner. He that muſt take this othe, commeth into the temple of the goddeſſes *Theſmophores*, which are,*Ceres* and *Proſerpina*. And after certaine ſacrifices done,he putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddeſſe *Proſerpina*,holding a burning torch in his hand and ſweareth in this maner. *Callippus* hauing done all theſe ceremonies, and made the oth in forme as I haue told you: he made ſo light accompt of the goddeſſes,that he taried no lenger to do the murther he had determined,but till the very feaſt day of the goddeſſe ſhould come, by whom he had ſworne: and ſlue him on the day of the feaſt of *Proſerpina*. Nowe, I doe not D thinke that he choſe that day of ſette purpoſe,knowing right well that he did alwayes ſinne againſt her, what time ſoeuer he had killed his brother, being by his meanes ſpeciallie admitted to the ſocietie and brotherhoode with him, of the fraternity and miſteries of *Ceres* & *Proſerpina*. Of this conſpiracie there were diuers. For,as *Dion* was ſet in his chamber talking with his frends where there were many beddes to ſit on: ſome compaſſed the houſe round about, others came to the dores and windowes of his chamber, and they that ſhould doe the deede to diſpatche him, which were the ZACYNTHIAN ſouldiers, came into his chamber in their coates without any ſword. But when they were come in, they that were without did ſhut the dores after them, and locked them in, leaſt any man ſhoulde come out: and they that were within,fell vpon *Dion*,and thought to haue ſtrangled him. But when they ſaw they could not, E they called for a ſworde. Neuer a man that was within, durſt open the dores, though there were many with *Dion*. For they thought euery man to ſaue their owne liues, by ſuffering him to be killed, and therefore durſt not come to helpe him. So the murtherers taried a long time within,and did nothing. At length there was one *Lycon* a SYRACVSAN,that gaue one of theſe ZACYNTHIAN ſouldiers a dagger in at the window,with the which they cut *Dions* throate,as a weather they had holden a long time in their handes, euen dead for feare. The murther being executed, they caſt his ſiſter, and wife, great with childe, into priſon,and there the poore Ladie was pitiefullie brought to bedde of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring vp, then otherwiſe to doe any thing with the childe. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it,bicauſe *Callippus* began then a litle to grow to ſome F trouble. For at the firſt,after he had ſlaine *Dion*, he bare all the whole ſway for a time,and kept the citie of SYRACVSA in his hands:& wrote vnto ATHENS, the which next vnto the immortall goddes he was moſt affrayed of, hauing defiled his handes in ſo damnable a treaſon. And

A ſpirite appeared vnto Dion.

The lamentable death of Dions ſonne.

Apollocrates Dionyſius ſonne.

The great oth of the Syracuſans.

Dion ſlaine by Callippus Athenian.

Dions wife brought to bed of a ſonne in priſon.

therefore, in my opinion, it was not euill ſpoken, that ATHENS is a citie of all other that bringeth forth the beſt men when they geue them ſelues to goodnes, & the wickedeſt people alſo, when they doe diſpoſe them ſelues to euill: as their contrie alſo bringeth foorth the beſt honnie that is, and hemlocke in like maner that quickely diſpatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit the gods, and fortune, did not ſuffer this treaſon and wicked man to raigne long, hauing comen to the gouernment of a realme by ſo damnable a murther: but ſhortly after they gaue him his payment he had deſerued. For *Callippus* going to take a litle towne called CATANA, he loſt the citie of SYRACVSA: whereupon he ſayd that he had loſt a citie, and got a * cheeſe-knife. Afterwards he went to aſſaile the MESSENIANS, and there he loſt a great number of his men, and amongeſt them were ſlaine thoſe that killed *Dion*. Now *Callippus* finding no citie in all SICILIA, that woulde receiue him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him: he went to take the citie of RHEGIO in ITALIE. There being in great diſtreſſe and neede of all thinges, and not able to maintaine his ſouldiers: he was ſlaine by *Leptines*, and *Polyperchon*, with the ſelfe ſame dagger wherewith *Dion* before was ſlaine: the which was knowen by the facion, being ſhort after the LACONIAN daggers, and alſo by the workemanſhippe vpon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of *Callippus*. Now for *Ariſtomaché* and *Areta*, they were taken out of priſon: and *Icetes* SYRACVSAN, that ſomtimes had bene one of *Dions* frends, tooke them home to his owne houſe, and vſed them verie well and faithfully for a certaine time, but afterwards was wonne and corrupted by *Dions* enemies. So he cauſed a ſhippe to be prouided for them, and bare them in hande that he would ſende them into PELOPONNESVS: but he gaue them charge that caried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them ouer bord into the ſea. Some ſay, that the two women, and the litle young boy, were caſt aliue into the ſea. But this reward of the ſinfull act that he committed, returned againe vppon him ſelfe, as it had done before vnto others. For he was taken by *Timoleon* that put him to death: and beſides, the SYRACVSANS did alſo kill two of his daughters in reuenge of the vnfaithfulnes he had ſhewed vnto *Dion*.

The puniſhment of Callippus.

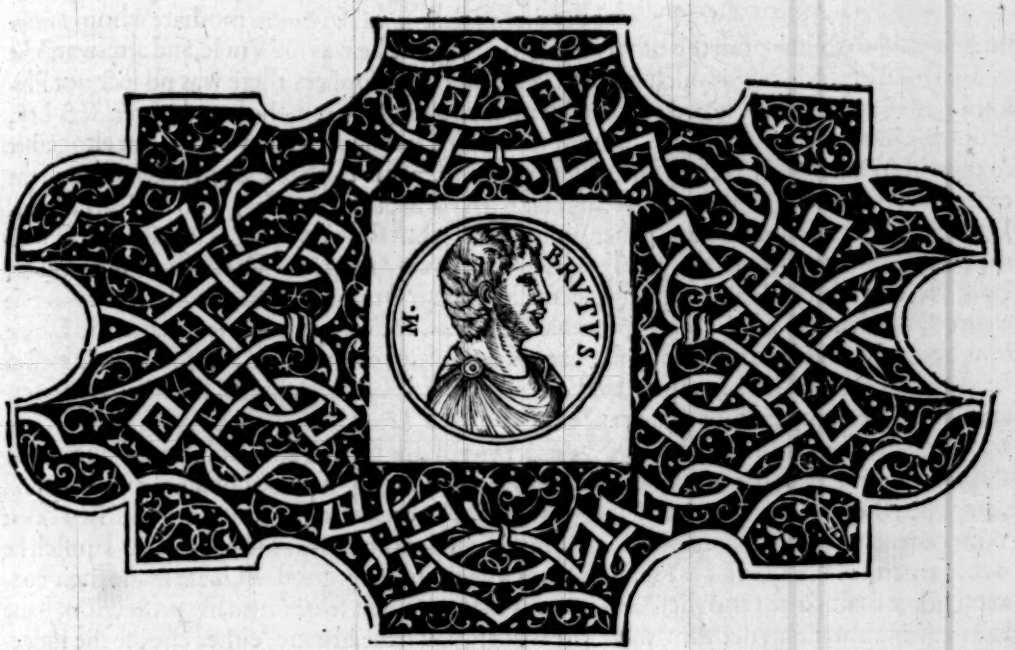
** Κατάνη in corrupt ſpeech ſignifieth a knife to ſcrape or cut cheeſe, which is truelier called ματάνη. Iulius Pollux, lib. 10 cap. 24.*

Callippus ſlaine with the ſame dagger that ſlue Dion.

The cruelties of the Syracuſans vnto Dion and his poſterity.

A B C D

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Brutus.



A *Marcus Brutus* came of that *Iunius Brutus*, for whome the auncient ROMANES made his ſtatue of braſſe to be ſet vp in the Capitoll, with the images of the kings, holding a naked ſword in his hand: bicauſe he had valliantly put downe the TARQVINES from their kingdom of ROME. But that *Iunius Brutus* being of a ſower ſtearne nature, not ſoftned by reaſon, being like vnto ſword blades of too hard a temper: was ſo ſubiect to his choller and malice he bare vnto the tyrannes, that for their ſakes he cauſed his owne ſonnes to be executed. But this *Marcus Brutus* in contrarie maner, whoſe life we preſently wryte, hauing framed his manners of life by the rules of vertue and ſtudie of Philoſophie, and hauing imployed his B wit, which was gentle and conſtant, in attempting of great things: me thinkes he was rightly made and framed vnto vertue. So that his verie enemies which wiſh him moſt hurt, bicauſe of his conſpiracy againſt *Iulius Cæſar*: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conſpiracie, they referre it whollie vnto *Brutus*, and all the cruell and violent actes vnto *Caſſius*, who was *Brutus* familiar frend, but not ſo well geuen, and condicioned as he. His mother *Seruilia*, it is thought came of the blood of *Seruilius Hala*, who, when *Spurius Melius* went about to make him ſelfe king, and to bring it to paſſe had entiſed the common people to rebell: tooke a dagger and hid it cloſe vnder his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had ſomewhat to ſay vnto him, and preſſed as neere him as he could: wherefore *Melius* ſtowping downe with his head, to heare what he would ſay, *Brutus* C ſtabbed him in with his dagger, and ſlue him. Thus muche all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, ſome for the euil wil & malice they bare vnto *Brutus*, bicauſe of the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, doe maintaine that he came not of *Iunius Brutus* that draue out the TARQVINES: for there were none left of his race, conſidering that his two ſonnes were executed for conſpiracie with the TARQVINES: and that *Marcus Brutus* came of a meane houſe, the which was raiſed to honor and office in the common wealth, but of late time. *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher wryteth the contrarie, that *Iunius Brutus* in deede ſlue two of his ſonnes which

The parentage of Brutus.

Brutus maners.

Seruilia M. Brutus mother.

Brutus parentage by his father.

were men growen, as the hiſtories doe declare: howebeit that there was a third ſonne, being A
but a litle childe at that time, from whom the houſe and family afterwardes was deriued: and
furthermore, that there were in his time certeine famous men of that familie, whoſe ſtature
and countenaunce reſembled much the Image of *Iunius Brutus*. And thus much for this mat-
Seruilia Catoes ſiſter. ter. *Marcus Cato* the Philoſopher was brother vnto *Seruilia M. Brutus* mother: whom *Brutus*
ſtudied moſt to follow of all the other ROMANES, bicauſe he was his Vncle, and afterwards he
Brutus ſtudies maried his daughter. Now touching the GRÆCIAN Philoſophers, there was no ſect nor Phi-
loſopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but aboue all the reſt, he loued *Platoes* ſect beſt,
Brutus followed the olde Academyks. & did not much geue him ſelfe to the new nor meane Academy as they call it, but altogether
to the old Academy. Therefore he did euer greatly eſteeme the Philoſopher *Antiochus*, of the
citie of ASCALON: but he was more familiar with his brother *Ariſton*, who for learning and B
knowledge was inferior to many other Philoſophers, but for wiſedom & curteſie, equall with
the beſt and chiefeſt. Touching *Empylus*, whom *Marcus Brutus* him ſelfe doth mencion in his
Empylus an Orator, wrote a booke of Cæſars death, and intituled it, Brutus. Epiſtells, and his frends alſo in many places: he was an Orator, and left an excellent booke he
wrote of the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, and tituled it *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latine
tongue, and was able to make long diſcourſe in it, beſide that he could alſo plead verie well in
Brutus maner of writing his Epiſtells in Græke. Latine. But for the Græke tongue, they do note in ſome of his Epiſtells, that he counterfea-
ted that brieſe compendious maner of ſpeach of the LACEDÆMONIANS. As when the warre
A briefe letter to the Samians. was begonne, he wrote vnto the PARGAMENIANS in this ſorte. I vnderſtand you haue geuen
Dolobella money: if you haue done it willingly, you confeſſe you haue offended me: if againſt
your wills, ſhewe it then by geuing me willinglie. An other time againe vnto the SAMIANS: C
Your counſels be long, your doinges be ſlowe, conſider the ende. And in an other Epiſtell he
wrote vnto the PATAREIANS: The XANTHIANS deſpiſing my good wil, haue made their con-
trie a graue of diſpaire: and the PATAREIANS that put them ſelues into my protection, haue
loſt no iot of their libertie. And therefore whileſt you haue libertie, either chooſe the iudge-
Brutus followed Cato into Cyprus. ment of the PATAREIANS, or the fortune of the XANTHIANS. Theſe were *Brutus* manner of
letters which were honored for their briefenes. So *Brutus* being but a young ſtripling went in-
to CYPRVS with his Vncle *Cato*, who was ſent againſt *Ptolomy* king of ÆGYPT, who hauing
ſlaine him ſelfe, *Cato* ſtaying for certaine neceſſarie buſines he had in the Ile of RHODES, had
alreadie ſent * *Caninius*, one of his frends before, to keepe his treaſure and goods. But *Cato* fea-
* Or Canidius. ring he woulde be light fingered, wrote vnto *Brutus* foorthwith to come out of PAMPHYLIA, D
(where he was but newlie recouered of a ſickeneſſe) into CYPRVS, the which he did. The
which iorney he was ſorie to take vpon him, both for reſpect of *Caninius* ſhame, whome *Cato*
as he thought wrongfullie ſlaundered: as alſo bicauſe he thought this office too meane and
vnmeete for him, being a young man, and geuen to his booke. This notwithſtanding, he be-
haued him ſelfe ſo honeſtlie and carefullie, that *Cato* did greatly commende him: and after all
the goodes were ſold and conuerted into readie money, he tooke the moſt parte of it, and re-
turned withall to ROME. Afterwards when the Empire of ROME was deuided into factions,
and that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* both were in armes one againſt the other, and that all the Empire
of ROME was in garboyle and vprore: it was thought then that *Brutus* woulde take parte with
Cæſar, bicauſe *Pompey* not long before had put his father vnto death. But *Brutus* preferring the E
reſpect of his contrie and common wealth, before priuate affection, and perſwading himſelfe
Brutus taketh parte with Pompey. that *Pompey* had iuſter cauſe to enter into armes then *Cæſar*: he then tooke parte with *Pompey*,
though oftentimes meting him before, he thought ſcorne to ſpeake to him, thinking it a great
ſinne and offence in him, to ſpeake to the murtherer of his father. But then ſubmitting him
ſelfe vnto *Pompey*, as vnto the head of the common wealth: he ſailed into SICILIA, Lieutenant
vnder *Seſtius* that was Gouernor of that prouince. But when he ſaw that there was no way to
riſe, nor to do any noble exployts, and that *Cæſar* & *Pompey* were both camped together, and
fought for victory: he went of him ſelfe vnſent for into MACEDON, to be partaker of the daun-
ger. It is reported that *Pompey* being glad, and wondering at his comming when he ſawe him
come to him: he roſe out of his chaire, and went and imbraced him before them all, and vſed F
Brutus exerciſe in Pompeys campe. him as honorablie, as he could haue done the nobleſt man that tooke his parte. *Brutus* being
in *Pompeys* campe, did nothing but ſtudie all day long, except he were with *Pompey*, & not only
the

A the dayes before, but the ſelfe ſame day alſo before the great battell was fought in the fieldes of PHARSALIA, where *Pompey* was ouerthrowen. It was in the middeſt of ſommer, and the ſunne was verie hotte, beſides that the campe was lodged neere vnto mariſhes, and they that caried his tent, taried long before they came: whereuppon, being verie wearie with trauell, ſcant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others ſlept, or thought what woulde happen the morrowe after: he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long till night, wryting a breuiarie of *Polybius*. It is reported that *Cæſar* did not forgette him, and that he gaue his Captaines charge before the battell, that they ſhoulde beware they killed not *Brutus* in fight, and if he yeelded willinglie vnto them, that then they ſhoulde bring him vnto him: but if he reſiſted, and woulde not be taken, then that they ſhoulde lette him goe,
B and doe him no hurte. Some ſaye he did this for *Seruiliaes* ſake, *Brutus* mother. For when he was a young man, he had bene acquainted with *Seruilia*, who was extreamelie in loue with him. And bicauſe *Brutus* was borne in that time when their loue was hotteſt, he perſwaded him ſelfe that he begat him. For proofe hereof the reporte goeth, that when the waightieſt matters were in hande in the Senate, about the conſpiracie of *Catiline*, which was likelie to haue vndone the citie of ROME, *Cæſar* and *Cato* ſate neere together, and were both of contrarie mindes to eache other: and then, that in the meane time one deliuered *Cæſar* a letter. *Cæſar* tooke it, and red it ſoftlie to him ſelfe: but *Cato* cried out vpon *Cæſar*, and ſayd he did not well to receiue aduertiſementes from enemies. Whereuppon the whole Senate beganne to murmure at it. Then *Cæſar* gaue *Cato* the letter as it was ſent him, who red
C it, and founde that it was a loue letter ſent from his ſiſter *Seruilia*: thereuppon he caſt it againe to *Cæſar*, and ſayde vnto him, holde, dronken ſoppe. When he had done ſo, he went on with his tale, and maintayned his opinion as he did before: ſo commonlie was the loue of *Seruilia* knowen which ſhe bare vnto *Cæſar*. So, after *Pompeys* ouerthrowe at the battell of PHARSALIA, and that he fledde to the ſea: when *Cæſar* came to beſeege his campe, *Brutus* went out of the campe gates vnſeene of any man, and lept into a mariſhe full of water and reedes. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went vnto the citie of LARISSA: from whence he wrote vnto *Cæſar*, who was verie glad that he had ſcaped, and ſent for him to come vnto him. When *Brutus* was come, he did not onelie pardon him, but alſo kept him alwayes about him, and did as muche honor and eſteeme him, any man he had in
D his companie. Nowe no man coulde tell whether *Pompey* was fledde, and all were maruelous deſirous to knowe it: wherefore *Cæſar* walking a good waye alone with *Brutus*, he did aske him which way he thought *Pompey* tooke. *Cæſar* perceiuing by his talke that *Brutus* geſſed certainlie whether *Pompey* ſhoulde be fledde: he left all other wayes, and tooke his iorney directlie towardes ÆGYPT. *Pompey*, as *Brutus* had coniectured, was in deede fledde into ÆGYPT, but there he was villanouſlie ſlayne. Furthermore, *Brutus* obteyned pardon of *Cæſar* for *Caſſius*: and defending alſo the king* of LYBIAES cauſe, he was ouerlayed with a worlde of accuſacions againſt him, howebeit intreating for him, he ſaued him the beſt parte of his realme and kingdome. They ſay alſo that *Cæſar* ſayd, when he hearde *Brutus* pleade: I knowe not, ſayd he, what this young man woulde, but what he woulde, he willeth it vehe-
E mentlie. For as *Brutus* grauetie and conſtant minde woulde not graunt all men their requeſts that ſued vnto him, but being moued with reaſon and diſcretion, did alwayes encline to that which was good and honeſt: euen ſo when it was moued to followe any matter, he vſed a kinde of forcible and vehement perſwaſion that calmed not, till he had obteyned his deſire. For by flattering of him, a man coulde neuer obteyne any thing at his handes, nor make him to doe that which was vniuſt. Further, he thought it not meete for a man of calling and eſtimacion, to yeelde vnto the requeſtes and intreaties of a ſhameleſſe and importunate ſuter, requeſting thinges vnmeete: the which notwithſtanding, ſome men doe for ſhame, bicauſe they dare deny nothing, And therefore he was wont to ſay, that he thought them euill brought vp in their youth, that coulde deny nothing. Nowe when *Cæſar* tooke ſea to goe
F into AFRICKE, againſt *Cato* and *Scipio*, he left *Brutus* Gouernour of GAVLE in ITALIE, on this ſide of the Alpes, which was a great good happe for that prouince. For where others were ſpoyled and polled by the inſolencie and couetouſneſſe of the Gouernours, as if it had

Brutus ſtudied in Pompeys campe.

Iulius Cæſar carefull of Brutus ſafety.

Iulius Cæſar loued Seruilia, Brutus mother.

Brutus ſaued by Iulius Cæſar, after the battell of Pharſalia.

* *This king was Iuba: howbeit it is true alſo, that Brutus made interceſſion for Deiotarus king of Galatia: who was depriued notwithſtanding of the moſt parte of his contrie, by Cæſar and therefore this place were beſt to be underſtanded, by Deiotarus.*

Cæſar made Brutus Gouernor of Gaule on this ſide the mountaines.

bene a contrie conquered: *Brutus* was a comforte and reſt vnto their former troubles and miſeries they ſuſteyned. But he referred it whollie vnto *Cæſars* grace and goodneſſe. For, when *Cæſar* returned out of AFRICKE, and progreſſed vp and downe ITALIE: the things that pleaſed him beſt to ſee, were the cities vnder *Brutus* charge and gouernment, and *Brutus* him ſelfe: who honored *Cæſar* in perſon, and whoſe companie alſo *Cæſar* greatlie eſteemed. Now there were diuers ſortes of Prætorſhippes at ROME, and it was looked for, that *Brutus* or *Caſſius* would make ſute for the chiefeſt Prætorſhippe, which they called the Prætorſhippe of the citie: bicauſe he that had that office, was as a Iudge to miniſter iuſtice vnto the citizens. Therfore they ſtroue one againſt the other, though ſome ſay that there was ſome litle grudge betwext them for other matters before, and that this contencion did ſette them further out, though they were allyed together. For *Caſſius* had maried *Iunia*, *Brutus* ſiſter. Others ſay, that this contencion betwext them came by *Cæſar* himſelfe, who ſecretly gaue either of them both hope of his fauour. So their ſute for the Prætorſhippe was ſo followed and laboured of either partie, that one of them put an other in ſute of lawe. *Brutus* with his vertue and good name contended againſt many noble exployes in armes, which *Caſſius* had done againſt the PARTHIANS. So *Cæſar* after he had heard both their obiections, he told his frendes with whom he conſulted about this matter: *Caſſius* cauſe is the iuſter, ſayd he, but *Brutus* muſt be firſt preferred. Thus *Brutus* had the firſt Prætorſhippe, and *Caſſius* the ſecond: who thanked not *Cæſar* ſo much for the Prætorſhippe he had, as he was angrie with him for that he had loſt. But *Brutus* in many other thinges taſted of the benefite of *Cæſars* fauour in any thing he requeſted. For if he had liſted, he might haue bene one of *Cæſars* chiefeſt frendes, and of greateſt authoritie and credit about him. Howebeit *Caſſius* frendes did diſſwade him from it (for *Caſſius* and he were not yet reconciled together ſithence their firſt contencion and ſtrife for the Prætorſhip) and prayed him to beware of *Cæſars* ſweete intiſements, and to flie his tyrannicall fauors: the which they ſayd *Cæſar* gaue him, not to honor his vertue, but to weaken his conſtant minde, framing it to the bent of his bowe. Now *Cæſar* on the other ſide did not truſt him ouermuch, nor was not without tales brought vnto him againſt him: howbeit he feared his great minde, authority, & frends. Yet on the other ſide alſo, he truſted his good nature, & fayer condicions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that *Antonius* and *Dolabella* did conſpire againſt him: he aunſwered, that theſe fat long heared men made him not affrayed, but the leane and whitely faced fellowes, meaning that, by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. At an other time alſo when one accuſed *Brutus* vnto him, and bad him beware of him: What, ſayd he againe, clapping his hand on his breſt: thinke ye that *Brutus* will not tarie till this bodie dye? Meaning that none but *Brutus* after him was meete to haue ſuche power as he had. And ſurelie, in my opinion, I am perſwaded that *Brutus* might in dede haue come to haue bene the chiefeſt man of ROME, if he could haue contented him ſelfe for a time to haue bene next vnto *Cæſar*, & to haue ſuffred his glorie and authoritie, which he had gotten by his great victories, to conſume with time. But *Caſſius* being a chollericke man, and hating *Cæſar* priuatlie, more then he did the tyrannie openlie: he incenſed *Brutus* againſt him. It is alſo reported, that *Brutus* coulde cuill away with the tyrannie, and that *Caſſius* hated the tyranne: making many complayntes for the iniuries he had done him, and amongeſt others, for that he had taken away his Lyons from him. *Caſſius* had prouided them for his ſportes, when he ſhould be Ædilis, and they were found in the citie of MEGARA, when it was wonne by *Calenus*, and *Cæſar* kept them. The rumor went, that theſe Lyons did maruelous great hurt to the MAGARIANS. For when the citie was taken, they brake their cages where they were tied vp, and turned them looſe, thinking they would haue done great miſchiefe to the enemies, and haue kept them from ſetting vppon them: but the Lyons contrarie to expectacion, turned vpon them ſelues that fled vnarmed, & did ſo cruelly tare ſome in peces, that it pitied their enemies to ſee them. And this was the cauſe, as ſome do report, that made *Caſſius* conſpire againſt *Cæſar*. But this holdeth no water. For *Caſſius* euen frō his cradell could not abide any maner of tyrans, as it appeared when he was but a boy, & went vnto the ſame ſchoole that *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla* did. And *Fauſtus* bragging among other boyes, highly boaſted of his fathers kingdom: *Caſſius* roſe vp on his feete, and gaue him two good whirts on the eare. *Fauſtus* gouernors would haue put this matter in ſute againſt *Caſſius*:

Brutus and Caſſius contend for the Prætorſhip of the citie.

Caſſius maried Iunia, Brutus ſiſter.

The firſt cauſe of Caſſius malice againſt Cæſar.

Cæſar ſuſpected Brutus.

Cæſars ſaying of Brutus.

Caſſius incenſeth Brutus againſt Cæſar.

Caſſius Lions at Megara.

Caſſius an enimie of tyrans.

But

A But *Pompey* woulde not ſuffer them, but cauſed the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them howe the matter came to paſſe. Then *Caſſius*, as it is wrytten of him, ſayd vnto the other: goe to *Fauſtus*, ſpeake againe and thou dareſt, before this noble man here, the ſame wordes that made me angrie with thee, that my fiſtes may walke once againe about thine eares. Suche was *Caſſius* hotte ſtirring nature. But for *Brutus*, his frendes and contrie men, both by diuers procurementes, and ſundrie rumors of the citie, and by many bills alſo, did openlie call and procure him to doe that he did. For, vnder the image of his aunceſter *Iunius Brutus*, that draue the kinges out of ROME, they wrote: O, that it pleaſed the goddes thou wert nowe aliue, *Brutus*: and againe, that thou wert here amonge vs nowe. His tribunall (or chaire) where he gaue audience duringe the time he was Prætor, was full of ſuche

B billes: *Brutus*, thou art a ſleepe, and art not *Brutus* in deede. And of all this, *Cæſars* flatterers were the cauſe: who beſide many other exceeding and vnſpeakeable honors they dayly deuiſed for him, in the night time they did put Diadeames vppon the heades of his images, ſuppoſinge thereby to allure the common people to call him kinge, in ſteade of Dictator. Howebeit it turned to the contrarie, as we haue wrytten more at large in *Iulius Cæſars* life. Nowe when *Caſſius* felt his frendes, and did ſtirre them vp againſt *Cæſar*: they all agreed and promiſed to take parte with him, ſo *Brutus* were the chiefe of their conſpiracie. For they told him, that ſo high an enterpriſe and attempt as that, did not ſo muche require men of manhoode, and courage to drawe their ſwordes: as it ſtoode them vppon to haue a man of ſuche eſtimacion as *Brutus*, to make euerie man boldlie thinke, that by his onelie preſence the fact

C were holie, and iuſt. If he tooke not this courſe, then that they ſhoulde goe to it with fainter hartes, and when they had done it, they ſhoulde be more fearefull: bicauſe euerie man woulde thinke that *Brutus* woulde not haue refuſed to haue made one with them, if the cauſe had bene good and honeſt. Therefore *Caſſius* conſidering this matter with him ſelfe, did firſt of all ſpeake to *Brutus*, ſince they grewe ſtraunge together for the ſute they had for the Prætorſhippe. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had imbraced one an other: *Caſſius* asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate houſe, the firſt day of the moneth of Marche, bicauſe he heard ſay that *Cæſars* frendes ſhoulde moue the counſell that day, that *Cæſar* ſhoulde be called king by the Senate. *Brutus* aunſwered him, he would not be there. But if we be ſent for ſayd *Caſſius*: howe then? For my ſelfe then ſayd *Brutus*, I meane

D not to holde my peace, but to withſtande it, and rather dye then loſe my libertie. *Caſſius* being bolde, and taking holde of this worde: why, q he, what ROMANE is he aliue that will ſuffer thee to dye for the libertie? What, knoweſt thou not that thou art *Brutus*? Thinkeſt thou that they be cobblers, tapſters, or ſuche like baſe mechanicall people, that wryte theſe billes and ſcrowles which are founde dayly in thy Prætors chaire, and not the nobleſt men and beſt citizens that doe it? No, be thou well aſſured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common diſtribucions amongeſt the people, and for common playes, and to ſee fenſers fight at the ſharpe, to ſhew the people paſtime: but at thy handes, they ſpecially require (as a due det vnto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to ſuffer any extremity for thy ſake, ſo that thou wilt ſhew thy ſelfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art.

E Thereuppon he kiſſed *Brutus*, and imbraced him: and ſo each taking leaue of other, they went both to ſpeake with their frendes about it. Nowe amongeſt *Pompeys* frendes, there was one called * *Caius Ligarius*, who had bene accuſed vnto *Cæſar* for taking parte with *Pompey*, and *Cæſar* diſcharged him. But *Ligarius* thanked not *Cæſar* ſo muche for his diſcharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his hearte he was alway his mortall enemie, and was beſides verie familiar with *Brutus*, who went to ſee him beinge ſicke in his bedde, and ſayed vnto him: O *Ligarius*, in what a time art thou ſicke? *Ligarius* riſinge vppe in his bedde, and taking him by the right hande, ſayed vnto him: *Brutus*, ſayed he, if thou haſt any great enterpriſe in hande

F worthie of thy ſelfe, I am whole. After that time they beganne to feele all their acquaintaunce whome they truſted, and layed their heades together conſultinge vppon it, and did not onelie picke out their frendes, but all thoſe alſo whome they thought ſtowt enough to attempt any deſperate matter, and that were not affrayed to loaſe their liues.

How Brutus was incenſed againſt Caſar.

Caſſius praieth Brutus firſt, to helpe him to put downe the tyran.

* *In an other place they cal him Quintus. Brutus maketh Ligarius one of the cõſpiracie.*

They do hide the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, from Cicero.

For this cauſe they durſt not acquaint *Cicero* with their conſpiracie, although he was a man whome they loued dearelie, and truſted beſt: for they were affrayed that he being a coward by nature, and age alſo hauing increaſed his feare, he woulde quite turne and alter all their purpoſe, and quenche the heate of their enterpriſe, the which ſpeciallie required hotte and earneſt execucion, ſeeking by perſwaſion to bring all thinges to ſuche ſafetie, as there ſhould be no perill. *Brutus* alſo did let other of his frendes alone, as *Statilius* EPICVRIAN, and *Faonius*, that made profeſſion to followe *Marcus Cato*. Bicauſe that hauing caſt out wordes a farre of, diſputing together in Philoſophie to feele their mindes: *Faonius* aunſwered, that ciuill warre was worſe then tyrannicall gouernment vſurped againſt the lawe. And *Statilius* tolde him alſo, that it were an vnwiſe parte of him, to put his life in daunger, for a ſight of ignoraunt fooles and aſſes. *Labeo* was preſent at this talke, and maintayned the contrarie againſt them both. But *Brutus* helde his peace, as though it had bene a doubtfull matter, and a harde thing to haue decided. But afterwardes, being out of their companie, he made *Labeo* priuie to his intent: who verie readilie offered him ſelfe to make one. And they thought good alſo to bring in an other *Brutus* to ioyne with him, ſurnamed *Albinus*: who was no man of his handes him ſelfe, but bicauſe he was able to bring good force of a great number of ſlaues, and fenſers at the ſharpe, whome he kept to ſhewe the people paſtime with their fighting, beſides alſo that *Cæſar* had ſome truſt in him. *Caſſius* and *Labeo* tolde *Brutus Albinus* of it at the firſt, but he made them no aunſwere. But when he had ſpoken with *Brutus* him ſelfe alone, and that *Brutus* had tolde him he was the chiefe ringleader of all this conſpiracie: then he willinglie promiſed him the beſt aide he coulde. Furthermore, the onlie name and great calling of *Brutus*, did bring on the moſt of them to geue conſent to this conſpiracie. Who hauing neuer taken othes together, nor taken or geuen any caution or aſſuraunce, nor binding them ſelues one to an other by any religious othes: they all kept the matter ſo ſecret to them ſelues, and coulde ſo cunninglie handle it, that notwithſtanding the goddes did reueale it by manifeſt ſignes and tokens from aboue, and by predictions of ſacrifices: yet all this woulde not be beleued. Nowe *Brutus*, who knewe verie well that for his ſake all the nobleſt, vallianteſt, and moſt couragious men of ROME did venter their liues, waying with him ſelfe the greatneſſe of the daunger: when he was out of his houſe, he did ſo frame and facion his countenaunce and lookes, that no man coulde diſcerne he had any thing to trouble his minde. But when night came that he was in his owne houſe, then he was cleane chaunged. For, either care did wake him againſt his will when he woulde haue ſlept, or elſe oftentimes of him ſelfe he fell into ſuche deepe thoughtes of this enterpriſe, caſting in his minde all the daungers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, founde that there was ſome maruelous great matter that troubled his minde, not beinge wont to be in that taking, and that he coulde not well determine with him ſelfe. His wife *Porcia* (as we haue tolde you before) was the daughter of *Cato*, whome *Brutus* maried being his coſin, not a maiden, but a younge widowe after the death of her firſt husbande *Bibulus*, by whome ſhe had alſo a younge ſonne called *Bibulus*, who afterwardes wrote a booke of the actes and ieaſtes of *Brutus*, extant at this preſent day. This young Ladie being excellentlie well ſeene in Philoſophie, louing her husbande well, and being of a noble courage, as ſhe was alſo wiſe: bicauſe ſhe woulde not aske her husbande what he ayled before ſhe had made ſome proofe by her ſelfe, ſhe tooke a litle raſor ſuche as barbers occupie to pare mens nayles, and cauſinge all her maydes and women to goe out of her chamber, gaue her ſelfe a greate gaſhe withall in her thigh, that ſhe was ſtraight all of a goare bloode, and incontinentlie after, a vehement feuer tooke her, by reaſon of the payne of her wounde. Then perceiuing her husbande was maruelouſlie out of quiet, and that he coulde take no reſt: euen in her greateſt payne of all, ſhe ſpake in this ſorte vnto him. I being, O *Brutus*, (ſayed ſhe) the daughter of *Cato*, was maried vnto thee, not to be thy beddefellowe and companion in bedde and at borde onelie, like a harlot: but to be partaker alſo with thee, of thy good and euill fortune. Nowe for thy ſelfe, I can finde no cauſe of faulte in thee touchinge our matche: but for my parte, howe may I ſhowe my duetie towardes thee, and howe muche I woulde doe for thy ſake, if I can not conſtantlie beare a ſecret miſchaunce

Ciuill warre worſe then tyrannicall gouernment.

The wonderfull faith and ſecreſie of the Conſpirators of Cæſars death.

Porcia, Catoes daughter, wife vnto Brutus.

Bibulus booke of Brutus actes.

Porcia ſtudied in Philoſophie.

The corage of Porcia.

Great difference betwext a wife and a harlot.

Porciaes words vnto her husband Brutus.

or

A or griefe with thee, which requireth ſecrecy and fidelity? I confeſſe, that a womans wit commonly is too weake to keepe a ſecret ſafely: but yet, *Brutus*, good educacion, and the compa- nie of vertuous men, haue ſome power to reforme the defect of nature. And for my ſelfe, I haue this benefit moreouer: that I am the daughter of *Cato*, & wife of *Brutus*. This notwithſtanding, I did not truſt to any of theſe things before: vntill that now I haue found by experience, that no paine nor griefe whatſoeuer can ouercome me. With thoſe wordes ſhe ſhewed him her wounde on her thigh, and tolde him what ſhe had done to proue her ſelfe. *Brutus* was amazed to heare what ſhe ſayd vnto him, and lifting vp his handes to heauen, he beſought the goddes to geue him the grace he might bring his enterpriſe to ſo good paſſe, that he might be founde a husband, worthie of ſo noble a wife as *Porcia*: ſo he then did comfort her the beſt
B he coulde. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped *Cæſar* woulde not faile to come: the conſpirators determined then to put their enterpriſe in execucion, bicauſe they might meete ſafelie at that time without ſuſpicion, and the rather, for that all the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of the citie woulde be there. Who when they ſhould ſee ſuche a great matter executed, would euerie man then ſet to their handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought alſo that the appointment of the place where the counſell ſhoulde be kept, was choſen of purpoſe by diuine prouidence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of ſeates for men to ſit in, where alſo was ſet vp the image of *Pompey*, which the citie had made and conſecrated in honor of him: when he did beawtifie that parte of the
C citie with the Theater he built, with diuers porches about it. In this place was the aſſembly of the Senate appointed to be, iuſt on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the ROMANES call, Idus Martias: ſo that it ſeemed ſome god of purpoſe had brought *Cæſar* thither to be ſlaine, for reuenge of *Pompeys* death. So when the day was come, *Brutus* went out of his houſe with a dagger by his ſide vnder his long gowne, that no bodie ſawe nor knewe, but his wife onelie. The other conſpirators were all aſſembled at *Caſſius* houſe, to bring his ſonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called Toga Virilis: and from thence they came all in a troupe together vnto *Pompeys* porche, looking that *Cæſar* woulde ſtraight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull aſſured conſtancie of *The wonderfull conſtancy of the conſpirators, in killing of Cæſar.*
theſe conſpirators, in ſo daungerous and waightie an enterpriſe as they had vndertaken. For
D many of them being Prætors, by reaſon of their office, whoſe duetie is to miniſter iuſtice to euerie bodie: they did not onelie with great quietneſſe and curteſie heare them that ſpake vnto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gaue them attentiue eare, as if they had had no other matter in their heades: but moreouer, they gaue iuſt ſentence, and carefullie diſpatched the cauſes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine ſumme of money, refuſed to pay it, and cried out that he did appeale vnto *Cæſar*. Then *Brutus* caſting his eyes vppon the conſpirators, ſayd, *Cæſar* ſhall not lette me to ſee the lawe executed. Notwithſtanding this, by chaunce there fell out many misfortunes vnto *Sundrie misfortunes to haue broken of the enterpriſe.*
them, which was enough to haue marred the enterpriſe. The firſt and chiefeſt was, *Cæſars* long tarying, who came verie late to the Senate: for bicauſe the ſignes of the ſacrifices appeared
E vnluckie, his wife *Calpurnia* kept him at home, and the Soothſayers bad him beware he went not abroade. The ſeconde cauſe was, when one came vnto *Caſca* being a conſpirator, and taking him by the hande, ſayd vnto him: O *Caſca*, thou kepteſt it cloſe from me, but *Brutus* hath tolde me all. *Caſca* being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and ſayd: why, howe nowe, howe commeth it to paſſe thou art thus riche, that thou doeſt ſue to be Ædilis? Thus *Caſca* being deceiued by the others doubtfull wordes, he tolde them it was a thowſand to one, he blabbed not out all the conſpiracie. An other Senator called *Popilius Læna*, after he had ſaluted *Brutus* and *Caſſius* more frendlie then he was wont to doe: he rounded ſoftlie in their eares, and told them, I pray the goddes you may goe through with that you haue taken in hande, but withall, diſpatche I reade you, for your enterpriſe is bewrayed. When he had
F ſayd, he preſentlie departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conſpiracie woulde out. Nowe in the meane time, there came one of *Brutus* men poſt haſt vnto him, and tolde him his wife was a dying. For *Porcia* being verie carefull and penſiue for that which

The weakenes of Porcia, notwithstanding her former corage.

was to come, and being too weake to away with ſo great and inward griefe of minde: ſhe A
coulde hardlie keepe within, but was frighted with euerie litle noyſe and crie ſhe hearde, as
thoſe that are taken and poſſeſt with the furie of the Bacchantes, asking euery man that came
from the market place, what *Brutus* did, and ſtill ſent meſſenger after meſſenger, to knowe
what newes. At length, *Cæſars* comming being prolonged as you haue heard, *Porciaes* weake-
neſſe was not able to holde out any lenger, and thereuppon ſhe ſodainlie ſwounded, that ſhe
had no leaſure to goe to her chamber, but was taken in the middeſt of her houſe, where her
ſpeache and ſences failed her. Howbeit ſhe ſoone came to her ſelfe againe, and ſo was layed
in her bedde, and tended by her women. When *Brutus* heard theſe newes, it grieued him,
as it is to be preſuppoſed: yet he left not of the care of his contrie and common wealth, nei-
ther went home to his houſe for any newes he heard. Nowe, it was reported that *Cæſar* was B
comming in his litter: for he determined not to ſtay in the Senate all that day (bicauſe he
was affrayed of the vnluckie ſignes of the ſacrifices) but to adiorne matters of importaunce
vnto the next ſeſſion and counſell holden, faining him ſelfe not to be well at eaſe. When *Cæ-
ſar* came out of his litter: *Popilius Læna*, that had talked before with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and
had prayed the goddes they might bring this enterpriſe to paſſe: went vnto *Cæſar*, and kept
him a long time with a talke. *Cæſar* gaue good eare vnto him. Wherefore the conſpirators
(if ſo they ſhoulde be called) not hearing what he ſayd to *Cæſar*, but coniecturing by that he
had tolde them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the verie diſcouerie of their
conſpiracie: they were affrayed euerie man of them, and one looking in an others face, it
was eaſie to ſee that they all were of a minde, that it was no tarying for them till they were C
apprehended, but rather that they ſhould kill them ſelues with their owne hands. And when
Caſſius and certeine other clapped their handes on their ſwordes vnder their gownes to draw
them: *Brutus* marking the countenaunce and geſture of *Læna*, and conſidering that he did
vſe him ſelfe rather like an humble and earneſt ſuter, then like an accuſer: he ſayd nothing to

Brutus with his countenaunce encouraged his fearefull conſorts.

his companion (bicauſe there were many amongeſt them that were not of the conſpiracie)
but with a pleaſaunt countenaunce encouraged *Caſſius*. And immediatlie after, *Læna* went
from *Cæſar*, and kiſſed his hande: which ſhewed plainlie that it was for ſome matter concer-
ning him ſelfe, that he had held him ſo long in talke. Nowe all the Senators being entred firſt
into this place or chapter houſe where the counſell ſhould be kept: all the other conſpirators
ſtraight ſtoode about *Cæſars* chaire, as if they had had ſome thing to haue ſayd vnto him. And D
ſome ſay, that *Caſſius* caſting his eyes vpon *Pompeys* image, made his prayer vnto it, as if it had

* *In Cæſars life it is ſayd, it was Decius Brutus Albinus, that kept Antonius with a talke without.*

bene aliue. * *Trebonius* on thother ſide, drewe *Antonius* aſide, as he came into the houſe
where the Senate ſate, and helde him with a long talke without. When *Cæſar* was come into
the houſe, all the Senate roſe to honor him at his comming in. So when he was ſet, the con-
ſpirators flocked about him, & amongſt them they preſented one * *Tullius Cimber*, who made
humble ſute for the calling home againe of his brother that was baniſhed. They all made as
though they were interceſſors for him, and tooke him by the handes, and kiſſed his head and
breſt. *Cæſar* at the firſt, ſimplie refuſed their kindneſſe and intreaties: but afterwardes, perci-
uing they ſtill preſſed on him, he violently thruſt them from him. Then *Cimber* with both his

* *In Cæſars life he is called Metellus Cimber.*

hands plucked *Cæſars* gowne ouer his ſhoulders, and *Caſca* that ſtoode behinde him, drew his E
dagger firſt, and ſtrake *Cæſar* vpon the ſhoulder, but gaue him no great wound. *Cæſar* feeling

The murther of Cæſar.

him ſelfe hurt, tooke him ſtraight by the hande he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin:

Caſca, the firſt that wounded him.

O traitor, *Caſca*, what doeſt thou? *Caſca* on thother ſide cried in Græke, and called his bro-
ther to helpe him. So diuers running on a heape together to flie vppon *Cæſar*, he looking a-
bout him to haue fledde, ſawe *Brutus* with a ſworde drawen in his hande readie to ſtrike at
him: then he let *Caſcaes* hande goe, and caſting his gowne ouer his face, ſuffered euerie man
to ſtrike at him that woulde. Then the conſpirators thronging one vpon an other bicauſe e-
uerie man was deſirous to haue a cut at him, ſo many ſwords and daggers lighting vpon one
bodie, one of them hurte an other, and among them *Brutus* caught a blowe on his hande,
bicauſe he would make one in murdering of him, and all the reſt alſo were euery man of them F
bloudied. *Cæſar* being ſlaine in this maner, *Brutus* ſtanding in the middeſt of the houſe, would
haue ſpoken, and ſtayed the other Senators that were not of the conſpiracie, to haue tolde

them

A them the reaſon why they had done this facte. But they as men both affrayd and amazed, fled one vpon anothers necke in haſte to get out at the dore, and no man followed them. For it was ſet downe, and agreed betwene them, that they ſhould kill no man but *Cæſar* onely, and ſhould intreate all the reſt to looke to defend their libertie. All the conſpirators, but *Brutus*, determining vpon this matter, thought it good alſo to kill *Antonius*, bicauſe he was a wicked man, and that in nature fauored tyranny: beſides alſo, for that he was in great eſtimation with ſouldiers, hauing bene conuerſant of long time amongeſt them: and ſpecially, hauing a mind bent to great enterpriſes, he was alſo of great authoritie at that time, being Conſul with *Cæſar*. But *Brutus* would not agree to it. Firſt, for that he ſayd it was not honeſt: ſecondly, bicauſe he told them there was hope of chaunge in him. For he did not miſtruſt, but that *Antonius* be-

Why Antonius was not ſlayne with Cæſar.

B ing a noble minded and coragious man (when he ſhould knowe that *Cæſar* was dead) would willingly helpe his contry to recouer her libertie, hauing them an example vnto him, to follow their corage and vertue. So *Brutus* by this meanes ſaued *Antonius* life, who at that preſent time diſguiſed him ſelfe, and ſtale away. But *Brutus* & his conſorts, hauing their ſwords bloudy in their handes, went ſtraight to the Capitoll, perſwading the ROMANES as they went, to take their libertie againe. Now, at the firſt time when the murther was newly done, there were ſodaine outcryes of people that ranne vp & downe the citie, the which in deede did the more increaſe the feare and tumult. But when they ſaw they ſlue no man, nether did ſpoyle or make hauock of any thing: then certaine of the Senators, & many of the people imboldening them ſelues, went to the Capitoll vnto them. There a great number of men being aſſembled toge-

Brutus with his conſorts went vnto the Capitoll.

C ther one after another: *Brutus* made an oration vnto them to winne the fauor of the people, and to iuſtifie that they had done. All thoſe that were by, ſayd they had done well, and cryed vnto them that they ſhould boldly come downe from the Capitoll. Whereuppon, *Brutus* and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The reſt followed in trowpe, but *Brutus* went formoſt, very honorably compaſſed in round about with the nobleſt men of the citie, which brought him from the Capitoll, thorough the market place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people ſaw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehells of all ſortes, and had a good will to make ſome ſturre: yet being aſhamed to doe it for the reuerence they bare vnto *Brutus*, they kept ſilence, to heare what he would ſay. When *Brutus* began to ſpeake, they gaue him quiet audience: howbeit immediatly after, they ſhewed that

D they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called *Cinna* would haue ſpoken, and began to accuſe *Cæſar*: they fell into a great vprore among them, and maruelouſly reuiled him. Inſomuch that the conſpirators returned againe into the Capitol. There *Brutus* being affrayd to be beſeeged, ſent back againe the noble men that came thither with him, thinking it no reaſon, that they which were no partakers of the murther, ſhould be partakers of the daunger. Then the next morning the Senate being aſſembled, and holden within the temple of the goddeſſe *Tellus*, to wete the earth: and *Antonius*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero*, hauing made a motion to the Senate in that aſſembly, that they ſhould take an order to pardon and forget all that was paſt, and to ſtabliſhe friendſhip and peace againe: it was decreed, that they ſhould not onely be pardoned, but alſo that the Conſuls ſhould referre it to the Senate what honors

Honors decreed for the murtherers of Cæſar.

E ſhould be appoynted vnto them. This being agreed vpon, the Senate brake vp, and *Antonius* the Conſul, to put them in hart that were in the Capitoll, ſent them his ſonne for a pledge. Vpon this aſſurance, *Brutus* and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where euery man ſaluted and imbraced eche other, among the which, *Antonius* him ſelfe did bid *Caſſius* to ſupper to him: and *Lepidus* alſo bad *Brutus*, and ſo one bad another, as they had friendſhip and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to counſell, did firſt of all commend *Antonius*, for that he had wiſely ſtayed and quenched the beginning of a ciuill warre: then they alſo gaue *Brutus* and his conſorts great prayſes, and laſtly they appoynted them ſeuerall gouernments of prouinces. For vnto *Brutus*, they appoynted CRETA: AFRICK, vnto *Caſſius*: ASIA, vnto *Trebonius*: BITHYNIA, vnto *Cimber*: and vnto the o-

F ther *Decius Brutus Albinus*, GAVLE on this ſide the Alpes. When this was done, they came to talke of *Cæſars* will and teſtament, and of his funeralls and tombe. Then *Antonius* thinking good his teſtament ſhould be red openly, and alſo that his body ſhould be honorably buried,

Cæſars will, & funeralls.

and not in hugger mugger, leaſt the people might thereby take occaſion to be worſe offended if they did otherwiſe: *Caſſius* ſtowtly ſpake againſt it. But *Brutus* went with the motion, & agreed vnto it: wherein it ſeemeth he committed a ſecond fault. For the firſt fault he did was, when he would not conſent to his fellow conſpirators, that *Antonius* ſhould be ſlayne: And therefore he was iuſtly accuſed, that thereby he had ſaued and ſtrengthened a ſtronge & grieuous enemy of their conſpiracy. The ſecond fault was, when he agreed that *Cæſars* funeralls ſhould be as *Antonius* would haue them: the which in deede marred all. For firſt of all, when *Cæſars* teſtament was openly red amonge them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed vnto euery Citizen of Rome, 75. Drachmas a man, and that he left his gardens and arbors vnto the people, which he had on this ſide of the riuer of Tyber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loued him, and were maruelous ſory for him. Afterwards when *Cæſars* body was brought into the market place, *Antonius* making his funerall oration in praiſe of the dead, according to the auncient cuſtom of Rome, and perceiuing that his wordes moued the common people to compaſſion: he framed his eloquence to make their harts yerne the more, and taking *Cæſars* gowne all bloudy in his hand, he layed it open to the ſight of them all, ſhewing what a number of cuts and holes it had vpon it. Therewithall the people fell preſently into ſuch a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongeſt the common people. For ſome of them cryed out, kill the murtherers: others plucked vp formes, tables, and ſtalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funeralls of *Clodius*, and hauing layed them all on a heape together, they ſet them on fire, and thereuppon did put the bodye of *Cæſar*, and burnt it in the middeſt of the moſt holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, ſome here, ſome there, tooke burning fire brands, and ranne with them to the murtherers houſes that had killed him, to ſet them a fire. Howbeit the conſpirators foreſeeing the daunger before, had wiſely prouided for them ſelues, and fled. But there was a Poet called *Cinna*, who had bene no partaker of the conſpiracy, but was alway one of *Cæſars* chiefeſt friends: he dreamed the night before, that *Cæſar* bad him to ſupper with him, and that he refuſing to goe, *Cæſar* was very importunate with him, and compelled him, ſo that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being maruelouſly affrayd, he was driuen to follow him in ſpite of his hart. This dreame put him all night into a feuer, and yet notwithſtanding, the next morning when he heard that they caried *Cæſars* body to buriall, being aſhamed not to accompany his funerals: he went out of his houſe, and thruſt him ſelf into the preaſe of the common people that were in a great vprore. And bicauſe ſome one called him by his name, *Cinna*: the people thinking he had bene that *Cinna*, who in an oration he made had ſpoken very euill of *Cæſar*, they falling vpon him in their rage, ſlue him outright in the market place. This made *Brutus* and his companions more affrayd, then any other thing, next vnto the chaunge of *Antonius*. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the firſt in the citie of Antivm, hoping to returne againe to Rome, when the furie of the people were a litle aſſwaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, conſidering that they had to deale with a fickle and vnconſtant multitude, eaſye to be caried, and that the Senate ſtoode for them: who notwithſtanding made no enquiery of them that had torne poore *Cinna* the Poet in peeces, but cauſed them to be ſought for and apprehended, that went with fire brands to ſet fire of the conſpirators houſes. The people growing weary now of *Antonius* pride and inſolency, who ruled all things in manner with abſolute power: they deſired that *Brutus* might returne againe, and it was alſo looked for, that *Brutus* would come him ſelfe in perſon to playe the playes which were due to the people, by reaſon of his office of Prætorſhip. But *Brutus* vnderſtanding that many of *Cæſars* ſouldiers which ſerued vnder him in the warres, and that alſo had lands and houſes giuen them in the cities where they lay, did lye in wayte for him to kill him, and that they dayly by ſmall companies came by one and by one into Rome: he durſt no more returne thither, but yet the people had the pleaſure and paſtyme in his abſence, to ſee the games and ſportes he made them, which were ſumptuouſlie ſet foorth and furniſhed with all thinges neceſſarie, ſparing for no coſt. For he had bought a great number of ſtraunge beaſtes, of the which he would not geue one of them to any frende he had, but that they ſhoulde all be employed in his

Brutus committed two great faults after Cæſars death.

Antonius funerall oration for Cæſar.

The ſtraunge dreame of Cinna the Poet.

The murder of Cinna the Poet, being miſtaken for an other of that name.

Brutus and his conſorts dare flye from Rome.

Brutus playes and ſportes at Rome in his abſence.

A his games: and went him ſelfe as farre as BYZANTIVM, to ſpeake to ſome players of comedies and Muſitions that were there. And further he wrote vnto his friends for one *Canutius* an excellent player, that whatſoeuer they did, they ſhould intreate him to play in theſe playes: For, ſayd he, it is no reaſon to compell any GRÆCIAN, vnles he will come of his owne good will. Moreouer, he wrote alſo vnto *Cicero*, and earneſtly prayed him in any caſe to be at theſe playes. Now the ſtate of ROME ſtanding in theſe termes, there fell out an other chaunge and alteracion, when the younge man *Octauius Cæſar* came to ROME. He was the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſars* Nece, whome he had adopted for his ſonne, and made his heire, by his laſt will and teſtament. But when *Iulius Cæſar* his adopted father was ſlayne, he was in the citie of APOLLONIA, where he ſtudied tarying for him, bicauſe he was determined to make warre with the

Octauius Cæſars comming to Rome.

B PARTHIANS: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned againe to ROME, where to begin to curry fauor with the common people, he firſt of all tooke vpon him his adopted fathers name, & made diſtribution amonge them of the money which his father had bequeathed vnto them. By this meanes he troubled *Antonius* ſorely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers ſouldiers together, that had ſerued in the warres with him. And *Cicero* him ſelfe, for the great malice he bare *Antonius*, did fauor his proceedings. But *Brutus* maruelouſly reproued him for it, and wrote vnto him, that he ſeemed by his doinges not to be ſory to haue a Maiſter, but onely to be affrayd to haue one that ſhould hate him: and that all his doinges in the common wealth did witneſſe, that he choſe to be ſubiect to a milde and curteous bondage, ſith by his words and writings he did commend this young man *Octauius*

Brutus reproued Cicero, for taking part with Octauius Cæſar.

C *Cæſar*, to be a good and gentle Lorde. For our predeceſſors ſayde he, would neuer abyde to be ſubiect to any Maiſters, how gentle or mild ſoeuer they were: and for his owne part that he had neuer reſolutely determined with him ſelfe to make warre, or peace, but otherwiſe, that he was certenly minded neuer to be ſlaue nor ſubiect. And therefore he wondred much at him, how *Cicero* coulde be affrayd of the daunger of ciuill warres, and would not be affrayd of a ſhameful peace: and that to thruſt *Antonius* out of the vſurped tyranny, in recompence he went about to ſtabliſhe younge *Octauius Cæſar* tyranne. Theſe were the contents of *Brutus* firſt letters he wrote vnto *Cicero*. Now, the citie of ROME being deuided in two factions, ſome taking part with *Antonius*, other alſo leaning vnto *Octauius Cæſar*, and the ſouldiers making port ſale of their ſeruice to him that would giue moſt: *Brutus* ſeeing the ſtate of ROME would

D be vtterly ouerthrowen, he determined to goe out of ITALY, and went a foote through the contry of LVKE, vnto the citie of ELEA, ſtanding by the ſea. There *Porcia* being ready to departe from her husband *Brutus*, and to returne to ROME, did what ſhe could to diſſemble the griefe and ſorow ſhe felt at her hart: But a certaine paynted table bewrayed her in the ende, although vntill that time ſhe alwayes ſhewed a conſtant and pacient mind. The deuiſe of the table was taken out of the Greeke ſtories, howe *Andromachè* accompanied her husband *Hector*, when he went out of the citie of TROY to goe to the warres, and how *Hector* deliuered her his litle ſonne, and how her eyes were neuer of him. *Porcia* ſeeing this picture, and likening her ſelfe to be in the ſame caſe, ſhe fell a weeping: and comming thither oftentymes in a day to ſee it, ſhe wept ſtill. *Acilius* one of *Brutus* friendes perceiuing that, rehearſed the verſes *Andromachè* ſpeaketh to this purpoſe in *Homer*:

Porciaes ſorowfull returne to Rome for the abſence of her husband Brutus.

The ſtory of Hector and Andromachè ſet forth in painted tables

E *Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my brother,*
And husband eke, and in all: I mind not any other.

Then *Brutus* ſmyling, aunſwered againe: but yet (ſayd he) I can not for my part ſay vnto *Porcia*, as *Hector* aunſwered *Andromachè* in the ſame place of the Poet:

Tush, meddle thou vvith vveying dewly ovvt
Thy mayds their task, and pricking on a clovvt.

For in deede, the weake conſtitution of her body, doth not ſuffer her to performe in ſhew, the valliant acts that we are able to doe: but for corage and conſtant minde, ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe as ſtowt in the defence of her contry, as any of vs. *Bibulus*, the ſonne of *Porcia*, reporteth

F this ſtory thus. Now *Brutus* imbarking at ELEA in LVKE, he ſayled directly towards ATHENS. When he arriued there, the people of ATHENS receiued him with common ioyes of reioycing, and honorable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whome he went

How Brutus beſtowed his time at Athens.

daily to heare the lectures of *Theomneſtus* ACADEMICK Philoſopher, and of *Cratippus* the PERIPATETICK; and ſo would talke with them in Philoſophie, that it ſeemed he left all other matters, and gaue h m ſelfe onely vnto ſtudye: howbeit ſecretly notwithſtanding, he made preparation for warre. For he ſent *Heroſtratus* into MACEDON, to winne the Captaines and ſouldiers that were vpon thoſe marches, & he did alſo enterteyne all the younge gentlemen of the ROMANES, whome he founde in ATHENS ſtudying Philoſophie: amongeſt them he found *Ciceroes* ſonne, whome he highly prayſed and commended, ſaying, that whether he waked or ſlept, he found him of a noble mind and diſpoſition, he did in nature ſo much hate tyrannes. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being aduertiſed that there came out of ASIA a certaine fleete of ROMANE ſhips that had good ſtore of money in them, and that the Captaine of thoſe ſhippes (who was an honeſt man, and his famillier friende) came towards ATHENS: he went to meete him as farre as the Ile of CARYSTOS, and hauing ſpoken with him there, he handled him ſo, that he was contented to leaue his ſhippes in his hands. Whereuppon he made him a notable banket at his houſe, bicauſe it was on his birth day. When the feaſt day came, & that they began to drinke luſtely one to another: the gheſts dranke to the victorie of *Brutus*, and the libertie of the ROMANES. *Brutus* therefore to encorage them further, called for a bigger cuppe, & holding it in his hand, before he dranke ſpake this alowd:

Brutus commendeth Ciceroes ſonne.

Brutus prepareth him ſelfe to warre.

My deſtiny and Phœbus are agreede,
To bring me to my finall end vvith ſpeede.

And for prooſe hereof, it is reported, that the ſame day he fought his laſt battell by the citie of PHILIPPES, as he came out of his tent, he gaue his men for the word and ſignall of battell, *Phœbus*: ſo that it was thought euer ſince, that this his ſodaine crying out at the feaſt, was a prognoſtication of his misfortune that ſhould happen. After this, *Antiſtius* gaue him of the money he caried into ITALY, 50. Myriades. Furthermore, all *Pompeys* ſouldiers that ſtragled vp and downe THESSALY, came with very good will vnto him. He tooke from *Cinna* alſo, fiue hundred horſemen, which he caried into ASIA, vnto *Dolabella*. After that, he went by ſea vnto the city of DEMETRIADE, and there tooke a great deale of armor and munition which was going to *Antonius*: and the which had bene made and forged there by *Iulius Cæſars* commaundement, for the warres againſt the PARTHIANS. Furthermore, *Hortenſius* gouernor of MACEDON, did reſigne the gouernment thereof vnto him. Beſides, all the Princes, kings and noble men thereabouts, came and ioyned with him, when it was told him that *Caius*, (*Antonius* brother) comming out of ITALY, had paſſed the ſea, & came with great ſpeede towards the citie of DYRRACHIVM, and APOLLONIA, to get the ſouldiers into his hands, which *Gabinius* had there. *Brutus* therefore to preuent him, went preſently with a fewe of his men in the middeſt of winter when it ſnewe hard, and tooke his way thorough hard and fowle contries, and made ſuch ſpeede in deede, that he was there long before *Antonius* ſumpters, that caried the vittells. So that when he came neare vnto DYRRACHIVM, a diſeaſe tooke him which the Phiſitions call Βελιμία, to ſay, a cormorant and vnſatiable appetite to eate: by reaſon of the cold and paynes he had taken. This ſickneſs chaunceth often, both to men & beaſts, that trauaile when it hath ſnowen: Either bicauſe the naturall heate being retyred into the inward parts of the body, by the coldnes of the ayer hardening the skinne, doth ſtraight digeſt and conſume the meate: or els bicauſe a ſharpe ſuttell wind comming by reaſon of the ſnow when it is molten, doth pearce into the body, and driueth out the naturall heate which was caſt outward. For it ſeemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall comming out of the skinne of the body: cauſeth the ſweates that follow the diſeaſe. But hereof we haue ſpoken at large in other places. *Brutus* being very faynt, and hauing nothing in his campe to eate: his ſouldiers were compelled to goe to their enemies, & comming to the gates of the citie, they prayed the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what caſe *Brutus* was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requitall whereof, afterwards when he wanne the citie, he did not onely intreate and vſe the Citizens thereof curteouſly, but all the inhabitants of the citie alſo for their ſakes. Now, when *Caius Antonius* was arriued in the citie of APOLLONIA, he ſent vnto the ſouldiers thereabouts to come

A ſtrannge diſeaſe tooke Brutus at Dyrrachium. VVhy by ſnow this hungry diſeaſe taketh men that are wearied with trauell.

Brutus thankfulnes, and clemency.

vnto

A vnto him. But when he vnderſtoode that they went all to *Brutus*, and furthermore, that the Citizens of Apollonia did fauor him much: he then forſooke that citie, and went vnto the citie of Bvthrotvs, but yet he loſt three of his enſeignes by the way, that were ſlayne euery man of them. Then he ſought by force to winne certaine places of ſtrength about Byllis, & to driue *Brutus* men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obtayne his purpoſe, he fought a battell with *Cicero*, the ſonne of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, by whome he was ouercome. For *Brutus* made the younger *Cicero* a Captaine, and did many notable exploytes by his ſeruice. Shortly after, hauing ſtolen vpon *Caius Antonius* in certein mariſhes farre from the place from whence he fled: he would not ſet on him with furie, but onely road round about him, commaunding his ſouldiers to ſpare him & his men, as reckoning them all his own
B without ſtroke ſtriking: and ſo in deede it hapned. For they yelded them ſelues, and their Captaine *Antonius*, vnto *Brutus*: ſo that *Brutus* had now a great army about him. Now *Brutus* kept this *Caius Antonius* long time in his office, and neuer tooke from him the markes and ſignes of his Conſulſhip, although many of his friends, & *Cicero* among others, wrote vnto him to put him to death. But when he ſawe *Antonius* ſecretly practiſed with his Captaines to make ſome alteracion: then he ſent him into a ſhippe, and made him to be kept there. When the ſouldiers whome *C. Antonius* had corrupted, were gotten into the citie of Apollonia, and ſent from thence vnto *Brutus* to come vnto them: he made them aunſwer, that it was not the maner of Romane Captaines to come to the ſouldiers, but the ſouldiers to come to the Captaine, and to craue pardon for their offences committed. Thereuppon they came to him, and
C he pardoned them. So *Brutus* preparing to goe into Asia, newes came vnto him of the great chaunge at Rome. For *Octauius Cæſar* was in armes, by commaundement and authoritie from the Senate, againſt *Marcus Antonius*. But after that he had driuen *Antonius* out of Italy, the Senate then began to be affrayd of him: bicauſe he ſued to be Conſul, which was contrary to the law, and kept a great army about him, when the Empire of Rome had no neede of them. On the other ſide, *Octauius Cæſar* perceiuing the Senate ſtayed not there, but turned vnto *Brutus* that was out of Italy, and that they appoynted him the gouernment of certaine prouinces: then he began to be affrayd for his part, and ſent vnto *Antonius* to offer him his friendſhip. Then comming on with his armye neare to Rome, he made him ſelfe to be choſen Conſul, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a ſtrippling or ſpringal of twenty yeare
D old, as him ſelfe reporteth in his owne commentaries. So when he was Conſul, he preſently appoynted Iudges to accuſe *Brutus* and his companions, for killing of the nobleſt perſon in Rome, and chiefeſt Magiſtrate, without law or iudgement: and made *L. Cornificius* accuſe *Brutus*, and *M. Agrippa*, *Caſſius*. So, the parties accuſed were condemned, bicauſe the Iudges were compelled to giue ſuch ſentence. The voyce went, that when the Herauld (according to the cuſtom after ſentence giuen) went vp to the chaier or pulpit for orations, & proclaymed *Brutus* with a lowd voyce, ſummoning him to appeare in perſon before the Iudges: the people that ſtoode by ſighed openly, and the noble men that were preſent honge downe their heads, & durſt not ſpeake a word. Among them, the teares fell from *Publius Silicius* eyes: who ſhortly after, was one of the proſcripts or outlawes appoynted to be ſlayne. After that, theſe three
E *Octauius Cæſar*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, made an agreement betwene them ſelues, and by thoſe articles deuided the prouinces belonging to the Empire of Rome amonge them ſelues, and did ſet vp billes of proſcription and outlary, condemning two hundred of the nobleſt men of Rome to ſuffer death, and among that number, *Cicero* was one. Newes being brought thereof into Macedon, *Brutus* being then inforced to it, wrote vnto *Hortenſius*, that he ſhould put *Caius Antonius* to death, to be reuenged of the death of *Cicero*, and of the other *Brutus*, of the which the one was his friend, and the other his kinſeman. For this cauſe therefore, *Antonius* afterwards taking *Hortenſius* at the battell of Philippes, he made him to be ſlayne vpon his brothers tombe. But then *Brutus* ſayd, that he was more aſhamed of the cauſe for the which *Cicero* was ſlayne, then he was otherwiſe ſory for his death: and that he could not but greatly
F reproue his friendes he had at Rome, who were ſlaues more through their owne fault, then through their valliantnes or manhood which vſurped the tyranny: conſidering that they were ſo cowardly and fayntharted, as to ſuffer the ſight of thoſe things before their eyes, the report

C. Antonius yelded vnto Brutus.

Octauius Cæſar ioyneth with Antonius.

Brutus accuſed, and condemned, by Octauius Cæſars meanes, for the death of Iulius Cæſar.

The Triumuirate.

C. Antonius murdered.

whereof ſhould onely haue grieued them to the hart. Nowe when *Brutus* had paſſed ouer his army (that was very great) into ASIA, he gaue order for the gathering of a great number of ſhippes together, aſwell in the coaſt of BITHYNIA, as alſo in the citie of CYZICVM, bicauſe he would haue an army by ſea: and him ſelfe in the meane time went vnto the cities, taking order for all things, and giuing audience vnto Princes and noble men of the contry that had to doe with him. Afterwards, he ſent vnto *Caſſius* in SYRIA, to turne him from his iorney into ÆGYPT, telling him that it was not for the conqueſt of any kingdom for them ſelues, that they wandred vp and downe in that ſort, but contrarily, that it was to reſtore their contry againe to their libertie: and that the multitude of ſouldiers they gathered together, was to ſubdue the tyrannes that would keepe them in ſlauery and ſubiection. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpoſe and intent, they ſhould not be farre from ITALY, as neare as they could poſſible, but ſhould rather make all the haſte they could, to helpe their contry men. *Caſſius* beleued him, & returned. *Brutus* went to meete him, and they both met at the citie of SMYRNA, which was the firſt time that they ſaw together, ſince they tooke leaue eche of other, at the hauen of PIRÆA in ATHENS: the one going into SYRIA, and the other into MACEDON. So they were maruelous ioyfull, and no leſſe coragious, when they ſaw the great armies together which they had both leauied: conſidering that they departing out of ITALY, like naked and poore baniſhed men, without armor and money, nor hauing any ſhippe ready, nor ſouldier about them, nor any one towne at their commaundement: yet notwithſtanding, in a ſhort time after they were now met together, hauing ſhippes, money and ſouldiers enowe, both footemen & horſemen, to fight for the Empire of ROME. Now *Caſſius* would haue done *Brutus* as much honor, as *Brutus* did vnto him: but *Brutus* moſt commonly preuented him, and went firſt vnto him, both bicauſe he was the elder man, as alſo for that he was ſickly of bodye. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilfull in warres, but otherwiſe maruelous chollerick and cruell, who ſought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenitie: and on the other ſide he was too familier with his friends, and would ieſt too brodely with them. But *Brutus* in contrary manner, for his vertue and valliantnes, was wellbeloued of the people and his owne, eſteemed of noble men, and hated of no man, not ſo much as of his enemies: bicauſe he was a maruelous lowly and gentle perſon, noble minded, and would neuer be in any rage, nor caried away with pleaſure and couetouſnes, but had euer an vpright mind with him, and would neuer yeeld to any wronge or iniuſtice, the which was the chiefeſt cauſe of his fame, of his riſing, and of the good will that euery man bare him: for they were all perſwaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleue, that if *Pompey* him ſelfe had ouercome *Cæſar*, he would haue reſigned his authoritie to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would ſtill keepe the ſouerainty and abſolute gouernment in his hands, taking onely, to pleaſe the people, the title of Conſul or Dictator, or of ſome other more ciuill office. And as for *Caſſius*, a hot, chollerick, & cruell man, that would oftentymes be caried away from iuſtice for gayne: it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put him ſelfe into ſundry daungers, more to haue abſolute power and authoritie, then to defend the libertie of his contry. For, they that will alſo conſider others, that were elder men then they, as *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Carbo*: it is out of doubt that the ende and hope of their victorie, was to be Lordes of their contry: and in manner they did all confeſſe that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lordes of the Empire of ROME. And in contrary manner, his enemies them ſelues did neuer reproue *Brutus*, for any ſuch chaunge or deſire. For, it was ſayd that *Antonius* ſpake it openly diuers tymes, that he thought, that of all them that had ſlayne *Cæſar*, there was none but *Brutus* only that was moued to doe it, as thinking the acte commendable of it ſelfe: but that all the other conſpirators did conſpire his death, for ſome priuate malice or enuy, that they otherwiſe did beare vnto him. Hereby it appeareth, that *Brutus* did not truſt ſo much to the power of his army, as he did to his owne vertue: as is to be ſeene by his writings. For approaching neare to the inſtant daunger, he wrote vnto *Pomponius Atticus*, that his affayres had the beſt happe that could be. For, ſayd he, eyther I will ſet my contry at libertie by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certeine and aſſured of all thinges els, this one thing onely was doubtfull to them: whether they ſhould liue or dye with libertie. He wrote alſo that *Antonius* had

Brutus and Caſſius doe ioyne armies together.

The ſharpe and cruell condicions of Caſſius. Brutus gentle and fayer condicions.

Brutus intent good, if he had ouercomen.

Antonius teſtimonie of Brutus.

Brutus noble mind to his contry.

had his due paiment for his folly. For where he might haue bene a partner equally of the glory of *Brutus*, *Caßius*, and *Cato*, & haue made one with them: he liked better to chooſe to be ioyned with *Octauius Cæſar* alone: with whome, though now he be not ouercome by vs, yet ſhall he ſhortly after alſo haue warre with him. And truely he proued a true Prophet, for ſo came it in deede to paſſe. Now whileſt *Brutus* and *Caßius* were together in the citie of SMYRNA: *Brutus* prayed *Caßius* to let him haue ſome part of his money whereof he had great ſtore, becauſe all that he could rappe and rend of his ſide, he had beſtowed it in making ſo great a number of ſhippes, that by meanes of them they ſhould keepe all the ſea at their commaundement. *Caßius* friendes hindered this requeſt, and earneſtly diſſwaded him from it: perſwading him, that it was no reaſon that *Brutus* ſhould haue the money which *Caßius* had gotten together by ſparing, and leauied with great euill will of the people their ſubiects, for him to beſtowe liberally vppon his ſouldiers, and by this meanes to winne their good willes, by *Caßius* charge. This notwithſtanding, *Caßius* gaue him the thirde parte of his totall ſumme. So *Caſſius* and *Brutus* then departing from eche other, *Caſſius* tooke the citie of RHODES, where he too diſhoneſtly & cruelly vſed him ſelfe: although when he came into the citie, he aunſwered ſome of the inhabitants, who called him Lord and king, that he was nether Lord nor king, but he onely that had ſlaine him, that would haue bene Lord and king. *Brutus* departing from thence, ſent vnto the LYCIANS, to require money, and men of warre. But there was a certaine Orator called *Naucrates*, that made the cities to rebell againſt him, inſomuch that the contry men of that contry kept the ſtraights and litle mountaines, thinking by that meanes to ſtoppe *Brutus* paſſage. Wherefore *Brutus* ſent his horſemen againſt them, who ſtale vppon them as they were at dinner, and ſlue ſix hundred of them: and taking all the ſmall townes and villages, he did let all the priſoners he tooke, goe without payment of ranſome, hoping by this his great curteſie to winne them, to drawe all the reſt of the contry vnto him. But they were ſo fierce and obſtinate, that they would mutyne for euery ſmall hurt they receyued as they paſſed by their contry, and did deſpiſe his curteſie and good nature: vntill that at length he went to beſeege the citie of the XANTHIANS, within the which were ſhut vppe the cruelleſt and moſte warrelikeſt men of LYCIA. There was a ryuer that ranne by the walls of the citie, in the which many men ſaued them ſelues, ſwymming betweene two waters, and fledde: howbeit they layed nettes ouerthwart the ryuer, and tyed litle bells on the toppe of them, to ſownd when any man was taken in the nettes. The XANTHIANS made a ſalye out by night, and came to fire certaine engynes of battery that bette downe their walls: but they were preſently driuen in agayne by the ROMANES, ſo ſoone as they were diſcouered. The winde by chaunce was maruelous bygge, and increaſed the flame ſo ſore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the citie, ſo that the next houſes vnto them were ſtraight ſet a fire thereby. Wherefore *Brutus* beeing affrayde that all the citie woulde take of a fire, he preſently commaunded his men to quenche the fire, and to ſaue the towne if it might be. But the LYCIANS at that inſtant fell into ſuch a frenſie, and ſtraunge and horrible diſpayre, that no man can well expreſſe it: and a man can not more rightly compare or lyken it, then to a franticke and moſte deſperate deſire to dye. For all of them together, with their wiues and children, Maiſters and ſeruaunts, and of all ſortes of age whatſoeuer, fought vppon the ramper of their walles, and did caſt downe ſtones and fierworkes on the ROMANES, which were very buſie in quenching the flame of the fire, to ſaue the citie. And in contrary manner alſo, they brought fagotts, drye wodde, and reedes, to bringe the fire further into the citie aſmuch as might bee, increaſing it by ſuche thinges as they brought. Nowe when the fire had gotten into all the partes of the citie, and that the flame burnt bright in euery place: *Brutus* beeing ſorye to ſee it, gotte vppon his horſe, and rode rownde about the walles of the citie, to ſee if it were poſſible to ſaue it, and helde vppe his handes to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their citye, and to ſaue them ſelues. Howbeit they woulde not be perſwaded, but did all that they coulde poſſible to caſt them ſelues away, not onely men and women, but alſo litle children. For ſome of them weeping and crying out, did caſt them ſelues into the fire: others headlong throwing them ſelues downe from the walles, brake their neckes: others alſo made their neckes bare, to the naked

Brutus, a true Prophet of Antonius.

Caſſius wanne the citie of Rhodes.

Brutus ieſts in Lycia.

The citie of Xanthus ſet a fire.

The deſperate ende of the Xanthians.

swordes of their fathers, and vndid their clothes, praying them to kill them their owne handes. After the citye was burnt, they founde a woman hanged vppe by the necke, holding one of her children in her hande deade by her, hanged vppe also: and in the other hande a burning torche setting fire on her house. Some woulde haue had *Brutus* to haue seene her, but he woulde not see so horrible and tragicall a sight: but when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and caused a Herauld to make proclamation by sownd of trompet, that he woulde giue a certaine summe of money, to euery souldier that coulde saue a XANTHIAN. So there were not (as it is reported) aboue fiftye of them saued, and yet they were saued against their willes. Thus the XANTHIANS hauing ended the reuolution of their fatall destinie, after a longe continuance of tyme: they did through their desperation, renue the memorie of the lamentable calamities of their Aunceſtors. Who in like manner, in the warres of the PERSIANS, did burne their citie, and destroyed them selues. Therefore *Brutus* likewise beseeging the citie of the PATAREIANS, perceyuing that they stowtly resisted him: he was also affrayde of that, and could not well tell whether he should giue assault to it, or not, least they woulde fall into the dispayre and desperation of the XANTHIANS. Howbeit hauing taken certaine of their women prisoners, he sent them backe agayne, without payment of ransome. Nowe they that were the wiues and Daughters of the noblest men of the citie, reporting vnto their parents, that they had founde *Brutus* a mercifull, iuste, and curteous man: they perswaded them to yeelde them selues and their citie vnto him, the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded them selues, diuers other cities also followed them, and did the like: and founde *Brutus* more mercifull and curteous, then they thought they should haue done, but specially farre aboue *Cassius*. For *Cassius*, about the selfe same tyme, after he had compelled the RHODIANS euery man to deliuer all the ready money they had in gold and siluer in their houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the summe of eyght thowsande talents: yet he condemned the citie besides, to paye the summe of fiue hundred talents more. Where *Brutus* in contrary manner, after he had leauyed of all the contrye of LYCIA but a hundred and fiftye talents onely: he departed thence into the contrye of IONIA, and did them no more hurt. Nowe *Brutus* in all this iorney, did many notable actes and worthy of memorie, bothe for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deserued it: Wherefore amonge the rest, I will tell you of one thinge, of the which he him selfe, and all the noble men of the ROMANES were maruelous glad. When *Pompey* the great (hauing lost the battell against *Iulius Cæsar*, in the fieldes of PHARSALIA) came and fell vppon the coast of ÆGYPT, hard by the citie of PELVSIVM: those that were protectors to the young king *Ptolomy*, beeing then but a childe, sate in counsell with his seruaunts and friendes, what they shoulde determine in that case. They were not all of one mynde in this consultacion: for some thought it good to receyue *Pompey*, others also, that they shoulde driue him out of ÆGYPT. But there was a certayne Rethoritian called *Theodotus*, that was borne in the Ile of CHIO, who was the kinges Schoolemaister to teache him Rethoricke. He beeing called to this counsell for lacke of sufficienter men, sayde, that bothe the one and the other side went awrye, aswell those that were of opinion to receyue *Pompey*, as the other that woulde haue had him driuen awaye: and that the best waye was (considering the present tyme) that they shoulde laye holde on him, and kill him, adding withall, this sentence, that a deade man byteth not. The whole counsell stucke to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and vnlooked for vnto *Pompey*: *Pompey* the great was slayne, by the motion and counsell of this wicked Rethoritian *Theodotus*, as *Theodotus* afterwardes did him selfe boast of it. But when *Iulius Cæsar* came afterwardes into ÆGYPT, the wicked men that consented to this counsell, had their payment according to their deserts: for they dyed euery man of them a wicked death, sauing this *Theodotus*, whome fortune respyted a litle while lenger, and yet in that tyme he liued a poore and miserable life, neuer tarying longe in any one place. So *Brutus* going vppe and downe ASIA, *Theodotus* coulde hyde him selfe no lenger, but was brought vnto *Brutus*, where he suffered paines of death: so that he wanne more fame by his deathe, then euer he did in his life. About that tyme, *Brutus* sent to praye *Cassius* to come to the citye of SARDIS, and so he did. *Brutus* vnder-

The Patareians doe yeld them selues vnto Brutus.

The extreme couetousnes and crueltie of Cassius to the Rhodians.

Brutus clemēcy vnto the Lycians.

Theodotus borne in Chio a Rethoritian Scholemaister to Ptolomy the young king of ÆGypt.

Theodotus saying: a dead man biteth not.

Theodotus Chian, the Rethoritian that gaue counsell to

A vnderſtanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There, both their armies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Nowe, as it commonly hapneth in great affayres betwene two perſons, both of them hauing many friends, and ſo many Captaines vnder them: there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad euery man auoyde, and did ſhut the dores to them. Then they beganne to powre out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and lowde, earneſtly accuſing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them lowd within, and angry betwene them ſelues, they were both amaſed, and affrayd alſo leſt it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commaunded, that no man ſhould come to them. Notwithſtanding, one

Kill Pompey was put to death by Brutus.

Brutus and Caſſius doe meete at the citie of Sardis.

Brutus and Caſſius complaints one vnto the other.

B *Marcus Phaonius*, that had bene a friend and follower of *Cato* while he liued, & tooke vpon him to counterfeate a Philoſopher, not with wiſedom and diſcretion, but with a certaine bedlem and frantick motion: he would needes come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boote to let *Phaonius*, when a mad moode or toye tooke him in the head: for he was a hot haſty man, & ſodaine in all his doings, and cared for neuer a Senator of them all. Now, though he vſed this bold manner of ſpeeche after the profeſſion of the Cynick Philoſophers, (as who would ſay, doggs) yet this boldnes did no hurt many times, bicauſe they did but laugh at him to ſee him ſo mad. This *Phaonius* at that time, in deſpite of the doorekeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine ſcoffing & mocking geſture which he counterfeated of purpoſe, he rehearſed the verſes which old *Neſtor* ſayd in *Homer*:

M. Phaonius a follower of Cato.

Cynick Philoſophers, called dogs.

C *My Lords, I pray you harken both to mee,*
For I haue ſeene moe yeares than ſuchye three.

Caſſius fel a laughing at him: but *Brutus* thruſt him out of the chamber, & called him dogge, and counterfeate Cynick. Howbeit his comming in brake their ſtrife at that time, and ſo they left eche other. The ſelfe ſame night *Caſſius* prepared his ſupper in his chamber, and *Brutus* brought his friendes with him. So when they were ſet at ſupper, *Phaonius* came to ſit downe after he had waſhed. *Brutus* tolde him alowd, no man ſent for him, and bad them ſet him at the vpper end: meaning in deede at the lower ende of the bed. *Phaonius* made no ceremonie, but thruſt in amongeſt the middeſt of them, and made all the companye laugh at him: So they were merry all ſupper tyme, and full of their Philoſophie. The next daye after, *Brutus*, vpon

D complaynt of the SARDIANS, did condemne and noted *Lucius Pella* for a defamed perſon, that had bene a Prætor of the ROMANES, and whome *Brutus* had giuen charge vnto: for that he was accuſed and conuicted of robberie, and pilferie in his office. This iudgement much miſliked *Caſſius*: bicauſe he him ſelfe had ſecretly (not many dayes before) warned two of his friends, attainted and conuicted of the like offences, and openly had cleered them: but yet he did not therefore leaue to employ them in any manner of ſeruice as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproued *Brutus*, for that he would ſhew him ſelfe ſo ſtraight and ſeueare in ſuch a tyme, as was meeter to beare a litle, then to take thinges at the worſt. *Brutus* in contrary manner aunſwered, that he ſhoulde remember the Ides of Marche, at which tyme they ſlue *Iulius Cæſar*: who nether pilled nor polled the contrye, but onely was a fauorer and

Iulius Cæſar ſlayne at the Ides of March

E ſuborner of all them that did robbe and ſpoyle, by his countenaunce and authoritie. And if there were any occaſion whereby they might honeſtly ſette aſide iuſtice and equitie: they ſhould haue had more reaſon to haue ſuffered *Cæſars* friendes, to haue robbed and done what wronge and iniurie they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then ſayde he, they could but haue ſayde they had bene cowards: and nowe they may accuſe vs of iniuſtice, beſide the paynes we take, and the daunger we put our ſelues into. And thus may we ſee what *Brutus* intent and purpoſe was. But as they both prepared to paſſe ouer againe, out of ASIA into EVROPE: there went a rumor that there appeared a wonderfull ſigne vnto him. *Brutus* was a carefull man, and ſlept very litle, both for that his dyet was moderate, as alſo bicauſe he was continually occupied. He neuer ſlept in the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the

The wonderfull conſtancy of Brutus, in matters of iuſtice and equitie.

Brutus care and watching

F tyme he was driuen to be alone, and when euery bodye els tooke their reſt. But nowe whileſt he was in warre, and his heade euer buſily occupied to thinke of his affayres, and what would happen: after he had ſlumbered a litle after ſupper, he ſpent all the reſt of the night in diſ-

patching of his waightieſt cauſes, and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leyſure left him, he would read ſome booke till the third watche of the night, at what tyme the Captaines, pety Captaines and Colonells, did vſe to come vnto him. So, being ready to goe into EVROPE, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet reſt) as he was in his tent with a litle light, thinking of waighty matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and caſting his eye towards the doore of his tent, that he ſaw a wonderfull ſtraunge and monſtruous ſhape of a body comming towards him, and ſayd neuer a word. So *Brutus* boldly asked what he was, a god, or a man, and what cauſe brought him thither. The ſpirit aunſwered him, I am thy euill ſpirit, *Brutus*: and thou ſhalt ſee me by the citie of PHILIPPES. *Brutus* beeing no otherwiſe affrayd, replyed againe vnto it: well, then I ſhall ſee thee agayne. The ſpirit preſently vaniſhed away: and *Brutus* called his men vnto him, who tolde him that they heard no noyſe, nor ſawe any thinge at all. Thereuppon *Brutus* returned agayne to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the daye brake, he went vnto *Caſſius*, to tell him what viſion had appeared vnto him in the night. *Caſſius* beeing in opinion an EPICVRIAN, and reaſoning thereon with *Brutus*, ſpake to him touching the viſion thus. In our ſecte, *Brutus*, we haue an opinion, that we doe not alwayes feele, or ſee, that which we ſuppoſe we doe both ſee and feele: but that our ſenſes beeing credulous, and therefore eaſily abuſed (when they are idle and vnoccupied in their owne obiects) are induced to imagine they ſee and conieƈture that, which they in truth doe not. For, our minde is quicke and cunning to worke (without eyther cauſe or matter) any thinge in the imagination whatſoeuer. And therefore the imagination is reſembled to claye, and the minde to the potter: who without any other cauſe than his fancie and pleaſure, chaungeth it into what facion and forme he will. And this doth the diuerſitie of our dreames ſhewe vnto vs. For our imagination doth vppon a ſmall fancie growe from conceit to conceit, altering both in paſſions and formes of thinges imagined. For the minde of man is euer occupied, and that continuall mouing is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cauſe of this in you. For you being by nature giuen to melancholick diſcourſing, and of late continually occupied: your wittes and ſences hauing bene ouerlabored, doe eaſilier yeelde to ſuch imaginations. For, to ſay that there are ſpirits or angells, and if there were, that they had the ſhape of men, or ſuch voyces, or any power at all to come vnto vs: it is a mockerye. And for myne owne parte, I would there were ſuche, bicauſe that we ſhoulde not onely haue ſouldiers, horſes, and ſhippes, but alſo the ayde of the goddes, to guide and further our honeſt and honorable attempts. With theſe words *Caſſius* did ſomewhat comfort and quiet *Brutus*. When they rayſed their campe, there came two Eagles that flying with a maruelous force, lighted vppon two of the foremoſte enſeignes, and alwayes followed the ſouldiers, which gaue them meate, and fedde them, vntill they came neare to the citie of PHILIPPES: and there one daye onely before the battell, they bothe flewe awaye. Now *Brutus* had conquered the moſte parte of all the people, and nations of that contry: but if there were any other citie or Captaine to ouercome, then they made all cleere before them, and ſo drewe towards the coaſts of THASSOS. There *Norbanus* lying in campe in a certaine place called the ſtraights, by another place called SYMBOLON: (which is a port of the ſea) *Caſſius* and *Brutus* compaſſed him in in ſuch ſort, that he was driuen to forſake the place which was of great ſtrength for him, and he was alſo in daunger beſide to haue loſt all his armye. For, *Octauius Cæſar* could not followe him bicauſe of his ſicknes, and therefore ſtayed behind: whereuppon they had taken his army, had not *Antonius* ayde bene, which made ſuch wonderful ſpeede, that *Brutus* could ſcant beleue it. So *Cæſar* came not thether of ten daies after: & *Antonius* camped againſt *Caſſius*, and *Brutus* on thother ſide againſt *Cæſar*. The ROMANES called the valley betweene both campes, the PHILIPPIAN fields: and there were neuer ſeene two ſo great armies of the ROMANES, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, *Brutus* army was inferior to *Octauius Cæſars*, in number of men: but for brauery and rich furniture, *Brutus* army farre excelled *Cæſars*. For the moſt part of their armors were ſiluer and gilt, which *Brutus* had bountifully giuen them: although in all other things he taught his Captaines to liue in order without exceſſe. But for the brauery of armor, & weapõ, which ſouldiers ſhould cary in their hands, or otherwiſe weare vpon their backes: he thought

A ſpirit appeared vnto Brutus in the citie of Sardis

Caſſius opinion of ſpirits, after the Epicurians ſect.

The cauſe of dreames.

A wonderfull ſigne by two Eagles.

Brutus and Caſſius campe before the citie of Philippes: againſt Octauius Cæſar, & Antonius.

Brutus ſouldiers brauely armed.

Brutus opinion for

that

A that it was an encoragement vnto them that by nature are greedy of honor, & that it maketh them alſo fight like deuills that loue to get, and be affrayd to loſe: bicauſe they fight to keepe their armor and weapon, as alſo their goods and lands. Now when they came to muſter their armies, *Octauius Cæſar* tooke the muſter of his army within the trenches of his campe, & gaue his men onely a litle corne, and fiue ſiluer Drachmas to euery man to ſacrifice to the gods, & to pray for victory. But *Brutus* skorning this miſerie and niggardlines, firſt of all muſtered his armie, and did purifie it in the fields, according to the manner of the ROMANES: and then he gaue vnto euery band a number of weathers to ſacrifice, and fiftie ſiluer Drachmas to euery ſouldier. So that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* ſouldiers were better pleaſed, and more coragiouſly bent to fight at the daye of the battell, then their enemies ſouldiers were. Notwithſtanding, being

the bravery of ſouldiers, in their armor and weapons.

B buſily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chaunced certaine vnlucky ſignes vnto *Caſſius*. For one of his Sergeaunts that caried the roddes before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he ſhould haue worne on his head in the tyme of ſacrificing. Moreouer it is reported alſo, that at another tyme before, in certaine ſportes and triumphe where they caried an image of *Caſſius* victorie of cleane gold, it fell by chaunce, the man ſtumbling that caried it. And yet further, there were ſeene a maruelous number of fowles of praye, that feede vpon dead carkaſſes: and beehiues alſo were founde, where bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the trenches of the campe: the which place the Soothſayers thought good to ſhut out of the precinct of the campe, for to take away the ſuperſtitious feare and miſtruſt men would haue of it. The which

Vnlucky ſignes vnto Caſſius.

C beganne ſomewhat to alter *Caſſius* minde from *Epicurus* opinions, and had put the ſouldiers alſo in a maruelous feare. Thereuppon *Caſſius* was of opinion not to trye this warre at one battell, but rather to delay tyme, and to drawe it out in length, conſidering that they were the ſtronger in money, and the weaker in men and armors. But *Brutus* in contrary manner, did alway before, and at that tyme alſo, deſire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of battell, aſſoone as might be poſſible: to the ende he might either quickely reſtore his contry to her former libertie, or rid him forthwith of this miſerable world, being ſtill troubled in following and mainteyning of ſuch great armies together. But perceiuing that in the dayly skirmiſhes and byckerings they made, his men were alway the ſtronger, and euer had the better: that yet quickned his ſpirits againe, and did put him in better hart. And furthermore, bicauſe that ſome

Caſſius and Brutus opinions about battell.

D of their owne men had already yelded them ſelues to their enemies, and that it was ſuſpected moreouer diuers others would doe the like: that made many of *Caſſius* friendes, which were of his minde before, (when it came to be debated in counſell whether the battell ſhoulde be fought or not) that they were then of *Brutus* minde. But yet was there one of *Brutus* friendes called *Atellius*, that was againſt it, and was of opinion that they ſhould tary the next winter. *Brutus* asked him what he ſhould get by taryinga yeare lenger? If I get nought els, q. *Attellius* agayne, yet haue I liued ſo much lenger. *Caſſius* was very angry with this aunſwer: and *Atellius* was maliced and eſteemed the worſe for it of all men. Thereuppon it was preſently determined they ſhould fight battell the next daye. So *Brutus* all ſupper tyme looked with a cheerefull countenaunce, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wiſely of Philoſo-

Atellius opinion for the battell.

E phie, and after ſupper went to bed. But touching *Caſſius*, *Meſſala* reporteth that he ſupped by him ſelfe in his tent with a fewe of his friendes, and that all ſupper tyme he looked very ſadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was againſt his nature: and that after ſupper he tooke him by the hande, and holding him faſt (in token of kindnes as his manner was) tolde him in Greeke: *Meſſala*, I proteſt vnto thee, and make thee my witnes, that I am compelled againſt my minde and will (as *Pompey* the great was) to ieopard the libertie of our contry, to the hazard of a battel. And yet we muſt be liuely, and of good corage, conſidering our good fortune, whome we ſhoulde wronge too muche to miſtruſt her, although we followe euill counſell. *Meſſala* writeth, that *Caſſius* hauing ſpoken theſe laſt wordes vnto him, he bad him farewell, and willed him to come to ſupper to him the next night following, bicauſe it was his birth

Caſſius words vnto Meſſala, the night before the battell.

F day. The next morning by breake of day, the ſignall of battell was ſet out in *Brutus* and *Caſſius* campe, which was an arming ſcarlet coate: and both the Chiefetaines ſpake together in the middeſt of their armies. There *Caſſius* beganne to ſpeake firſt, and ſayd: the gods graunt vs, O

Brutus and Caſſius talke before the battell.

Brutus, that this day we may winne the field, and euer after to liue all the rest of our life quietly, one with another. But sith the gods haue so ordeyned it, that the greatest & chiefest things amongest men are most vncertaine, and that if the battell fall out otherwise to daye then we wishe or looke for, we shall hardely meete againe: what art thou then determined to doe, to flye, or dye? *Brutus* aunswered him, being yet but a young man, and not ouergreatly experienced in the world: I trust, (I know not how) a certaine rule of Philosophie, by the which I did greatly blame and reproue *Cato* for killing of him selfe, as being no lawfull nor godly acte, touching the gods, nor concerning men, valliant, not to giue place and yeld to diuine prouidence, and not constantly and paciently to take whatsoeuer it pleaseth him to send vs, but to drawe backe, and flie: but being nowe in the middest of the daunger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for vs: I will looke no more for hope, neither seeke to make any new supply for warre againe, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gaue vp my life for my contry in the Ides of Marche, for the which I shall liue in another more glorious worlde. *Cassius* fell a laughing to heare what he sayde, and imbracing him, come on then sayde he, let vs goe and charge our enemies with this mynde. For eyther we shall conquer, or we shall not neede to feare the Conquerors. After this talke, they fell to consultacion amonge their friendes for the ordering of the battell. Then *Brutus* prayed *Cassius* he might haue the leading of the right winge, the which men thought was farre meeter for *Cassius*: both bicause he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet *Cassius* gaue it him, and willed that *Messala* (who had charge of one of the warrelikest legions they had) shoulde be also in that winge with *Brutus*. So *Brutus* presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appoynted, and his footemen also were as willing and readye to giue charge. Nowe *Antonius* men did cast a trenche from the marishe by the which they laye, to cutte of *Cassius* way to come to the sea: and *Cæsar*, at the least his armye, styrred not. As for *Octauius Cæsar* him selfe, he was not in his campe, bicause he was sicke. And for his people, they litle thought the enemies would haue giuen them battell, but onely haue made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trenche, and with their darts and slings to haue kept them from finishing of their worke: but they taking no heede to them that came full vpon them to giue them battell, maruelled much at the great noyse they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trenche. In the meane tyme *Brutus* that led the right winge, sent litle billes to the Colonells and Captaines of priuate bandes, in the which he wrote the worde of the battell: and he him selfe riding a horse backe by all the trowpes, did speake to them, and incoraged them to sticke to it like men. So by this meanes very fewe of them vnderstoode what was the worde of the battell, and besides, the moste parte of them neuer taryed to haue it tolde them, but ranne with greate furie to assayle the enemies: whereby through this disorder, the legions were maruelously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For first of all, *Messalaes* legion, and then the next vnto them, went beyond the left winge of the enemies, and did nothing, but glawnsing by them, ouerthrewe some as they went, and so going on further, fell right vpon *Cæsars* campe, out of the which (as him selfe writeth in his commentaries) he had bene conueyed away a litle before, thorough the counsell and aduise of one of his friendes called *Marcus Artorius*. Who dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared vnto him, that commaunded *Octauius Cæsar* should be caried out of his campe. Insomuch as it was thought he was slayne, bicause his lytter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through & through with pykes and darts. There was great slaughter in this campe. For amongest others, there were slayne two thowsand LACEDÆMONIANS, who were arriued but euen a litle before, comming to ayde *Cæsar*. The other also that had not glaunsed by, but had giuen a charge full vpon *Cæsars* battell: they easily made them flie, bicause they were greatly troubled for the losse of their campe, and of them there were slayne by hand, three legions. Then being very earnest to followe the chase of them that fled, they ranne in amongest them hand ouer head into their campe, & *Brutus* among thē. But that which the cōquerors thought not of, occasion shewed it vnto them that were ouercome: & that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, & vngarded of thē of the right wing, who were strayed too far of, in following

Brutus answer to Cassius.

The battell at Philippes, against Octauius Cæsar, and Antonius.

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A ing of them that were ouerthrowen. So they gaue a hot charge vpon them. But notwithstanding all the force they made, they coulde not breake into the middeſt of their battell, where they founde men that receiued them, and valliantlie made head againſt them. Howbeit they brake and ouerthrewe the left wing where *Caſſius* was, by reaſon of the great diſorder among them, and alſo bicauſe they had no intelligence how the right wing had ſped. So they chaſed them beating them into their campe, the which they ſpoyled, none of both the Chieftaines being preſent there. For *Antonius*, as it is reported, to flie the furie of the firſt charge, was gotten into the next mariſh: and no man coulde tell what became of *Octauius Cæſar*, after he was caried out of his campe. Inſomuche that there were certaine ſouldiers that ſhewed their ſwords bloodied, & ſayd that they had ſlaine him, and did deſcribe his face, and ſhewed what
B age he was of. Furthermore the voward, and the middeſt of *Brutus* battell, had alreadie put all their enemies to flight that withſtoode them, with great ſlaughter: ſo that *Brutus* had conquered all of his ſide, and *Caſſius* had loſt all on the other ſide. For nothing vndid them, but that *Brutus* went not to helpe *Caſſius*, thinking he had ouercome them, as him ſelfe had done: and *Caſſius* on the other ſide taried not for *Brutus*, thinking he had bene ouerthrowen, as him ſelfe was. And to proue that the victorie fell on *Brutus* ſide, *Meſſala* confirmeth it: that they wanne three Eagles, and diuers other enſignes of their enemies, and their enemies wanne neuer a one of theirs. Now *Brutus* returning from the chaſe, after he had ſlaine and ſacked *Cæſars* men: he wondred muche that he coulde not ſee *Caſſius* tent ſtanding vp high as it was wont, neither the other tentes of his campe ſtanding as they were before, bicauſe all the whole cãpe
C had bene ſpoiled, and the tentes throwen downe, at the firſt comming in of the enemies. But they that were about *Brutus*, whoſe ſight ſerued them better, tolde him that they ſawe a great gliſtering of harnes, and a number of ſiluered targets, that went & came into *Caſſius* campe, and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to gard the campe: and yet that they ſaw not ſuch a number of dead bodies, and great ouerthrow, as there ſhould haue bene, if ſo many legions had bene ſlaine. This made *Brutus* at the firſt miſtruſt that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the campe of his enemie which he had taken, and cauſed his men to be ſent for that yet followed the chaſe, and gathered them together, thinking to leade them to aide *Caſſius*, who was in this ſtate as you ſhall heare. Firſt of all he was maruelous angrie, to ſee how *Brutus* men ranne to
D geue charge vpon their enemies, and taried not for the word of the battell, nor commaundement to geue charge: and it grieued him beſide, that after he had ouercome them, his men fell ſtraight to ſpoyle, and were not carefull to compaſſe in the reſt of the enemies behinde. But with tarying too long alſo, more then through the valliantneſſe or foreſight of the Captaines his enemies: *Caſſius* founde him ſelfe compaſſed in with the right wing of his enemies armie. Whereuppon his horſemen brake immediatly, and fled for life towardes the ſea. Furthermore, perceiuing his footemen to geue ground, he did what he could to kepe them from flying, and tooke an enſigne from one of the enſigne bearers that fled, and ſtucke it faſt at his feete: although with much a do he could ſcant keepe his owne gard together. So *Caſſius* him
E ſelfe was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, vnto a litle hill, from whence they might eaſely ſee what was done in all the plaine: howbeit *Caſſius* him ſelfe ſawe nothing, for his ſight was verie bad, ſauing that he ſaw (and yet with much a doe) how the enemies ſpoiled his campe before his eyes. He ſawe alſo a great troupe of horſemen, whom *Brutus* ſent to aide him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he ſent *Titinnius*, one of them that was with him, to goe and know what they were. *Brutus* horſemen ſawe him comming a farre of, whom when they knewe that he was one of *Caſſius* chieſeſt frendes, they ſhowted out for ioy: and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horſes, and went and imbraced him. The reſt compaſſed him in rounde about a horſebacke, with ſongs of victorie and great ruſhing of their harnes, ſo that they made all the field ring againe for ioy. But this marred all. For *Caſſius* thinking in deede that *Titinnius* was taken
F of the enemies, he then ſpake theſe wordes: deſiring too much to liue, I haue liued to ſee one of my beſt frendes taken, for my ſake, before my face. After that, he gotte into a tent where no bodie was, and tooke *Pyndarus* with him, one of his freed bondmen, whom he reſerued

Octauius Cæſar falſelie reported to be ſlaine at the battell of Philippes.

Caſſius miſfortune.

Caſſius offended with the ſundrie errors Brutus and his men committed in battell.

Caſſius walfulnes in warres.

The importance of error & miſtaking in warres.

euer for ſuche a pinche, ſince the curſed battell of the PARTHIANS, where *Craſſus* was ſlaine, A
though he notwithſtanding ſcaped from that ouerthrow: but then caſting his cloke ouer his
head, & holding out his bare neck vnto *Pindarus*, he gaue him his head to be ſtriken of. So the
Caſſius ſlaine by his man Pindarus. head was found ſeuered from the bodie: but after that time *Pindarus* was neuer ſeene more.
Wherupon, ſome tooke occaſion to ſay, that he had ſlaine his maſter without his cõmaunde-
ment. By & by they knew the horſemen that came towards them, & might ſee *Titinnius* crow-
ned with a garland of triumphe, who came before with great ſpeede vnto *Caſſius*. But when he
perceiued by the cries and teares of his frends which tormented them ſelues, the misfortune
The death of Titinnius. that had chaunced to his Captaine *Caſſius*, by mistaking: he drew out his ſword, curſing him
ſelfe a thowſand times that he had taried ſo long, and ſo ſlue him ſelfe preſentlie in the fielde.
Brutus in the meane time came forward ſtill, and vnderſtoode alſo that *Caſſius* had bene ouer- B
throwen: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came verie neere to his campe. So when
he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of *Caſſius*, calling him the laſt of all the
ROMANES, being vnpoſſible that ROME ſhould euer breede againe ſo noble & valliant a man
as he: he cauſed his bodie to be buried, and ſent it to the citie of THASSOS, fearing leaſt his
funerals within the campe ſhould cauſe great diſorder. Then he called his ſouldiers together,
& did encorage them againe. And when he ſaw that they had loſt all their cariage, which they
could not brooke well: he promiſed euerie man of them two thowſand Drachmas in recom-
pence. After his ſouldiers had heard his Oration, they were al of them pretily cheered againe,
wondering much at his great liberalitie, and waited vpon him with great cries when he went
his way, praiſing him, for that he only of the foure Chieftaines, was not ouercome in battell. C
And to ſpeake the trueth, his deedes ſhewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conqueror. For
with fewe legions, he had ſlaine and driuen all them away, that made head againſt him: and
yet if all his people had fought, and that the moſt of them had not outgone their enemies to
runne to ſpoyle their goods: ſurely it was like enough he had ſlaine them all, and had left ne-
The number of men ſlaine, at the battell of Philippes. uer a man of them aliue. There were ſlaine of *Brutus* ſide, about eight thowſand men, coũting
the ſouldiers ſlaues, whom *Brutus* called Brigas: and of the enemies ſide, as *Meſſala* wryteth,
there were ſlaine as he ſuppoſeth, more then twiſe as many moe. Wherefore they were more
diſcoraged then *Brutus*, vntill that verie late at night, there was one of *Caſſius* men called *De-
metrius*, who went vnto *Antonius*, and caried his maiſters clothes, whereof he was ſtripped
not long before, and his ſword alſo. This encoraged *Brutus* enemies, and made them ſo braue, D
that the next morning betimes they ſtoode in battell ray againe before *Brutus*. But on *Brutus*
ſide, both his campes ſtoode wauering, and that in great daunger. For his owne campe being
full of priſoners, required a good garde to looke vnto them: and *Caſſius* campe on the other
ſide tooke the death of their Captaine verie heauilie, and beſide, there was ſome vile grudge
betwene them that were ouercomen, and thoſe that did ouercome. For this cauſe therefore
Brutus did ſet them in battell ray, but yet kept him ſelfe from geuing battell. Now for the ſlaues
that were priſoners, which were a great number of them, & went & came to and fro amongſt
the armed men, not without ſuſpicion: he commaunded they ſhoulde kill them. But for the
freemen, he ſent them freely home, and ſaid, that they were better priſoners with his enemies,
then with him. For with them, they were ſlaues and ſeruauntes: and with him, they were free E
men, and citizens. So when he ſaw that diuers Captaines and his frendes did ſo cruelly hate
Brutus clemẽcy & curteſie. ſome, that they would by no meanes ſaue their liues: *Brutus* him ſelfe hid them, and ſecretlie
ſent them away. Among theſe priſoners, there was one *Volumnius* a ieaſter, and *Sacculio* a com-
mon player, of whom *Brutus* made no accompt at all. Howbeit his frends brought them vnto
him, and did accuſe them, that though they were priſoners, they did not let to laugh them to
ſcorne, and to ieaſt broadly with them. *Brutus* made no aunſwere to it, bicauſe his heade was
occupied otherwayes. Whereupon, *Meſſala Coruinus* ſayd: that it were good to whippe them
on a ſkaffold, and then to ſende them naked, well whipped, vnto the Captaines of their ene-
mies, to ſhewe them their ſhame, to keepe ſuche mates as thoſe in their campe, to play the
fooles, to make them ſport. Some that ſtoode by, laughed at his deuiſe. But *Publius Caſca*, that F
gaue *Iulius Cæſar* the firſt wounde when he was ſlaine, ſayd then: It doth not become vs to be
thus merie at *Caſſius* funeralls: and for thee, *Brutus*, thou ſhalt ſhowe what eſtimacion thou

madeſt,

A madeſt of ſuche a Captaine thy compere, by putting to death, or ſauing the liues of theſe bloodes, who hereafter will mocke him, and defame his memorie. *Brutus* aunſwered againe in choller: why then doe you come to tell me of it, *Caſca*, and doe not your ſelues what you thinke good? When they hearde him ſay ſo, they tooke his aunſwere for a conſent againſt theſe poore vnfortunate men, to ſuffer them to doe what they thought good: and therefore they caried them away, & ſlue them. Afterwards *Brutus* performed the promiſe he had made to the ſouldiers, and gaue them the two thowſand Drachmas a peece, but yet he firſt reproued them, bicauſe they went & gaue charge vpon the enemies at the firſt battell, before they had the word of battell geuen them: and made them a new promiſe alſo, that if in the ſecond battell they fought like men, he would geue them the ſacke and ſpoyle of two cities, to wit,
B THESSALONICA, and LACEDÆMON. In all *Brutus* life there is but this only fault to be found, and that is not to be gainesaid: though *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæſar* did reward their ſouldiers farre worſe for their victory. For when they had driuen all the naturall ITALIANS out of ITALIE, they gaue their ſouldiers their landes and townes, to the which they had no right: and moreouer, the only marke they ſhot at in all this warre they made, was but to ouercome, and raigne. Where in contrarie manner they had ſo great an opinion of *Brutus* vertue, that the common voyce and opinion of the world would not ſuffer him, neither to ouercome, nor to ſaue him ſelfe, otherwiſe then iuſtlie and honeſtly, and ſpeciallie after *Caſſius* death: whome men burdened, that oftentimes he moued *Brutus* to great crueltie. But nowe, like as the mariners on the ſea after the rudder of their ſhippe is broken by tempeſt, do ſeeke to naile on ſome
C other peece of wodde in liew thereof, and doe helpe them ſelues to keepe them from hurt, as much as may be vpon that inſtant daunger: euen ſo *Brutus*, hauing ſuch a great armie to gouerne, and his affaires ſtanding verie tickle, and hauing no other Captaine coequall with him in dignitie and authoritie: he was forced to imploy them he had, and likewiſe to be ruled by them in many things, & was of mind him ſelfe alſo to graunt them any thing, that he thought might make them ſerue like noble ſouldiers at time of neede. For *Caſſius* ſouldiers were verie euill to be ruled, and did ſhewe them ſelues verie ſtubborne and luſtie in the campe, bicauſe they had no Chieftaine that did cõmaund them: but yet rancke cowards to their enemies, bicauſe they had once ouercome them. On the other ſide *Octauius Cæſar*, and *Antonius*, were not
D in much better ſtate: for firſt of all, they lacked vittells. And bicauſe they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a hard and ſharpe winter, being camped as they were by the mariſh ſide, and alſo for that after the battell there had fallen plentie of raine about the autumne, where through, all their tents were full of myre and durt, the which by reaſon of the colde did freeze incontinentlie. But beſide all theſe diſcommodities, there came newes vnto them of the great loſſe they had of their men by ſea. For *Brutus* ſhippes met with a great aide and ſupplie of men, which were ſent them out of ITALIE, and they ouerthrewe them in ſuche ſorte, that there ſcaped but few of them: and yet they were ſo famiſhed, that they were compelled to eate the tackle and ſailes of their ſhippes. Thereuppon they were verie deſirous to fight a battell againe, before *Brutus* ſhould haue intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chaũced ſo, that the battell was fought by ſea, on the ſelfe ſame day it was fought by lande. But by
E ill fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the Captaines, this victory came not to *Brutus* eare, till twentie dayes after. For had he knowen of it before, he would not haue bene brought to haue fought a ſecond battell, conſidering that he had excellent good prouiſion for his armie for a long time, and beſides, lay in a place of great ſtrength, ſo as his campe could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor alſo diſtreſſed by his enemies: and further, he had bene a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by ſea, as he was alſo by land. This would haue marueloully encoraged him. Howbeit the ſtate of ROME (in my opinion) being now brought to that paſſe, that it could no more abide to be gouerned by many Lordes, but required one only abſolute Gouernor: God, to preuent *Brutus* that it ſhoulde not come to his gouernment, kept this victorie from his knowledge, though in deede it came but a litle too late. For the day be-
F fore the laſt battell was geuen, verie late in the night, came *Clodius*, one of his enemies into his campe, who told that *Cæſar* hearing of the ouerthrow of his armie by ſea, deſired nothing more then to fight a battell before *Brutus* vnderſtoode it. Howebeit they gaue no credit to his

Brutus faults wiſely excuſed by Plutarke.

Brutus victorie by ſea.

Wonderfull famine amõg Cæſars ſouldiers by ſea.

The ignorãce of Brutus victorie by ſea, was his vtter deſtruction.

words, but despised him so muche, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him vnto *Brutus*, A
bicause they thought it was but a lye deuised, to be the better welcome for this good newes.
The selfe same night, it is reported that the monstruous spirit which had appeared before vn-
The euill spirit appeared againe vnto Brutus. to *Brutus* in the citie of SARDIS, did now appeare againe vnto him in the selfe same shape and
forme, and so vanished away, and sayd neuer a word. Now *Publius Volumnius*, a graue & wise
Philosopher, that had bene with *Brutus* from the beginning of this warre, he doth make men-
Straunge sightes before Brutus second battell. cion of this spirite, but sayth: that the greatest Eagle and ensigne was couered ouer with a
swarme of bees, and that there was one of the Captaines, whose arme sodainly fell a sweating,
that it dropped oyle of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to drie him, but
all would doe no good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two Eagles fought
betwene both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a maruelous great silence all the B
valley ouer, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight betwene them: and
that in the end, the Eagle towardes *Brutus* gaue ouer, and flew away. But this is certaine, and
a true tale: that when the gate of the campe was open, the first man the standerd bearer met
that caried the Eagle, was an ÆTHIOPIAN, whome the souldiers for ill lucke mangled with
Brutus second battell. their swordes. Now, after that *Brutus* had brought his armie into the fielde, and had set them
in battell ray, directlie against the vward of his enemie: he pawsed a long time, before he
gaue the signall of battell. For *Brutus* riding vp and downe to view the bands and companies:
it came in his head to mistrust some of them, besides, that some came to tell him so muche as
he thought. Moreouer, he sawe his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not goe lustely
to geue charge: but still stayed, to see what the footemen woulde doe. Then sodainly, one of C
the chiefest Knightes he had in all his armie called *Camulatius*, and that was alway marue-
lously esteemed of for his valliantnes, vntill that time: he came hard by *Brutus* a horsebacke,
and roade before his face to yeeld him selfe vnto his enemies. *Brutus* was maruelous sorie for
it, wherefore partely for anger, and partely for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he so-
dainly caused his armie to marche, being past three of the clocke in the after noone. So in that
place where he him selfe fought in person, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of
his enemies, which gaue him way, through the helpe of his horsemen that gaue charge with
his footemen, when they saw the enemies in a maze, and affrayed. Howbeit the other also on
the right wing, when the Captaines would haue had them to haue marched: they were affraid
to haue bene compassed in behinde, bicause they were fewer in number then their enemies, D
and therefore did spred them selues, and leaue the middest of their battell. Wherby they ha-
uing weakened them selues, they could not withstande the force of their enemies, but turned
taile straight, and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight vpon it to com-
Brutus valliantnes and great skill in warres. passe *Brutus* behinde, who in the middest of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilfull
Captaine and valliant souldier: both for his wisedom, as also for his hardinesse, for the obtai-
ning of victorie. But that which wanne him the victorie at the first battell, did now lose it him
at the seconde. For at the first time, the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut
in peeces: but at the seconde battell, of *Cassius* men that were put to flight, there were fewe
slaine: and they that saued them selues by speede, being affrayed bicause they had bene ouer-
come, did discourage the rest of the armie when they came to ioyne with them, & filled all the E
The death of the valliant young man Cato, the sonne of Marcus Cato. army with feare & disorder. There was the sonne of *M. Cato* slaine, valliantly fighting amongst
the lustie youths. For, notwithstanding that he was verie wearie, and ouerharried, yet would
he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling alowde his name, and
also his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe amongest many other dead bodies of
his enemies, which he had slaine rounde about him. So there were slaine in the field, all the
chiefest gentlemen and nobilitie that were in his armie: who valliantlie ranne into any daun-
The fidelitie of Lucilius vnto Brutus. ger, to saue *Brutus* life. Amongest them there was one of *Brutus* frendes called *Lucilius*, who
seeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way,
but going all together right against *Brutus*, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his
life, and being left behinde, told them that he was *Brutus*: and bicause they should beleue him, F
he prayed them to bring him to *Antonius*, for he sayd he was affrayed of *Cæsar*, and that he did
trust *Antonius* better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good happe, and thinking
them

A them ſelues happie men: they caried him in the night, and ſent ſome before vnto *Antonius*, to tell him of their comming. He was maruelous glad of it, and went out to meete them that brought him. Others alſo vnderſtanding of it, that they had brought *Brutus* priſoner: they came out of all parts of the campe to ſee him, ſome pitying his hard fortune, & others ſaying, that it was not done like him ſelfe ſo cowardlie to be taken aliue of the barbarous people, for feare of death. When they came neere together, *Antonius* ſtayed a while, bethinking him ſelfe how he ſhould vſe *Brutus*. In the meane time *Lucilius* was brought to him, who ſtowtly with a bold countenaunce ſayd. *Antonius*, I dare aſſure thee, that no enemie hath taken, nor ſhall take *Marcus Brutus* aliue: and I beſeech God keepe him from that fortune. For whereſoeuer he be found, aliue or dead: he will be found like him ſelfe. And nowe for my ſelfe, I am come vnto
B thee, hauing deceiued theſe men of armes here, bearing them downe that I was *Brutus*: and doe not refuſe to ſuffer any torment thou wilt put me to. *Lucilius* wordes made them all amazed that heard him. *Antonius* on the other ſide, looking vpon all them that had brought him, ſayd vnto them: my companions, I thinke ye are ſorie you haue failed of your purpoſe, & that you thinke this man hath done you great wrong: but I doe aſſure you, you haue taken a better bootie, then that you followed. For, in ſteade of an enemie, you haue brought me a frend: and for my parte, if you had brought me *Brutus* aliue, truely I can not tell what I ſhould haue done to him. For, I had rather haue ſuche men my frendes, as this man here, then enemies. Then he embraced *Lucilius*, and at that time deliuered him to one of his frendes in cuſtodie, and *Lucilius* euer after ſerued him faithfullie, euen to his death. Nowe *Brutus* hauing paſſed a
C litle riuer, walled in on either ſide with hie rockes, and ſhadowed with great trees, being then darke night, he went no further, but ſtayed at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Captaines and frends that followed him: and looking vp to the firmament that was full of ſtarres, ſighing, he rehearſed two verſes, of the which *Volumnius* wrote the one, to this effect, *Brutus flying.*

Let not the vvight from vvhom this miſchiefe vvent
(O Ioue) eſcape vvithout devv punishment.

And ſayth that he had forgotten the other. Within a litle while after, naming his frendes that he had ſeene ſlaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater ſigh then before: ſpecially, when he came to name *Labio*, and *Flauius*, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and the other, Captaine of the pioners of his campe. In the meane time, one of the companie
D being a thirſt, and ſeeing *Brutus* a thirſt alſo: he ranne to the riuer for water, and brought it in his ſallet. At the ſelfe ſame time they heard a noyſe on the other ſide of the riuer. Whereupon *Volumnius* tooke *Dardanus*, *Brutus* ſeruaunt with him, to ſee what it was: and returning ſtraight againe, asked if there were any water left. *Brutus* ſmiling, gentlie tolde them all was dronke, but they ſhall bring you ſome more. Thereuppon he ſent him againe that went for water before, who was in great daunger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly ſcaped, being ſore hurt. Furthermore, *Brutus* thought that there was no great number of men ſlaine in battell, and to know the trueth of it, there was one called *Statilius*, that promiſed to goe through his enemies (for otherwiſe it was impoſſible to goe ſee their campe) and from thence if all were
E well, that he woulde lift vp a torche light in the ayer, and then returne againe with ſpeede to him. The torche light was lift vp as he had promiſed, for *Statilius* went thither. Nowe *Brutus* ſeeing *Statilius* tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he ſayd: if *Statilius* be aliue, he will come againe. But his euill fortune was ſuche, that as he came backe, he lighted in his enemies hands, and was ſlaine. Now, the night being farre ſpent, *Brutus* as he ſate bowed towards *Clitus* one of his men, and told him ſomwhat in his eare, the other aunſwered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proued *Dardanus*, and ſayd ſomwhat alſo to him: at length he came to *Volumnius* him ſelfe, & ſpeaking to him in Græke, prayed him for the ſtudies ſake which brought them acquainted together, that he woulde helpe him to put his hande to his ſword, to thruſt it in him to kill him. *Volumnius* denied his requeſt, and ſo did many others: and amongeſt the reſt, one of them ſayd, there was no tarying for them there, but that they
F muſt needes flie. Then *Brutus* riſing vp, we muſt flie in deede ſayd he, but it muſt be with our hands, not with our feete. Then taking euery man by the hand, he ſayd theſe words vnto them with a cheerefull countenance. It reioyceth my hart that not one of my frends hath failed me- *Appian meaneth this by Antonius.* *The death of Statilius.* *Brutus ſaying of flying with hands, & not with feete.*

at my neede, and I do not complaine of my fortune, but only for my contries ſake: for, as for me, I thinke my ſelfe happier than they that haue ouercome, conſidering that I leaue a perpetuall fame of our corage and manhoode, the which our enemies the conquerors ſhall neuer attaine vnto by force nor money, neither can let their poſteritie to ſay, that they being naughtie and vniuſt men, haue ſlaine good men, to vſurpe tyrannical power not pertaining to them. Hauing ſayd ſo, he prayed euerie man to ſhift for them ſelues, and then he went a litle aſide with two or three only, among the which *Strato* was one, with whom he came firſt acquainted by the ſtudie of Rethoricke. He came as neere to him as he coulde, and taking his ſword by the hilts with both his hands, & falling downe vpon the poynt of it, ran him ſelfe through. Others ſay, that not he, but *Strato* (at his requeſt) held the ſword in his hand, & turned his head aſide, and that *Brutus* fell downe vpon it: and ſo ranne him ſelfe through, and dyed preſently. *Meſſala*, that had bene *Brutus* great frend, became afterwards *Octauius Cæſars* frend. So, ſhortly after, *Cæſar* being at good leaſure, he brought *Strato*, *Brutus* frende vnto him, and weeping ſayd: *Cæſar*, beholde, here is he that did the laſt ſeruice to my *Brutus*. *Cæſar* welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithfull ſeruice in all his affaires, as any GRÆCIAN els he had about him, vntill the battell of ACTIVM. It is reported alſo, that this *Meſſala* him ſelfe aunſwered *Cæſar* one day, when he gaue him great praiſe before his face, that he had fought valliantlie, and with great affection for him, at the battell of ACTIVM: (notwithſtanding that he had bene his cruell enemy before, at the battell of PHILIPPES, for *Brutus* ſake) I euer loued, ſayd he, to take the beſt and iuſteſt parte. Now, *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* bodie, he cauſed it to be wrapped vp in one of the richeſt cote armors he had. Afterwards alſo, *Antonius* vnderſtanding that this cotearmor was ſtollen, he put the theefe to death that had ſtollen it, & ſent the aſhes of his bodie vnto *Seruilia* his mother. And for *Porcia*, *Brutus* wife: *Nicolaus* the Philoſopher, and *Valerius Maximus* doe wryte, that ſhe determining to kill her ſelfe (her parents and frendes carefullie looking to her to kepe her from it) tooke hotte burning coles, and caſt them into her mouth, and kept her mouth ſo cloſe, that ſhe choked her ſelfe. There was a letter of *Brutus* found wrytten to his frendes, complayning of their negligence, that his wife being ſicke, they would not helpe her, but ſuffred her to kill her ſelfe, chooſing to dye, rather then to languiſh in paine. Thus it appeareth, that *Nicolaus* knewe not well that time, ſith the letter (at the leaſt if it were *Brutus* letter) doth plainly declare the diſeaſe and loue of this Lady, and alſo the maner of her death.

Brutus ſlue him ſelfe.

Strato, Brutus familiar and frend.

Strato receiued into Cæſars frendſhip.

Meſſala Corninus, Brutus frend.

Brutus funerals.

Porcia, Brutus wife, killed her ſelfe with burning coles.

A

B

C

D

THE COMPARISON OF *Dion with Brutus.*

A TO come nowe to compare theſe two noble perſonages together, it is certaine that both of them hauing had great gifts in them (& ſpecially *Dion*) of ſmall occaſions they made them ſelues great men: & therfore *Dion* of both deſerueth chiefeſt praiſe. For, he had no cohelper to bring him vnto that greatneſſe, as *Brutus* had of *Caſſius:* who doubtleſſe was not comparable vnto *Brutus,* for vertue and reſpect of honor, though otherwiſe in matters of warre, he was no leſſe wiſe and valliant then he. For many doe impute vnto *Caſſius,* the firſt beginning and originall of all the warre and enterpriſe: and ſayd it was he that did encourage *Brutus,* to conſpire *Cæſars* death. Where *Dion* furniſhed him ſelfe with armor, ſhippes and B ſouldiers and wanne thoſe frendes and companions alſo that did helpe him, to proſecute his warre. Nor he did not as *Brutus,* who roſe to greatneſſe by his enterpriſes, and by warre got all his ſtrength and riches. But he in contrarie maner, ſpent of his owne goods to make warre for the libertie of his contrie and disburſed of his owne money, that ſhould haue kept him in his baniſhment. Furthermore, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were compelled of neceſſity to make warres, bicauſe they coulde not haue liued ſafelie in peace, when they were driuen out of ROME: for that they were condemned to death, and purſued by their enemies. And for this cauſe therefore they were driuen to hazard them ſelues in warre, more for their owne ſafetie, then for the libertie of their contrie men. Whereas *Dion* on the other ſide, liuing more merily and ſafelie in his baniſhment, then the tyranne *Dionyſius* him ſelfe that had baniſhed him: did put C him ſelfe to that daunger, to deliuer SICILE from bondage. Nowe the matter was not a like vnto the ROMANES, to be deliuered from the gouernment of *Cæſar:* as it was for the SYRACVSANS, to be ridde of *Dionyſius* tyrannie. For *Dionyſius* denyed not, that he was not a tyranne, hauing filled SICILE with ſuche miſerie and calamitie. Howebeit *Cæſars* power and gouernment when it came to be eſtabliſhed, did in deede much hurt at his firſt entrie and beginning vnto thoſe that did reſiſt him: but afterwardes, vnto them that being ouercome had receiued his gouernment, it ſeemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a tyranne, then otherwiſe that he was ſo in deede. For there neuer followed any tyrannicall nor cruell act, but contrarilie, it ſeemed that he was a merciſull Phiſition, whom God had ordeyned of ſpeciall grace to be Gouernor of the Empire of ROME, and to ſet all thinges againe at quiet ſtay, D the which required the counſell and authoritie of an abſolute Prince. And therefore the ROMANES were maruelous ſorie for *Cæſar* after he was ſlaine, and afterwardes would neuer pardon them that had ſlaine him. On the other ſide, the cauſe why the SYRACVSANS did moſt accuſe *Dion,* was: bicauſe he did let *Dionyſius* eſcape out of the caſtell of SYRACVSA, and bi-

cause he did not ouerthrow and deface the tombe of his father. Furthermore, towching the A
warres: *Dion* alway shewed him selfe a Captaine vnreprouable, hauing wiselie and skilfullie
taken order for those things, which he had enterprised of his owne head and counsell: and did
amende the faults others committed, and brought things to better state then he found them.
Where it seemeth, that *Brutus* did not wisely to receiue the second battell: considering his rest
stoode vpon it. For, after he had lost the battell, it was vnpossible for him euer to rise againe: &
therefore his hart failed him, and so gaue vp all, and neuer durst striue with his euill fortune as
Pompey did, considering that he had present cause enough in the field to hope of his souldiers,
and being beside a dreadfull Lorde all the sea ouer. Furthermore, the greatest reproache they
could obiect against *Brutus*, was: that *Iulius Cæsar* hauing saued his life, and pardoned all the
prisoners also taken in battell, as many as he had made request for, taking him for his frende, B
and honoring him aboue all his other frends: *Brutus* notwithstanding had imbrued his hands
in his blood, wherewith they could neuer reproue *Dion*. For on the contrarie side, so long as
Dion was *Dionysius* frende and kinseman, he did alway helpe him to order and gouerne his af-
faires. But after he was banished his contrie, and that his wife was forciblie maried to an o-
ther man, and his goodes also taken from him: then he entred into iust and open warres a-
gainst *Dionysius* the tyranne. But in this poynt, they were contrarie together. For wherein
their chiefest praise consisted, to witte, in hating of tyrannes and wicked men: it is most true
that *Brutus* desire was most sincere of both. For hauing no priuate cause of complaint or
grudge against *Cæsar*, he ventred to kill him, onely to set his contrie againe at libertie. Where
if *Dion* had not receiued priuate cause of quarrell against *Dionysius*: he woulde neuer haue C
made warre with him. The which *Plato* proueth in his Epistells, where is plainlie seene: that
Dion being driuen out of the tyrans Court against his will, and not putting him selfe to volun-
tarie banishment, he draue out *Dionysius*. Furthermore, the respect of the common wealth
caused *Brutus*, that before was *Pompeys* enemie, to become his frende, and enemie vnto *Cæsar*,
that before was his frend: only referring his frendshippe and enmitie, vnto the consideracion
of iustice and equitie. And *Dion* did many things for *Dionysius* sake and benefit, all the while he
trusted him: and when he beganne to mistrust him, then for anger he made warre with him.
Wherefore all his frendes did not beleue, but after he had driuen out *Dionysius*, he would sta-
blish the gouernment to him selfe, flattering the people with a more curteous and gentle title
then the name of a tyranne. But for *Brutus*, his verie enemies them selues confessed, that of all D
those that conspired *Cæsars* death, he only had no other ende and intent to attempt his enter-
prise, but to restore the Empire of ROME againe, to her former state & gouernment. And fur-
thermore, it was not all one thing to deale with *Dionysius*, as it was to haue to doe with *Iulius*
Cæsar. For no man that knew *Dionysius*, but would haue despised him, considering that he spent
the most parte of his time in drinking, dycing, and in haunting lewde womens company. But
to haue vndertaken to destroy *Iulius Cæsar*, and not to haue shroncke backe for feare of his
great wisedom, power, and fortune, considering that his name only was dreadfull vnto euerie
man, and also not to suffer the kings of PARTHIA and INDIA to be in rest for him: this could
not come but of a maruelous noble minde of him, that for feare neuer fainted, nor let fall any
part of his corage. And therfore, so sone as *Dion* came into SICILIA, many thowsands of men E
came and ioyned with him, against *Dionysius*. But the fame of *Iulius Cæsar* did set vp his frends
againe after his death, and was of suche force, that it raised a young stripling, *Octauius Cæsar*,
(that had no meanes nor power of him selfe) to be one of the greatest men of ROME: and they
vsed him as a remedie to encounter *Antonius* malice and power. And if men will say, that
Dion draue out the tyran *Dionysius* with force of armes, and sundrie battells: and that in con-
trarie maner *Brutus* slue *Cæsar*, being a naked man, and without gard: then doe I aunswere a-
gaine, that it was a noble parte, and of a wise Captaine, to choose so apt a time and place, to
come vppon a man of so great power, and to finde him naked without his gard. For he went
not sodainlie in a rage, and alone, or with a small companie, to assaile him: but his enter-
prise was long time before determined of, and that with diuers men, of all the which, not F
a man of them once fayled him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning
he chose them honest men, or else that by his choyse of them, he made them good men.

In what things Dion was inferior vnto Brutus.

Whereas

A Whereas *Dion*, either from the beginning made no wise choyse in trusting of euill men, or else bicause he could not tell how to vse them he had chosen: of good men he made them become euill, so that neither the one nor the other coulde be the parte of a wise man. For *Plato* him selfe reproueth him, for that he had chosen suche men for his frendes, that he was slaine by them, and after he was slaine, no man woulde then reuenge his death. And in contrarie maner, of the enemies of *Brutus*, the one (who was *Antonius*) gaue his bodie honorable buriall: and *Octauius Cæsar* the other, reserued his honors and memories of him. For at *Millayne*, (a citie of GAVLE on ITALIE side) there was an image of his in brasse, verie like vnto him: the which *Cæsar* afterwardes passing that way, behelde verie aduisedly, for that it was made by an excellent workeman, and was verie like him, and so went his way. Then he stayed sodainly a-
B gaine, and called for the Gouernors of the citie, and before them all tolde them, that the citizens were his enemies, and traitors vnto him, bicause they kept an enemie of his among them. The Gouernors of the citie at the first were astonied at it, and stowtlie denyed it: and none of them knowing what enemie he ment, one of them looked on an other. *Octauius Cæsar* then turning him vnto *Brutus* statue, bending his browes, sayd vnto them: this man you see standing vp here, is he not our enemie? Then the Gouernors of the citie were worse affrayed then before, & could not tel what answere to make him. But *Cæsar* laughing, and commending the GAVLES for their faithfulnes to their frendes, euen in their aduersities: he was contented *Brutus* image should stand still as it did.

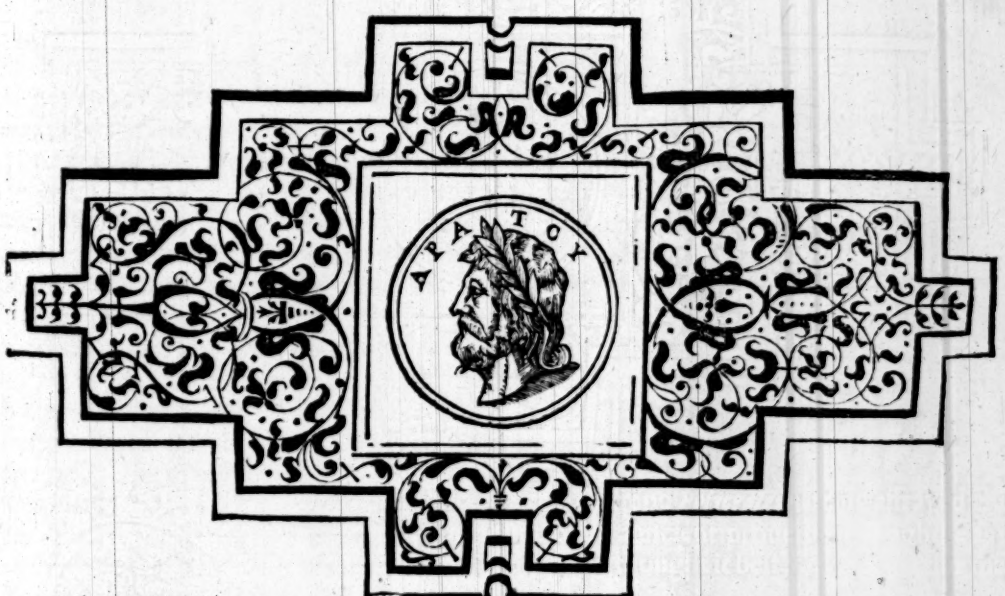
Brutus honored of his enemies after his death.

Brutus image or statue standing in brasse in Millaine, was preserued and kept by Octauius Cæsar.

C

THE LIFE OF *Aratus.*

D



E

Hrisyppus the Philosopher (my frend *Polycrates*) being affrayed as it seemeth of the euill sound of an auncient prouerbe not rightlie as it was spoken, and in vse, but as he thought it best, he wrote in this maner:

F

VVhat children do their auncetors commend,
But those vvhom fortune fauors to the end?

But *Dionysodorus* TROEZENIAN reprouing him, doth rehearse the prouerbe rightly as in deede it is?

VVhat children do their auncetors commend,

But those vvhose life is vertuous to the end?

Saying, that this prouerbe stoppeth their mouthes who of them selues are vnworthie of praise, and yet are still boasting of the vertues of their aunceſters, whose praise they hiely extoll. But aſſore those that (as *Pindarus* sayth,)

Do match their noble auncetors in prouvesse of their ovvne,
And by their frutes commend the stocke vvhence they them selues are grovvne.

(As thy selfe that conformest thy life vnto the examples and maners of thy vertuous aunceſters:) it is no small good happe for them, often to remember the noble deedes of their parentes in hearing them spoken of, or otherwise for them selues oftentimes to remember some notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praise and glorie: but in ioyning their owne vertues, to the vertues of their aunceſters, they do increase their glorie, as inheriting their vertuous life, as challenging their diſcent by blood. Therefore, hauing wrytten the life of *Aratus* thy contrie man, and one of thy aunceſters, whose glorie and greatnesse thou doest not blemishe, I doe sende it vnto thee, not that I thinke but that thou hast more diligentlie then any man elſe, searched out all his deedes and sayings: But yet, bicause that thy two sonnes, *Polycrates*, and *Pythocles*, reading, and still hearing some thing reported, might be brought vp at home by the example of their aunceſters, whose deedes shall lye before them to followe. For he loueth him selfe more, then he regardeth perfit vertue, or his credit: that thinketh him selfe so perfit, as he neede not follow any others example.

The example of our aunceſters, wherein profitable to their posteritie.

The citie of SICYONE, after it fell from her first gouernment of the optimacie and nobilitie, which is proper to the cities of the DORIANS: like an instrument out of tune, it fell into ciuill warres and seditious practises, through the Orators of the people: and neuer ceaſſed to be plagued with those troubles and miseries, alway chaunging new tyrannes, vntill that *Cleon* being slaine, they chose *Timoclidas* and *Clinias* their Gouernors, two of the nobleſt men & of greateſt authoritie in all the citie. Now when the common wealth beganne to grow to a certeine state of gouernment, *Timoclidas* dyed: and *Abantidas*, the sonne of *Paseas*, pretending to make him selfe Lord of the citie, he slue *Clinias*, and put to death some of his parentes and frendes, draue away others, and sought also to put his sonne *Aratus* to death, that was then but seuen yeare old. But in this hurly burly and tumult, *Aratus* flying out of his fathers house, among them that ranne away, and wandering vp and downe the citie, being scared and affrayed, finding no man to helpe him: by good fortune he gotte into a womans house, called *Soso*, which was *Abantidas* sister, and wife vnto *Periphantus*, his father *Clinias* brother. She being of a noble minde, and iudging that the childe *Aratus* by Gods prouidence fledde vnto her: hidde him in her house, and in the night secretlie sent him vnto the citie of ARGOS. Now after that *Aratus* had scaped, and was safe from this daunger: from that time there bred in him a vehement malice againſt tyrannes, the which still increased in him, as he grewe in yeares. So he was vertuouslie brought vp in the citie of ARGOS, with his fathers frends: and perceiuing with him selfe that he waxed bigge and strong, he diſposed his bodie to diuers exercises, and became so excellent in them, that he contended in fiue manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the beſt away. And in his images and statues, he appeared in face, ful and well liking, as one that fed well, and the maieſtie of his countenaunce argueth that he vſed suche exercise: and suche commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not geue him selfe so muche to pleading, as peraduenture was requisite for a Gouernor of a common wealth. Howebeit, some doe iudge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he had an eloquenter tongue then seemed vnto some: bicause he wrote them in haſt, hauing other busines in hand, and euen as things came first into his minde. But afterwards, *Dinias* and *Ariſtotle* Logitian, slue *Abantidas*, who did commonlie vse to sit in the market place, to heare their matters, and to talke with them. And this gaue them good meanes and oportunitie to worke their feate they did. After *Abantidas* death, his father *Paseas* poſſeſſed the tyrannie: whom *Nicocles* afterwardes slue also by treason, and made him selfe tyranne in his place. It is reported that this *Nicocles* did liuelie reſemble the countenaunce of *Periander*, the sonne of *Cypselus*, as *Orontes* PERSIAN was very like vnto *Alcmæon*, the sonne of *Amphiaraus*: and an other young

The common weale of the Sicyonians conuerted into tyrannie.

Abantidas, a tyran of Sicyone.

Aratus the sonne of Clinias ſaued the childe of the tyran Abantidas.

Aratus malice againſt tyrans.

Aratus fauor.

Aratus wrote a booke of Cõmentaries.

Abantidas the tyran ſlaine.

Ariſtotle the Logitian.

LACE-

A LACEDÆMONIAN, vnto *Hector* of TROYA, whom *Myrſilus* wryteth, was troden vnder mens feete, through the ouergreat preſſe of people that came to ſee him, when they hearde of it. This *Nicocles* was tyranne foure monethes together, in the which he did wonderfull great hurt to the citie, and had almoſt loſt it, the ÆTOLIANS comming on a ſodaine, who were like to haue taken it. Nowe *Aratus* was come to the ſtate of a ſtripling, and was greatlie eſteemed for the noble houſe he came of, and alſo for the great courage they founde in him, which was no ſmall matter: and beſides that, he had a maieſtie in his countenaunce, being wiſer then was looked for in a young man of his yeares. Therefore the baniſhed men from the citie of SICYONE, repaired vnto him before any other man. *Nicocles* for his parte alſo was not careleſſe of his doinges, but had an eye euer to ſee what *Aratus* intended, although
B he litle miſtruſted any ſuche bolde enterpriſe, nor ſo daungerous an exployt of him: but did onely coniecture that he did ſtirre vp the kings which had bene his dead fathers frendes. And ſo in deede *Aratus* tooke that courſe. But when he ſaw that *Antigonus* ſtill delayed his promiſes, and did alwayes tract time, and that the hope of aide from king *Ptolomy* of ÆGYPT was too farre of: at length he determined to vndertake to deſtroy the tyranne him ſelfe. So he firſt conſulted with *Ariſtomachus* and * *Ecdelus*: of the which the one was baniſhed from SICYONE, and the other an ARCADIAN, from the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, a Philoſopher, and a valliant man of his hands, and had bene ſcholler to *Arceſilaus* the Academicke, in the citie of ATHENS. Theſe two men being contented to ioyne with *Aratus*, he practiſed with other of the baniſhed men alſo: of the which there were ſome that were aſhamed, not to be partakers
C of his hope & noble attempt, and ſo did alſo ioyne with him. Howbeit the moſt part of them did not only refuſe to enter into that practiſe, but further, went about to diſſwade *Aratus* from his enterpriſe, ſaying: that for lacke of knowledge and experience, he vnderſtoode not the daunger in vndertaking ſuch a matter, altogether ſo vnlikelie. Nowe, as *Aratus* was thinking in his minde to keepe a certaine place in the territory of SICYONE, from whence they might make warre with the tyrannes: there came a priſoner vnto them out of the citie of ARGOS, that had broken priſon from the tyranne of SICYONE: and was brother vnto *Xenocles*, one of the baniſhed men. He being brought by the ſame *Xenocles* vnto *Aratus*, told that in the place whereby he had ſaued him ſelfe, the grounde within was almoſt as high as the toppe of the wall, the which in that parte ioyned vnto high ſtonie places: and that without the wall the
D height was not ſo great, but that it was eaſelie ſcalable with ladders. When *Aratus* heard that, he ſent two of his men, *Seuthas*, and *Technon*, with *Xenocles* to viewe the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to proue ſecretlie to execute his pretended enterpriſe, and quickely to put it to a venter: then to beginne a long warre, and to prepare an open armie, he being a priuate man, to goe againſt the power of a tyranne. *Xenocles* being returned againe to *Aratus*, after he had meaſured the height of the wall: he reported that the place was not vnſcalable, but yet very hard to come to it vndiſcouered, bicauſe of certeine litle curſt curres a gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would neuer leaue barking. Howbeit *Aratus* would not leaue of his enterpriſe ſo. Now it was not ſtraunge to ſee euerie man prepare them ſelues of armor and weapon, bicauſe at that time there were great robberies and cruell murthers committed
E by high wayes, and one would aſſault an other: but for the ladders, *Euphranor* that was a carpenter and maker of engines, did not ſticke to make them openlie, bicauſe his common occupation did take away all ſuſpition why they were made. For this carpenter was him ſelfe alſo a baniſhed man from SICYONE, as the reſidue were. Furthermore, *Aratus* frendes he had in ARGOS, of thoſe fewe men they had, did euerie man of them lende him tenne men, and armed thirtie of his owne men: beſide them, *Aratus* him ſelfe alſo did hyre ſome pretie number of ſouldiers, by the practiſe of *Xenophilus*, whome the Captaines of the theeues did furniſh him. They were geuen to vnderſtand that they ſhould be ledde to the territorie of SICYONE, to take a pray of cattell and coltes of the king: and they were ſent before, ſome one way, ſome an other, with commaundement, all to meete together at the tower of Poly-
F gnotus, where they ſhoulde tarie. So he ſent *Capheſias* alſo before, without any weapons, with foure companions with him: who ſhoulde come to this gardiners houſe in the night, like ſtraungers and trauellers, to lye in his houſe, and to locke him vppe and his dogges,

Aratus goeth about to deliuer his contrey from the tyrannie.

* *In an other place he calleth him Ecdemus.*

Ariſtomachus and Ecdelus, doe ioine with Aratus.

Aratus preparacio to deliuer his contrie from tyrannie.

bicause they had no other deuise to get in but that way. But in the meane time, there were certaine spialls of *Nicocles* the tyranne discouered, that walked vp and downe the citie (making no countenaunce of any matter) to see what *Aratus* did. Wherefore, *Aratus* went out of his house early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the market place with his frendes. Then he went to the shewe place (or place of exercises) and there stripped him selfe, annoynted him, and wrestled, and in the ende tooke certaine of the young gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make merie, and to passe the time away with him: and immediatly after, one of his seruauntes was seene in the market place, carying of garlandes of flowers. An other was seene also buying of linckes and torches, and an other hyering of these common dauncing and singing women, which followe feastes and bankets with their instruments. *Nicocles* spialls seeing that, were deceiued: for one of them laughing on an other sayd, that they might easely see by that, there was nothing more fearefull and timerous then a tyran: considering that *Nicocles* being Lord of so great a citie, was affrayed of a young stripling, that spent all that he could rappe & rend to keepe him in his banishment, vpon vaine bankets, and feasts, at noone dayes. And thus were the tyrans spialls finely mocked. *Aratus* selfe departed immediatly after dinner out of ARGOS, & went vnto his souldiers, whom he had appointed before to mete him at the tower of Polygnotus, & led them straight vnto NEMEA. There he told them openly his full intent and purpose, hauing before made an Oration vnto them to encourage them, and also made them maruelous fayer promises. Then he gaue them for their watche word, *Apollo* fauorable, and so went directly to the citie of SICYONE, marching with great speede at the first bicause of the going downe of the Moone, and afterwardes slackened his pace a litle, so that they had Moone light all the way as they came, and the Moone went not downe, vntill they were come to the gardiners house that was harde by the wall. So *Cephesias*, whome he had sent before vnto the gardiners house, came to meete with *Aratus*, and brought him word that he could not take the dogges, bicause they ranne away: howbeit that he had made fast the gardiner in his owne house. This discoraged the most parte of all the companie, who would needes haue him in any case to returne backe againe. But *Aratus* then began to comfort them, and promised that he would lead them backe againe, if it chaunced that the dogges were too busie with them: and therewithall presently caused the ladder men to goe before, whom *Ecdelus* and *Mnasitheus* led, and he him selfe came fayer and softly after. The dogges made a fowle barking, and were baying about *Ecdelus* & his companie. This notwithstanding, they came safely to the wall, and did set vp their scaling ladders. But euen as the first men got vp on them, the Captaine of the watch that had geuen place to him that should ward in the morning, came by chaunce, and passed hard by them, visiting the souldiers with a litle bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noyse of men that followed him. They that were vpon the ladders hearing them, ducked downe, and stirred not: and thereby the souldiers that passed by them, could not see them. But now the new morning watch came towards them also, which did put them in great daunger to be discouered: but yet they once againe scaped them and were not discouered, bicause the second watch went beyond them, and stayed not. Then *Ecdelus* and *Mnasitheus* immediatly scaled the wall, & sent *Technon* with all possible spede vnto *Aratus*, to will him to make all the hast he could to come to them. Now there was no great distance betwext the garden where the dogges were, and the wall, and a litle tower where they kept a great greyhounde to keepe watche: but the greyhounde neuer heard their comming, either bicause he was a cowardly curre of nature, or els for that he had bene ouercourssed and wearied the day before. But the gardiners litle curres that bald and barked beneath, had wakened the greyhounde with their barking, who at the first began to aunswere them with a soft girning: but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked out alowde, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Insomuch, that the skowte which was further of, called alowde to the hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he made such a barking, and whether there were any thing sturring or not that angered him. The hunt within the tower aunswered, that it was nothing, but that his dogge was waked, and fell a barking at the lights of the watch that passed by, and at the noyse of the bell. This made *Aratus* souldiers a great deale the bolder: bicause they thought that the hunte had bene made priuy

Aratus policy to deceiue Nicocles spialls.

Aratus daunger, in deliuering of his countrie from the tyranny of Nicocles.

A priuy to their enterprise, and that he went about to hide their secret attempt, and hoped also that there were many other within the citie that would further their enterprise. When they came to get vp vpon the wall, it was of a great height, and very daungerous, bicause the ladders shooke, and bowed by reason of the waight of the men, vnles they did come vp fayer and softly one after another. Furthermore the time did put them in some perill, bicause the cocks began to crowe, and the contry folke that brought things to the market to sell, began to come a pace to the towne out of euery quarter. And therefore *Aratus* made haste to get vp, hauing onely forty men aboue with him, and looked for some besides to come vp, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly towards the tyrannes pallace, where his hiered souldiers kept watch and ward: and comming sodenly vpon them, layed hold of euery man of them, & *Aratus wan the citie of Sicyone without bloodshed.*

B slue not one. Then he sent into the citie to his friends, to will them to come vnto him. Thereuppon they ranne out of euery corner to *Aratus*. Now the day began to breake, and straight the Theater was full of people that gathered together, bicause of the noyse and sturre they heard in the citie, not knowing what the matter ment: vntill at length an Herauld proclaymed with open voyce, that it was *Aratus* the sonne of *Clinias*, who called his contry men and Citizens to the recouerye of their libertie. Then they perswading them selues, that the thing which they long wished and looked for, was nowe come to passe: they ranne all in a trowpe together to the tyrannes house, and set it a fire. But the flame rose so high and great after the fire had taken it in euery part, that it was seene to the citie of CORINTHE: insomuch that the CORINTHIANS wondring what the matter should be, were in mind to haue gone to helpe it.

C Now for *Nicocles*, he saued him selfe, and got out of the citie by secret vaults he had made vnder the ground. The souldiers on the other side quenching the fire with the helpe of the Citizens, did sacke all they found in the tyrants pallace. The which *Aratus* hyndered not, but did moreouer make all the rest of the tyrants goods common amongest them. So his enterprise had so good successe, that there was none of his owne company slayne he brought with him, nether any of their enemies that were within the citie, fortune kept this exployt so pure and cleane from any bloudshed. Then *Aratus* restored foure score men vnto their lands & goods againe, whome the tyrant *Nicocles* had banished: and others also, that had bene banished by former tyrants, to the number of fiue hundred men, who had bene wel neare fifty yeares space banished out of their contry. Nowe the most of them being comen home poore and needy, *Nicocles the tyrant flyeth.*

D would haue entred on their goods and lands they enioyed before: and so, entring againe vpon their lands in their contry, and their houses in the citie, they amazed *Aratus* withall, seeing *Antigonus* on the one side practise all the meanes he could to winne SICYONE beeing nowe free, and they all in an vprore and mutinie in the citie. Therefore, following the best counsell he could thinke vppon and deuise, considering the daunger of the present tyme: he ioyned the citie in league and friendship with the ACHAIANS, and of them all, made but one bodye. And bicause the Citizens of SICYONE were DORIANS, they were glad to submit them selues to be gouerned and protected by the name of the ACHAIANS, who were at that tyme of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in litle villages, and had no great bounds of landes, nether were they very special good, for that they stoode vpon the sea side, where was no manner *Aratus ioyneth the citie of Sicyone vnto the Achaians.*

E of hauen nor port, but stones and rockes good store: and the sea beating vpon them, did eate into the mayne land. This notwithstanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of GRÆCE when it was vnited and gouerned by good policie was of great force, and almost inuincible. For the ACHAIANS being in comparison of the auncient force of GRÆCE, of no regard, and but a part of one citie enfeebled with ciuill and forrein warre: So long as they could submit them selues to be ruled by the wisedom and vertue of their Captaine, and not enuy & malice his prosperitie and souerainty: they did not onely mainteyne them selues as free men, in the middest of the seruitude of so many great cities, large and mighty, but did also deliuer many other people of GRÆCE from their tyrants. Now, for *Aratus* manners: he was one that *Aratus referred all things to the common wealth.*

F in nature loued ciuill gouernment, and equalitie among Citizens in one selfe citie: he was nobly minded, and more painefull about the affayres of the common weale, then carefull of his owne busines, and hated tyrants to the death, and imployed his good or euill will wholy for the seruice of the common wealth. And therefore he seemed not to be so sownd a friend,

as he was a gentle and mercifull enemye: framing him ſelfe in either of both, as tyme ſerued for the common wealth. To be ſhort, it was a generall and common voyce amonge all the cities confederats, in priuate company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that *Aratus* lo-ued nothing but vertue, and honeſty. That in open warres he was not ſo valliant and coragious, as he was crafty and ſuttell, to take a citie on the ſodaine. Furthermore, though he was valliant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would neuer haue brought to paſſe: yet it ſeemeth he left many thinges poſſible vndone, the which he might eaſily haue done, for that he durſt not venter on them. For as there be beaſtes whoſe ſight is perfitteſt by night, and by day they can ſee nothing, bicauſe the ſubtiltie of the humor and moyſture in their eyes is dried vp, and can not abide the bright light of the daye: euen ſo, men that otherwiſe by nature are very wiſe, are eaſely affrayd of daunger, when they muſt venter on it at noone dayes, where contrarily they are bold in ſecret enterpriſes, ſodeinly to attẽpt any thing. Now, this contrarietie and difference in men well brought vp, groweth through ignorance & lacke of inſtruction of Philoſophie, which of it ſelfe doth noriſh vertue, as frute that ſpringeth vp without planting, or helpe of mans hand. But this is beſt diſcerned by examples. So *Aratus* hauing ioyned him ſelfe and his citie SICYONE vnto the ACHAIANS, and ſeruing in perſon as a man of armes among the reſt: he was maruelouſly beloued of his generalls, that ſaw him ſo obedient. For, notwithſtanding that he had made ſo large a contribucion as the eſtimation of him ſelfe, and the force of his citie vnto the common wealth of the ACHAIANS: yet he was as ready to obey and execute the commaundements of the generals, as the pooreſt and meaneſt ſouldier, were he of DYMA, or of TRITA, or of any other ſmall village whatſoeuer. Furthermore, a great ſumme of money beeing ſent him from king *Ptolomy* for a gifte, amownting to twenty and fiue talents, he tooke it, but forthwith diſpoſed it amongeſt his poore contry men, both to releeue their want, as alſo to redeeme priſoners. This notwithſtanding, the baniſhed men ſtill vexed & troubled them that had their goods & lands, to haue thẽ out of their hands, and otherwiſe would be ſatisfied by no meanes. Their common wealth therefore beeing in great daunger to fall into ciuill warre, *Aratus* perceiuing there was no other way to helpe this miſchiefe, but by *Ptolomies* liberalitie: he determined to goe vnto him, to praye him to helpe him with money, to pacifie this grudge and tumult. So he imbarked at the hauen of METHONA, aboue the foreland of MALEA, to ſayle from thence into ÆGYPT: howbeit he had ſuch a contrary wind, and the ſea roſe ſo hie, that the maiſter of the ſhippe was driuen to let her goe whether ſhe woulde to take ſea roome. So beeing driuen quite from his direct courſe, with great daunger he got to the citie of ADRIA, which was his enemy: bicauſe *Antigonus* kept it, and had a garriſon in it. But *Aratus* did wiſely preuent it, going a ſhore, & wandred farre from the ſea, with one of his friends called *Timanthes*, and got into a wodde, where they had an euill nights reſt. He had not gone farre after he had left his ſhippe, but the Captaine of the garriſon came, and ſought for him. Notwithſtanding, his ſeruaunts had mocked him finely, (being before inſtructed by *Aratus* what aunſwer they ſhould make) ſaying that he was gone, and fled into the Ile of EVBOEA. Howbeit, the Captaine of the garriſon ſtayed the ſhippe, his men, and all things els ſhe had in her, and tooke her for a good priſe. Within fewe dayes after, *Aratus* being maruelouſly troubled, and at a ſtraight with him ſelfe what he ſhould doe: there happily arriued a ROMANE ſhippe hard by the place where he kept moſt, partly to hide him ſelfe, and partly alſo to ſee if he could diſcouer any thing. This ſhippe was bownd for SYRIA. So he had delt with the maſter of the ſhippe in that ſorte, that he tooke him abourd, and promiſed he would deliuer him in CARIA, and ſo he did. But he was in as much daunger, this ſecond iorney againe by ſea, as he was in the firſt he made towards ÆGYPT. From CARIA, a long time after, *Aratus* went into ÆGYPT, and ſpake with the king, who made very much of him: for *Aratus* fed him ſtill by ſending of him paſſing fayer tables, and pictures of GRÆCE, of excellent workemanſhip. And in deede hauing a ſinguler good wit, he alwayes got together, and bought the excellenteſt painted pictures he could get, but ſpecially the pictures of *Pamphilus* and *Melanthus*, to ſend them vnto the king. For learning floriſhed yet in the citie of SICYONE, and they eſteemed the paintings of tables in that citie, to be the perfitteſt for true cullers, and fine drawing, of all other places. Inſomuch as *Apelles*, (though he was then of maruelous

VVhy owlet ſee beſt by night, and not by day.

Men ignorant of Philoſophy be likned vnto owles.

Aratus taketh ſea to go vnto Ptolomy into AEgypt.

The pictures and paynted tables made in the citie of Sicyone, did

A lous fame for paynting) went thither, and gaue to these two excellent paynters a talent, to remayne a while in their company: not so much to attaine to the perfection of the art, as thereby to winne him selfe fame. And therefore when *Aratus* had restored his citie againe to libertie, he caused all the images of the tyrannes to be defaced and plucked downe: howbeit he stoode doubtful a long tyme, whether he should deface *Aristratus* picture or not, who raigned in the tyme of *Phillip*. For it was paynted with the hands of all the schollers of *Melanthus*, being by a triumphant chariot, that caried a victorie, and as *Polemon* the Geographer writeth, *Apelles* hand was to it. This picture was a passing peece of worke to see to, so that *Aratus* at the first yelded, and was contented to saue it for the excellencye of the workemanship: yet in the ende, ouercome with the extreme hate he bare vnto tyrants, he bad it should be defaced. Now
B it is reported also, that *Nealces* the paynter being one of *Aratus* friends, prayed him with the teares in his eyes to pardon such a notable peece of worke. But when he sawe *Aratus* so hard harted that he would not graunt it: he tolde him it was good reason to make warre with tyrants, but not with their pictures. Let vs then (q he) leaue the chariot of triumphe and victorie, and I will make thee see *Aristratus*, willingly to come out of the table. *Aratus* was contented to let him haue his will. Then *Nealces* defaced the picture of *Aristratus*, and in place thereof drue onely a palme tree, and durst adde nothing els to it of his owne deuise. Some say, that vnder the chariot were conueied *Aristratus* feete defaced. So *Aratus* by meanes of these tables and pictures, was maruelously well beloued of king *Ptolomy*. But after that he was acquaynted with him, and knew his conuersation: he loued him then better then before. Insomuch that
C he gaue him a hundred and fifty talents to helpe his citie withall: of the which, he caried forty away with him vnto PELOPONNESVS, and the king afterwards sent him the rest at sundry tymes. Nowe this was a maruelous matter of him to get such a masse of money together for his Citizens: considering that the Orators, Captaines and Gouernors of free cities, for a litle summe of money onely which they haue taken of kings and Princes, haue bene corrupted, & betrayed their townes and contry. But this was a more wonder, that by meanes of this money, he made peace and loue betwixt the poore and riche, and furthermore, saued vpright all the people of SICYONE, where he shewed him selfe maruelous wise, and temperate, being of that great power and authoritie he was. For after they had chosen him Arbitrator to iudge, compownd, and absolutely to decyde all quarrells and strife betwene the banished men: he would
D neuer vndertake it him selfe alone, but tooke fifteene other of the chiefest Citizens with him, and with them, with great paynes and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his citizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore, not onely all the inhabitants and Citizens of SICYONE together, did not onely decree publike honors meete for him: but also the banished men them selues did priuately cast his image in brasse, and set it vp, vnder the which they caused this inscription to be grauen.

passe all the other paintings in Greece.

The excellency of Aristratus picture the tyran of Sicyone, painted by all Melanthus schollers and Apelles helpe.

Aratus consolation for the defacing of it.

The saying of Nealces the paynter, touching tyrants.

The great liberalitie of Ptolomy vnto Aratus.

Aratus temperance.

Thy prouvesse and thy feates of armes, thy counsell sage and vvise,
Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skyes,
But also to the vtmost streyts of Marrok blovven by fame.
And vve that through thy goodnes home into our contry came,
E *Haue set this image vp to thee Aratus, as a signe*
Of our deliurance through thy loue and through the povvr diuine.
For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth restore
Vs contry, lavves, and libertie, bereft vs quite before.

Aratus hauing done all these thinges, he suppressed the enuye of the Citizens, through the great good turnes he had done vnto them. But then king *Antigonus* being angry with *Aratus* in his mind, and seeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be mistrusted of *Ptolomy*: he did him many other great curtesies, *Aratus* neuer seeking them at his hands. But one day specially aboue the rest, as he did sacrifice vnto the gods at CORINTH, he sent *Aratus* part of his weathers he had sacrificed, vnto SICYONE. And at the feast of his sacrifice in the hea-
F ring of many noble men that were bidden ghests, he sayd openly of *Aratus*: I did alway thinke that this young SICYONIAN could not but haue a liberall mind, louing the libertie of his contry and contry men: but I perceiue now he is a man that can iudge of Princes manners and

affayres. For heretofore he made no accompt of vs, bicause his hope was out of this contry, A
and he greatly esteemed the riches of Ægypt, hearing talke of so many Elephants, of such a
great fleete of shippes, and of such a sumptuous Court, as king *Ptolomyes* Court. But now that
he knoweth by experience, that it is onely but a smoke and vaine pompe, he is come to vs: &
for my part, he is welcome to me, & I will haue you all to take him for my friend. These words
of king *Antigonus*, were straight taken at bownd of certaine enuious men, and caried for lacke
of better matter vnto king *Ptolomy*, euery man striuing who should write all the euil they could
against him: So that *Ptolomy* thereuppon sent a Messenger of purpose vnto him, to reproue
him for it. Thus fell there out much enuy and malice, betwene the earnest loue of these Prin-
ces and kings, that contended with eche other who should haue *Aratus*. Furthermore, the first
Aratus doings in his first Prætorship. tyme that *Aratus* was chosen Lieuetenant generall of the trybe of the Achaians, he forraged B
and spoyled the contry of Locride, which lyeth directly ouer against Achaia, and Caly-
donia also. Howbeit he came not tyme enough to ayde the Boeotians, in the battell which
they lost before the citie of Chæronea, against the Ætolians: where *Abœocritus*, Gouer-
nor of Boeotia was slayne in the field, with a thowsand other Boeotians. Howbeit the next
yeare following, he being the second time chosen Lieuetenant generall, he attempted to win
the castell of Corinth againe, being an enterprise which not onely concerned the priuate
benefit of Sicyone it selfe, and the trybe of the Achaians, but also of all Græce besides.
For, he was fully bent to driue the garrison of the Macedonians thence, the which seemed
euen a very yoke that held all the Græcians noses to the grynd stone. For like as *Chares*, Cap-
taine of the Athenians, hauing in a certaine conflict discomfited the kings Lieuetenants, C
wrote to the Athenians that he had wonne a victory halfe sister to the victory of *Marathon*:
Euen so me thinkes it were no disgrace to say, that this execution was like (as one brother to
another) to the killing of the tyrants, which was done by *Pelopidas* Theban, and *Thrasybulus*
Athenian, sauing that this last acte was more famous, bicause it was not against Græci-
ans, but against straungers, and forreyn power and gouernment, vpon whom it was executed.
For the Isthmus or barre of Peloponnesvs, which seperateth the sea Ægeum from the sea
Presche, an Iland of Peloponnesus. Acrocorinthus mons. Ionium, doth come and ioyne the firme land of the rest of Græce, with the Presche, an I-
land of Peloponnesvs. Euen so likewise, the Mountaine called Acrocorinthe, on the which
the castell standeth, rising vp in the middest of Græce, when there is any garrison of men of
warre in it, it cutteth of all traffike and passage by, of any armies of them which inhabite with- D
in the straite: from them that are without the straight, both by sea and by land, and maketh
him onely Lorde of the contry that keepeth the castell. So that it was not for sport, but for
truth, and in good earnest, that *Philip* the young king of Macedon was wont to call the citie
Young king Philips saying, of the castell of Corinth. and castell of Corinth, the stockes and gyues of Græce. And therefore was this castel mar-
uelously wished and desired of euery man, but specially of kings and Princes. But the desire
Antigonus had of it was so vehement, that it differed nothing from the passions of a frantick
louer. For he did nothing els continually but study and deuise howe he might winne it vppon
the sodeine, from them that kept it: bicause otherwise by open force, it was impossible to be
had. Wherefore after the death of *Alexander* that kept that castell, being poysoned (as it is re-
ported) by *Antigonus* practise, the castell being left in the handes of his wife *Nicæa*, who go- E
uerned the state of Corinthe, and did carefully cause the Acrocorinthe to be kept: he im-
Antigonus craft and deceit. mediatly sent his sonne *Demetrius* thither, and put *Nicæa* in good hope to mary her with this
young Prince: a thing that pleased this Lady well, though she was very olde. So, for her selfe,
she was wonne straight, by meanes of his young sonne *Demetrius*, whome he vsed as a stale to
intrappe her. Howbeit *Nicæa* for all this goodly offer, forsooke not her castell, but alwayes
made it straightly to be looked vnto. *Autigonus* seemed to make no accompt of it, but dayly
gaue him selfe to make sumptuous sacrifices, feasts, and playes to the gods, within the citie of
Corinthe for the mariage: as though he had ment no other thing, but bancketing and io-
litie all that might be. When the hower was come to see these sportes, and that the Musition
Amœbeus began to singe: he him selfe made as though he would accompany *Nicæa* vnto the F
Theater, being conueyed thither in a sumptuous riche lytter, as it had bene for a Queene. She
was very glad of this honor, and thought nothing lesse then of that which happened her. But
when

A when *Antigonus* came to the ende of a ſtreete that turned to goe vp the hill towards the caſtell, he bad her keepe on ſtill to the Theater: and him ſelfe in the meane time left *Amœbeus* there with his ſinging, and all the feaſt of the mariage, and went ſtraight vp to the caſtell, forcing him ſelfe aboue his ſtrength and yeares. When he was at the toppe of the hill, and found the gates ſhut, he knocked with his ſtaffe, and commaunded the garriſon to open him the gates. They wondring to ſee him there in perſon, did let him in. When he was gotten into the caſtell, he was ſo exceding ioyfull of it, that he had no reaſon to moderate his ioye, but would bancket in the middeſt of ſtreetes, and in the market place, hauing minſtrells to playe vpon their inſtruments at his table, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads for ioye, and did ſo fondly and lightly behaue him ſelfe, as if he had bene a light young man, and not (as he B was) an olde man: who had proued ſuch ſundry chaunges of fortune, and yet ſuffered him ſelfe to be thus caried away with pleaſure, that he imbraced, and ſpake to euery man he met. Wherby it is eaſie to iudge, that ioy poſſeſſing a man without wit or diſcretion, it maketh him beſides him ſelfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then payne or feare. Now *Antigonus* hauing wonne the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe, as you haue heard, he put it into the hands of thoſe he truſted beſt, to be ſafely kept: and therefore made *Perſæus* the Philoſopher Captaine of the caſtell. But in deede *Aratus* was in mind to haue attempted the taking of the caſtell, in *Alexanders* life tyme: yet he let it alone, bicauſe he ioyned him ſelfe with the Achaians. But at that tyme there was offered him another occaſion againe to attempt it, and this it was. At Corinthe, there were foure brethren borne in Syria, of the which, one of them being called C *Diocles*, was a ſouldier of the garriſon of the caſtell: and the reſt, hauing robbed the kings treaſure, went ſtraight vnto Sicyone, to *AEgias* the banker, whome *Aratus* imployed in his facultie. Theſe three brethren immediatly ſold him part of the gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them called *Erginus*, comming often to ſee him, by litle and litle ſold him all the reſt. By this meanes *AEgias* fell into familliar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the garriſon of the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe. *Erginus* told him, that going vnto his brother vp thoſe ſteepe and highe rockes, he found a path as it were cut out of the rocke, that went to a place of the wall of the caſtell, which was very lowe. *AEgias* hearing that, anſwered him ſmyling: alas, my friend, what meane you to ſteale a litle peece of golde to hinder the king, when in one howers ſpace you can ſell ſuch a great maſſe of money together? for aſwell ſhall D you dye if you be apprehended for this felony, as if you were otherwiſe attainted for treaſon. *Erginus* with that fell a laughing, and promiſed that he would feele his brother *Diocles* minde in it, for he did not greatly truſt his other brethren. So returning ſhortly after, he bargayned with *Aratus* to bring him to a place of the wall that was not aboue fifteene foote highe, promiſing that he would helpe him to execute the reſt, with his brother *Diocles*. *Aratus* promiſed then to giue him fifty talents, if he brought his enterpriſe to paſſe: and if he fayled, that he would then giue either of them a houſe and a talent. *Erginus* would haue the whole 50. talents put into *AEgias* the bankers handes. *Aratus* had not ſo much ready money, and beſides, he would not take it vp at vſery, for feare of giuing cauſe to ſuſpect his enterpriſe. Wherefore he tooke all his plate of gold and ſiluer, and his wiues iewells, and layed them to gage to *AEgias*, E to disburſe the ſayd ſumme. But *Aratus* had ſo great and noble a mind in him, and was ſo bent to doe notable acts: that knowing howe *Phocion* and *Epaminondas* had bene eſteemed for the iuſteſt and honeſteſt men of Græce, bicauſe they had refuſed great giftes that were offered them, and would neuer ſell nor ſtayne their honor for money: he yet ſurpaſſing them, was contented to ſpend his owne, to bring any good enterpriſe to paſſe, & did put his life in daunger for the common benefit of his contry men, they them ſelues knowing nothing of his enterpriſe, which turned all to their benefit. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimitie and corage of ſuch a man, and that will not euen nowe as it were, be willing to ayde him: conſidering how dearely he bought ſo great a daunger of his perſon, and howe he laied his plate and all the riches he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the middeſt F of his enemies, where he was to fight for his owne life, hauing no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of ſuch a noble enterpriſe, and nothing els? But now, though the enterpriſe of it ſelf was daungerous, an error chauncing through ignorance at the firſt, made it yet more daun-

Antigonus craftily taketh the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe.

Ouergreat ioy to a ſimple man, maketh him mad.

Perſæus the Philoſopher, made captaine of the Acrocorinthe.

Aratus determination for the taking of the Acrocorinthe.

gerous. For *Aratus* had ſent *Technon*, one of his men before with *Diocles*, to viewe the wall. A
This *Technon* had neuer ſpoken with *Diocles*, howbeit he thought in his minde what manner of man he was, by the markes that *Erginus* had giuen him of him: that he had a blacke curled heare, that his face was blacke, and that he had no beard. Nowe *Technon* being come to the place where *Erginus* ſayd he would be with *Diocles*: he ſtayed before the towne in a place called ORNIS. So whileſt he was tarying there, the elder brother of *Diocles*, called *Dionyſius* (who knew nothing of the enterpriſe, nor was made acquaynted withall, and looked very like his brother *Diocles*) came that way by chaunce. *Technon* being moued by the markes he ſawe in him, like vnto thoſe he was told of: asked him if he were nothing a kinne to *Erginus*. The other aunſwered, he was his brother. Then *Technon* perſwading him ſelfe it was certenly *Diocles* that ſpake to him, without asking him his name, or making other inquiery of him: he B
tooke him by the hand, and began to talke with him of the practiſe he had with *Erginus*, and to aske him of it. *Dionyſius* taking the matter vpon him, & feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the citie, holding him on ſtill with talke, *Technon* miſtruſting nothing. But euen as *Dionyſius* was ready to take him faſt by the choller: his brother *Erginus* came. Who, perceyuing how *Technon* had miſtaken the matter, and the daunger he was in: beckned to him with his head to flye, and ſo they both ranne for life vnto *Aratus*, to ſaue them ſelues. Howbeit *Aratus* was nothing the more diſcoraged for this, but ſent *Erginus* ſtraight to cary his brother *Dionyſius* money, and to praye him not to be aknowen of any thing: who furthermore brought him with him vnto *Aratus*. But after they had him once, they made him ſuer for ſtarting: for they bound him, and locked him vp faſt in a chamber, whileſt they went about their enterpriſe. So when all things were ready, *Aratus* commaunded the reſt of his army that they ſhould C
tary behind, armed all night: and he him ſelfe, with foure hundred of the beſt men he had, (not knowing them ſelues whether they went, nor to what intent) went ſtraight to the gates of the citie, paſſing by the temple of *Iuno*. This was about the middeſt of ſummer, when the Moone was at the full, and the element very cleere without clowdes: inſomuch that they were affraid their armors would gliſter by Moone light, and bewray them. But as the formoſt of them came neare vnto the citie, there roſe clowdes out of the ſea that darkened all the citie & places thereabouts, and ſhadowed them. Then all of them ſitting downe on the ground, plucked of their ſhoes, both bicauſe they ſhould make leſſe noyſe, as alſo for that their footing ſhould be ſuerer, and that they ſhould ſlippe leſſe vpon the ladders. But *Erginus*, and ſeuen other com- D
panions with him like men that trauell, came ſecretly into the gate of the citie, and ſlue the porter and warders there. At that very inſtant, *Aratus* cauſed the ladders to be ſet vp againſt the walls, and made a hundred of his ſouldiers get vp on them: and ſent alſo to commaund the reſt, that they ſhould follow him with all poſſible ſpeede. Then drawing vp his ladders after him, as faſt as he could, he went through the citie with his hundred men toward the caſtel, with ſuch a ioyfull cheere, as if he had had it already in his hand, for that he ſaw he was not diſcouered. But as he went on, he ſaw foure of the watch comming with a light againſt them. They ſaw not *Aratus* and his company, but the enemies ſaw them plainely a farre of. *Aratus* & his men therefore ſtoode vp cloſe againſt old walls to tary their comming, and at the firſt on- E
ſet, ſlue three of them: but the fourth hauing a blowe on his head with a ſworde, ranne away, making an outcry, that the enemies were in the citie. The trompets forthwith ſownded the alarom, all the citie was in an vprore, the ſtreetes were ſtraight full of people ronning vp and downe, and of lights in euery corner, both beneath in the citie, as alſo in the caſtell, and the noyſe was great euery where. *Aratus* in the meane tyme forced to get vp the hie rocks fayer & ſoftely at the firſt, and with great payne and difficultie, being out of his pathe he ſhould haue found, which he miſſed, being very deepe into the rocks, and with many crookes and crankes went to the foote of the caſtell: but ſodainely, euen as it had bene by miracle, the Moone appearing through the clowdes, when they were in their worſt way, it gaue the light, & brought them to that part of the wall where they ſhould be, and ſtraight the Moone was ſhadowed againe. Now the three hundred ſouldiers whome *Aratus* had left at the gate by the temple of F
Iuno, when they were come into the citie, being full of lights, and in vprore, and beſides could not find the path by the which their Captaine *Aratus* went before them: they ſtoode cloſe together

The error and daunger by likenes of men one vnto another.

Aratus great daunger in taking of the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe.

The happy benefit of the Moone.

A gether vnder a rocke that ſhadowed them, ſorowfully looking to heare ſome newes of *Aratus*: who was then fighting with the garriſon of the caſtell, the which made head againſt him with all the force and power they could. Vnder the caſtell there was a great noyſe heard of men that fought, but yet the noyſe was ſo confuſed by the ſound rebounding againſt the rocks and mountaine, that they could not deuiſe whence it ſhould come. So they being in this perplexitie, not knowing which way to turne them ſelues: *Archelaus*, Captaine of king *Antigonus* men, hauing a good number of ſouldiers with him, went vp the hill with great cryes and noyſe of trumpets, to ſet vpon *Aratus*, and his company behind. But after he was paſſed by theſe three hundred ſouldiers of *Aratus* band, they gaue charge vpon him, as if they had bene layed there in ambuſhe of purpoſe, and ſlue the firſt they encountered withall, and made the others
B ſo affrayde, and *Archelaus* him ſelfe, that they diſperſed them, and made ſome flye one way, ſome another waye. So, as they were ouerthrowen, *Erginus* came to theſe three hundred men, comming immediatly from them that fought, and brought them newes that *Aratus* and them of the caſtell, were come to the ſworde together, and valliantly defended them ſelues, luſtely fighting for the wall, and therefore it was tyme for them to helpe him quickly. Then the ſouldiers bad him bringe them thither ſtraight, and ſo he did. So they clyming vp the hill, did ſignifie by their cryes to their men, that they came to ayde him. Furthermore, the Moone beeing then at the full, and ſhining on their harnes, made their enemies in the caſtell thinke that they were a greater number then in deede they were, bicauſe of the longe waye they had to make to gette vppe vpon the rockes: and alſo bicauſe of the ſound in
C the night, that made their crye ſeeme to be of a greater number then they were. At length they ioyning with *Aratus*, they fought it out ſo luſtely, that they draue the garriſon out of the walls, and by breake of daye wanne the caſtell. So that their exployt was diſcouered by the riſing of the Sunne, and beſides, all the reſt of their armye that came from the citie of SICYONE: whome the CORINTHIANS very gladly receyued, and did ſet open their gates vnto them, and ayded them to take king *Antigonus* men. Afterwards, when they thought that all was ſafe, then *Aratus* came from the caſtell vnto the Theater of the citie, whether repayred an infinite number of people, aſwell for the deſire they had to ſee him, as alſo to heare him ſpeake vnto the CORINTHIANS. So hauing placed the ACHAIANS of either ſide, at the comming into the Theater: *Aratus* being armed, went vp into the chayer or pulpit for
D orations, hauing his face quite chaunged, both for the great paynes he had taken, and alſo for lacke of ſleepe: ſo that his body being ouerwearied, his ſpirits were euen done. Now when all the aſſembly of the people (ſeeing him in the chayer) did humble them ſelues to ſhewe him all the honor and kindnes they could poſſible: he tooke his ſpeare out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and body ſomewhat, he leaned vpon it, and ſo ſtoode a great while in this manner before he ſpake, receiuing the cryes of ioy and clapping of handes which the people made, prayſing his valliantnes, and bleſſing his good happe and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an oration vnto them in the name of all the tribe and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, meete for the enterpriſe from whence he came: and perſwaded them to ioyne to the ACHAIANS. So
E therewithall, they preſently deliuered him the keyes of their citie, the which were neuer before that tyme in their power, ſince the raigne of king *Philip*. Nowe touching the other Captaines of king *Antigonus*: *Aratus* hauing taken *Archelaus* priſoner, he let him goe, but put *Theophraſtus* to death, bicauſe he would not goe out of CORINTHE. *Perſæus* (Captaine of the caſtell) ſeeing the caſtell but loſt: he ſecretly ſaued him ſelfe, & fled vnto the citie of CENCHREES. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talke of Philoſophie, where one mainteyning that a man could not be a good Captaine, vnles he were a perfit wiſe man: This (ſ he) is one of *Zenoes* opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleaſed me beſt: but now this young SICYONIAN *Aratus*, hath made me of an other mind. Many writers doe report this ſaying of *Perſæus*. Furthermore *Aratus* wanne preſently the temple of *Iuno*, and the hauen of LECHÆVM,
F where he tooke fiue and twenty ſhippes of king *Antigonus*, and fiue hundred horſe of ſeruice for the warre, and foure hundred SYRIANS, which he ſold euery one of them. The ACHAIANS left within the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe, a garriſon of foure hundred footemen, and fiftye

Aratus taketh the Acrocorinthe.

Aratus ioyneth the city of Corinthe vnto Achaia.

Zenoes opinion, that a man could not be a good Captaine vnles he were a perfit wiſe man.

Perſæus anſwer to Zenoes opinion.

doggs, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the castell. Now, the ROMANES wondring at the valliantnes of *Philopæmen*: they called him the last of the GRÆCIANS. Euen so might I also (in my opinion) say, that this acte is the last and most famous of all the GRÆCIANS, and deserueth to be equall, aswell for valliantnes, as also good successe, with the greatest exploytes of the most famous auncients: as that which followed immediatly after doth amply declare. For the MEGARIANS reuolting from king *Antigonus*, did straight ioyne with *Aratus*: and the TROEZENIANS also with the EPIDAVRIANS, did likewise enter into league and friendship with the ACHAIANS. So at the first inuasion he made, he went to spoyle the contry of ATTICA, and crossed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA, and spoyled and destroyed it, euen as if he had deliuered the power and force of the ACHAIANS out of prison, to serue his owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he sent home the ATHENIAN prisoners without paying of ransom: and all of policie to make them desirous to rebell against the MACEDONIANS. Furthermore, he made king *Ptolomy* a friend and confederat of the ACHAIANS, with condition, that he should be Lieuetenant generall both by sea & by lande. For these respects *Aratus* was of maruelous estimation and credit with the ACHAIANS: insomuch that where they could not yearely choose him their general, being contrary to their law: they chose him at the least euery second yeare, but in effect, all was done by his aduise and counsell. For they saw plainly, that it was nether honor, nor riches, nor friendship of kings & Princes, nor the priuate benefit of his owne citie wherein he was borne, nor any other thing els that he preferred, before the glory & increase of the common wealth of the ACHAIANS. For he was of opinion, that cities by thē selues were but weake, & being ioyned together with the chaine of common benefit, they were a strength one to preserue the other. And in like manner, euen as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beasts haue life & sustenance, being ioyned & knit together, & straight so soone as there is any seperation of them thone from thother, they liue no more & putrifie: euen so cities also were brought to decay by them that did disperse their societie among them, & in contrary manner did then againe increase, when ioyning with any other great body & city, they were gouerned with wisedom & good counsell. So *Aratus* seing the chiefest cities thereabouts enioy their lawes and liberties: thought it a shamefull thing to leaue the ARGIVES in slauery & bondage. Wherefore he practised to kil the tyrant *Aristomachus* that gouerned them, both to shew him selfe thankefull to the citie for his bringing vppe there: as also to ioyne that great & mighty citie vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. Now there were diuers men that had the harts and corage to vndertake to doe it, of the which the chiefest were *AEschylus*, and *Charimenes* the Soothsayer, but they had no swordes: for they were straightly forbidden by the tyrant, and grieuous punishments ordeyned for them that should be found with any swordes. *Aratus* therefore caused certen litle short daggers to be made at CORINTHE for them, the which he sowed vp in packes caried on certen beasts loden with other baggage and stuffe. But the Soothsayer *Charimenes*, did impart this enterprise vnto a third man, and made him one of the conspiracie with them. *AEschylus* being very much offended with it, beganne therefore to enter into practise by him selfe, and left their company. *Charimenes* perceiuing that, tooke such a toye in his head in a mad moode, that he bewrayed them as they went about to execute their enterprise. This notwithstanding, the most parte of the conspirators saued them selues, and fled to CORINTHE. So the tyrant *Aristomachus* was slaine shortly after, by his owne men. But then another tyrant, *Aristippus*, a crueller man than the first, made haste to take the tyranny before he could be resisted. This notwithstanding, *Aratus*, with all the young men of the ACHAIANS able to serue in the field, went sodainly thither with ayde, hoping to find them of the citie very glad to recouer their libertie. Howbeit the people being acquainted, and of long time vled paciently to beare the yoke of bondage: there was not a man of them that would once take his part. So he returned backe againe, and did nothing, sauing that thereby the ACHAIANS were accused, bicause that in open peace they had made warre, & therfore they were put in sute before the MANTINIANS, at *Aristippus* request, tyrant of ARGOS. The matter was pleaded in *Aratus* absence, & the ACHAIANS were condēned to pay the summe of 30. Minas. After this proofe & attēpt of *Aratus*, *Aristippus* being affraid of *Aratus*, & hating him to the death, sought waies to kil him, with the help of *Antigonus*, who did aide him in

Philopæmen the last famous man of the Græcians.

Aratus power and authority with the Achaians.

Aratus goeth about to set Argos at liberte.

Aratus prepared litle short daggers against the tyrants decree & ordinance.

Aristippus tyrant of the citie of Argos.

Aristippus layed wait to kill Aratus.

A in it: and almoſt there were ſpialls in euery corner, that did nothing els but lye in wayte to execute *Ariſtippus* minde. Now, there is no ſuerer garde vnto a Prince, then the perfit loue and good will of his ſubiects. For, after that the nobilitie and common people haue bene vſed to feare, not him, but thoſe that for him commaund them: he then ſeeth with many eyes, heareth with many eares, and knoweth what is done farre of. Here therefore I will a litle digreſſe from my hiſtorie, to ſhewe you the manner of *Ariſtippus* life the tyrant, whereunto he was brought by this ſo much deſired tyrannical gouernment, and ſmoke of ſigniorie, ſo eſteemed of all men. Now, though *Ariſtippus* had king *Antigonus* his friend, and that he kept a great gard of ſouldiers about him for the ſafety of his perſon, and that there was not an enemy of his left aliue in all the citie: yet he made his ſouldiers watche and lye without his pallace, vn-

B der the cloiſters and galleries thereabouts, & after ſupper turned all his men out of the dores, & then ſhut his Court gates to him, and locked him ſelfe alone with his Concubine, in a litle hie chamber with a trappe dore, and ſet his bed vpon it, & ſo ſlept, as one that continually was affraid of him ſelfe. Then after he was come vp, his Concubines mother came to take vp the ladder, and locked it in an other chamber: and ſo did let it downe againe the next morning, and called this trymme tyrant, that went downe out of his chamber, like a ſnake that ſhould haue crept out of her hole. Where *Aratus* in contrary manner, not hauing obtained by force of armes, but lawfully through vertue a continuall gouernment, being ſimply apparelled with a poore gowne of ſmal price, & ſhewing him ſelf a mortal enemy vnto all ſorts of tyrants: hath left a race & noble ofspring among the GRÆCIANS, which remaine yet vntill this preſent day.

C Contrarily alſo, there are fewe tyrants that doe vſurpe the caſtells of free cities, that keepe ſo many ſouldiers in pay, that make ſuch prouiſion for armor and weapon, & haue ſo many gates and drawbridges for the ſafety of their perſons, that in the ende can keepe them ſelues from violent death, no more then hares: nether doe leaue alſo any poſteritie, houſe, or graue, why their memorie ſhould be honored after their death. So *Aratus* hauing diuers waies made ſundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwiſe ſodainely, to take the citie of ARGOS, and to thruſt out the tyrant *Ariſtippus*: he euer fayled of his purpoſe, but ſpecially one night among the reſt, when he entred the citie very daungerouſly, with a fewe ſouldiers with him, and ſlue the ſouldiers that came to giue ſupply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and that the tyrant with all his forces came to ſet vpon him: the ARGIVES ſturred not at all, as if

D *Aratus* had not fought for their libertie, but as though they had bene Iudges appoynted to ſit to ſee the ſportes of the games Nemee, to iudge the game vnto the Conqueror without partiality, and with indifferency. *Aratus* in the meane tyme fighting like a valliant man, was thruſt at with a pyke, and ronne through the thighe. This notwithſtanding, at length he wanne that part of the citie where he fought, and was not thruſt out till night, what force ſoeuer the enemies made vpon him: and if he could poſſibly haue holden it out all night, he had vndoubtedly obtayned his purpoſe. For the tyrant looked for no other but to flye, and had already ſent diuers of his goods to the ſea. Howbeit no man once came to tell *Aratus* any newes of it, beſides alſo lacking water, and for that he could not helpe him ſelfe bicauſe of his wound, he was driuen to leade his men away, and fayled of his purpoſe. So, diſpayring that he could euer

E take it by ſtelth, he went thither with open warres, and ſpoyled and deſtroyed all the contry of ARGOS: and hauing fought a great battell againſt the tyrant *Ariſtippus*, by the ryuer of Chares, they blamed *Aratus* much, that he forſooke the victorie, and cowardly retyred out of the battell. For the reſt of his army doubtles had the better, and had followed the enemies farre in chaſe: when he fled, being affrayd, not compelled by his enemies, but miſtruſting his fortune, and retyred to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chaſe of their enemies were offended, for that they hauing put them to flight, and alſo ſlayne a greater number moe of them then they had loſt of theirs, and yet for cowardlines ſhoulde ſuffer their enemies (whome they had ouercome and put to flight) to ſette vppe markes of triumphe in token of victorie: *Aratus* beeing aſhamed of it, determined to fight once agayne, for the markes of

F triumphe. Whereuppon, reſting his men but one daye, he led them agayne into the field, and ſetting his armye in battell raye, offered to fight once more. This notwithſtanding, when he ſawe a great ſupply comming to his enemye, and that the tyrants men came to fight more

No ſuerer garde to a Prince, then the loue of his ſubiects.

The miſerable life of Ariſtippus, the tyrant of Argos.

Aratus gouernment obtayned by vertue.

Chares fl. Aratus gaue Ariſtippus the victorie.

lustely, and with better corage then before: *Aratus* durst not abyde them, but retyred, and sent to demaund leaue to take away his dead men to bury them. Yet he could speake so curteously, and behaue him selfe so wisely, by the experience he had in gouernment, and also for the good will they bare him: that they forgat the fault he committed, and he wanne the citie of Cleones vnto the Achaians, where he caused the feastes of the games Nemee to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquitie, rather vnto the Cleonaians, then vnto the Argives. This notwithstanding, the Argives did keepe it also, and then was the first time that the sanctuary and priuiledge was broken, which was wont to be graunted vnto all them that came to play for the games: bicause the Achaians did make them prisoners that fought in Argos, as they returned through their contry, and sold them as enemies. So marueilously did *Aratus* and the Achaians hate all sortes of tyrants, without respect of pardon. Shortly after he was aduertised, that the tyrant *Aristippus* did lye in wayte to spye oport unitie, to take the citie of Cleones from him: howbeit that he was affrayd of it, bicause he remayned at that tyme in Corinthe. So *Aratus* straight sent out commaundement into euery place, to assemble the army of the trybe of the Achaians, and that they should bring vittells with them for many dayes: and so craftily came downe to the citie of Cenchrees, to intise *Aristippus*, by his going away so farre of, that in his absence he shoulde attempt to set vpon the Cleonians, as in deede he did. For, he fayled not presently to goe thither with his armye. But *Aratus* returning from Cenchrees vnto Corinthe, very late in the night, and hauing layed good watche euery way: he sodainely brought the armye of the Achaians vnto Cleones with such speede and quietnes, that they were not seene as they came, but entred into the citie of Cleones by night, and were ready to fight with the tyrant, before he knewe they were come. So the gates of the citie were set open by breake of daye, and the signall of battell giuen by sound of trumpetts: and so setting vpon the tyrants men with great cryes, they suspecting nothing, they were presently put to flight. And bicause the place where the ouerthrowe was giuen, had many turnings: *Aratus* following the chase, tooke the way which he thought the tyrant fled in. The chase continued to the citie of Mycenes. There the tyrant was ouertaken by a Cretan called *Tragiscus*, (as *Dinias* reporteth) who slue him: and there were slayne of his men also, aboue fifteene thowsand. But now *Aratus* hauing wonne such a famous victorie, and lost neuer a man: he could not yet winne the citie of Argos, nor set it againe at liberty. For one *AEgias*, and another *Aristomachus*, got into the towne with the kings army, and kept it. But notwithstanding, by this noble victorie *Aratus* did race out a great part of the reproache they gaue him, and of the scoffes and slents the flatterers of the tyrants deuised of him. Who to please them, reported, that when they should come to fight in deede, the generall of the Achaians had the winde collicke in his belly, and a dymnesse in his eyes with a guydines in his head, when he heard but the sound of the trumpetts. And furthermore also, when he had set his men in battell raye, and giuen them the word of battell: he asked the generalls if he should neede to be there in person, bicause he was hurt in the heele, and then would get him as farre of as he could, to see the ende of the battel. This talke was so common, that the Philosophers them selues disputing of it, to wete, whether to tremble and change culler in present daunger and perill, be signes of a faint hart, or of an euill complexion and coldnes of body: they alway vouched *Aratus*, that had bene a good and valliant Captaine, and yet when he began to fight, he was euer in that taking. So when he had ouercome *Aristippus*, he sought meanes also to destroy *Lysiadas* Megalopolitan, who as absolute Lord and king of the contry, kept the city of Megalipolis. Notwithstanding, he had no base minde in him, nether was he caried away with a cruell desire of tyrannye to liue at his pleasure, nor through extreme couetousnes, as most Princes be: but being a young man, & pricked forward with desire of honor & fame, & hauing vnaduisedly cõceiued in his mind, (which was great & highly bent) the vaine reasons he heard men talke of principality, as of a state most blessed, & worthy of admiration: he found the meanes to make him selfe Lord of his contry. But afterwards, he was soone weary of the daungers & troubles such maner of gouernmẽt bringeth with it, & desired to follow *Aratus*, whome he sawe prosper, and of great honor. Furthermore also, fearing his secret practises against him, he tooke holde of a noble deuise: first, to rid him selfe of the malice

Aratus stratageme to intrappe the tyrant Aristippus.

Aratus victory of the tyrant Aristippus.

Aristippus the tyrant slayne.

A philosophicall question whether tremblinge, and chaunging of culler in daunger, be a signe of cowardlines.

Lysiadas, tyran of Megalipolis.

A malice and feare of the prison and garde of his souldiers: and lastly, to be a benefactor to his contry. So he sent for *Aratus*, gaue vp his gouernment, and deliuered vp his citie to the trybe of the ACHAIANS. They so extolled him for this acte, that they chose him their Lieuetenant generall of all their tribe. Wherefore, *Lysiadas*, striuing at the first to excell *Aratus* in honor, attempted diuers things which were not very needefull: as amonge others, to make warre with the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Aratus* was very much against him in that, though some thinke it was for enuy. Thereuppon they chose *Lysiadas* generall of the ACHAIANS the second tyme: although *Aratus* openly both spake, and made what meanes he could to the contrary, & would haue had an other to haue bene chosen. For, he him selfe was euery other yeare generall. So, *Lysiadas* was chosen againe generall of the ACHAIANS the third time, with euery bodies good

B will: and *Aratus* and he had absolute power and gouernment by turnes, one after the other. But when they saw that *Lysiadas* became open enemy vnto *Aratus*, and did still accuse him in all their counsels and assemblies: they fell in such misliking with him, that they reiected him. For they thought his but a coūterfeate vertue, to contend with the perfitnes of *Aratus* vertue. Much like vnto one of *Isopes* fables, saying that litle birdes did aunswer the cuckow on a tyme, asking them why they did flie from her: bicause we are affrayd (sayd they) thou wilt be a sperhawke one day. Euen so it seemeth, that there was a certaine suspition in mens minds of *Lysiadas* tyranny, which made them mistrust that he went not from his tyrannie with good will. Now *Aratus* on thother side, wanne as great praise and honor by his doings against the ÆTOLIANS. For when the ACHAIANS would needes haue fought vpon the confines of the territo-

C ry of the MEGARIANS, and that *Agis*, king of LACEDÆMON, being come with his army to the campe of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, did perswade them hardily to giue battell: *Aratus* was stowtely against it, and did abide many mocks and tawnts they gaue him, saying, that it was for cowardlines he would not goe. This notwithstanding, he would not leaue his wise and safe determination, for all that open shame: but suffered the enemies to passe ouer the Mountaine Gerania, and to inuade PELOPONNESVS, and would neuer fight with them. But afterwards, when he saw that at their first comming they had taken the citie of PALLENA: he then chaūged his mind, and would deferre time no lenger to tary till all his power were come together, but marched forthwith against his enemies, with those few he had, who maruelously weakned them selues by their insolency and disorder after their victory, keeping no watche nor warde.

D For after they had entred the citie of PALLENA, the soldiers ranne into euery house, one thrusting in an others necke, and fighting for the goods they found. The Captaines also fell to rauishing of maides, and the PALLENIANS wiues, and put their burganets and morrions vpon their heades, that none other should take them, bicause that by the same the souldiers should know whose they were, and to whome the women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and iolitie: newes came sodainly that *Aratus* was come. This made them quake for feare, when they saw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all vnderstoode of the daunger by their sodaine setting on them, the ACHAIANS were fighting already within the suburbs and gates of the citie, against the first that resisted, whome they slue. They being broken, & put to flight, made the rest so affraid that were gathered together to ayde them, that they wist not

E what to doe. In this tumult and great hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a prisoner, that was the Daughter of *Epigethes* one of the noblest men of the citie, and she a maruelous goodly woman, and passing fayer: who being set in the temple of *Diana*, whether a Captaine had brought her that had chosen her for him selfe, and had put his burganet on her head: she sodainely ranne to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, when she heard the noyse of them that fought, to see them fight. The Citizens seeing her in that array, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater maiesty, then any worldly creature. The enemies on the other side were so affraid to see her, thinking she had bene some spirit: that not a man of them durst once defend them selues. So the PALLENIANS say, that the image of *Diana* all the rest of the tyme is kept locked vp, and no body toucheth it, and that when the Nunne that keepeth

F it doth cary it elswhere, no man dare looke on it, but euery man turneth his eyes away: bicause the sight of it is not onely fearefull and hurtfull vnto men, but it also killeth the frute of the trees it passeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cause that then troubled the Æ-

Lysiadas, tyran of Megalopolis, leauith the tyrannie, and yeldeth him selfe and his dominion, vnto the Achaians.

Dissention betwixt Aratus and Lysiadas.

One of Isopes tales of the Cuckowes question to litle birdes.

Aratus noble counsell against the AEtolians.

Gerania mons

Aratus setteth vpon his lasciuious enemies.

A womā with a Burganet of her head, seemed a monstrous thing.

The signe of Diana with the Pallenians.

TOLIANS mindes so muche, bicause the Nunne remouing the image of the goddesse *Diana*, A
she turned it towards them. How beit *Aratus* in his commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth that when he had defeated the ÆTOLIANS, following them in chase, he entred hand ouer head with them that fled into the citie, out of the which he draue them, and slue seuen hundred of them. This noble victory hath bene esteemed amonge the chiefest afterwards: and the paynter *Timanthes* hath drawen and set it forth in table very liuely. This notwithstanding, bicause diuers Princes and people did immediatly prepare force against the ACHAIANS: *Aratus* presently made peace with the ÆTOLIANS by the practise of *Pantaleon*, who bare great swaye and authoritie amongest them. Furthermore, *Aratus* being desirous to set the ATHENIANS at libertie, he sodainly attempted to take the hauen of PIRÆA: for the which the ACHAIANS reproued him, bicause he had broken the peace they had made B
with the MACEDONIANS. But *Aratus* in his commentaries doth stowtely denye that it was he, and layeth the fault vpon *Erginus*, by whose meanes he wanne the castell of the Acrocorinthe: saying that it was he, that of his owne minde did set a scaling ladder to the wall, and that his ladder breaking vnder him, he fled vpon it, and perceyuing he was followed neare by the enemies, he styll cryed out, *Aratus*, as if he had bene there, and by this policye mocked his enemies, and saued him selfe. Howbeit me thinkes this aunswer is not true. For it is not credible, that *Erginus* a priuate souldier, and a SYRIAN borne, shoulde haue so greate an enterprise in his head, vnles it had bene by *Aratus* consent and commaundement, who had giuen him men, tyme, and meanes to vndertake it. And this appeared playnely afterwardes. For, *Aratus* did not attempt it twyse or thryse onely, but oftener C
then so (as those that extreamely desire a thinge) to take the hauen of PIRÆA on the sodaine, not giuing ouer for once fayling, but rather imboldening him selfe agayne with good hope, bicause he mist it but litle, and that he came so neare the taking of it. And another tyme also amongest others, flying through the playne of THRIASIA, he brake his legge, and was driuen to haue many incisions to heale it: so that he was a longe tyme together caryed in his lytter to the warres. After that king *Antigonus* was deade, and that *Demetrius* his sonne succeeded him in the kingdome: he attempted then more earnestly then euer before, to set the citye of ATHENS at libertye, making small accompt of the MACEDONIANS. *Aratus* therefore beeing ouerthrowen in battell neare vnto PHYLACIA, by king *Demetrius* Lieuetenant, called BITHYS: and the rumor running straight abroad, that *Aratus* was deade, or D
at the least that he was taken prisoner: one named *Diogenes*, Captaine of the hauen of PIRÆA, wrote a letter vnto CORINTHE, and commaunded the garrison of the ACHAIANS that kept it, to deliuer the towne, for *Aratus* was deade. But he by chaunce was at the selfe same tyme in CORINTHE: so that they which brought the letters went home with a mocke, without their purpose, and made all the companye meary. Furthermore, king *Demetrius* him selfe sent a gallye out of MACEDON, to bringe *Aratus* bound vnto him. The ATHENIANS them selues also, to please the MACEDONIANS, exceeding all lightnes of flatterye, ware garlands of their heads a whole day together, in token of common ioy, when newes was brought them of *Aratus* death. *Aratus* was so mad in his minde to heare this, that he brought his armye presently against them, euen to the very suburbes of the Academy. Notwithstanding, E
at their earnest requests, he did no hurt there. And afterwardes, the ATHENIANS acknowledging his valliantnes, when king *Demetrius* dyed: it tooke them in the heads to recouer their libertie againe. So *Aratus*, though that yeare another man was generall of the ACHAIANS, and that he kept his bedde, lying sicke of a longe disease: yet to further this, he was caried to ATHENS in a lytter, and so perswaded *Diogenes*, Captaine of the garrison there, that for the summe of a hundred and fifty talents (towards the which *Aratus* gaue of his owne, twenty talents) he made him deliuer the ATHENIANS the hauen of PIRÆA, the castell of MVNYCHIA, the Ile of SALAMINA, and the castell of SVNIVM. After this, the ÆGINETES, the HERMIONIANS, and the moste parte of ARCADIA it selfe, did presently ioyne with the ACHAIANS: so that the MACEDONIANS beeing occupied with warres at that tyme in o- F
ther places agaynst their neighbours, the power of the ACHAIANS maruelously increased, hauing also the ÆTOLIANS their confederates. Then *Aratus* to performe his olde promise,

Aratus bringeth the ÆTolians in league with the Achaians.

Aratus attempteth to set Athens at libertie.

Aratus ouerthrowen by the Macedonians.

A promiſe, and being angrie to ſee the citie of ARGOS (being ſo neere neighbour vnto them) yet kept in bondage: he ſent vnto *Ariſtomachus*, to perſwade him to be contented to ſet his citie againe at libertie, and to ioyne it to the tribe of the ACHAIANS, as *Lyſiadas* had done his towne of MEGALIPOLIS, and rather too like to be made a Generall with honor and praiſe of ſo great and famous a ſtate as the ACHAIANS: then tyran of one only citie, hated, and euerie hower of the night and day in daunger of his life. *Ariſtomachus* gaue eare to his perſwaſions, and ſent vnto *Aratus*, telling him that he had neede of fiftie talentes to diſcharge the ſouldiers he had about him. The money was ſtraight prepared. And *Lyſiadas* that was at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, and that maruelouſlie deſired this matter might be brought to paſſe by his meanes: he ſecretlie ſent vnto *Ariſtomachus* to accuſe *Aratus*, and ſhewed howe he had

Aratus by perſwaſion, deliuered Argos from tyrannie.

B bene alway a mortall enemy vnto tyrans, and therefore counſelled him rather to put him ſelfe into his hands, as in deede he did. For, *Lyſiadas* brought *Ariſtomachus* vnto the counſell of the ACHAIANS. There all the counſell plainlie ſhewed their good wills, and the confidence they had in *Aratus*: for when he ſpake againſt it, that they ſhould not receiue *Ariſtomachus*, they reiected him with great anger. But afterwards alſo when *Aratus* was wonne, and that he began to moue the contrarie to the counſell: they ſtraight agreed to receiue the ARGIVES, and the PHLIASIANS in league with them, and alſo the next yeare following, they choſe *Ariſtomachus* Lieutenaunt generall of all their tribe. *Ariſtomachus* ſeeing him ſelfe in credit nowe with the ACHAIANS, would needes inuade the contrie of LACONIA with a maine armie, and ſent for *Aratus* being then at ATHENS. *Aratus* wrote vnto him, and wiſhed him in any wiſe not to

The loue and faith of the Achaians vnto Aratus.

C meddle with that iorney, bicauſe he would not haue the ACHAIANS to deale with *Cleomenes*, king of LACEDÆMON, that was a coragious and ſtowt young Prince, and maruelouſlie growen in ſhort time. Howbeit *Ariſtomachus* being ſelfe willed in that poynt, *Aratus* obeyed him, and was there in perſon all that iorney. So *Cleomenes* being come to them vppon the ſodaine with his armie, neere vnto the citie of PALANTIVM: *Ariſtomachus* woulde needes fight with him. But *Aratus* diſſwaded him from it. Whereupon *Lyſiadas* afterwards accuſed him to the ACHAIANS, and the next yere following he contended with him, ſuing to be Generall: howbeit he was reiected by moſt voyces, and *Aratus* choſen Generall the twelfth time. The ſelfe ſame yeare he was ouerthrowen in battell by *Cleomenes*, neere vnto the mountaine Lycæum, and being fled, wandered vp and downe in the night, that euerie man thought he had bene

Aratus ouerthrowen in battel by king Cleomenes, hard by the mountaine Lycæum.

D ſlaine, and it ranne for good payment among all the GRÆCIANS. Howbeit he ſaued himſelfe, and hauing gathered his men together againe, not contenting him that he had ſcaped with life, but wiſelie taking the oportunitie and occaſion offered, no man knowing it, nor miſtruſting his comming: he ſodainlie went to aſſaile the MANTINIANS, which were confederats of *Cleomenes*, and hauing taken the citie of MANTINEA, he left a great garriſon in it, and made the ſtraungers that were there, free of the citie. Thus *Aratus* was he alone, that being ouercome wanne the ACHAIANS that, which they them ſelues could ſcarcelie haue wonne, if they had bene conquerors. Afterwards, the LACEDÆMONIANS inuading the territories of the MEGALOPOLITANS with a great armie, *Aratus* ſodainlie went thither to aide them, but would hazard battell no more, nor geue *Cleomenes* vantage, who deſired only to fight, and ſtill

Aratus tooke the citie of Mantinea.

E conſtantlie reſiſted the MEGALOPOLITANES, that prouoked him to come into the field. For beſides that in nature he was not meete for a ſet battell, at that time alſo he was the weaker in men, and had to doe with a venterous young man, that was all fire: where his corage and ambicion on the other ſide was coole, & quiet enough. Furthermore he conſidered, that as king *Cleomenes* ſought honor by valliant ventering, which he had not before: euen ſo it was his parte wiſelie to keepe that which he had long ſince gotten, and to ſtande vppon his gard and ſafetie. This notwithſtanding, the light armed men being put out into the fielde, and hauing chaſed the LACEDÆMONIANS euen into their campe, & entring in with thē hand ouer head: *Aratus* would neuer bring out his citizens, but ſtayed them in a great valley that lay betwene them both, and would not let them come on any further. Wherewithall *Lyſiadas* being mad

F with him ſelfe, and falling out with *Aratus*: he called for the horſemen, & ſayd that he would yet helpe them that followed the chaſe, and prayed them not to loſe the victorie ſo cowardly, of the which they were ſo ſure: nor to forſake him at a pinche, fighting for defence of their

contrie. So hauing gotten a great number of choyſe horſemen together, he went with great furie, and gaue charge of the right wing of his enemies battell, and hauing diſperſed them, and put them to flight, he vnaduiſedlie followed them with great corage, into euill fauoured crooked wayes, among trees, and great broade ditches. Whereuppon *Cleomenes* came, and ſo luſtely ſet on him, that he ſlue him dead in the place, valliantly fighting and defending him ſelfe. The other men of armes flying alſo, ruſhed in againe into the battell of the footemen, and ſo diſordered their rankes, that they made all their armie flie for feare. For this cauſe they greatly blamed *Aratus*, bicauſe he had forſaken *Lyſiadas*: and being forced vnto it by the ACHAIANS that went without his leaue, he followed them at length, and fled him ſelfe alſo vnto the city of ÆGIVM. There the ACHAIANS ſitting in counſell, they decreed that they would furniſh *Aratus* with no more money, neither would they pay his ſtraungers any more: & bad him pay them at his owne charge, if he would enterteine them for the warre. *Aratus* perceiuing they did him great wrong, ſtoode euen indifferent to deliuer vp his commiſſion of Lieutenancy, and to diſcharge him ſelfe of his office: but after he had bethought him ſelfe better, he bare it pacientlie, and led the ACHAIANS directlie to the citie of ORCHOMENE. There he valliantlie fought with *Megiſtonus*, king *Cleomenes* father in lawe, and had the vpper hande of him: for he ſlue three hundred of his men, and tooke *Megiſtonus* ſelfe priſoner. Furthermore, where before euerie ſecond yeare they did vſe to chooſe him their Lieutenant generall: when his turne came about againe, they called him to geue him the office, but he refuſed it, and *Timoxenus* was choſen in his roome. Now the cauſe alleaged for his refuſall, was ſayd to be, for that he miſliked of the common people. But that ſoundeth like a lye: for the trueth of it, to my ſeming was, for that he ſaw the ſtate of the ACHAIANS to decline. For king *Cleomenes* proceeded no more fayer and ſoftlie as he did at the firſt, when he was controlled and brideled by the Ephori: but hauing ſlaine them, and equallie deuided the landes through all LACEDÆMONIA, and made the ſtraungers free citizens of SPARTA, being then abſolute Lorde of LACEDÆMON: he ſtraight ſet vpon the ACHAIANS with all the power he coulde, and ſought to conquer them. And therefore *Aratus* deſerueth iuſt reproofe, for that he forſooke his contrie in ſuch extreame trouble & daũger, that being as the maiſter of a ſhippe he gaue an other the ſterne to ſteare, when it had bene moſt honorable & meeteſt for him to haue taken it in hand (though they would not haue giuen it him) to haue ſaued his contry. Or otherwiſe, if he had in dede vtterly diſpaired of the good ſucceſſe of the ACHAIANS, he ſhould then haue put it rather into *Cleomenes* handes, and not to haue poyſoned PELOPONNESVS againe, with the maners of the barbarous people: (bringing in as he did, the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS, filling the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe with GAVLES and ILLYRIAN ſouldiers, and making them his Lordes and maiſters, whom he had ſo often ouercomen in warres, and deceiued of their gouernment, and of whom he alſo ſpake ſo muche euill in his Commentaries) nor to haue put them into townes, and calling them frends and confederates, to thinke thereby to colour and diſguiſe his wicked practiſe. Admit *Cleomenes* had bene a tyran, and a cruell man (if I ſhould ſo tearme him) yet came he of the blood of *Hercules*, and was borne in SPARTA: from whence they ſhould rather haue choſen the meaneſt man Gouernor, then the greateſt king of MACEDON, and thoſe ſpeciallie that preferre the honor and glorie of GRÆCE, before ſtraungers. Yet king *Cleomenes* required no more of all the ACHAIANS, but the name onely to be their Lieutenaunt generall: and ſo they woulde graunt him that honor, he promiſed he would be verie good vnto the cities confederats to ACHAIA. Where *Antigonus* notwithſtanding, when they had choſen him their Lieutenaunt generall with abſolute power and authoritie, both by ſea and by lande, refuſed the charge, vnleſſe they would let him haue the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe for his hyer. The which was euen like to *Eſopes* hunter, that brideled his horſe. For he would not get vp vpon the ACHAIANS that requeſted him, and that by their Ambaſſadors and decrees of counſell did referre all to him ſelfe: before he had firſt ſaddled and brideled them, by the garriſon he made them receiue, and the pledges he cauſed them to geue him, and yet he ſpake as much as might be to cleere him ſelfe of the accuſacion againſt him, bearing them in hande that he was forced to it. Howbeit *Polybius* wryteth, that long time before he was compelled, being affrayed of *Cleomenes* valliantnes, he had ſecretly practiſed that with *Antigonus*,

The death of Lyſiadas.

Aratus once againe ouerthrowen by king Cleomenes.

Aratus reproch.

A Gouernor of a common weale ought no more to forſake his contry in time of daunger: then the maiſter of a ſhippe his ſhippe, in ſtorme and tempeſt.

The meaneſt man of Sparta, was to be preferred before the greateſt Prince of Macedon.

Eſopes hunter.

Polybius Hiſtoriographer.

A *Antigonus,* which he was openlie ſeene in afterwards: and that he had intiſed the MEGALOPOLITANS (who were the firſt that moued it to the counſell of the ACHAIANS) to call king *Antigonus* to their aide, bicauſe they were neereſt neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with *Cleomenes* warre, that alwaies knocked at their gates to come and ſpoyle them. Thus muche is affirmed by *Phylarchus* in his hiſtorie, who were hardlie to be credited notwithſtanding, had not *Polybius* confirmed it. For he loued *Cleomenes* ſo well, that it ſeemed he was rauiſhed with ſome ſpirite as often as he ſpake of him: and frameth his hiſtorie, as a common counſeller that ſhould pleade a caſe in lawe before the Iudges, ſtill accuſing the one, and defending the other. The ACHAIANS loſt the citie of MEGALIPOLIS againe, the which king *Cleomenes* tooke of them, and ouercame them in a great battell, by Hecatombæon. Where-

B withall they were ſo amazed, that they ſent Ambaſſadors preſentlie vnto him, & prayed him to come to the citie of ARGOS, & there they would make him their Lieutenant generall. But when *Aratus* heard he came in deede, and that he was not farre from the citie of LERNA with his armie: being affrayed, he ſent other Ambaſſadors to tell him that he ſhould ſafelie come with three hundred men only, as vnto his frends and confederats, and yet if he miſtruſted craft and euill dealing, that then they woulde gene him pledges for the ſafetie of his perſon. *Cleomenes* aunſwered him, that was a plaine mockerie, and an iniurie they offered him. Where-

C fore, he preſentlie departed thence, and ſent a letter before to the counſell of the ACHAIANS, full of fowle words and reproaches he gaue vnto *Aratus*. Who likewiſe replied to him againe, bitterlie taunting eache other, that they came to talke of their mariage and wiues. After this letter, *Cleomenes* ſent defyance by a Heraulde vnto the ACHAIANS, and proclaimed open warre againſt them: inſomuche as he had almoſt gotten the citie of SICYONE by practiſe of traitors. Howbeit failing of his purpoſe, he returned ſodainly, and went vnto the city of PALLENA, which he tooke, and draue out the Generall of the ACHAIANS thence, and immediatlie after he wanne the cities alſo of PHENEA, and PENTELION. After that, the ARGIVES and PHLIASIANS willinglie yeelded vnto him, ſo that of all that which the ACHAIANS had conquered, and ioyned vnto their tribe, they could reckon of nothing elſe of certeinty vnto them. Then *Aratus* was maruelouſlie troubled in his mind, to ſee all PELOPONNESVS in tumult and vprore, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by thoſe that practiſed chaunge and alteracion. For no man was contented with the ſtate and gouernment at that time, but diuers of

D the SICYONIANS & CORINTHIANS both were bewrayed which had ſecretlie practiſed with *Cleomenes,* and that of long time maliced the gouernment of the ACHAIANS, deſiring them ſelues to be Lords and Gouernors of their cities. *Aratus* hauing full commiſſion and authoritie from the counſell of the ACHAIANS, to make inquierie of them, and to put them to death, without further triall of law: he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faultie in the city of SICYONE. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at CORINTHE, he made inquiery of them, & put them to death: wherby he made the common people very angry with him, who otherwiſe of themſelues were weary of the gouernment & ſubiection of the ACHAIANS. The CORINTHIANS therfore gathering together in the temple of *Apollo,* they ſent for *Aratus,* intēding to make him priſoner before they would openly enter into actuall rebellion. *Aratus* went

E thither, to ſhewe that he neither feared nor miſtruſted them, but yet he helde his horſe in his hand following of him. Then many roſe vp againſt him, and did both reproue & iniuriouſly intreate him. But *Aratus* with a ſtayed countenaunce and gentle words, prayed them to keepe their places, and not to crie out in ſuche rage vpon their feete, and withall, cauſed them alſo to come in that were at the temple dore. But as he ſpake vnto them, by litle and litle he drew backe out of the preſſe, as though he ment to haue geuen his horſe to ſome bodie to hold. So being gotten out of the preſſe, he gently ſpake without any feare vnto the CORINTHIANS he met, and bad them goe to the temple of *Apollo.* When he was come to the caſtell, he then ſodainly tooke his horſe backe, and commaunded *Cleopater,* Captaine of the garriſon of the ACHAIANS there, to looke well to the ſafe keping of the caſtell. Then he ſet ſpurres to his horſe,

F and gallopped towardes the citie of SICYONE for life, being followed onely by thirtie of his ſouldiers, all the reſt hauing forſaken him, and diſperſed them ſelues here and there. Shortly after, the CORINTHIANS vnderſtanding that *Aratus* was gone, they followed after, but could

Philarchus the Hiſtoriographer, not greatly to be credited.

Cleomenes winneth the citie of Megalipolis from the Achaiās.

The ſpitefull letters that paſſed betweene Cleomenes and Aratus.

Aratus putteth the rebells of Sicyone to death.

Aratus conſtancie in daunger.

Aratus ſubtletie when he fled out of Corinthe.

neuer ouertake him: whereupon they ſtraight ſent for king *Cleomenes*, and deliuered the citie of CORINTHE into his hands, the gaine whereof pleaſed him not ſo much, as he was ſorie for the loſſe of *Aratus*, whom they had let go. So king *Cleomenes* ioyning vnto him all the people dwelling alongeſt the ſea coaſt, commonlie called the riuer of CORINTHE, who yeelded vp them ſelues, holdes and townes into his hands: he then intrenched in the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe with a great trench. Furthermore, when *Aratus* came to the citie of SICYONE, many of the ACHAIANS gathered about him, and holding a counſell and aſſemblie, he was choſen their Lieutenaunt generall, hauing abſolute power and authoritie to doe what he would, and gaue him of their owne citizens to gard his perſon. So, he hauing managed the affaires of the ſtate and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, the ſpace of three and thirtie yeares together, and hauing all that time bene counted of all men, the chiefeſt man of power and authoritie in GRÆCE: he then found him ſelfe in poore eſtate, forſaken, and in great miſerie, as in the ſhippewracke of his contrie beaten with ſtorme, and in great daunger of him ſelfe. For when he ſent vnto the ÆTOLIANS for aide, they flatly denied him, and would ſend him none. Furthermore, the ATHENIANS being verie deſirous to ſend aide for *Aratus* ſake, were diſſwaded from it through the practiſe of *Euclidas*, & *Micion*. *Aratus* alſo had a houſe in CORINTHE, where all his money was: the which king *Cleomenes* at the firſt meddled not withall, neither would ſuffer any other to touche it, but ſent for his frendes and officers, and charged them to looke well to it, to geue *Aratus* a good accompt of it afterwardes. Furthermore, he priuately ſent *Tripylus* vnto him, and his father in law *Megiſtonus*, and offered him great gifts, and ſpeciallie an annuall pencion of twelue talents, which was double as much as king *Ptolomy* gaue him, who ſent him yearely ſix talents. Beſides, he only prayed the ACHAIANS that they would make him their Lieutenãt general, & alſo that the garriſon in the caſtel of the Acrocorinthe, might be deuided in common betwene them. *Aratus* made aunſwere, that he had no abſolute power in his hands, and that it was in the ACHAIANS, not in him. *Cleomenes* thinking this but a deuiſe and excuſe of *Aratus*, he preſentlie inuaded the contrie of the SICYONIANS, and deſtroyed all as he came, and continued the ſpace of three moneths. *Aratus* in the meane time ſtoode doutfull how to determine, whether he ſhould receiue king *Antigonus* or not: bicauſe *Antigonus* would not aide him, before he deliuered him the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe into his handes. So the ACHAIANS meeting at the citie of ÆGIVM to conſult vpon it, they ſent for *Aratus* thither. Howebeit it was daungerous comming thither, bicauſe *Cleomenes* campe lay hard by the citie of SICYONE, beſides alſo that the citizens kept *Aratus*, and helde him by force, ſaying that they would not let him venter him ſelfe in ſuch apparaunt daunger, their enemies being ſo neere vnto them. Moreouer, the women and litle children hong about him, weeping, and compaſſing him about, as their common father and ſauior. But *Aratus* comforting them, bad them not be affrayed, and ſo tooke his horſe, with ten of his frends (and his ſonne that was a young ſtripling growen) and went towards the ſea, and imbarked in certaine ſhippes that roade at ancker. Thence he ſailed vnto ÆGIVM, where the diet or parlament was kept: and there it was reſolued, that they ſhould ſende for *Antigonus*, and deliuer the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe into his hands. And ſo it was performed: for *Aratus* ſent thither his owne ſonne among the other oſtages. The CORINTHIANS were ſo ſore offended withall, that they made hauocke of his goods, and gaue his houſe he had in CORINTHE, vnto king *Cleomenes*. So king *Antigonus* being onwardes on his way to come into PELOPONNESVS with his armie, bringing with him twentie thowſand footemen, all MACEDONIANS, & foure hundred horſemen: *Aratus*, with the greateſt ſtates and officers of the ACHAIANS, vnwitting to their enemies, went to meete him, as farre as the citie of PEGES, hauing no great truſt nor confidence in *Antigonus*, nor the MACEDONIANS. For he remembred verie well, that he came firſt to his greatnes, by the iniuries he had offered them: and howe that the chiefeſt cauſe of his riſing, was the malice he bare vnto olde *Antigonus*. Howbeit, making vertue of neceſſitie, and weying the inſtant occaſion of their preſent extremitie: (of Gouernors, to be driuen to be ſubiects) he put him ſelfe in aduenture. So, when *Antigonus* was tolde that *Aratus* was comen in perſon to him: hauing with good countenance after a common ſort ſaluted thoſe that came in his companie: to *Aratus* ſelfe at his firſt comming he gaue him an honorable welcome and enter-

The citie of Corinth yeelded vp vnto Cleomenes.

Aratus, in great daunger for his contrie.

King Cleomenes curteſie vnto Aratus.

The Achaiãs do ſend for king Antigonus.

Gouernors obey neceſſitie. Antigonus honorable entertainment to Aratus.

A enterteinment. Afterwardes alſo, finding him a good and diſcreete man: he fell into inward frendſhippe and familiaritie with him. For *Aratus* was not onely skilfull to geue direction in matters of ſtate touching good order and gouernment: but moreouer, his companie & conuerſation was verie pleaſaunt, to entertaine a Princes leaſure with. Wherefore though *Antigonus* was but young at that time, yet ſeeing throughly into *Aratus* nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and eſteemed about a Prince: he vſed his counſell and aduiſe more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely touching the affaires of the ACHAIANS, but of the MACEDONIANS alſo. And ſo all things came to paſſe, which the goddes had promiſed in their ſacrifices. For in a beaſt that was ſacrificed, there were two galles wrapped in one ſelfe cawle: the which the Soothſayers interpreted did prognoſticate, that two which B before were mortall enemies, ſhould nowe become aſſured frendes. But *Aratus* made no account of their prediction, neither did alſo geue any credit to the ſacrifices, but truſted more to his owne determination. So, the warres afterwardes hauing good ſucceſſe, and *Antigonus* making a feaſt in the citie of CORINTHE, where he had bidden many gheſts: he would nedes haue *Aratus* lye vpon him at the table, and a litle while after, commaunded his men to bring him a couerlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a colde. *Aratus* aunſwered him, it freezed. Then *Antigonus* bad him come neerer him: & when the ſeruaunts brought a couerlet for the king, they caſt it ouer them both. Then *Aratus* remẽbring the ſacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the king what a wonder he had ſeene in the ſacrifice, & what interpretation the Soothſayers made of it. This was long after. So, *Antigonus* and *Aratus* being at that time in C the citie of PEGES, they were ſworne brethren together: and then went both with all ſpeede againſt the enemies. Thus there fell out hot skirmiſhes betwene them, hard by the citie of CORINTHE. For *Cleomenes* was verie well fortified, and the CORINTHIANS valliantly defended them ſelues. In the meane time, *Ariſtoteles* of ARGOS, (*Aratus* frend) ſecretlie ſent him word, that he would make the citie rebell, if he came him ſelfe with any number of ſouldiers. *Aratus* tolde it vnto king *Antigonus*, who gaue him fifteene hundred men, with the which he imbarked, and paſſed ouer with great ſpeede from the *Iſthmus* (or barre in the ſtraight) vnto the citie of EPIDAVRVM. Howbeit the ARGIVES taried not *Aratus* comming, but were all vp before he came, and did ſet vpon king *Cleomenes* men, and had driuen them into the caſtell. *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed of it, and fearing leaſt his enemies (keeping the citie of ARGOS) D ſhould cut of his way from returning into his contrie againe with ſafetie if he were driuen to a ſtraight: he forſooke the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the citie of ARGOS. So he came thither in time, and ouerthrewe certeine of his enemies. But ſhortly after, *Aratus*, and king *Antigonus* both being comen thither with all their aide, *Cleomenes* was driuen to flie to the citie of MANTINEA. After the recouery againe of the citie of ARGOS, all the reſidue of the cities of PELOPONNESVS did againe returne to the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* tooke the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe. So *Aratus* being choſen Generall by the ARGIVES, he counſelled them to preſent *Antigonus* with all the tyrans goodes, and thoſe that had bene traitors to the common wealth. And after they had cruellie tormented the tyran *Ariſtomachus* in the citie of CENCHREES, in the ende they caſt him into the ſea, E and drowned him. *Aratus* was maruelouſlie reproued for his death, that he woulde ſuffer the poore man to be ſo vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleaſure: who through his perſwaſion willinglie reſigned vp his tyrannie, and deliuered the city of ARGOS vnto the ACHAIANS. But beſides this, they blamed him for many other things elſe. For that the ACHAIANS through his meanes had put the citie of CORINTHE into *Antigonus* hands, as though it had bene ſome meane village: for that when they had ſacked the citie of ORCHOMENE, they ſuffered him to place a garriſon of the MACEDONIANS there: for that they had enacted by parlament, that they ſhould neither write, nor ſende Ambaſſadors any whether, without *Antigonus* priuitie and conſent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to geue pay to the MACEDONIANS: for that they made ſacrifices, feaſtes, and games F vnto *Antigonus*, as if he had bene a god, following the example of *Aratus* citizens, who were the firſt that began, and had receiued *Antigonus* into the city by the perſwaſion of *Aratus*, that lodged and feaſted him in his owne houſe. With all theſe faults they burdened *Aratus*, and

A wōder ſhewed to Aratus.

Antigonus and Aratus ſworne brethren.

The citie of Argos reuolted from Cleomenes.

Ariſtomachus drowned in the ſea.

Aratus infamie for Ariſtomachus.

considered not that after they had put the reynes of the gouernment into *Antigonus* hand, *Aratus* him selfe (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the swing of the vnbridled Prince, hauing no other meanes to stay it, but onely the libertie of speache to admonish him: and that also was not to be exercised, without apparant and great daunger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against *Aratus* minde, as amongest others: that *Antigonus* caused the tyrans images of ARGOS to be set vp, which he had before pulled downe: and also that he made them to be ouerthrowen, which *Aratus* had set vp for those that had taken the castell of CORINTHE, and onely left *Aratus* owne statue, notwithstanding all the earnest intreaty *Aratus* made to the contrarie, yet he could get no graunt of any thing he requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the ACHAIANS delt not so frendly with the MANTINIANS, as became GRÆCIANS one to an other. For they hauing the citie in their handes by *Antigonus* meanes, did put all the noblest and chiefest men of MANTINEA to death, others they solde as slaues, and sent the rest into MACEDON with irons on their legges, and brought the poore women & children into bondage, and sold them for slaues: and of the money they got by spoile, they deuided the third parte among them selues, and left the other two partes vnto the MACEDONIANS. Nowe surely it can not be sayd, but this was done for some cruell reuenge. For though it was an ouergreat crueltie, in rage & passion of minde, to handle people of one selfe blood and language in this lamentable sorte: yet, as *Simonides* saith, when men are driuen and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to ease their great stomackes inflamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards vnto the citie, no man can excuse *Aratus*, nor say that he was either driuen to it by necessitie, or that he had otherwise any honest occasion to doe it. For king *Antigonus* hauing geuen the citie of MANTINEA vnto the ARGIVES, they determined to make it a Colonie, and chose *Aratus* their Generall: who made a decree, that thenceforth the citie should no more be called MANTINEA, but ANTIGONIA, as it beareth name vnto this day. Thus it seemeth that gentle MANTINEA (for so the Poets called it) was vtterlie destroyed, and bare the name of an other citie through *Aratus* meanes, preferring the name of him that destroied the city, & did put all the inhabitants of the first to death. After that, king *Cleomenes* being ouerthrowen in a great battell by the citie of SELLASIA, he left the citie of SPARTA, and fled into ÆGYPT. So *Antigonus* hauing vsed *Aratus* with all kind of honorable curtesie, he returned againe into MACEDON. There falling sicke, he sent *Philip* that should succeede him in the kingdom (being a young strippling growen) into PELOPONNESVS, and straightly charged him speciallie to followe *Aratus* counsell, and to imploy him when he would speake vnto the cities, and become acquainted with the ACHAIANS. So *Aratus* hauing receiued him in that sorte, made him so well affected and louing towardes him, that he sent him againe into MACEDON, being throughlie determined to make warres with GRÆCE. So after the death of *Antigonus*, the ÆTOLIANS beganne to despise the careles nesse and cowardlinesse of the ACHAIANS (bicause that they being acquainted to be defended by straungers, and hauing bene altogether gouerned by the armies of the MACEDONIANS, they liued verie idlely & dissolutely) whereupon they tooke vpon them to make them selues Lords of PELOPONNESVS. So they assembled an armie, and by the way as they went, they onely tooke some pray and spoyle vpon the lands of the PATRÆIANS, and the DYMÆIANS: but inuading the territorie of MESSINA with all their armie, they destroyed the whole contrie before them. *Aratus* being angrie withall, and perceiuing that *Timoxenus* (who at that time was Generall of the ACHAIANS) did still tract and delay time in vaine, bicause he was vpon his going out of his yeare: he being appointed Generall for the yeare following, did anticipate his time fiue dayes before, to goe and aide the MESSENIANS. Wherefore, leauing an armie of the ACHAIANS, whose persons were nowe neither exercised in armes, nor yet had any desire to goe to the warres: he was ouerthrowen by the citie of CAPHYES. Nowe, bicause it was thought that he went somewhat too hottely and coragiously to the warres, he so extreamely cooled againe, and left things in such case, that all hope being cast a side, he suffred the ÆTOLIANS in maner to tread PELOPONNESVS vnder their feete, before his eyes, with all the insolencie and crueltie that might be possible, notwithstanding that they sundrie times gaue him great aduauntages of them. Thus were the ACHAIANS once againe forced to pray aide out of

Mantinea, called Antigonia, by Aratus decree.

Aratus ouerthrowen in battell, by the citie of Caphyes.

A of MACEDON, and to send for young king *Philippe* to make warres in GRÆCE: hoping for the loue he bare vnto *Aratus*, and the great trust he had in him, that he woulde vse them gently, and doe as they woulde haue him. But then first of all beganne *Apelles*, *Megareus*, and a few other Courties to accuse *Aratus*: vnto whome king *Philippe* geuing easie eare, he procured that one *Eparatus*, of contrarie faction vnto *Aratus*, was chosen Generall by the ACHAIANS. Howebeit this newe Generall *Eperatus* beinge extreamelie hated by the ACHAIANS, and *Aratus* also leauinge to deale any more with matters of state: no acte was done to any purpose. Whereuppon king *Philippe* findinge his faulte, returned againe vnto *Aratus*, and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his affaires prospered in all things he went about, he then lette him alone withall, as from whome came all his honour and B greatnesse. Thereuppon euerie man esteemed *Aratus* a wise Gouernour, not onely to rule a common wealth, but also a whole realme and kingdome. For his manners, intent, and chiefest purpose appeared, in the deedes of this young king, as a riche colour that did sette foorth and beawtifie them. For the clemencie this young Prince *Philippe* vsed to the LACEDÆMONIANS, that had offended him: the great curtesie he shewed to the CRETANS, whereby in fewe dayes he wanne all the Ile of CRETA: and the iorney he made against the ÆTOLIANS, which was a wonderfull great exployt: wanne the Prince great fame, for following good counsell, and *Aratus* accounted to be a wise Gouernour, and of deepe vnderstanding. Nowe the kings flatterers enuying *Aratus* more then before, and perceiuing that they got no good by secret backebyting of him: they then beganne with open mouth verie insolentlie to reuile him at the table, and with great derision: insomuch as one night going home C to his tent after supper, they pelted him with stones all the way as he went. King *Philippe* when he knewe it, was so offended therewith, that he did condemne them in the summe of twentie talentes: and afterwardes also, bicause they troubled his affaires, he did put them to death. But king *Philippe* in the ende being puffed vp with the good fortune and successe of this warre, which prospered as he woulde haue it: he then grewe to be couetous, and beganne to shewe his naughtie nature, and to bewray his dissimulacion wherewith he disguised him selfe: and by litle and litle to make his vices plainlie to appeare. For first of all, he abused young *Aratus* wife, which was kept secret a long time, bicause he lay in their house, and beganne dayly to growe more seuere and cruell to the common weales: and then the D worlde sawe plainlie, that he cared no more for *Aratus*. For the first suspicion and beginning of the mistrust he had of *Aratus*, came for that which was done at MESSINA. For the MESSENIANS being fallen together by the eares, and in great ciuill warres one with an other: *Aratus* went thither to make peace betwene them. Howebeit king *Philippe* came thither the next day following, and in steade of pacifying the quarrell, he set them further out together then they were before. First he asked the Gouernours of the citie, and if they had no lawes to bridle the insolencie and stomacke of the common people: and priuatelie also talked with the heades of the faction of the people, and asked them if they had not handes to defende them selues from tyrannes. So both the one and the other faction trusting to kinge *Philippe*, the Gouernours woulde haue layed holde of the Orators of the ciE tie: but they rising with the common people, slewe of their Nobilitie and Magistrates, well neere two hundred of them. *Aratus* that came soone after this fact, shewed that he was greatlie offended with king *Philippe*, and caused his sonne with open mouth shamefullie to reproue him. Nowe it seemed that this younge *Aratus* was in loue with king *Philippe* before: but then he tolde him before all the people, that for this shamefull acte he had done, he thought him nowe no more fayer of face, but the fowlest creature that coulde be. *Philippe* made no aunswere to it, although euerie man looked he woulde haue aunswered him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reproued him, he byt it in with his teeth: but as if he had not bene offended at all with the bigge wordes his sonne had spoken against him, for that he was a ciuill man, and mylde of nature, he tooke *Aratus* the father by the hande, and F caried him out of the Theater where the assemblie was kept, to the castell of Ithome, to doe sacrifice there to *Iupiter*, and to see the forte. This forte was of no lesse strength then the castell of the Acrocorinthe: and when any garrison is in it, it keepeth all the contrie about

The Achaiãs sent for king Philip Antigonus sonne.

Aratus a wise counseller. Euer, the companion of vertue.

The beginning of displeasure betwene Aratus and Philip.

The deepe dissimulacion and double dealing of king Philip.

Aratus the sonnes wordes vnto Philip.

it in obedience, and beſides, it is verie hard to driue them out of it. Now *Philip* being gotten vp into that caſtell, he did ſacrifice there: and when the Soothſayer had brought him the intralls of the oxe which they had ſacrificed, he tooke it him ſelfe with both his hands and ſhewed them vnto *Aratus*, and to *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, now turning to the one, then vnto the other, and asked them what they iudged of theſe ſignes of the ſacrifice: whether he ſhoulde keepe the caſtell to him ſelfe, or elſe deliuer it to the MESSENIANS. *Demetrius* ſmyling aunſwered him: if thou beeſt of the Soothſayers minde, then thou ſhalt deliuer it vp: but if thou haſt a kinges minde in thee, thou ſhalt then holde the oxe by both hornes. (By the oxe, he ment the contrie of PELOPONNESVS, and moreouer, that if he kept both theſe caſtells of Ithome, and the Acrocorinthe, all PELOPONNESVS were wholly at his commaundement.) *Aratus* ſtill held his peace, and ſayd not a word. In the end, *Philip* praying him to ſpeake he ſaid. A B

The wiſe anſwere of Aratus vnto king Philip, touching the ſafetie of a Prince.

In CRETA, and in the contrie of the BOEOTIANS and PHOCIANS, there are many ſtrong caſtells ſcituated on high hills from the vallies. Moreouer, there are alſo many places of great ſtrength in the marches of the ACARNANIANS, both within maine land, as alſo vpon the ſea coaſt: of all the which thou haſt not taken one of them by force, and yet they all doe willinglie obey thee notwithſtanding. It is for theeues to hyde their heades in high rockes & mountaines: but a king can haue no ſtronger caſtell, then the loue, faith, and good will of men. That is it that opened the ſea of CRETA. That is it that hath brought thee into PELOPONNESVS. Thoſe are the meanes which haue made thee being ſo young a man, ſome of them to chooſe thee their Captaine, and others alſo to make thee their abſolute Lorde and Maiſter. *Aratus* going on with his tale, *Philippe* gaue the intralls againe to the Soothſayer that brought them, and taking *Aratus* by the hand, (as if by force he had caſt him out of the caſtell, and had alſo taken the citie of MESSINA from him) ſayd vnto him: come on then, lette vs euen take that courſe. But after that time, *Aratus* came as litle to the Court as might be, and ſo by litle and litle left *Philippes* companie. For when he went to make warre in the realme of EPIRVS, he was earneſtlie in hand with *Aratus* to goe that iorney with him. But *Aratus* prayed him to hold him excuſed, and ſo remained at home, being affrayed to be brought into an euill name with *Philippes* doings. For *Philippe* afterwards hauing ſhamefullie loſt his armie by ſea, againſt the ROMANES, & beſides, hauing had alſo verie euill ſucceſſe in all other his affaires: he returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, & thought once more to haue deceiued the MESSENIANS. But when they founde his practiſe, then he beganne with open force to ſpoyle their contrie. C D

Aratus the father forſooke Philippe.

Aratus then flatlie fell out with *Philip*, and vtterly refuſed his frendſhip, for that he perceiued then the iniurie he had done his ſonnes wife, the which grieued him to the harte, but yet he made not his ſonne priuie to it: bicauſe he coulde gette no other amendes, then to knowe what iniurie had bene done to him, conſidering that he had no way nor meanes to be reuenged. For, king *Philip* was maruelouſly changed, and from a curteous and chaſt young Prince, becomen a vitious and cruell tyran: the which to ſpeake truely, was not a chaunge or alteracion in nature, but a manifeſt declaracion (when he was no more affrayed of any man) of his wicked and deueliſh mind, the which through feare had of long time bene kept ſecret. Now, to proue that *Philips* firſt loue and good will he bare vnto *Aratus*, was alſo mingled with feare and reuerence: that which he did afterwards vnto him did plainly ſhew it. For he being deſirous to put *Aratus* to death, not thinking him ſelfe free ſo long as he liued, neither king, nor tyran: he durſt not goe about to kill him him ſelfe, but procured one of his Captaines called *Taurion*, and commaunded him to make him away as ſecretly as he could poſſible, & ſpecially with poyſon, in his abſence. This *Taurion* fell in frendſhip with *Aratus*, and poyſoned him with no violent poyſon, but ſo tempered & qualified it, as it did by litle and litle heate the bodie, and procure a pretie coffe which brought him into a conſumption. *Aratus* knewe he was poyſoned, but bicauſe he ſawe it booted not to bewray it, he bare it pacientlie, and made no words of it, as if he had had ſome naturall diſeaſe about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefeſt frends being in his chamber with him, who wondred to ſee him ſpit blood as he did: he told him, frēd *Cephalon* mine, this is the reward of a kings loue. So he died of this poiſon in the city of ÆGIVM, being the ſeuenteenth time choſen Generall of the ACHAIANS: who would haue had him buried in the ſelfe ſame place, and haue made ſome honorable monument for him, worthy E F

Philip of a curteous Prince, became a cruell tyran.

Aratus poyſoned by king Philippes meanes.

A kinges frendſhippe daungerous. The death of Aratus.

A worthie of his noble life. But the SICYONIANS thinking them ſelues diſhonored, if his body were buried any where elſe but in their owne citie: they ſo perſwaded the counſell of the ACHAIANS, that they ſuffered them to take *Aratus* bodie with them. Yet was there an auncient law that forbad buriall within the walls of the citie, of any maner of perſon whatſoeuer: and beſides that law, they had a certaine ſuperſtitious feare in them that made them they durſt not. Whereuppon they ſent to *Apolloes* temple at DELPHES, to aske counſell of his Nunne that gaue the Oracles, who made them this aunſwere.

A law for buriall among the Sicyoniant.

The Oracle for Aratus buriall.

Thou happie ſoile of Sicyon, Aratus natiue place,
VVhereas thou askeſt counſell in that noble Captaines caſe,
For keeping of a yeareminde and for making feaſtfull dayes
B *In honor of that vvorthie vvight, to laſt henceforth alvvaies:*
If any hinder your intent through fondnes or through ſpight,
Both ſea and land and heauen it ſelfe vvill punish that ſame vvight.

This Oracle being brought, all the ACHAIANS were maruelous glad of it, but the SICYONIANS ſpeciallie: who preſentlie chaunging their mourning into publike ioy, they caried the bodie from the citie of ÆGIVM, & brought it home as in maner of proceſſion, in white robes, and garlands of flowers on their heades, ſinging hymnes and ſonges of ioy, and daunſing, till they came to the citie of SICYONE. And there they choſe out the chiefeſt place, and buried him as their founder, father, and ſauior of their citie: and the place is called at this preſent time, ARATIVM. There they yearely make two ſolemne ſacrifices, the one the fift of Nouem-

Aratium.

C ber, at which time he deliuered the citie of SICYONE from tyrannie, & they call this ſacrifice Soteria, as much to ſay, as the feaſt of health: and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the firſt ſacrifice, that was done by the Prieſt of *Iupiter* the ſauior. The ſecond ſacrifice alſo was done by *Aratus* ſonne, who was girt about with a cloth, not altogether white, but mingled with purple colour. So during the ſacrifice, they ſong hymnes vpon the harpe in praiſe of him, and the maiſter of the Muſitians made a proceſſion round about, being accompanied with boyes and young men of the citie, after whom followed the Senate crowned with garlands of flowers, and other citizens that were diſpoſed to goe a proceſſion. Howbeit the moſt part of the honors that were appointed to be done vnto him, were left of by proceſſe of time, & chaunge of things that followed afterwards. Thus you ſee what the life of *Aratus* the father

Yearely ſacrifices appointed to honor Aratus memorie.

D hath bene, as we find in hiſtories. Now *Philip* being a wicked man, and cruell of nature, cauſed his ſonne *Aratus* alſo to be poyſoned, not with a deadly poyſon, but with ſuch poyſon as troubleth a mans wits ſo, that through their deueliſh receit, he becometh a ſtarke foole without any wit at all, and maketh him to attempt ſtraunge and abhominable things, and to haue certaine ſhamefull and deteſtable deſires: inſomuch as his death (though he dyed in the pryme of his youth) could not be thought miſerable, but rather a happy deliuerance to him of all his miſeries and miſhappes. But *Philip* afterwards, ſo long as he liued, payed vnto *Iupiter* (protector of all iuſtice and frendſhip) the puniſhment his wicked life deſerued. For, after he was ouercome in battell by the ROMANES, he was compelled to yeelde him ſelfe to their mercy, by

The miſerable death of Aratus the ſonne. Straunge kindes of poiſoning.

King Philip puniſhed for his wickednes.

whome he was depriued from all the reſt of his landes and dominions he had, and of all his

E ſhippes, but fiue only, and condemned beſides to pay a thowſand talents for a fine, and to giue his ſonne in hoſtage: and they only left him for pities ſake, the kingdom of MACEDON, with all the appertenaunces. And there he daily putting to death the chiefeſt of his nobilitie, and neereſt of blood vnto him: he filled his realme with crueltie and mortall hate againſt him. Furthermore, amongeſt ſuch a heape of euills, hauing but one onely ioy, to haue a vertuous ſonne: he put him to death, for ſpyte and malice that he ſaw the ROMANES honor him, & left his other ſonne *Perſæus* ſucceſſor of his realme: who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten ſonne, but taken for his ſonne, and borne of a taylors wife called *Gnathenium*. It is that *Perſæus* whom *Paulus AEmylius* ouercame and led in triumphe in ROME: and at him, the race of the kings diſcended from *Antigonus*, failed. Where the iſſue and offspring of *Aratus*, conti-

Perſæus king Philippes ſonne: whom Paulus AEmylius triumphed for in Rome.

F nueth yet vntill our time, in the cities of SICYONE, and PALLENA.

THE LIFE OF *Galba.*

Iphicrates saying what maner of man a Mercenarie souldier should be.

Phicrates the ATHENIAN Captaine sayd, that a mercenarie souldier A
should be couetous, a louer, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith
to maintaine his pleasure, he should be the vallianter, and readier to
put him selfe into any daunger. But most men thinke, that souldiers
should be as one entere strong body, that sturreth not of it selfe with-
out the mouing of the general. And to approue this opinion, it is said
that *Paulus AEmylius* arriuing in MACEDON, and finding the souldiers
full of words and curiositie (euerie man meddling with the affaires of
the General) he made open proclamacion, no man so hardy to medle
with his office and affaires, but euery man only to keepe his sword sharpe, and to be quicke of
hand against the enemy: and for the rest, to referre all to him, who would take sufficient order B
for things of his charge and gouernment. Therefore *Plato*, that saith it litle preuaileth to haue
a good and wise Captaine, if the souldiers also be not wise and obedient, thinking it as requi-
site for the vertue of obedience, to haue men of a noble minde and good education, as other-
wise it is meete for a Captaine to know how to direct and commaunde well, considering it is
that which with lenity & mildnes doth mitigate all fury and choller: he hath diuers other ex-
amples and sufficient proofes to proue his words true, and namely, the great miseries and ca-
lamities which came to the ROMANES after the death of *Nero*, do plainly shew, that nothing
is more daungerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, then a great armie liuing licentiouslie and
disorderly. For *Demades* after the death of *Alexander* the great, compared *Alexanders* armie,
vnto *Cyclops Polyphemus* after his eye was put out: considering howe blindly and looselie they C
were gouerned. Howebeit the Empire of ROME being deuided into sundrie factions at one
selfe time, and rising against it selfe in many places, it fell into the like misfortunes and calami-
ties fained of the Poets by the TITANS: not so much through the ambiciousnes of the Em-
perours, as by meanes of the couetousnes & insolency of the souldiers, who draue the Empe-
rours out of their Imperiall seates one after an other, as one naile driueth out an other. And
Dionysius also the tyranne of SICILIA, was wont to call *Pheræus*, who had bene onely tyran of
THESSALY tenne monethes space: a tyran in a play, deriding his so sodaine chaunge of state.
But the Imperiall house of the *Cæsars* at ROME receiued foure Emperours, in lesse then tenne
monethes space, the souldiers now putting in one, and then taking out an other, as if they had
bene

AEmylius saying of souldiers.

Platoes saying of an armie.

Demades saying of Alexanders armie, after his death.

The Empire of Rome, whereto likened.

A bene in a play on a ſcaffolde. So that, the ROMANES being thus grieuouſlie oppreſſed, had yet this comfort: that they needed not to ſeeke to be reuenged of them that did oppreſſe them. For they ſawe one of them murther an other, and him firſt and moſt iuſtlie of all other murthered, that had firſt of all corrupted the ſouldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the chaunge of Emperours: and ſo deprauing a worthie deede of it ſelfe, which was their forſaking of *Nero:* and mingling it with briberie, made it plaine treaſon. For *Nymphidius Sabinus*, being Captaine of the Emperours gard, which are called the Prætorian ſouldiers, together with *Tigellinus*, when he ſaw *Nero* in diſpaire of him ſelfe & of his eſtate, & that he was readie to flie into ÆGYPT: he perſwaded the gard they ſhoulde call *Galba* Emperour, as if *Nero* had not bene at ROME, but fled and gone, and promiſed euerie one ſeuen thowſande fiue hundred

Nymphidius Sabinus, and Tigellinus, betrayed Nero.

B Drachmas a peece. And to the reſt of the ſouldiers that were diſperſed vp and downe in garriſon vpon the prouinces, twelue hundred & fifty Drachmas a man. For the leauying of which ſumme, they could not poſſiblie doe it, but they muſt needes commit tenne thowſand times more extorcion to euery bodie, then *Nero* had done. This large promiſe made them preſently put *Nero* to death, and ſhortly after him, *Galba* him ſelfe alſo. For the ſouldiers forſooke *Nero*, for the hope they had to receiue this promiſed gift: and ſhortlie after they ſlewe the ſecond, which was *Galba*, bicauſe they receiued not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwards alſo, in ſeeking who ſhould ſtill feede them with like gifts, before they could obtaine their wiſhed hope, one of them deſtroyed an other by treaſon and rebellion. But nowe to ſet downe all thinges particularlie which hapned at that time, it were to wryte one whole entere

The hope of gifts deſtroied the Empire of Rome.

C hiſtorie: and therefore, I will content my ſelfe, not to paſſe ouer wih ſilence the notableſt deedes and lamentable calamities which happened at that time vnto the *Cæſars*.

It is manifeſtly knowen to all men, that *Sulpitius Galba* of a priuate man, was the richeſt and wealthieſt that came to be in the number of the *Cæſars*: who, though he came of a verie noble houſe, deriuing him ſelfe from the race and family of the *Seruij*: yet he was honored the more, bicauſe he was a kinne vnto *Quintus Catulus*, who for vertue and eſtimacion, was one of the chiefeſt men of his time, albeit that otherwiſe, he willingly rezined his authoritie and power vnto others. So *Galba* thereby was ſomwhat a kinne vnto *Liuia*, the wife of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and therefore for her ſake he came out of the Emperours pallace, when he went to take poſſeſſion of his Conſulſhippe. Moreouer, it is reported, that when he had charge of the armie in GER-

The wealth and nobility of Galba.

D MANIE, he did valliantlie behaue him ſelfe. And in the gouernment of LIBYA alſo, where he was Viceconſul, he did as honorablie behaue him ſelfe, as any man whatſoeuer. Howbeit his meane and ſimple ordinary of dyet, voyde of all exceſſe, was imputed miſery & niggardlines in him, when he was proclaimed Emperour: bicauſe the praiſe of ſober & temperate diet which he would haue brought in vſe, was then ſo raw a thing, that it was taken for a new & ſtraunge deuiſe. He was ſent Gouernor alſo into SPAYNE by *Nero*, before he had learned to be affrayed of the citizens of great authority: howbeit, beſides that he was of a curteous & gentle nature, his age moreouer increaſed the opinion they had of him, that he was timerous and feareſull. For when the wretched officers of *Nero* did cruelly vexe & torment the prouinces, and that it lay not in *Galba* any way to help them: yet was it ſome comfort to them, which were iudged &

Galbaes maners.

Galbaes curteſie.

E ſold as ſlaues by the officers, to ſee that *Galba* did lament the miſeries & calamities they endured, as if they had bene done vnto him ſelfe. So when any ſlaunderous rymes were made againſt *Nero*, which were ſong vp and downe in euerie place: he would neither forbid them, nor yet was offended, as *Neroes* officers were. Therefore he was maruelouſlie beloued in the contrie, with them that were acquainted with him: bicauſe he was then in the eight yeare of his gouernment as Proconſul amongeſt them, at which time *Iunius Vindex* being Proprætor of GAVLE, rebelled againſt *Nero*, who as it is reported, had written vnto *Galba*, before he entred into open action of rebellion. But *Galba*, did neither beleue him, nor alſo accuſe & bewray him,

Iunius Vindex rebelled againſt Nero.

F as diuers others which were gouernors of armies & prouinces did: who ſent *Vindex* letters vnto *Nero* which he him ſelfe had written vnto them, & ſo did as much as in them lay to hinder the enterpriſe, who afterwards being of the conſpiracy did confeſſe they were traitors to them ſelues, as much as vnto him. Howbeit, when *Vindex* afterwards had proclaimed open warre againſt *Nero*, he wrote againe vnto *Galba*, & praied him to take the Imperiall crowne vpon him,

and to become the head of a ſtrong and mightie bodie (which were the GAVLES) that lacked nothing but a head and Gouernor, being a hundred thowſand fighting men ready armed, and might alſo leauie a great number more of them. Then *Galba* conſulted thereuppon with his frends, & among them, ſome were of opinion that he ſhould ſtay a while, to ſee what change and alteracion would grow at ROME vpon this ſturre. Howbeit *Titus Iunius*, Captaine of the Prætorian band, ſaid vnto him: O *Galba*, what meaneth this ſo doutfull a deliberacion? Be not we wiſe men to call in queſtion, whether we ſhall allowe of *Vindex* frendſhip, or accuſe him? Yea, and with armes perſecute him, that deſired rather to haue thee Emperour, then *Nero* tyranne ouer the eſtate of ROME? Afterwardes *Galba* by bills ſet vp euerie where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchiſe ſuche as woulde make ſute for it. This rumor flying ſtraight abroad, he gathered a great number of ſouldiers together, that were verie willing to rebell: and he was no ſooner gotten vp into the tribunall or chaire of ſtate, but all the ſouldiers did ſalute him, by the name of Emperour. Howbeit he was not content with this name at the firſt, but accuſing *Nero*, and lamenting the deathes of the nobleſt men whome he had cruellie put to death: he promiſed that he would imploy his beſt wit and diſcreſſion to the ſeruice and benefit of his contrie, neither naming him ſelfe *Cæſar*, nor Emperour, but only Lieutenant to the Senate, and ſtate of ROME. Now, that *Vindex* did wiſelie to call *Galba* to be Emperour, *Nero* him ſelfe in his doings doth witneſſe it. Who hauing alwayes made a countenance as though he paſſed not for *Vindex*, & that he wayed not the rebellion of the GAVLES: when it was told him that *Galba* was called Emperor, he being thē at ſupper, for ſpight he ouerthrew the table. Moreouer, though the Senate had iudged *Galba* an enemie, yet *Nero* to be pleaſaunt with his frends, made as though he was nothing affrayed of it, and ſaid, this newes made all for him, bicauſe he ſtoode in neede of money, & alſo that it was a happy occaſion offred him to helpe him withall. For ſayd he, we ſhall ſoone haue all the GAVLES goodes, as the ſpoyle of a iuſt warre, after we haue once againe ouercomen and conquered them: and moreouer, *Galbaes* goods alſo would quickly be in his hands, that he might ſell them, conſidering that he was become his open enemy. So he preſently commaunded *Galbaes* goods ſhould be openly ſold, to them that would giue moſt. *Galba* vnderſtanding that, did alſo by ſound of trompet ſell all *Neroes* goods he had in all the prouince of SPAYNE, and did alſo finde more men readier to buy, then there were goods to ſell. Daily men roſe againſt *Nero* in euery contry, who tooke *Galbaes* parte, *Clodius Macer* only excepted in AFRICK, and *Verginius Rufus* in GAVLE, both of them hauing charge of legions appointed for the ſafe keping of GERMANY: and both of them did follow ſeueral directions by them ſelues, varying in minde & intent. For *Clodius Macer* hauing robbed much, & put diuers men alſo to death through his cruelty & couetouſnes: he ſhewed plainly, that he ſwamme betwene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet kept it. *Verginius* alſo on the other ſide, being Generall ouer great & mighty legions, who had ſundry times called him Emperour, & did in maner force him to take vpon him the name and Empire: he notwithſtanding did euer aunſwere them, that he neither minded to take the Empire vpon him, nor yet to ſuffer any other to do it, then ſuch as the Senate ſhould chooſe and call vnto the ſame. This at the firſt ſomwhat amazed *Galba*. But when both the armies of *Vindex* and *Verginius*, in ſpight of their Captaines (who could not ſtay nor keepe them backe, no more then cochmen can keepe backe the horſe with their bridells) were ioyned in a great battell together, where were ſlaine twenty thowſand GAVLES in the field, and *Vindex* alſo ſlue him ſelfe ſhortly after: it was geuen out, that the conquerors after ſo great a victory obtained, would cōpell *Verginius* to take vpon him to be Emperour, or elſe that they would take *Neroes* part againe. Then *Galba* being not a litle perplexed, wrote vnto *Verginius*, & perſwaded him to ioyne with him, to hold vp the Empire & liberty of the ROMANES, & thereupon fled ſtraight into a city of SPAYNE called * COLONIA, rather repēting him of that he had done, & wiſhing for his wonted peaceable & quiet life wherwith he was brought vp: then otherwiſe occupying him ſelfe about any neceſſary or proffitable thing for the furtherance of his enterpriſe. Now it was about the beginning of ſommer, and one day towards euening, there came to *Galba* one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, a SICILIAN borne, that was comen frō ROME in ſeuen daies: who vnderſtanding that *Galba* was alone, went preſently to his chamber dore & opened it, & cōming in

In this place the Greeke is corruptly red παιστων for παιστων.

Sulpitius Galba, ſaluted by the ſouldiers, as Emperour.

Galba iudged an enemie by the Senate of Rome, and his goods ſold by the crier.

Clodius Macer, Gouernor of Africke. Verginius Rufus, Gouernor of Gaule. Verginius Rufus called Emperour.

*Colonia a citie of Spayne. * Others read Clunia.*

A in againſt the wils of the groomes of the chamber that ſtood at the dore, he told him that *Nero* being yet aliue, but ſene no more, firſt the people of ROME, & then the Senate, had proclaimed him Emperor: & that immediatly after, newes came that *Nero* was dead, the which he hardly beleuing notwithſtanding, went thither him ſelfe, ſaw his body layed out vpon the ground, & then made towards him with all ſpeede to bring him theſe newes. Theſe newes maruelouſly reuiued *Galba*, and a multitude of men thronged ſtraight about his dore, which began to be coragious, ſeing him liuely againe, although the ſpeede of the Meſſenger ſeemed incredible. Howbeit two dayes after, *Titus* alſo arriued, with certaine other of the campe, who told *Galba* perticulerly what the Senate had decreed in his behalfe. So, this *Titus* was called to great honor, and the ſlaue enfranchiſed had priuiledge giuen him to weare ringes of gold, and he was

B called *Martianus Vicellus*, who afterwards of all the infranchiſed bond men, became the chiefeſt man about his Maſter *Galba*. In the meane tyme, *Nymphidius* SABINE began at ROME, not couertly, but with open force, to take vpon him the abſolute gouernment of the Empire, perſwading him ſelf that *Galba* was ſo old, that he could hardly be brought in a lytter vnto ROME, being at the leaſt three ſcore and thirteene yeare olde: beſides alſo, that the army of the PRÆTORIANS which were in ROME, did beare him good will of long tyme, and then acknowledged none other Lord but him onely, for the large promiſe he had made them, for the which he receiued the thankes, and *Galba* remained the debter. So he preſently commaunded *Tigellinus*, his companion and Captaine with him of the army of the PRÆTORIANS, to leaue of his ſword: and diſpoſing him ſelfe to bancketing and feaſting, he ſent for all thoſe that had bene

C Conſuls, Prætors, or Proconſuls of prouinces, and made them all to be inuited in the name of *Galba*. So there were certaine ſouldiers gaue out this rumor in the campe, that they ſhould doe well to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto *Galba*, to praye him that *Nymphidius* might be their onely Captaine ſtill, without any companion ioyned with him. Furthermore, the honor and good will the Senate bare him, calling *Nymphidius* their benefactor, and going dayly to viſite him in his houſe, procuring him to be Author of all their decrees paſſed in Senate, and that he ſhould authoriſe them: this made him hie minded, and the bolder by much, inſomuch that ſhortly after, they that came to honor him in this ſort, did not onely hate and miſlike his doings, but moreouer he made them affrayd of him. Furthermore, when the Conſuls had giuen to commõ purſeuants any commiſſions vnder ſeale, or letters pattents ſignifying the decrees

D of the Senate, to cary them to the Emperor, by vertue of which letters pattents, when the officers of the citie doe ſee the ſeale, they ſtraight prouide the purſeuants of coches and freſhe horſes to further their ſpeede and haſty iorney: *Nymphidius* was very angrye with them, bicauſe they did not alſo come to him for his letters, ſealed by him and his ſouldiers, to ſende likewiſe vnto the Emperor. But beſides all this, it is alſo reported that he was like to haue depoſed the Conſuls: howbeit they excuſing them ſelues vnto him, and crauing pardon, did appeaſe his anger. And to pleaſe the Commons alſo, he ſuffred them to put any of *Neroes* friends to death they could meete withall. Amonge other, they ſlue a Fenſer called *Spicillus*, whome they put vnder *Neroes* ſtatues, which they dragged vp and downe the citie. Another alſo called *Aponius*, one of *Neroes* accuſers, they threw him to the ground, and draue carts ouer him

E loden with ſtones. And diuers others alſo, whom they ſlue in that manner: of the which, ſome had done no maner of offence. Hereuppon one *Mauriſcus*, one of the nobleſt men of the citie & ſo eſteemed, ſayd openly in the Senate. I feare me we ſhall wiſh for *Nero* againe, before it be long. So *Nymphidius* being comen in manner to the fulnes of his hope: he was very glad to heare that ſome repyned at him, bicauſe he was the ſonne of *Caius Cæſar*, that was the next Emperor after *Tiberius*. For this *Caius Cæſar*, when he was a young man, had kept *Nymphidius* mother, which had bene a fayer young woman, and the Daughter of one *Calliſtus*, one of *Cæſars* infranchiſed bond men, whome he had gotten of a Laundres he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this *Nymphidius* was borne before *Caius Cæſar* coulde knowe his mother, and men thought that he was begotten by a Fenſer called *Martianus*, with whome his mother

F *Nymphidia* fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in ROME, and in deede *Nymphidius* was liker to him in fauor, then vnto any other. So, he confeſſed that he was the ſonne of this *Nymphidia*, howbeit he did aſcrybe the glory of the death of *Nero* vnto him ſelfe, and

Nymphidius Sabine taketh vpon him to be Emperor.

Honors done to Nymphidius by the Senate, made him grow too bold and inſolent.

Neroes friends ſlayne at Rome, by Nymphidius commaundement.

The parentage of Nymphidius.

thought him ſelfe not ſufficiently recompenſed with the honors they gaue him, nether alſo A
with the goods he enioyed, nether for that he lay with *Sporus* whome *Nero* loued ſo dearely,
whome he ſent for to *Neroes* funeralls whileſt his bodye was yet a burning, and kept him with
him as if he had bene his wife, and called him *Poppæus*. Furthermore, all this did not content
him, but yet ſecretly he aſpyred to be Emperor, partly practiſing the matter in Rome it ſelfe,
by the meanes of certaine women and Senators which were ſecretly his friends: and partly
alſo through one *Gellianus*, whome he ſent into Spayne, to ſee how all thinges went there.
Howbeit after the death of *Nero*, all things proſpered with *Galba*, ſauing *Verginius Rufus* only,
who ſtoode doubtfull yet, and made him ſorely miſtruſt him, for that he was affrayd (beſides
that he was generall ouer a great and puiſant army, hauing alſo newly ouerthrowen *Vindex*,
and ſecretly ruling the beſt parte of the Empire of Rome, which was all Gavle, and then in B
tumult and vprore, ready to rebell) leſt he would harken vnto them that perſwaded him to
take the Empire to him ſelfe. For there was no Captaine of Rome at that tyme ſo famous, and
Verginius, a famous Captaine. of ſo great eſtimation as *Verginius*, and that deſeruedly, for that he had done great ſeruice to
the Empire of Rome in tyme of extreamitie, hauing deliuered Rome at one ſelfe tyme from
a cruell tyranny, and alſo from the daunger of the warres of the Gavles. This notwithſtan-
ding, *Verginius* perſiſting ſtill in his firſt determination, referred the election of the Emperor
vnto the Senate: although, that after the death of *Nero* was openly knowen, the common
ſort of ſouldiers were earneſtly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the ſouldiers (other-
wiſe called a Colonel of a thowſand men) went into his tent with a ſword drawen in his hand,
and bad *Verginius* either determine to be Emperor, or els to looke to haue the ſworde thruſt C
into him. Yet after that *Fabius Valens*, Captaine of a legion, was ſworne vnto *Galba*, and that he
had receiued letters from Rome, aduertiſing him of the ordinaunce and decree of the Senate:
in thend, with much a doe, he perſwaded the ſouldiers to proclayme *Galba* Emperor, who ſent
Flaccus Ordeonius to ſucceede him, vnto whome he willingly gaue place. So, when *Verginius*
had deliuered vp his army vnto him, he went to meete with *Galba*, on whome he wayted, com-
ming on ſtill towards Rome. And *Galba* all that time neither ſhewed him euill countenance,
nor yet greatly eſteemed of him, *Galba* him ſelfe being cauſe of the one who feared him, and
his friends of the other, but ſpecially *Titus Iunius*: who for the malice he bare vnto *Verginius*,
thinking to hinder his riſing, did vnwittingly in deede further his good happe, and deliuered
him occaſion to draw him out of the ciuill warres and miſchieues, (the which lighted after- D
wards vpon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age.
Furthermore, Ambaſſadors were ſent from the Senate, and met with *Galba* at Narbona, a ci-
tie of Gavle: where after they had preſented their humble duetie, they perſwaded him to
make all the haſte he could poſſible to ſhew him ſelfe to the people of Rome, who were mar-
uelous deſirous to ſee him. *Galba* receiued them very graciouſly and curteouſly, & made them
great chere, howbeit very modeſtly notwithſtanding. For notwithſtanding that *Nymphidius*
had ſent him diuers Officers, and ſtore of *Neroes* moueables: yet he would neuer be ſerued
with any of them, at any feaſts or bankets he made, with other then his owne ſtuffe, wherein
he ſhewed his noble mind, and how he could maſter all vanitie. But *Titus Iunius* ſhortly after
told *Galba*, that this noble mind and ciuill moderation, without pride or pompe, was to lowly E
a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine reſpect of honeſtie that knewe not it
ſelfe, and became not his greatnes and maieſtie. So, he perſwaded him to vſe *Neroes* money &
ſtuffe, and to be ſumptuous and princely in his feaſts, without niggardlines. To conclude, the
The conditions of Titus Iunius. olde man *Galba* began plainely to ſhew that he would be ruled by *Titus Iunius*: who aboue all
other was extreame couetous, and beſides too much giuen to women. For when he was a
young man, the firſt time he went to the warres vnder *Caluiſius* Sabine, he brought his Cap-
taines wife (which liked good felowſhippe) diſguiſed like a ſouldier into the campe, into his
generalls tent (which the Romanes called Principia) and there was ſomewhat bold with her:
Wherefore *Caius Cæſar* committed him to priſon, but he eſcaped at his death. Another time,
when he ſupped with *Clodius Cæſar*, he ſtale a ſiluer pot. *Clodius* hearing of it, bad him againe to F
ſupper the next night: but he commaunded his men they ſhould giue him drinke in an ear-
then cruſe. Thus this theft (through *Cæſars* pleaſauntnes) ſeemed rather a matter of ſport, then

of

A of anger: howbeit the faultes which he committed afterwards through extreame couetouſ-
nes of money,(at what time he ruled *Galba*,and bare all the ſwaye about him) gaue vnto ſome
iuſt cauſe,and vnto others apparant culler of tragicall miſchieues, and greeuous calamities.
For *Nymphidius*,ſo ſoone as *Gellianus* was returned out of SPAYNE,whome he had ſent thither
to ſee what *Galba* did: he enforming him that *Cornelius Lacon* was Captaine of the gard and
houſe of the Emperor,and that *Titus Iunius* did all in all about him, and that he could neuer
be ſuffred to come neare *Galba*,nor to ſpeake with him a part,bicauſe thoſe which were about
Galba did miſtruſt him,& euer had an eye to him to ſee what he did, he was maruelouſly per-
plexed withall. Thereuppon he called for all the Centurions,Captaines, and pety Captaines
of the campe of the PRÆTORIAN army, and perſwaded them that *Galba* touching his owne
B perſon,was a good old and diſcreete man, howbeit that he did not follow his owne aduiſe &
counſell,but was ruled altogether by *Iunius* and *Lacon*, who marred all: and therefore, that it
were good before they came to be of greater power,and to haue ſuch great authoritie in ma-
neging the affayres of the Empire,as *Tigellinus* had before, to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Em-
peror in the name of all the campe,to tell him that in putting thoſe two men from about him,
he ſhould be the better welcome vnto ROME,and to all men els beſides. The Captaines vtter-
ly miſliked this deuiſe. For they thought it too ſtraunge, and beyond all reaſon, to ſeeme to
teache an old Emperor,as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to gouerne: &
to appoynt him what ſeruaunts and friends he ſhould keepe, and whome he ſhould truſt or
miſtruſt. *Nymphidius* perceiuing this,tooke another courſe,and wrote letters vnto *Galba* to ter-
C rifie him,one tyme ſending him word that he was maruelous euill beloued of many in ROME,
and that they were ready to rebell againſt him: an other tyme alſo, that the legions of GER-
MANY were reuolted, and that he vnderſtoode the like from the legions in IVRY and SYRIA.
And another tyme alſo, that *Clodius Macer* in AFRICK ſtayed all the ſhippes fraighted with
corne that were bownd for ROME. But in the ende, finding that *Galba* made no accompt of
him,and that he gaue no credit to his words nor writings: he determined firſt of all to ſet vp-
on him. Howbeit *Clodius Celſus*, borne in the citie of ANTIOCH, a wiſe man,and his faithfull
friend, diſſwaded him maruelouſly not to doe it: declaring vnto him, that he thought there
was no one houſe nor family in ROME that would call *Nymphidius*,*Cæſar*. Howbeit in contrary
manner, diuers others mocked *Galba* and ſpecially one *Mithridates* of the Realme of PONT,
D that ſayd he was a bald writhen man. For the ROMANES (ſayd he) haue him in deede now in
ſome eſtimation, but when they haue once ſeene him, they will thinke it a perpetuall ſhame
and reproche to our tyme,that he was called *Cæſar*. So they thought it good to bring *Nym-
phidius* about midnight into the campe,and there openly to proclayme him Emperor. How-
beit the chiefe Tribune of the ſouldiers called *Antonius Honoratus*, gathered his ſouldiers to-
gether in the night,and before them all did firſt openly reproue him ſelfe, and then them, for
that they had ſo often turned and chaunged in ſo ſhort time, without any wit or diſcretion,
hauing no iudgement to chuſe the beſt way, but to be pricked forward and caried headlong
in that ſort by ſome wicked ſpirit,which brought them out of one treaſon into another. And
yet (ſayd he) our firſt chaunge had ſome countenaunce of reaſon, to wete, the horrible vices
E and faultes of *Nero*: but now,wherein can we accuſe *Galba*, to haue any countenaunce to fal-
ſifie our faith vnto him? hath he ſlayne his mother? hath he put her to death? hath he ſhame-
fully played the tumbler or common player vpon a ſcaffold in the Theater? And yet for all
theſe vile parts,we neuer durſt once beginne to forſake *Nero*, but gaue credit to *Nymphidius*
words,who told vs that *Nero* had firſt forſaken vs, and that he was fled into ÆGYPT. What
ſhall we doe? Shall we kill *Galba* after *Nero*? what, ſhall we kill him that is a kinne to *Liuia*,to
make the ſonne of *Nymphidia* Emperor: as we haue already ſlayne the ſonne of *Agrippina*? or
ſhall we rather kill him that hath raſhly entred into this enterpriſe,and thereby to reuenge the
death of *Nero*,and to ſhewe our ſelues faithfull ſouldiers vnto *Galba*? All the ſouldiers yelded
ſtraight to the Colonells words,and therewith went to their other companions to perſwade
F them to keepe their faith & promiſe they auowed vnto the Emperor: ſo that they made ma-
ny of them reuolt againe from *Nymphidius*. Thereuppon the noyſe and cryes beeing great,
Nymphidius ſuppoſing (as ſome thought) that the ſouldiers did call for him,or els hoping be-

Nymphidius practiſes.

The oration of Antonius Honoratus, Tribune of the ſouldiers, vnto his mutinous ſouldiers.

Nymphidius aſpireth to be Emperor.

tymes to quenche this tumult, to ſtaye ſuch as were yet wauering: he went thither him ſelfe A
with great ſtore of torche light, and caried an oration in his hand, the which *Ciconius Varro*
had made for him, and the which he had learned without booke to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers.
But when he found the gates of the campe ſhut, and ſaw diuers men armed vpon the walls, he
began to be affrayd: and comming nearer, asked them what they ment by it, and by whoſe
commaundement they had armed them ſelues as they did. A anſwer was made him by them
all, that they did acknowledge no other Emperor but *Galba*: the which he ſeemed to like of,
and alſo commaunded them that followed him to doe the like, and therewithall drew nearer.
Whereuppon certaine of the ſouldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and
ſuffred him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit aſſoone as he was comen in, firſt
there was a dart throwen at him, the which one *Septimius* that went before him receiued vp- B
on his ſhield, & then others alſo came with their ſwords drawen in their hands to ſet on him,
Nymphidius Sabine ſlaine. and followed him as he fled into a ſouldiers cabbone, where they ſlue him. Then they layed
his body in an open place, and rayled it about, that euery man that would, might the next day
ſee it. So *Nymphidius* being ſlayne in this ſort, *Galba* vnderſtanding of his death, commaunded
The cruelnie of Galba. that all *Nymphidius* friendes and confederators that had not bene ſlayne at that tyme, ſhould
for his ſake be put to death, as in deede they were. Amongeſt them they ſlue *Ciconius* that had
made the oration for *Nymphidius*, and *Mithridates* alſo of PONT. Howbeit, though in deede
they had deſerued it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to commaund theſe men to be put
to death in that ſort, which were men of ſuch qualitie and calling as they were, without due
forme and order of lawe. For euery man ſtoode in good hope vpon the comming in of this C
new Emperor, to haue ſeene another manner of gouernment, then they had yet ſeene: how-
beit they were deceiued of their hope at the firſt choppe. But yet they miſliked this moſt of
Cornelius Tacitus calleth him Turpilianus. all, when he commaunded them to kill *Petronius Tertullianus*, that had bene Conſul, bicauſe
he was *Neroes* faithfull friend. But nowe for the death of *Clodius Macer*, whome *Trebonianus*
ſlue in AFRICK by his commaundement, and for *Fonteius* that was alſo ſlayne in GERMANY
by *Valens*: he had ſome reaſon to feare them, bicauſe they were in armes, and commaunded
great armies. But for *Tertullianus* that was an olde man, naked, and vnarmed: truely he ſhould
haue put him to his triall by law, if he would haue miniſtred iuſtice, the which he promiſed to
keepe at his firſt comming to the Imperial crowne. Herein they greatly reproued *Galba*. Now,
when he drew neare to ROME within fiue and twenty furlongs, he was compaſſed about with D
a multitude of Maryners and ſea faring men, that kept the high way on euery ſide, wandring
vp and downe in euery place. Theſe were the men whome *Nero* had gathered together into
one legion, and had taken them from the ower and made them ſouldiers. So they were come
thither to be ſuters to him, that he would allow them ſtill to be ſouldiers, and they preſſed ſo
arrogantly vpon him, that they would not ſuffer thoſe which came to the newe Emperor, to
Galba entred Rome with murder. ſee him, nor ſpeake with him: but they fell to tumult and vprore, crying out to haue enſignes
for their legion, and to be appoynted a place to lye in in garriſon. *Galba* referred them ouer to
another tyme, and bad them they ſhould then let him vnderſtand their demaund. They told
him againe, that this delay was a kind of deniall, and thereuppon fell to plaine mutinie, & fol-
lowed him with great cryes: inſomuch that ſome of them ſtuck not to draw out their ſwords. E
Then *Galba* commaunded the horſemen he had about him, to ſet vpon them. So there was
not a man of them that reſiſted, but ſome of them were ouerthrowen, and troden vnder their
horſe feete: & others alſo ſlaine as they fled. This was a very euil ſigne and preſage for him, to
enter into ROME with ſuch bloudſhed, vpon ſo many poore mens dead bodies as lay ſlayne on
the ground. Howbeit, where ſome before did deſpiſe and mock him for an old & feeble man,
euery man then was affraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, bicauſe he would ſhew
The vilenes of Galba. a great chaunge and alteracion from the vnreaſonable vaine gifts and expenſes of *Nero*: it ſee-
meth he did many vncomely things. As when one *Canus*, an excellent player on the recorder,
had played all ſupper tyme, bicauſe it was a maruelous ſweete Muſick to heare: he prayſed &
commended it maruelouſly, and commaunded one to bring him his casket, out of the which F
he tooke a few crownes, & put them into his hand, ſaying, that it was not money of the com-
mon treaſure, but of his owne. Furthermore, he gaue ſtraight commaundement that they
ſhould

A ſhould require and call backe againe the gifts *Nero* had geuen, and beſtowed vpon common players, minſtrells, wreſtlers, and people of ſuch kinde of facultie and profeſſion, and to leaue them only the tenth parte. But he got litle by this deuiſe. For the moſt parte of thoſe that had giftes geuen them, had ſpent and conſumed it all, as men that liue without any rule or order, and ſpent at night that which they get in the day: and beſides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them to reſtore it againe. But this was an endles worke, for things had bene ſo conueyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinite number of mens hands. But of all this, the ſhame and diſhonor returned to *Galba* him ſelfe, though the malice and hatred lighted on *Titus Iunius*: who only made the Emperour ſtraight laced to all others, whileſt he him ſelfe tooke vnreaſonably of all men, ma-
B king porteſale of euerie thing that came to hand. For *Heſiodus* the Poet ſayth: *Heſiodus ſaying.*

As vvell vvhen the veſſell is full that it ſpill,
As vvhen it is emptie, thirſt craueth drinke ſtill.

But *Iunius* perceiuing *Galba* to be olde and feeble, woulde wiſely take his fortune and time, while time ſerued, ſuppoſing it almoſt to be at an end, ſo ſoone as he beganne to enter into it. So in the meane time he did much diſhonor the poore old man, ouergreatlie abuſing (vnder cloke of his authoritie) the chiefeſt and waightieſt matters, in reprouing, or altogether hindering thoſe, the which the Prince him ſelfe had a good deſire to deale vprightly in, as to puniſh the officers of *Nero*. For he put ſome of them to death, among the which *Elius* was one, *Galba killeth Neroes ſeruants and officers.*
C and certaine other, as *Polyclitus*, *Petinus*, and *Patrobius*: whereat the people maruelouſlie reioiced, and cried out as they went to execucion through the market place, that it was a goodly and bleſſed proceſſion, and required *Tigellinus* of the goddes and men, that had bene chiefe maiſter and guide of all *Neroes* tyrannie. Howbeit the trimme man had gotten the vauntage, and had largely fed *Iunius* before: for afterwards he put poore *Tertullianus* to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated *Nero*, being as he was, & had neuer offended, nor was partaker of any of his wicked parts he played, when he was aliue. Wheras he that made *Nero* worthie of death, & that afterwards had alſo betrayed him: he was left alone, & nothing ſayd vnto him, being a manifeſt proofe to all others, that they ſhould not dout to hope to obteine any thing at *Titus Iunius* hands, ſo they fed him with gifts. For the common people of Rome neuer deſired thing ſo much, as to ſee *Tigellinus* to be caried to execucion: and they neuer left crying
D out to demaund him in all aſſemblies of the Theater or ſhew place, vntil ſuch time as the Emperour *Galba* did forbid them by proclamacion, the which declared that *Tigellinus* would not liue long, bicauſe he was ſicke of a conſumption of the lungs, which by litle & litle did weare him to nothing: and *Galba* prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloodie. The people were much offended with this, but yet they ſeemed to laugh at it: and *Tigellinus* did ſacrifice to the goddes for his health & ſafetie, and prepared a ſumptuous feaſt. Where *Iunius* riſing from ſupper, being ſet by the Emperour, went vnto *Tigellinus* to be merie with him, and tooke his daughter being a widdow with him, vnto whom *Tigellinus* dranke, and offred her a gift of fiue and twentie Myriades of ſiluer: and commaunded one of his chiefeſt concubines to take a carcanet from her necke ſhe wore, and to geue it the o-
E ther, being worth fifteene Myriades. After he had handled the matter thus, thoſe things that were done vprightly and with iuſtice, were reproued and taken in euill part: as the thing that was graunted to the Gavles, bicauſe they did rebell with *Vindex*. For men thought that they were not diſcharged of the ſubſidies & taxes they were wont to pay, and that they were made free of Rome, ſo much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by *Iunius* meanes, of whom they had bought it. For theſe cauſes the people hated the Emperour *Galba*. Howbeit the ſouldiers ſtill liued in good hope, for the gift that was promiſed them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as muche as was promiſed them, they ſhould yet enioy as muche as *Nero* had geuen them. But *Galba* vnderſtanding that they com- *The noble ſaying of the Emperour Galba.*
F plained of him, he ſpake a word meete for ſo noble and worthie a Prince as he was: that he vſed to chooſe ſouldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the ſouldiers, it bred a maruelous mortall hatred in them againſt him: bicauſe they thought it was not only to take the gift away from them which they hoped preſently to haue receiued, but that it was alſo a *Galba offended the ſouldiers.*

preſident to teach the Emperours that ſhould come after him, what they ſhould doe. Howbeit the rebelling mindes of the Prætorian gard at ROME appeared not yet, but was ſecretlie kept in for the reuerence they bare vnto the maieſtie and perſon of *Galba*, who kept them that were deſirous to rebell, bicauſe they ſawe as yet no beginning of any chaunge or alteracion. This did ſomwhat ſmother and keepe in the ſhew of their wicked intent. But they which had before ſerued vnder *Verginius*, and were at that time vnder *Flaccus* in GERMANIE, thinking them ſelues worthie of great reward for the battell they had won againſt *Vindex*, and hauing nothing geuen them in recõpence: they would not be pleaſed with any thing their Captaine ſayd vnto them, neither did they make any accompt of *Flaccus*, bicauſe he coulde not ſturre him ſelfe, he was ſo plagued with the gowte, and beſides that, he had no maner of experience in warres. So one day when certaine ſportes were made, at the bringing in of the which, the Colonells and Captaines (according to the maner of the ROMANES) made prayers vnto the goddes for the health and proſperitie of the Emperour *Galba*: there were diuers of them that made a noyſe at the firſt, and afterwardes when the Captaines continued on their prayers, in the end the ſouldiers aunſwered, if he be worthie. The legions in like maner vnder *Tigellinus* charge, did oftentimes vſe ſuch inſolent partes: whereof *Galbaes* officers did aduertiſe him by letters. Wherefore *Galba* being affrayed, & miſtruſting that they did not only deſpiſe him for his age, but alſo bicauſe he had no children: he determined to adopt ſome young gentleman for his ſonne, of the nobleſt houſe of the citie of ROME, and to proclaime him his ſucceſſor in the Empire. At that time there was one *Marcus Otho*, of a noble houſe, but euer geuen to ſenſualitie and pleaſure from his cradell, as much as any ROMANE could be. And as *Homer* oftentimes doth call *Paris*, the husbande of the fayer *Helen*, naming him by the name of his wife, bicauſe he had no other commendable vertue in him: euen ſo *Otho* came to be knowen in ROME, by marying *Poppæa*, whome *Nero* loued when ſhe was *Criſpinus* wife, howebeit bearing ſome reſpect to his wife, and being affrayed alſo of his mother, he had intiſed *Otho* to be his bawde vnto her. *Nero* loued *Otho* dearely, and muche delighted in his companie, bicauſe he was ſo good a fellow and free of his fleſhe: and was verie glad ſometime to heare howe he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as *Nero* on a time was noynting him ſelfe with pretious oyles and perfumes, he caſt a litle vpon *Otho* as he went by: who the next day made him a feaſt in his houſe, where ſodainlie were thruſt into the hall, diuers veſſells of gold and ſiluer full of this perfumed oyle, that ranne out of them like conduit water, and did wette all the hall. So *Otho* hauing firſt poſſeſſed *Poppæa*, and abuſed her vnder hope of *Neroes* loue: he perſwaded her to be diuorſed from her husband. The which ſhe did, and he receiued her home to his owne houſe, as his lawfull wife: not being ſo well pleaſed to haue parte, as he was ſorie and angrie alſo to let an other enioy her. Now *Poppæa* her ſelfe (as it is reported) did not miſlike this his gealouzie, for ſometimes ſhe woulde ſhut her dore againſt *Nero*, though *Otho* were not within: either bicauſe ſhe woulde keepe *Nero* in breath, and in loue liking ſtill, or elſe as ſome thought, bicauſe ſhe would not haue *Cæſar* to her husbande, and likewiſe that ſhe would not refuſe him for her frend, bicauſe ſhe was wantonly geuen. But ſo it is, *Otho* was in daunger of his life by marying of *Poppæa*: and ſo was it alſo a ſtraunge thing, that *Nero* hauing put his wife and ſiſter to death, only to mary *Poppæa*, he did yet pardon *Otho*, and ſaued his life. Howebeit it was for *Senecaes* ſake that was his frende, through whoſe perſwaſion he was ſent to the furtheſt parte of SPAYNE alongeſt the Ocean ſea, to be Gouernour of LVSITANIA. And there he gouerned ſo wiſely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troubleſome vnto the contry: knowing that this honorable charge was geuen him, only to mitigate and hide his baniſhent. Afterwards when *Galba* had rebelled, he was the firſt of all the Gouernours of the prouinces that ioyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both golde and ſiluer, vnto the mynt maiſter, he gaue it him to put into bullion, and ſo to be conuerted into currant coyne. Moreouer he gaue of his officers vnto *Galba*, thoſe which he thought the meeteſt men to ſerue a Prince: and otherwiſe, when he was tried, he ſhewed him ſelfe as faithfull and skilfull in matters of ſtate, as any one that followed the Emperours traine. Inſomuch as all the way he went many dayes iorney in coch with *Galba* him ſelfe, and did maruelouſlie currie fauour with *Titus Iunius*, beſtowing great gifts vpon him, and alſo enterteining him with pleaſaunt

Tumult amongeſt the ſouldiers and legions of the Romanes in Germany.

Othoes maners.

Poppæa, Othoes wife.

Otho ſent Propretor into Luſitania.

A ſant ſpeches: but ſpecially, bicauſe he willingly gaue him the vpper hād wherby he was aſſured to be the ſecōd perſon in credit about *Galba*. So in all that he did, he far excelled *Iunius*, for that he graūted mens ſutes frāckly & frely without one penny taking, & was beſids eaſy to be ſpokē with of euery man that had any ſute to him: but ſpecially of the ſouldiers, whom he did greatly help & further, & cauſed diuers alſo to be called to honorable office, he himſelf partly mouing the Emperor for thē, without any labor or ſute made vnto him, & partly alſo obteining thē at *Iunius* hāds, & of the two infrāchiſed bondmē of *Galba*, *Icellus* & *Aſiaticus*. For, theſe three men did beare all the ſway & credit about the Emperor in the court. Moreouer, alwaies whē he inuited the Emperor to his houſe, he bribed the Prætorian gard that waited vpō him, & gaue euery ſouldier a crown. Now this in ſight, ſemed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperor with:

Othoes credit about Galba.

Othoes traciſes, aſpiring to the Empire.

B though in deede it was a fine deuiſe to ouerthrow him, to bribe the ſouldiers in that ſort as he did. So *Galba* cōſulting whom he ſhould make his ſucceſſor: *T. Iunius* preferred *Otho* vnto him: the which he did not ſimply of himſelfe, nor without reward, but only with promiſe that *Otho* ſhould marry his daughter if *Galba* did adopt him his ſonne, & proclaime him ſucceſſor in the Empire. Howbeit *Galba* did alway ſpecially regard the cōmon wealth before his priuat liking, & ſought to adopt ſuch a one, as ſhould not ſo much pleaſe himſelf, as otherwiſe he ſhould be profitable & meete for the Empire. But ſurely in my opinion, *Galba* would not make *Otho* his heire of his goods, cōſidering what an vnreaſonable ſpēder he was, & how ſumptuous in al his things, & beſides, far gone in det: for he ought aboue fiue thowſand Myriades. So when he had heard *Iunius* coūſell about this adoptiō, he gētly without other anſwer, did put ouer his deter-

C minatiō vntil another time, & made *Otho* only Cōſul at that time, & *T. Iunius* Cōſul with him: whereby it was ſtraight ſuppoſed, that at the beginning of the new yere, he would proclaime him his ſucceſſor in the Empire. Which was the thing the ſouldiers moſt deſired of all other. But now, delaying ſtil his determination, the legions of the ROMANES in GERMANY, did riſe & rebel againſt him al at an inſtant. For he was generally hated of al his ſouldiers, bicauſe he paid thē not the gift he had promiſed them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alleaged for their cauſe of riſing, that he had diſhonorably reiected *Verginius Ruſus*: and that the GAVLES which had fought againſt thē, were rewarded with great & rich priuiledges, & they that tooke not part with *Vindex*, had bene grieuouſly puniſhed & put to death. Moreouer, that *Galba* did only honor *Vindex* death after he was dead, as acknowledging his goodwil vnto him,

The legions in Germanie doe rebell againſt Galba.

D offring publike oblatiōs & funeral ſacrifices for him, as if by him only he had bene proclaimed Emperor. Now ſuch ſpeches & rumors ran through the cāpe amōgſt thē, whē the firſt day of the yere came, which the ROMANES cal the calends of Ianuary, on which day whē *Flaccus* had called the ſouldiers together, to ſweare them to the Emperor according to the cuſtome: they plucked down *Galbaes* images, & ſware only in the name of the people, & the Senate of ROME. The captaines ſeing what courſe they tooke, were as much affraid of the daūger to be without a head, as they ſtood doutful of the miſchief of their rebelliō. So there ſtept vp one amōgſt thē & ſaid. My fellowes in armes, what do we meane? We neither chooſe any other Emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperor at this preſent: wherby we ſhew plainly, that we do not only refuſe *Galba*, but alſo all other to be our head & Emperor that may commaund vs. Now for

The ſouldiers doe rebell againſt Galba.

E *Flaccus Ordeonius*, that is but *Galbaes* ſhadow and image: I would wiſh we ſhould let him alone there as he is. And for *Vitellius*, gouernor of the lower GERMANIE, he is not farre from vs, but one daies iorney only, whoſe father was Cenſor at ROME, and thriſe alſo Conſul, and that was in a maner a Peere and companion of *Clodius Cæſar* in the gouernment of the Empire: whoſe pouerty if any man miſlike in him, is a manifeſt proofe of his goodnes and magnanimity. Him therefore let vs chooſe, & let the world know that we can tell how to chooſe an Emperor, better then the SPANYARDS or LVSITANIANS. Some of the ſouldiers that ſtoode by, confirmed theſe words, but others alſo miſliked of thē: inſomuch that amōg the reſt there was an enſigne bearer that ſtale ſecretly out of the cāpe, to cary *Vitellius* newes hereof, who that night made a great ſupper, & had great ſtore of good cōpany with him. Theſe newes rūning ſtraight through

F his cāpe, *Fabius Valēs*, colonel of a legiō, came the next morning with a great nūber of horſemē, & was the firſt mā that named *Vitellius* Emperor, who, before ſemed to refuſe that name, as one that was affraid to take the charge of ſo great an Empire vpon him: but after dinner, being full

Vitellius accepted the name of Germanicus, but not of Cæsar. Vitellius named Emperor by the souldiers.

of wine & meate, he came out amõg thẽ, & accepted the name of *Germanicus* which they gaue him, & refused the name of *Cæsar*. But therewithal incõtinently after, *Flaccus* souldiers leauing their goodly popular oth which they had sworne in the name of the people & Senate, they all then tooke their othes faithfully to doe what it should please the Emperour *Vitellius* to commaund them. Thus *Vitellius* was chosen Emperor in GERMANY. So *Galba* hearing of this new chaũge, thought it not good to deferre time any lẽger for the adoptiõ he had intended, wherfore certainly vnderstanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with *Dolabella*, & the most part of thẽ with *Otho*, he neither liking the one nor the other, sodainly without any word spokẽ to any man, he sent for *Piso*, (that was the yoũger sonne of *Crassus* & *Piso*, whom *Nero* had put to death) a yoũg man faier condicioned, & shewed by his graue & modest countenance he had by nature, that he was indued with many noble vertues. *Galba* came downe presently frõ his pallace, & went straight to the cãpe to proclaime *Piso Cæsar*, & his successor in the Empire. Howbeit at his setting out of his pallace, there appeared many great signes in the firmamẽt which followed him. And moreouer, whẽ he was also come into his cãpe, & that he began to say without booke part of his oratiõ, & partly also to read it: it lightned al the while he spake, & there fel such a great shower of raine vpon it, & a maruelous thick mist in the cãpe, & ouer al the city, that mẽ might easely se the gods did not like this adoptiõ, & that it would not prosper. The souldiers thẽ selues shewed their discõtentment by their heauy looks, & the rather, bicause at that time there was no spech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were present also, maruelled much (for that they could gather by the coũtenance & words of *Piso*) that *Piso* nothing reioiced at this great fauor, although he lacked not wit & vnderstanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other side also, they found easely by *Othoes* lookes, many signes & proofes that he was maruelously offended in his mind, to see that he was thus deceiued of his hope. For he being the mã that was first spokẽ of, & thought most worthiest of all other, & being comen also so nere vnto it: now to see himselfe thus wiped out of it, he supposed that it was a plaine proofe that *Galba* had no good opinion of him, & that he maliced him in his hart, so that after that time he stil stood in feare of his life. For he being affraid of *Piso*, hating also *Galba*, & being grieuously offended with *T. Iunius*: he wẽt his way ful of diuers thoughts in his mind. For the Soothsaiers, Astronomers, & Chaldeans which he euer kept about him, they did perswade him not to be discoraged for this, & to cast all hope aside: but specially one *Ptolomy*, in whom he had great cõfidence, bicause he had oftẽtimes before foretold and assured him, that *Nero* should not put him to death, but contrarily, that *Nero* should die first, & he himself suruiue him, & should become Emperor of ROME. Wherby *Ptolomy* hauing proued his first prediction true vnto him, he bad him be bold, & feare not that to come. But now besides him, those that secretly cõplained vnto him, did prick him forward the more, sighing to see him so euil delt with by *Galba*, & diuers of thẽ chiefly, which bare great authority & credit about *Tigellinus* & *Nymphidius*: who being thẽ cast of, & discoũtenãced, came all vnto him, & stirred him vp the more. As amongst others, *Veturius* & *Barbius* chiefly, of the which the one had bene *Optio*, and the other *Tesserarius*: (for so the ROMANES call those that be their messengers, spials, & officers to the Captaines) who with an infranchised bondman of his called *Onomastus*, went vnto the campe, and there corrupted some souldiers with ready money, & other some with faire words, being of them selues euil inclined, & expected but occasion to vtter their malice. For otherwise, had the souldiers bene all of one mind, it had not bene an enterprise to haue bene brought to passe in foure dayes space (being no more betwext the adoption and murther) to make a whole campe rebell in that sorte. For they were slaine the fifteenth day of Ianuarie, on which day *Galba* did sacrifice in the morning within his pallace, before his frends. But at that time the Soothsaier called *Ombricius*, when he had the intralls of the beasts sacrificed in his hands, & had looked vpon them: he spake not doutfully, but plainly, that he saw signes of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour was in present daunger of great treason. Whereby it plainly appeared, that the goddes had put *Galba* into *Othoes* hands: for he stood at that time behind *Galba*, & both heard & saw all that the Soothsayer did. So he seeming to be grieued withall in his minde, and his colour chaunging oft for the feare he was in: his infranchised bondeman *Onomastus* came and tolde him that the masons and

Galba adopteth Piso his successor.

Euill signes appeared vnto Galba.

Ptolomyes prediction of Othoes Empire.

Optio, and Tesserarius, why so called by the Romanes.

Otho bribed the Prætorian souldiers.

The presage of Ombricius the Soothsayer, touching the treason practised against Galba.

chiefe

A chiefe carpinters were come to ſpeake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch word agreed vppon betwene them, at which tyme *Otho* ſhoulde then goe vnto the ſouldiers. Then *Otho* ſayd, that he went to looke to an olde houſe he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would ſhewe it vnto the workemen. So he went his way, and came from the pallace, by the place they call *Tiberius* houſe, into the market place, where the golden piller ſtandeth, where alſo the greateſt high wayes of all ITALIE doe meete together. There certaine met him that firſt called him Emperour, which were not in all aboue three & twentie perſons. Thereupon, though *Otho* was not vnconſtant as it appeared, notwithſtanding he was ſo fine and effeminate a man, but rather reſolute and ſtout in inſtant daunger: yet feare ſo oppreſſed him at that time, that he would faine haue left his enterpriſe. Howbeit the B ſouldiers would not ſuffer him, but compaſſing his litter rounde about with their armes, and their ſwords drawne in their hands, they commaunded the litter men to go forward. So *Otho* as he went haſtening on his driuers, he often muttered to him ſelfe, I am but dead. Some hearing him as they paſſed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwiſe troubled, to ſee ſuch a ſmall nũber of men about him, that they durſt venter vpon ſo hard an enterpriſe. Now as he was caried through the market place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three & by foure in a company: all the which came and ioyned with him, & cried *Cæſar, Cæſar*, hauing their ſwords drawen in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to gard the field of *Mars*, knew nothing of this conſpiracy, but being amazed and affraied with their ſodaine comming, he ſuffred them to come in. So when *Otho* was come in, C he found no man that reſiſted him. For they that knew nothing of the practiſe, being compaſſed in with thoſe that were made priuy to it, & had knowen it of long time: being found ſtragling here and there, by one & by two, they followed the reſt for feare at the firſt, & afterwards for good wil. This was brought ſtraight to *Galba* to the pallace, the Soothſayer being yet buſie about his ſacrifice: inſomuch that they which before gaue no credit to thoſe diuinations, began then to maruell much at this heauenly ſigne. Then there ran immediatly a great number of people from the market place, vnto the pallace. Therupon *Iunius* & *Lacon*, & certaine other of *Galbaes* infranchiſed bondmen, ſtoode to gard *Galbaes* perſon with their ſwordes drawen in their hãds. *Piſo* alſo went out to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers that garded the Emperours perſon. Moreouer, bicauſe the ILLYRIAN legion lay out of the campe in a place called Vipſanus: they D diſpatched away *Marius Celſus* with all ſpede, a very honeſt man, to get that place. *Galba* in the meane time ſtood in dout whether he ſhould come out of the pallace or not: for *Iunius* would not let him goe, but *Celſus* and *Lacon* perſwaded him to go out. Inſomuch as they fell at great words with *Iunius*, that went about to diſſwade him from it. In this ſturre, there ranne a rumor that *Otho* was ſlaine in the field. Immediatly after came *Iubius Atticus*, one of the nobleſt ſouldiers of all the Emperours gard, & ſhewed his ſword drawen, crying that he had ſlaine *Cæſars* enemie: and thruſt through the preaſe, and got to *Galba*, and ſhewed him his ſword bloodied. *Galba* looking him in the face, asked him who commaunded him to doe it. The ſouldier aunſwered him: the faith & othe he had made vnto him. Therewith all the people that ſtoode by cried out it was nobly done of him, & clapped their handes for ioy. Then *Galba* taking his litE ter, went out of his pallace to do ſacrifice to *Iupiter*, and alſo to ſhew him ſelfe openly. Howbeit he was no ſoner come into the market place, but he heard contrarie newes, that *Otho* was Lord and Maiſter of the whole campe, and armie. Then, as it happeneth in ſo great a preaſe of people, ſome cried out to him to returne backe againe, others would haue him to goe forward: others bad him be affrayed of nothing, and others willed him to looke to him ſelfe. So his litter being thus turmoyled to and fro, as toſt vpon the ſea, ſometime borne backe, otherwhile caried forward: firſt of all they ſaw certaine horſemen, and then footemen alſo armed, comming from *Paules* pallace, all of them together crying out with lowd voice, hence, hence, priuat man. Then all the people ſet vpon a running, not flying diſperſedly, but in heapes vpon porches and ſtalls in the market place, as it had bene to haue ſeene ſome ſight or ſport. Then F one called *Attilius* * *Sarcello*, ouerthrew one of the images of *Galba*, which was as it were a beginning of open warres. Others rounde about threwe dartes on euerie ſide of him againſt his litter. But when they ſawe they coulde not kill him, then they came neerer to his litter

Otho called Emperour.

Otho receiued of the Pretorian ſouldiers.

A ſhamefull liues of a ſouldier.

Tumult for Galba.

* *Tacitus doth call him Virgilio.*

with their ſwords drawen in their hands, and neuer a man of his left with him to offer to defende him, ſauing one man onely, whom the Sunne ſawe that day, amongeſt ſo many thowſands of men, worthy of the Empire of ROME: and he was called * *Sempronius*. He hauing receiued priuately no manner of pleaſure at *Galbaes* handes, but only to diſcharge his othe and duetie: ſtepped before the litter, and lifting vp a vine braunche he had in his hand (with the which the ROMANE Captaines doe vſe to beate their ſouldiers that haue offended) he fell out with them that did ſet vpon him, and prayed them to holde their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the ende when he ſaw they would not leaue, but that they fell to it in good earneſt: he then drew his ſword, and bare of the blowes as well as he could, vntil they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then *Galbaes* litter being ouerthrowen right in the place called *Curtius* lake: *Galba* lay on the ground armed in his curaces. The traiterous ſouldiers flew vppon him, and gaue him many a wounde: and *Galba* holding out his necke vnto them, bad them ſtrike hardily, if it were to do their contrie good. So he had many wounds on his armes and his thighes, as it is reported: howebeit the ſouldier that ſlue him, was called *Camurius*, of the fifteenth legion. Others doe reporte that it was one *Terentius*, other alſo ſay *Arcadius*: And ſome other doe call him *Fabius Fabulus*: who hauing ſtriken of his head, wrapped it in the lappe of his gowne, bicauſe he coulde not otherwiſe take holde of it, for that he was all balde. Howebeit his fellowes and conſortes woulde not ſuffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he had done ſhould be ſeene. Therefore he ſet it vpon the point of his launce, and ſo ſhaking the face of this poore olde man, (a wiſe and temperate Prince, and chiefe Biſhoppe, and Conſull) he ranne vp and downe (like madde women poſſeſſed with the ſpirite and furie of *Bacchus* at the feaſtes of *Bacchus*) bowing downe his launce being all of a goare blood. When his head was brought to *Otho*, it is ſayd he cried out alowd: tuſh, my fellowes, this is nothing: vnleſſe you bring me alſo *Piſoes* head. So not long after, they brought him his head alſo. For the young man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * *Marcus*, who ſlue him hard by the temple of *Veſta*. So did they alſo kill *Titus Iunius*: who openly confeſſed that he was one of the conſpiracie againſt *Galba*, and cried out to them that ſlue him, that *Otho* did not know they did kill him. This notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers ſtrake of his head, and *Lacons* alſo, and brought them both to *Otho* to receiue the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet *Archilochus* ſayth:

Of ſeuen peraduenture ſlaine dead on the ground,
A thouſand will ſay, that they all gaue the wound.

So there were diuers men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, had bloodied all their handes and ſwordes, and ſo ſhewed them bloodied to haue rewarde alſo: but *Vitellius* notwithſtanding made inquirie of them afterwardes, and cauſed them to be put to death. There came into the fielde alſo, one *Marius Celſus*, whome diuers men accuſed to haue perſwaded the ſouldiers to aide *Galba*, and the common people cried out, and bad he ſhoulde be put to death. Howebeit *Otho* woulde not ſuffer them to kill him: and yet being affrayed to contrarie the ſouldiers mindes, he tolde them they ſhould not kill him ſo raſhly, bicauſe he was firſt to learne ſome thinges more of him. So he commaunded them to binde him, and deliuered him to be kept of thoſe he truſted moſt. Afterwards, the Senate were preſentlie aſſembled: who, as if men had bene ſodainlie chaunged from them they were, or as if there had bene new goddes, they all ſware by the name of *Otho*, (the which othe he him ſelfe had before ſworne vnto *Galba*, and did not keepe it) and called him beſides, *Auguſtus*, and *Cæſar*, the bodies of them that were ſlaine lying yet headles on the ground in the market place, all in their Conſulls robes. And as for their heades, the ſouldiers after they coulde tell no more what to doe with them, they ſolde the heade of *Titus Iunius* vnto his daughter, for the ſumme of two thouſande fiue hundred Drachmas. And for *Piſoes* head, his wife through intreatie, begged it of one called *Veranius*. On the other ſide, for *Galbaes* head, they gaue it vnto *Patrobius* and *Vitellius* ſeruauntes: who, after they had vſed it as vilelie as they coulde deuiſe, they threwe it at length in a place, where their bodies are caſt, whome the *Cæſars* put to death, the which they call Seſtertium. Nowe for his bodie, *Heluidius Priſcus*, through *Othoes* ſufferance, caried it away, and *Argius*, one of his infranchiſed bondemen, buried it by night.

Thus

* *Cornelius Tacitus doth call him Denſus.*

The valiantnes and fidelitie of Sempronius in diſcharge of his othe to the Emperour Galba.

The death of Sempronius.

The death of Galba: & his wordes at his death.

* *Others doe read Marcus.*

The murther of Piſo, and T. Iunius.

The Senate ſware by the name of Otho.

Citizens heades ſold at Rome.

A Thus haue you heard the hiſtorie of *Galba*, a man that in nobilitie and wealth was inferiour to few ROMANES, and in them both was the chiefeſt man of all his time, and had alway liued in honorable fame and eſtimacion, in the raigne of fiue Emperours. So that he ouercame *Nero* by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him: and not through his owne force and power. For of them that ſtroue to make them ſelues Emperours at that time, ſome found no man that thought them worthie of it: others did put foorth them ſelues, as thinking them ſelues worthie of it. Howbeit *Galba* was called vnto it, and obeyed them that called him, vſing his name againſt *Vindex* boldneſſe: whereby he procured, that his riſing (which before was called innouation and rebellion) was then called ciuill warre, after that his faction came to haue a man to be their head, thought worthy to be their Emperour. And therefore he did not
B ſo muche deſire to be Emperour for him ſelfe, as to doe good to his contrie and common wealth. But yet he erred, in ſeeking to commaunde the ſouldiers whom *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius* had ſpoyled by their flatteries: euen as in olde time *Scipio*, *Fabricius*, and *Camillus* did commaund the ſouldiers of the Empire of ROME at that time. So he being now a verie olde man, ſhewed him ſelfe a good Emperour and after the old ſorte, in his behauior towardes the ſouldiers only: but in all other things elſe, being caried away with the couetouſnes of *T. Innius* and *Laco*, and of other his infranchiſed bondmen, he left none deſirous to be gouerned by him, but many that were ſorie for his death

C

THE LIFE OF *Otho.*

D

E

THE next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went vnto the Capitoll, and ſacrificed, and there ſent for *Marius Celſus* to come vnto him, whom he curteouſlie ſaluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cauſe of his impriſonment, then to remember his deliuerie. *Marius Celſus* made him a wiſe and noble aunſwere againe, and ſayd that the matter for the which they would haue accuſed him vnto him, did witnes his behauiour, ſhewing him ſelfe faithfull vnto *Galba*, who neuer did him any pleaſure. Theſe words of them both did marueloſlie pleaſe the people: & ſo did they like the ſouldiers alſo wōderfully well. Moreouer, after he had verie fauorablie and graciouſlie taken order for matters in the Senate,

Othoes moderation at the beginning of his raigne.

F

the reſt of the time he had to be Conſull, he imployed partely about *Verginius Rufus*, and did A
alſo eſtabliſh them Conſuls in their place and degree, which had bene called vnto that dignitie by *Nero*, or otherwiſe by *Galba*: and he alſo honored the oldeſt Senators and of greateſt eſtimacion with certaine Prieſthoodes. Beſides all this, he reſtored vnto all thoſe Senators that were baniſhed by *Nero*, and called home againe, all their goodes yet vnſold. Whereupon the chiefeſt Magiſtrats and noble men of the citie that quaked before for feare, ſuppoſing that he was not a man, but rather a deuill or furie of hell that was come to be Emperour: they all became glad men, for the good hope of this ſmiling and gracious raigne they were ſo lately entred into. Moreouer, nothing pleaſed all the Romanes togethermore, nor wanne him the good will of all men ſo muche, as that he did vnto *Tigellinus*. For it was puniſhment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the puniſhment euerie man threatned him B
withall, as a thing due to the common wealth, and alſo by reaſon of the incurable diſeaſes his bodie was infected withall. Now, though the noble men thought his vnreaſonable inſolency and luſt of the fleſh, (following naughtie packes, and common ſtrumpets, burning ſtill in filthie concupiſcence) an extreame puniſhment, comparable to many deaths, and being alſo no better then a dead man in maner, ſtill following pleaſure and ſenſualitie as long as he coulde: this notwithſtanding, all men were offended with him, that they ſhoulde ſee ſuche a wicked creature as he liue, that had put ſo many noble men to death. So *Otho* ſent for him, who liued verie pleaſauntlie at his houſes in the contrie, by the citie of Sinvessa, and had ſhippes euer readie vppon the ſea coaſt, to flie if neceſſitie draue him to it. Thereuppon he firſt ſought to bribe him with money, which was ſent with commiſſion to apprehend him, and perſwaded C
him to let him ſcape: but when he ſaw he could not frame him to his minde, yet he refrayned not to geue him gifts, and prayed him to geue him leaue to ſhaue his beard. The other graunted him. Then *Tigellinus* tooke a razer, and did cut his owne throte. So, *Otho* hauing pleaſed the people thus well, he ſought not otherwiſe to be reuenged of his priuate iniuries. Moreouer, to currie fauour with the common people, he refuſed not to be called *Nero*, in any open aſſemblies at the Theaters. Alſo when certaine priuate men had ſet vp *Neroes* images in open ſight, *Otho* was not offended withall: but moreouer *Clodius Rufus* writeth, that letters pattents & cõmiſſions were ſent into Spayne by poſts, ſubſcribing the goodly name of *Nero*, with the name of *Otho*. Howbeit when it came to his eares that the noble men of Rome miſliked of it: he left it of, and would wryte it no more in his letters. So *Otho* hauing begonne in this ſorte D
to ſtabliſh his Empire, the ſouldiers maruelouſlie troubled him. For they continually perſwaded him to take heede to him ſelfe, and to beware how noblemen and gentlemen came neere vnto him: the which they did, either for that in deede they bearing him good will, were affrayed ſome trecherie or treaſon would be ſecretlie practiſed againſt him: or elſe it was ſome fained deuiſe to ſet all together by the eares, and to bring it to ciuill warre. For when *Otho* him ſelfe had ſent *Criſpinus* with his ſeuenteenth legion to bring him certaine priſoners, and that *Criſpinus* was ready before day, going to performe the effect of his commiſſion, hauing loden carts with armor and weapon for his ſouldiers: the deſperateſt and boldeſt men among them, began to crie out, and ſayd that *Criſpinus* ment no good in his hart, and that the Senate went about to make ſome chaunge and ſturre, and that his armor and weapons were not for *Cæſar*, E
but againſt him. Theſe wordes moued many mens conſciences, and made them to rebell: ſo that ſome layed hold vpon the carts to ſtay them, others ſlue two Centurions out of hande, and *Criſpinus* him ſelfe alſo that woulde haue ſtayed them. Thereuppon all of them together, one incoraging an other, went directly to Rome, as meaning to aide the Emperour. But when they came thither, vnderſtanding that there were foure ſcore Senators at ſupper with the Emperour, they ranne ſtraight to the pallace, crying out that it was a good occaſion offered them to kill all *Cæſars* enemies at a clappe. Hereupon all Rome was ſtraight in armes, looking immediatly after to be ſacked and ſpoyled of all that euer they had: and the people ranne vp and downe the pallace, here and there, *Otho* him ſelfe alſo being in great feare and diſtreſſe. For men might eaſelie ſee he was affrayed, bicauſe of his gheſtes he had bidden, not for him F
ſelfe, ſeeing them all amazed with the matter for feare, not ſpeaking a word vnto him, but ſtaring on him ſtill, and ſpeciallie thoſe that came and brought their wiues with them to ſupper.

Tigellinus killeth him ſelfe.

Otho at the beginning of his raigne, tooke vpon him the name of Nero.

Tumult amongeſt the Pratorian ſouldiers.

The death of Criſpinus.

So

A So *Otho* ſodainly ſent the Captaines vnto the ſouldiers & commaunded them to ſpeake with them, & to pacifie them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the borde, and conueyed his gheſtes out of his pallace by ſecret poſternes. So they ſaued them ſelues, paſſing through the ſouldiers, a litle before they entred into the hall where the feaſt was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of *Cæſars* enemies. So the Emperour riſing from his bedde, he pacified them with gentle wordes, the teares ſtanding in his eyes, and thereby at length he ſent them all away. The next morning he liberallie beſtowed vpon euery ſouldier, a thowſande two hundred and fiftie Drachmas: and then he went into the market place, & there gaue great commendacion to the common people for their readie good wills they had ſhewed vnto him: howbeit, he ſaid there were ſome among them, that vnder colour
B and pretext of honeſtie, did commit many lewde partes, aud made his goodneſſe and grace towards them to be euill ſpoken of, and their conſtancie and faith alſo to be miſliked of, and prayed them his griefe might be theirs, and that the offendors might be puniſhed. They all confirmed his words, and bad him alowde he ſhould doe it. So *Otho* thereuppon cauſed two of them only to be apprehended, ſuppoſing no man would be greatlie offended with the puniſhment of them, and then went his way. Thoſe that loued and truſted him, marueled much to ſee this chaunge. Other were of opinion, that it ſtoode him vpon to doe ſo, to winne the ſouldiers harts, bicauſe of the warre at hand. Now newes came flying to him out of all partes, that *Vitellius* had taken vpon him the authoritie to be Emperour, and poſts came to him one in an others necke, to tel him that numbers of people came in daily to ſubmit them ſelues vn-
C to *Vitellius*. Others tolde him alſo, how the legions remayning in Panonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, had choſen *Otho*. Immediatly after, frendly letters were brought him alſo from *Mutianus* and *Veſpaſianus*, the one of them being in Syria, and the other in Iudea, with great and mightie armies. Whereuppon *Otho* geuing credit vnto them, wrote vnto *Vitellius*, and bad him beware how he meddled with any deeper enterpriſe, then became a priuate ſouldier: and that he would geue him golde and ſiluer enough, and a great citie, where he might liue quietly, and take his pleaſure. *Vitellius* gently aunſwered him at the firſt, and ſported with him: but afterwards they falling out one with an other, ſpiteful letters were ſent betwext either parties, one of them reproaching an other, not falſely but fondly, and fooliſhly detecting eche others vices. For in deede it was hard to iudge, which of them two was moſt licentiouſly geuen, moſt
D effeminate, leaſt skilfull, poorer, or moſt indetted before. Nowe at that time they talked of wonderful ſignes that had bene ſene: howbeit they were but flying tales, & there was no man to iuſtifie them. But in the Capitoll there was the image of Victorie ſet vppon a triumphing chariot: the which euery bodie ſaw did let ſlacke the reynes of the bridles of the horſes which ſhe had in her handes, as though ſhe could not ſtay them any more. The ſtatue of *Caius Cæſar* alſo within the Iland, which ſtandeth in the middeſt of the riuer of Tiber at Rome, without any earthquake or ſtorme of winde, turned of it ſelfe from the Weſt to the Eaſt: the which (as it is reported) chaũced about the time that *Veſpaſian* began to take vpon him to be Emperour. Many alſo tooke the ouerflowing of the riuer of Tiber for an euil ſigne. For in deede it was at that time of the yeare when riuers do ſwell moſt, yet was it neuer ſo great before, neither had
E it euer done ſo much hurt as it did at that time. For it had ouerflowen her bankes, and drowned the moſt parte of the citie, and ſpecially the corne market: inſomuche that they ſuffered famine many dayes after in Rome. In all this ſturre, newes came that *Cecinna* and *Valens*, (two of *Vitellius* Captaines) had taken the mountaines of the Alpes: and moreouer in Rome, *Dolabella* a noble man, was ſuſpected by the Prætorian ſouldiers, that he practiſed ſome treaſon. Now *Otho*, either bicauſe he was affrayed of him, or of ſome other: he ſent him to the citie of Aquinum, promiſing him he ſhoulde haue no other hurte. Then chooſing the choyceſt gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, and did not depriue him of any iot of his honor and dignitie. Moreouer, he was verie carefull to ſee his wife and mother ſafe, that they ſhoulde not be affrayed of them ſelues. Be-
F ſides all this, he appointed *Flauius Sabinus*, *Veſpaſians* brother, Gouernour of Rome in his abſence: and did it for *Neroes* ſake, who had affore geuen him the ſame honor and authoritie the which *Galba* had taken from him: or els to make *Veſpaſian* ſee, that he loued & truſted him.

Othoes liberalitie to the ſouldiers.

Vitellius rebellion.

Small difference betwext Otho and Vitellius maners of life.

Wonders ſeene at Rome.

The wonderfull ouerflowing of the riuer of Tiber.

So he taried behinde at Bresselle, a citie ſtanding vpon the riuer of Po: and ſent his armie A
before vnder the conduct of *Marius Celſus*, of *Svvetonius Paulinus*, and of *Gallus* and *Spurina*, all
noble and great perſonages, howbeit they could not haue their wills to rule the armie as they
woulde, bicauſe of the inſolencie and ſtubbornes of the ſouldiers, who would haue no other
The frowardnes of Otho and Vitellius ſouldiers. Captaines but the Emperour only, ſaying that he, and none other, ſhould commaund them.
In deede, the enemies ſouldiers alſo were not muche wiſer, nor more obedient to their Cap-
taines, but were braue and luſtie vpon the ſelfe ſame occaſion: howbeit they had this aduan-
tage ouer the other, that they could tell how to fight, and were all well trained in the warres,
and could away with paines and hardnes, and neuer ſhronke from it. Whereas the Prætorian
ſouldiers that came from Rome, were fine mealed mouthed men, bicauſe they had bene long
from the warres, & had liued at eaſe in Rome, and taken their pleaſure in banketing & playes: B
and therefore in a brauery and iolity, they would needes haue men thinke that they diſdained
to do what their Captaines commaunded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not
that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that when *Spurina* would haue com-
pelled them, he was in daunger of death, and ſcaped verie narowly that they ſlue him not. For
they ſtucke not to reuile him, and geue him as fowle words as they could: calling him traitor,
and curſing him, ſaying that he marred all *Cæſars* affaires. Yea and there were ſome of them
that hauing their full cuppes went in the night to his tent, to aske him leaue to depart, ſaying
that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flowte they had
Placentia: the ſtrongeſt towne of all Italie. geuen them by their enemies about that time, hard by the city of Placentia, did ſtand *Spu-*
rina and his affaires to great purpoſe. For *Vitellius* ſouldiers comming hard to the walls of the C
citie, did mocke *Othoes* men that were at the cranewes of the ſame, and called them fine daun-
ſers, and goodly ſtage players, that had ſeene nothing but playes and feaſts: and that for feats
of armes, and battells, they knewe not what it ment: and that the greateſt act they euer did,
was for that they ſtrake of the head of a poore naked olde man, meaning by *Galba*: and that to
come to fight a battell in the fielde before men, their hartes were in their heeles. Theſe vile
words galled them to the hart, and made them ſo mad withall, that they came of them ſelues
to pray *Spurina* to commaund them what he thought good, promiſing that from thence forth
they would neuer refuſe any paines or daunger he would put them to. Thereupon, there was
a hotte aſſault geuen to the city of Placentia, with great ſtore of ſundry engines. Howbeit
Spurinaes men had the better, and hauing with great ſlaughter repulſed the aſſailants, they ſa- D
ued one of the goodlieſt, the greateſt, and moſt floriſhing cities of all Italie. So *Othoes*
Captaines were farre more familiar, curteous, and ciuill to deale with cities and priuate men,
The praiſe of Othoes Captaines, and diſpraiſe of Vitellius Captaines. then *Vitellius* ſouldiers were. For, of *Vitellius* Captaines, *Cecinna*, was neither for perſon nor
maners accompanyable for the people, but ſtraunge, monſtruous, & troubleſome to ſee him
only, a mightie made man wearing gallie gaskons, and coates with ſleeues, after the facion of
the Gavles, and ſpake in this attire vnto the enſigne bearers, and Captaines of the Ro-
manes. Furthermore, he had his wife alway with him brauely mounted a horſebacke, gal-
lantlie apparelled, and accompanied with a troupe of the choyceſt men of armes of all the
Fabius Valens. companies. The other, *Fabius Valens*, he was ſo couetous, that no ſpoyle of enemies, no pol- E
ling of ſubiects, nor bribes taken of their frends and confederats, could quenche or ſatisfie his
vnſatiable couetouſnes: whereby it ſeemeth that was the let, that comming on ſo ſlowly, he
was not at the firſt battell. Howbeit others do blame *Cecinna* for it, that made too much haſt,
for the deſire he had to haue the only honor of the victory to him ſelfe: & this was the cauſe,
that beſides his other light faultes, he alſo made this, that he gaue battell out of due time and
ſeaſon, and when it came to the poynt in deede, yet he fought it not out valliantly, ſo that he
Cremona a goodly citie. had almoſt caſt all away. For when he had the repulſe from Placentia, he went vnto Cre-
mona an other great citie. And *Annius Gallus* going to aide *Spurina*, who was beſieged in the
citie of Placentia: when he heard by the way that the Placentines had the better, and
that the Cremonenses were in great daunger and diſtreſſe: he marched thither with his ar-
my, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that alſo, the other Captaines of either F
ſide came to aide their men. Howbeit *Cecinna* hauing layed a great number of his beſt ſoul-
diers well armed in ambuſhe, in certaine thicke groues and woddes: he commaunded his
horſemen

A horſemen to march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they ſhould retyre litle and litle, making as though they fled, vntill they had drawen them within his ambuſh. So there were certaine traitors that bewrayed the ambuſh vnto *Marius Celſus*, who came againſt them with his choyce men of armes, and did not followe them ouerrafhly, but compaſſed in the place where the ambuſh lay, the which he raiſed, and in the meane time ſent to his campe with all poſſible ſpeede to his footemen to make haſt thitherward: and it ſeemeth, that if they had comen in time, they had not left one of their enemies aliue, but had marched vpon the bellies of all *Cecinnaes* armie, if they had followed the horſemen in time, as they ſhould haue done. But *Paulinus* being comen too late to aide them, for that he came ſo ſlowly: he was burdened that he did not the duetie of a Captaine, that bare the name and countenaunce he ca-

B ried. Furthermore, the common ſouldiers accuſed him of treaſon vnto *Otho*, and ſtirred vp their Emperour againſt him, and ſpake verie bigge words of them ſelues, ſaying, that they had ouercomen for their owne partes, had not the cowardlines of their Captaines bene, who put them by the victory. So *Otho* did not truſt him ſo much, that he would not make him beleue but that he miſtruſted ſomwhat. Therefore he ſent his brother *Titianus* to the campe, and *Proclus* with him, Captaine of the Prætorian garde, who in deede commaunded all, but in ſight *Titianus* had all the honor, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenaunt. *Marius Celſus*, and *Paulinus* followed after, bearing name of counſellers and frends only: howbeit otherwiſe they meddled with nothing, neither had any authoritie geuen them. On the other ſide, the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and thoſe ſpecially, whom *Valens* led. For when

C newes was brought of the conflict that was betwene them in this ambuſhe, they were angrie with him, bicauſe they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were ſlaine: inſomuch that he had much a doe to pacifie and quiet them, they were ſo readie to haue flowen vpon him. So *Valens* at length remoued his campe, & went & ioyned with *Cecinna*. Howbeit *Otho* being comen to his campe at the towne of Bebriacvm, which is a litle towne hard by Cremona: he conſulted with his Captaines whether he ſhould geue battell or not. So *Proclus* and *Titianus* gaue him counſell to fight, conſidering that the ſouldiers were verie willing to it, by reaſon of the late victorie they had wonne, and wiſhed him not to deferre it: for thereby he ſhoulde but diſcorage his armie, which was nowe willing to fight, and alſo geue their enemies leaſure to tarie for their Chiefetaine *Vitellius*, who came

D him ſelfe out of Gavle. But *Paulinus* in contrarie manner alleaged, that the enemies had all their force and power preſent, with the which they thought to fight with them, and alſo to ouercome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas *Otho* looked for an other armie out of Mysia and Pannonia, as great an armie as his enemies had alreadie; ſo that he could tary his time, & not ſerue his enemies turne: and alſo, that if the ſouldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they ſhoulde then be much more incoraged, when they ſhould haue greater companie, and ſhould alſo fight with better ſafetie. Furthermore he perſwaded them, that to delay time was for their auaile, conſidering that they had plentie and ſtore of all maner of prouiſion: where the enemies on thother ſide being alſo in their enemies contrie, their vittells would quickely faile them. *Marius Celſus* liked verie well of theſe perſwaſions.

E And ſo did *Annius Gallus*, who was not preſent at this counſell (but gone from the campe, to be cured of a fall he had from his horſe) but he was wrytten to by *Otho* to haue his opinion alſo. So *Annius Gallus* returned aunſwere, that he thought it not beſt to make haſt, but to ſtay for the armie that came out of Mysia, conſidering they were onwardes on their way. Howbeit *Otho* woulde not hearken to this counſell, but followed their mindes that concluded of battell: for the which were alleaged diuers occaſions. But the chiefeſt and likelieſt cauſe of all was, that the ſouldiers which are called the Prætorian gard (being the dayly gard about the Emperours perſon) finding then in effect what it was to profeſſe to be a ſouldier, and to liue like a ſouldier: they lamented their continuing in Rome, where they liued at eaſe & pleaſure, feaſting and banketing, neuer feeling the diſcommodities and bitter paines of warre, and did

F therefore ſo earneſtly crie out to fight, that there was no ſtaying of them, as if they ſhould at their firſt crie and ſetting forward, haue ouerthrowen their enemies. Moreouer, it ſeemed alſo that *Otho* him ſelfe could no more away with the feare and dout of the vncertaine ſucceſſe

Paulinus, Othoes Captaine, accuſed for a coward.

Bebriacum a towne by Cremona.

Othoes conſultation of geuing battell.

Freſhwater ſouldiers lament their pleaſaunt life at Rome, feeling the paines and ſmart of a ſouldier.

to come, neither could any lenger abide the grieuous thoughts of the daunger of his eſtate, A
he was ſo effeminate, and vnacquainted with ſorowe, and paines. This was the cauſe that ca-
ried him on headlong, as a man that ſhutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and ſo to put
Secundus the Orator, ſecretarie vnto Otho the Emperour. all at aduenture. The mattter is thus reported by *Secundus* the Orator, and *Othoes* ſecretarie.
Others alſo doe report, that both armies had diuers determinations and mindes: as to ioyne
all together in one campe, and ioyntly to chooſe among them, if they could agree, the wor-
thieſt man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to aſſemble the whole Senate in
a place together, & there to ſuffer the Senators to chooſe ſuch a one Emperour, as they liked
beſt of. And ſure it is verie likely it was ſo, conſidering that neither of them both which were
then called Emperours, was thought meete for the place they had: and therefore that theſe
counſells and conſideracions might eaſely fall into the ROMANE ſouldiers heades, (who were B
wiſe men and expert ſouldiers) that in deede it was a thing for them iuſtly to miſlike, to bring
them ſelues into the like miſerable time and calamitie, which their predeceſſors before them
had cauſed one an other to ſuffer, firſt for *Sylla* and *Marius* ſakes, and afterwards for *Cæſar* and
Vitellius: a dronkard and glutton. Otho: a wanton and licentious liuer. *Pompey*, and now to beſtow the Empire of ROME either vpon *Vitellius*, to make him the abler
to follow his dronkennes and gluttony: or elſe vpon *Otho*, to maintaine his wanton and licen-
tious life. This was the cauſe that moued *Celſus* to delay time, hoping to end the warres with-
out trouble and daunger: and that cauſed *Otho* alſo to make the more haſt, being affrayed of
the ſame. Howebeit *Otho* returning backe againe to BRESSELLES, he committed an other
fault, not only bicauſe he tooke his mens good wils from thē to fight, the which his preſence,
** The towne of Breſſelles is hard by the riuer of Po.* and the reuerence they bare vnto him did put in them: but bicauſe alſo he caried away with C
him for the gard of his perſon, the valliantеſt ſouldiers & moſt reſolute men of all his hoſt. A-
bout that time there chaunced a skirmiſh to fall out by the riuer of Po, bicauſe *Cecinna* built
a bridge ouer it, & *Othoes* men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they ſaw
they preuailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and drie wodde, all rubbed ouer
with brimſtone and pitche, and ſetting them a fire, they ſent them downe the ſtreame. When
the barges were in the middeſt of the ſtreame, there ſodainlie roſe a winde out of the riuer,
which blewe vppon this woddeſtake they had prepared to caſt among the enemies workes of
this bridge, that firſt made it ſmoke, and immediatly after fell all on a great flame, which did
ſo trouble the men in the barges, that they were driuen to leape into the riuer to ſaue them
ſelues: and ſo they loſt their barges, and became them ſelues alſo priſoners to their enemies, D
to their great ſhame and mockerie. Furthermore, the GERMAINES vnder *Vitellius*, fighting
with *Othoes* fenſers, which of them ſhould winne a litle Iland in the middeſt of the riuer: they
had the vpper hand, and ſlue many of the fenſers. Thereuppon *Othoes* ſouldiers which were
in BEBRIACVM, being in a rage withall, and would nedes fight: *Proclus* brought them into the
fielde, and went and camped about fiftie furlong out of the citie, ſo fondly, and to ſo litle pur-
poſe, that being the ſpring of the yeare, and all the contrie thereabout full of brookes and ri-
uers, yet they notwithſtanding lacked water. The next morning they raiſed their campe to
meete with their enemies the ſame day, and were driuen to march aboue a hundred furlong.
Now *Paulinus* perſwaded them to go fayer and ſoftly, and not to make more haſt then neded,
and would not ſo ſoone as they ſhould come, (being wearied with their iorney and trauell) ſet E
vpon their enemies that were well armed, and beſides had leaſure & time enough to ſet their
men in battell ray, whileſt they were cōming ſo long a iorney with all their cariage. Now the
Captaines being of diuers opinions about this matter, there came a horſeman from *Otho*, one
of thoſe they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which *Otho* commaunded
them to make all the haſt they could, and to looſe no time, but to marche with all ſpeede to-
wards the enemie. So when theſe letters were red, the Captaines preſently marched forward
with their armie. *Cecinna* vnderſtanding of their comming, was aſtonied at the firſt, and ſo-
dainlie forſooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he founde the moſt
parte of his ſouldiers alreadie armed, and *Valens* had geuen them their ſignall & word of bat-
tell. And in the meane time, whileſt the legions were taking their places to ſet them ſelues in F
battell ray: they ſent out before the choyceſt horſemen they had, to skirmiſh. Now there ran
a rumor (no man knew how, nor vpon what cauſe) that *Vitellius* Captaines would turne on

Othoes

A *Othoes* ſide in battell. Inſomuch that when theſe men of armes came neare to meete with the voward of *Othoes* armie: *Othoes* men did ſpeake very gently to them, and called them companions. *Vitellius* men on the other ſide tooke this ſalutacion in euill parte, and aunſwered them againe in rage, as men that were willing to fight. Inſomuch that thoſe that had ſpoke to them, were quite diſcoraged: and the reſidue alſo beganne to ſuſpect their companions which had ſpoken to them, and miſtruſted them to be traytors. And this was the chiefeſt cauſe of all their diſorder, being ready to ioyne battell. Furthermore, on the enemies ſide alſo, all was out of order: for the beaſts of cariage ranne in amongeſt them that fought, and ſo did put them maruelouſly out of order. Beſides that alſo, the diſaduauntage of the place where they fought, did compell them to diſperſe one from another, bicauſe of ſundry ditches and trenches that were
B betwene them, whereby they were compelled to fight in diuers companies together. So there were but two legions onely, the one of *Vitellius*, called the deuowrer: and the other of *Otho*, called the helper: which getting out of theſe holes and ditches a part by them ſelues, in a good plaine euen ground, fought it out ſo a long time together in good order of battel. *Othoes* ſouldiers were men of goodly perſonages, ſtrong, and valliant of their handes, howbeit they had neuer ſerued in the warres, nor had euer foughten battell but that. And *Vitellius* men on the other ſide, were olde beaten ſouldiers, and had ſerued all their youth, and knew what warres & battells ment. So when they came to ioyne, *Othoes* men gaue ſuch a luſty charge vpon the firſt onſet, that they ouerthrew, & ſlue all the firſt rancke, and alſo wanne the enſeigne of the eagle. *Vitellius* men were ſo aſhamed of it, and therewith in ſuch a rage, that they tooke hart againe
C vnto them, and ranne in ſo deſperately vpon their enemies, that at the firſt they ſlue the colonell of all their legion, and wanne diuers enſignes. And furthermore, againſt *Othoes* fenſers, (which were accompted the valliantеſt men, and readieſt of hande) *Varus Alphenus* brought his men of armes called the Battavii, which are Germaines in the lower parte of Germany, dwelling in an Iland compaſſed about with the riuer of Rhein. There were few of his Fenſers that ſtucke by it, but the moſt of them ranne away towards the riuer, where they founde certeine enſignes of their enemies ſet in battell ray, who put them all to the ſworde, and not a man of them ſcaped with life. But aboue all other, none proued more beaſts & cowards, then the Prætorian gard. For they would not tary till the enemies came to giue them charge, but cowardly turned their backs, and fled through their owne men that were not ouerthrowen:
D and ſo did both diſorder them, and alſo make them affrayd. This notwithſtanding, there were a great number of *Othoes* men who hauing ouerthrowen the voward of them that made head againſt them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were Conquerors, and ſo valliantly returned back into their campe. But of their Captaines, nether *Proclus*, nor *Paulinus*, durſt returne backe with them, but fled another way, being affraid of the furye of the ſouldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their ouerthrow vpon their Captaines. Howbeit *Annius Gallus* receiued them into the citie of Bebriacvm, that came together after this ouerthrow, & told them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the better of their enemies. But *Marius Celſus* gathering the noble men and gentlemen together that had charge in the army, he fell to conſultacion what they ſhould do in ſo great a calamitie, &
E extreame ſlaughter of the Romane Citizens. For if *Otho* him ſelfe were an honeſt man, he ſhould no more attempt fortune: conſidering that *Cato* and *Scipio* were both greatly blamed, for that they were the cauſe of caſting away many men in Africk to no purpoſe, (though they fought for the libertie of the Romanes) and onely of ſelfe will, for that they would not yeld to *Iulius Cæſar* after he had wonne the battell of Pharsalia. For though fortune in all other things haue power ouer men: yet extremities happening to good men, ſhe can not preuent them to determine the beſt for their ſafetie. Theſe perſwaſions ſtraight caried away the Capteines, who went preſently to feele the mindes of the priuate ſouldiers, whom they found all of them deſirous of peace. So *Titianus* perſwaded them to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto the e-
F nemies to treate of peace: and *Celſus* and *Gallus* tooke vpon them the charge to goe thither, to breake the matter vnto *Cecinna*, and *Valens*. But by the way they met with certen Centurions, who told them how all the army of the enemies were comming onwards on their way, to come directly to the citie of Bebriacvm, and that their chieftaines had ſent before to offer

Battell betwixt the Othonians and Vitellians.

Legions called by pretty names: Deuowrer, Helper.

The valliantnes of the Battans in warres

Note the trim ſeruice of Fenſers, and what ſouldiers they be.

The Othonians ouercomen in battell by the Vitellians.

The cowardlines of the freſhwater ſouldiers.

Marius Celſus oration to Othoes ſouldiers perſwading them to goe to Vitellius.

Othoes Captaines doe yeld them ſelues vnto Vitellius.

treaty of peace. *Celſus* and his companion *Gallus* being glad of this, prayed the Centurions A
that they would returne with them vnto *Cecinna*. But when they were come neare vnto him, *Celſus* was in great daunger of his life: bicauſe the men of armes which he had ouerthrowen certen dayes before in an ambuſhe, comming before, when they ſpyed him, they flew vpon him with great ſhowtes. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his companye, ſtepped before him, and cloſed him in: and ſo did the other Capteines that cryed vnto them they ſhould do him no hurt. *Cecinna* vnderſtanding what the matter was, roade thither, and pacified the tumult of theſe men of armes: and then ſaluting *Celſus* very curteouſly, he went with him towardes BEBRIACVM. But nowe *Titianus* in the meane time, repentinge him ſelfe that he had ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the enemies, he placed the deſperateſt ſouldiers he had vpon the walls of the citie, and incoraged the reſt alſo to doe the like, and to ſtand to the defenſe. But B
Cecinna came to the wal, & being a horſebacke, held vp his hand vnto them. Then they made no more reſiſtance, but thoſe that were vpon the walles, ſaluted the ſouldiers: and they that were within the citie opened the gates, and thruſt in amongeſt *Vitellius* men, who receyued them, and did no man any hurt, but curteouſly imbraced them, and ſaluted eche other. Then they all ſware and tooke their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, and ſo yelded them ſelues vnto him. So doe the moſt part of thoſe that were at this battell, report the ſucceſſe thereof: graunting notwithſtanding, that they knew not euery thing that was done, bicauſe of the great diſorder among them. But as I trauelled on a time through the field where the battell was ſtriken, with *Metrius Florus* that had beene Conſul: he ſhewed me an olde man that when the field was fought in that place, was younge, and againſt his will was at the ſame battell on *Othoes* parte. C
Who told vs, that after the battell was fought, he came into the field to ſuruey the number of thoſe that were dead: and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of thoſe that came to view them. And ſayd moreouer, that he made inquierie of the matter, but he nether could imagine it him ſelfe, nor be ſatisfied by others. Now in deede it is likely, that in ciuil warres betwene contrymen of one ſelf citie, where one of the two armies is ouerthrowen, that there ſhould be greater ſlaughter among them, then againſt the other enemies, bicauſe they take no priſoners of either ſide: for thoſe they ſhould take, would ſerue them to no good purpoſe. But after they were ſlaine, one to be layed on heapes ſo by another, that is a hard thing to iudge. But now to the matter. The newes of this ouerthrowe came firſt but obſcurely vnto *Otho*, a common thing in a matter of ſo great importance: but afterwardes, when ſome D
that were hurt came and brought him certen newes of it, it was no maruell then to ſee *Othoes* friendes and familliers to comfort him, who prayed him to be of good cheere, and not to be diſcoraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great loue and good will which the priuat ſouldiers ſhewed vnto him at that time, did paſſe and exceede all ſpeech and education. For they forſooke him not, nether went they to ſubmit them ſelues to their enemies the conquerors, nether tooke they any regard of them ſelues, to ſee their Emperour in that diſpayre: but all of them ioyntly together went vnto his lodging, and called him their Emperour. Then he came out, and they fell downe at his feete, as men repreſented in a triumphe lying on the ground, & kiſſed his hands, with the teares ronning downe their cheekes, and beſought him not to forſake and leaue them to their enemies, but to commaund their perſons whileſt they had one E
droppe of blud left in their bodies to doe him ſeruice. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongeſt others, there was a poore ſouldier drawing out his ſword, ſayd vnto him: know, O *Cæſar*, that all my companions are determined to dye in this ſort for thee, and ſo ſlue him ſelfe. But all theſe lamentable things did neuer melt *Othoes* hart: who looking with a ſtowte countenaunce round about him, and caſting his eyes euery where, ſpake vnto them in this maner. I thinke this a more happy day for me, my fellowes, then that in the which you firſt choſe me Emperour: to ſee you loue me ſo well, and doe me ſuch honor, with ſo great ſhew of loyaltie. But yet I beſeech you not to deny me of a greater fauor, which is: to dye valliantly, and honorably, for the ſafetie of ſo many honeſt men as you be, and ſo good Citizens
" of ROME. If by your election you made me worthy to take vpon me the Imperiall crowne: I F
" muſt now needes ſhewe my ſelfe an Emperour, not ſparing to ſpend my life, for your and my
" contries ſafetie. I am certen that the victorie is not altogether myne enemies. For newes are
come

Mē that fight a battell, know not all things that are done at the battell.

The great fidelitie of the ſouldiers, vnto the Emperor Otho.

The wonderfull corage of a ſouldier of Othoes.

The noble corage of Otho before his death, & his oration to the ſouldiers.

A come vnto me, that our armies of MYSIA and PANNONIA are in their way comming to vs, "
and that they are not farre of from the Adriatick sea. ASIA, SYRIA, and ÆGYPT, and the le- "
gions that make warre in IVRY, are all ours. The Senate taketh our parte, and our enemies "
wiues and children be in our handes. But this warre is not against *Annibal*, nor *Pirrhus*, nor a- "
gainste the CIMBRES, to fight who should be owners of ITALY: but it is againste the RO- "
MANES them selues. For in this ciuill warre, both the Conqueror and vanquished doe offend "
their contrye: for where the Conquerors haue benefit, the contry and common wealth al- "
wayes receyueth losse. Assure your selues I had rather dye, then raigne Emperour: consi- "
dering also that my life with victorie can not so much benefit the ROMANES, as the sacrifice "
of the same may doe my contry good, for the peace and quietnes of my contry men, keeping "
B ITALY thereby from seeing such another battell, as this hath bene. So when he had made
this oration vnto them, and put those by, that would haue disswaded him the contrary: he
commaunded all the Senators and his frendes that were present, to auoyde. Then he wrote
letters to them that were absent, and also vnto the cities wherethrough they passed, to vse
them very curteously, and to see them safely conueyed. Then came his Nephewe *Cocceius* *The Emperor Othoes words to his Nephew Cocceius.*
to him, who was yet but a younge boye, and he did comfort him, and bad him not to be af-
frayd of *Vitellius*, for he had safely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as care-
full of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he would not yet adopt him for his sonne,
though he was desirous to doe it, vntill such tyme as he sawe the ende of this warre: to thend
that if he ouercame, he shoulde quietly raigne Emperour with him: and if he were ouer-
C come, that for adopting of him, he woulde not be cause of his death. But this one thinge
onely, I commaunde and charge thee, my sonne, euen as the last commaundement that I
can giue thee: that thou doe not forget altogether, nether ouer much remember, that thyne
Vncle hath bene Emperour. When he had tolde him this tale, he heard a noyse at his dore:
they were the souldiers that threatned the Senators which came from him, and woulde kill
them, if they did not remayne with him, but would forsake their Emperour. Vpon this oc-
casion he came out once againe among them, being affrayd least the souldiers would doe the
Senators some hurt, and made the souldiers giue backe, not by intreating of them, nor spea-
king curteously to them, but looking grymly on them, and in great rage: insomuch that they
all throncke backe, and went away for feare. So when night came, he was a thirst, and dranke
D a litle water: and hauing two swordes, he was prouing a great while which had the best edge.
In the ende, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his
seruaunts, and liberally to giue out his money amonge them, to some more, to some lesse, not
prodigally throwing it away without discretion, as being another mans money: but discreete-
ly gaue to euery man according to his desert. Then after he had dispatched them away, he laid *Otho in his death seemed to follow Cato Vtican.*
him down to sleepe al the rest of the night, that the groomes of his chamber heard him snort,
he slept so sowndly. In the morning he called one of his infranchised bondmen, whom he had
commaunded to helpe to saue the Senators, and sent him to see if they were all safe, & gone.
So when he vnderstoode that they were all gone, and that they had all the[y] would: come on,
said he then vnto him, looke to thy selfe I reade thee, and take heede the souldiers see thee not,
E if thou wilt scape with life, for sure they will kill thee, thinking thou hast holpen me to kill my
selfe. So assoone as his infranchised bondman was gone out of his chamber, he toke his sword *Otho slue him selfe.*
with both his hands, and setting the poynt of it to his brest, he fell downe vpon it, seeming to
feele no other payne, sauing that he fetched a sighe: whereby they that were without, knewe
that he had done him selfe hurt. Thereuppon his frendes made straight an outcry, and all the
campe and citie was incontinently full of teares and lamentacion. The souldiers sodainly ran
with a great noyse to his gates, where they bitterly bewayled, and lamented his death, falling
out with them selues that they were such Villaines so slenderly to haue garded their Empe-
rour, that they kept him not from killing him selfe for their sakes. So there was not a man of
them that left his body, though the enemies were hard at hand: but hauing honorably bury- *The funeralls of Otho the Emperour.*
F ed him, and prepared a great stacke of wodde, they conueyed him armed to the fire of his
funeralls, euery man thinking him selfe happy, that coulde first set his shoulders to the cof-
fyn to helpe to cary him. Others comming to it, kneeled downe on their knees, and kissed his

wound. Others tooke and kiſſed his handes. Others that could not come neare him, honored him, and did reuerence him a farre of, and ſome there were alſo that after the ſtacke of woode was ſet a fire, ſlue them ſelues hard by the fire: who had neuer receiued benefit by him that was dead, (at the leaſt to any mans knowledge) nether had they any occaſion to be affraid of him, that was Conqueror. And truely me thinkes, neuer king nor tyrant was ſo ambitiouſly giuen to raigne, as they vehemently deſired to be commaunded by *Otho*, and to obeye him: conſidering that their deſire left them not euen after his death, but was ſo liuely rooted in their mindes, that in the ende, it turned to a deadely hate vnto *Vitellius*. But of this we will ſpeake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried *Othoes* aſhes, they did ſet vp a tombe for him, nether for magnificence of building, nor for glorious epitaphe, ſubiect vnto enuy. For I haue ſeene his tombe in the citie of Bresselles, a meane thing, and the epitaph vpon it tranſlated out of Latine, ſayeth no more but this: This is the tombe of *Marcus Otho*. He dyed being but ſeuen and thirty yere olde, and was Emperor but three moneths: & there were as many famous men that commended his death, as they that reproued his life. For though he liued not much more honeſter then *Nero*, yet he dyed farre more honorably. Furthermore, when *Pollio* one of the Captaines would haue compelled his ſouldiers preſently to haue taken their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, they fell out with him: and vnderſtanding that there were yet remayning ſome Senators, they would not medle with them, but onely troubled *Verginius Rufus*. For they came to his dores armed, and called him by his name, & commaunded him to take charge of them, and to goe as Ambaſſador to intreate for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were alreadie ouercome, conſidering he refuſed it when they had ouercome: and alſo he was affraid to goe Ambaſſador to the Germaines, bicauſe he had compelled them to doe thinges againſt their willes. Therefore he went out at his backe dore, and ſaued him ſelfe. So when the ſouldiers heard of it they were at length contented to be brought to be ſworne vnto *Vitellius*, and ſo ioyned them ſelues with *Cecinnaes* ſouldiers, ſo they might be pardoned for all that was paſt.

The Emperor Othoes tombe in the citie of Breſſelles. Othoes age and raigne.

THE

THE LIVES OF ANNIBAL AND SCIPIO AFRICAN,

Translated into French by *Charles de la Sluce*, and englished by *Thomas North*.

Annibal.

A IF we doe call to mind the first PVNICK warre the CARTHAGINIANS had with the ROMANES: we shall find many Captaines, who by the glorye of their noble deedes, haue left great fame and renowme vnto their posteritie. Howbeit amongest all the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, none are found more worthy of fame, and so commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then *Hamilcar*, *Annibals* father, otherwise surnamed *Barcha*, a valliant man doubtles, and in his time a skilfull souldier as any was. The same *Hamilcar* first of all made warre with the ROMANES, a longer tyme in SICILIA then was looked for, who had done greate hurte to his contrye and common wealthe. After that also in B the warres of AFRICK (at what tyme the mercenarye souldiers through their rebellion did put the contrye of CARTHAGE in greate daunger) he did so valliantly appease the insurrection: that to euery mans iudgement, he was reputed the onely preseruer of his contrye. Then he was sent Gouernor and Captaine into SPAYNE, and caryed with him at that tyme, (as it is reported) his sonne *Annibal*, beeing but a younge boye, where he did noble seruice. In fine, in the nynth yeare of his aboade there in that prouince, he dyed fighting vallyantly agaynste the VETHEONS. After his deathe, *Hasdrubal* his Sonne in lawe,

The parentage of Annibal.

(whom the CARTHAGINIANS through the ayde & friendſhip of the BARCINIAN faction had made generall of all their armye) remayned gouernor there the ſpace of eight yeares. This *Haſdrubal* ſent for *Annibal* into SPAYNE, after his father *Hamilcars* death, againſt the minds of the chiefe of the contrary faction, to thend that as he had bene trayned from his youth in the diſcipline of warres, in his father *Hamilcars* life: euen ſo in like manner, that now being come to mans ſtate, he ſhould the better harden his body, to away with the paines and daungers of the warres. Now although at the firſt, the remembraunce of his father was a great helpe vnto him to winne the loue and good will of the ſouldiers: Yet he him ſelfe afterwards, through his diligence and induſtrie ſo handled the matter, that the olde ſouldiers forgetting all other Captaines, they onely deſired to chooſe him (and none other) for their gouernor. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wiſhed for, in a noble Captaine or generall. He had a preſent and ready wit to giue counſell what was to be done, in moſt greateſt attempts: & beſides, he lacked nether manhood nor induſtry to put it in execution. He had a valiant and inuincible mind, euen in greateſt daungers and aduerſities of bodye: the which are wont to ſtaye others from performing their indeuors and duety. He would watche and warde as any priuate ſouldier, and was quicke and ready to doe any kind of ſeruice, either like a valiant ſouldier, or a good Captaine. In this ſort *Annibal* continued in ſeruice in the warres, the ſpace of three yeares, vnder the conduct of *Haſdrubal*. In that time he ſo wanne the hartes of all the army, that immediatly after *Haſdrubals* death, he was choſen to be Lieuetenant generall, with the common conſent of all the ſouldiers: & this honor was layed vpon him without contradiction of any of the CARTHAGINIANS, through the friendſhip and good will of the BARCINIAN faction. *Annibal* was now ſix and twenty yeare olde, when the ſouldiers made him their Lieuetenant generall. For at what time his father *Hamilcar* brought him into SPAYNE, he was then but nyne yeare olde: & from that time vnto *Haſdrubals* death (according to *Polybius* declaration) it was ſeuenteene yeares more. So he was no ſooner made Lieuetenant generall of all the campe, and his contry: but he bent him ſelfe to make warre with the ROMANES, hauing long before determined it. For firſt of all, he chiefly mainteyned almoſt a common hate of all the CARTHAGINIANS againſt the ROMANES, bicauſe of the loſſe of SICILIA and SARDINIA. Beſides alſo, he bare them a ſecret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father *Hamilcar*: who, of all the Captaines the CARTHAGINIANS euer had, was the mortalleſt enemye vnto the ROMANES. And it is written alſo, that at what time *Hamilcar* made his preparation to goe into SPAYNE, he compelled *Annibal* being but a boy, to ſweare in a ſacrifice he made, that he would be a mortal enemy to the ROMANES, aſſoone as euer he came to the ſtate of a man. So, the remembrance of theſe things were ſtill freſh in the young mans minde, as the Idea (or image) of his fathers hate, and ſtill prouoked him to ſpie out all the meanes he could, how to deſtroy the Empire of ROME. Beſides alſo, the BARCINIAN factiō neuer left to prick him forward vnto it, bicauſe by warrs he might raiſe him ſelf to greatnes, & ſo increaſe his eſtate. Theſe cauſes, aſwell common as perticuler, inticed *Annibal* to attempt warre againſt the ROMANES, and gaue the ſtowt young man occaſion by theſe meanes to practiſe innouation. There was a people at that time called the SAGVNTINES, who confyned indifferently betwixt the ROMANES and CARTHAGINIANS: and were left free by the former peace concluded. Theſe SAGVNTINES euer after tooke part with the ROMANES: and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the ROMANES alwayes found them very true and faithfull to the Empire of ROME. *Annibal* therfore thought with him ſelf, he could not deuiſe to make a better match to anger the ROMANES withall, and to kindle the fire of his malice alſo againſt them: then to make warre with the SAGVNTINES, their confederats. Howbeit, before he would be openly ſeene to ſet vpon them, he firſt determined to leade his armye againſt the OLCADES, and other people on the other ſide of the riuer of Iberus: and after he had ouercomen them, then to finde occaſion to moleſt the SAGVNTINES, to make it appeare that the warre was rather begonne by them, then purpoſely intended by him. So after he had ouercome the OLCADES, he did ſet vpon the VACCEIANS, ſpoyled their contry, beſieged many cities, and tooke HERMANDICE, and ARBOCOLE, greate and riche cities. Nowe he had in manner ouercome all the whole contrye, when diuers fugitiues from the citie of HERMANDICE,

The ſtraite wit and diſpoſition of Annibal.

Annibal choſen Lieuetenant generall after the death of Haſdrubal. being but 26. yeare olde.

Diuers cauſes of Annibals mortall hate to the Romanes.

The Barcinian faction.

Iberus fl.

A DICE, encoraging one another, conspired against him, leauied men, and intised the OLCADES that were fled, to take their part. Then they perswaded the CARPENTANIANS their neighbours, that they would all agree sodainly to set vpon *Annibal* at his returne. They being a people that desired nothing more then to fight, & considering also that they had receiued iniuries by *Annibal*, did easily harken vnto that counsell: and thereuppon leauying a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thowsand, they went to assaile *Annibal* at his returne from the VACCEIANS, by the riuer of Tagus. Whē the CARTHAGINIANS discouered their army, they staied vpon it, & were marueilously affraid. And doutles, they had had a great ouerthrow, if they had fought with those so fierce people, being affraid of their sodaine comming, & also loden as they were with so great spoyles: the which *Annibal* deepely considering, like a wise B Captaine as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his campe in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he passed his army ouer the riuer with as litle noise as he could, leauing the passage where the enemies might easiliest come ouer, vngarded: bicause vnder pretence of dissembled feare, he might intise the barbarous people to passe ouer the riuer, to take the oportunitie & occasion offred them. Now in deede as he was the subtilleſt captaine, & had the fineſt stratageames of any other captaine of his time: so his policy was not in vaine, and his purpose to good effect, in abusing of the enemy. For the wild barbarous people reposing too great trust in the multitude of their men, supposing the CARTHAGINIANS had ben affraid: with great fury entred the riuer to passe it ouer. So they being greatly troubled, & out of order by this meanes, & specially before they could passe all ouer the riuer, they were set vpC on by the CARTHAGINIANS: first by certen horsemen, & afterwards with the whole army, so that there was a great number of them slaine, and the residue were put to flight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the riuer of Iberus, yelded them selues vnto him, sauing the SAGVNTINES: who, though they saw *Annibal* at hand comming towards them, yet trusting to the friendship of the ROMANES, they prepared to defend them selues against him: and therewithall sent Ambassadors presently to ROME, to shew the Senate in what great daunger they were, & also to pray aide against their so great enemye, that made warres so hottely with them. The Ambassadors that were sent to ROME, were scant gone out of SPAYNE, when *Annibal* made open warre on them, with al his army, & pitched his campe before the citie of SAGVNTVS. When this matter was reported at ROME, & consulted of for the wrongs that had D bene done to their confederats: the Senators delt but slackly in it, & by decree onely sent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, & *Quintus Bebius Pamphilus* vnto *Annibal*, to will him to raise his seege from SAGVNTVS: & if they found he would not harken to them, that then they should thence repaire to CARTHAGE, & to pray them to deliuer their generall *Annibal* vnto them, bicause he had broken the peace. *Polybius* writeth, that *Annibal* did heare these Ambassadors, howbeit that he made them a slender aunswer. *Liuius* writeth in contrary manner, that they were neuer heard, nor came at any time to his campe. Howbeit they both agree thus far, that they came into SPAYNE, & afterwards went into AFRIKE, & from thence came to CARTHAGE: where after they had deliuered their message vnto the coūsel, the BARCINIAN faction were so much against them, that they dishonorably returned to ROME, & obtained not their desire. Now, in E the Senate of CARTHAGE, there were two contrary parts & factions: of the which, the first tooke his beginning from the gouernment of *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Barcha*, & so discended as it were by succession to his sonne *Annibal*, & grew afterwards vnto such greatnes, that that faction (aswel abroad, as at home) ruled all matters iudiciall. The second faction came of *Hanno*, a graue man, & of great authoritie in the same common wealth: howbeit a man more giuen to embrace peace & quietnes, then otherwise disposed to warre & trouble. It is he onely (as it is reported) who at that time when the Ambassadors of the ROMANES came to CARTHAGE, to complaine of the iniuries done to their confederats: that did then in manner against the will of all the whole Senate, counsell them to keepe peace with the ROMANES, and to beware of warres, the which one day might peraduenture vtterly destroy their contry. Doubt-F les, if the CARTHAGINIANS woulde haue followed the graue counsell of *Hanno*, rather then to haue giuen place to their desires, and had followed the Author of peace, and not to haue bene ruled by them that gaue counsell to make warres: they hadde not tasted of

The conspiracie of the Spanyards against Annibal.

Tagus fl.

Annibals stratageame.

The Iberians yeeld them selues vnto Annibal.

Annibal layeth seege to the citie of Saguntus.

Two contrary factions in the Senate of Carthage: the Barcinians, & Hannians.

Hamilcar Barcha.

Hanno a graue counseller and gouernor in peace.

A happy thing to follow good counsell.

thoſe miſeries which their contry afterwards came vnto. But giuing place to the furie & ambitious mind of a young man, they heaped ſuch miſchieues on their heads, as afterwards fell out vpon them. Therefore it is very meete for wiſe Magiſtrats & gouernors of cõmon weales, alwaies rather to haue an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the ende: & euer to decyde all matters by aduiſe & councel, before they ſhould take any wars in hand. Now the SAGVNTINES ſeing them ſelues beſeeged by *Annibal*, & that againſt al reaſon & equitie he made warres vpon them: they notwithſtanding valiantly defended the ſeege, many monethes together. Yet in fine, though *Annibal* had many moe mẽ then they (hauing a hundred & fifty thowſand men in his campe) & that the moſt part of their rampars were battered & ouerthrowen: they liked rather to abide the ſack of their citye, then to yeld them ſelues to the mercy of their mortall enemie. So ſome doe report, that SAGVNTVS was taken the eight moneth after ſeege was layed vnto it: But *Liuie* ſeemeth not to agree to that, nether to ſet downe any certen time of the continuance of the ſeege. Nowe, the taking of this ſo wealthie a citie, was a great furtherance diuers wayes to *Annibals* enterpriſes. For many cities taking example of the ſacke of SAGVNTVS, who before miſliking to be ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, were ready to rebell: they kept them ſelues quiet, and the ſouldiers alſo waxed liuely and coragious, ſeeing the rich ſpoyles that were deuided in the campe. So *Annibal* ſent great preſents of the ſpoiles of the SAGVNTINES vnto CARTHAGE, whereby he wanne the chiefeſt men of the citie, and made them like the better of warres: whome he determined to leade with him againſt the ROMANES, not in SPAYNE, as many ſuppoſed, but into ITALY it ſelfe. Whileſt theſe matters were in hande, the Ambaſſadors returned from CARTHAGE to ROME, and declared in open Senate, the ſlender aunſwer they had receiued, in manner at the ſelfe ſame time when they had intelligence of the ſacke of SAGVNTVS. Hereuppon the ROMANES greatly repented them ſelues, (though ſomewhat too late) for that they ayded not their friendes and confederats in ſo great a daunger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very ſory for it, and therewith alſo maruelouſly offended, they deuided the prouinces vnto the Conſuls, to wete: SPAYNE vnto *Publius Cornelius*, and AFRICK and SICILIA alſo vnto *Titus Sempronius*. Afterwards, certen of the nobleſt men of the citie were ſent ambaſſadors vnto CARTHAGE, to make their complaints in open Senate for breache of the peace, and alſo to denownce vnto them the cauſe of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to proclaime open warre againſt them, after they had declared the occaſion thereof to come of them ſelues. This was as brauely receiued of the CARTHAGINIANS, as luſtely offred vnto them: but therein they were not ſo wel aduiſed, as the ſucceſſe of that warre in the ende ſufficiently proued it to them. Now *Annibal* being aduertiſed how things were concluded in the Senate at CARTHAGE, and thinking with him ſelfe that it was time to goe into ITALY, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to prepare his ſhippes and things ready, and ſo required ayde of the cities that were his beſt friends and confederats, and commaunded that all the bands ſhould meete him at newe CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, he appoynted good garriſons in places moſt conuenient, in AFRICK and SPAYNE, which he thought aboue all things els to be moſt neceſſary: bicauſe that when he ſhould goe into ITALY, the ROMANES ſhould not winne it from him. Therefore he ſent into AFRICK, twelue hundred horſemen, & thirteene thowſand footemen, all SPANYARDS: and beſides, he brought out of diuers parts of AFRICK foure thowſand ſouldiers, and placed them in garriſon in CARTHAGE, obteyning both hoſtages and ſouldiers by this meanes. So he left the gouernment of SPAYNE to his brother *Haſdrubal*, and gaue him an army of fiftye ſhippes of warre, two thowſand horſemen, and twelue thowſand footemen. Theſe were the garriſons he left in both thoſe prouinces. Nowe he thought them not ſufficient to withſtande the power of the ROMANES, if they bent their warres into SPAYNE, or AFRICK: but bicauſe he thought them ſtronge inough to ſtay the enemy from ouerrunning of the contry, vntill that hauing brought his armye by land, he had ſet foote in ITALY. Moreouer, he knewe that the CARTHAGINIANS were ſtronge inough to leauy a new army if they lyſted, and if neede ſo required, to ſend him ayde alſo into ITALY. For, after that they had driuen away this ſo daungerous a warre, procured agaynſt them through the ſpight of the mercenary ſouldiers, hauing euer after obteined victorie: firſt vnder the

Wiſe counſell for gouernors to preuent things at the beginning

Annibal wan the citie of Saguntus.

P. Cornelius, and T. Sempronius Conſuls.

Warres proclaymed by the Romanes, with the Carthaginians.

A the conduct of *Hamilcar:* secondly, vnder *Hasdruball*: and lastlie, vnder *Annibal:* they were growen to such greatnes & strength, that at what time *Annibal* came into ITALIE, their Empire & dominions were maruelously enlarged. For they had all the coast of AFRICKE, which lyeth ouer against the sea Mediterraneum, from the aulters of the Philenians, which be not farre from the great Syrte, vnto *Hercules* pillers: and conteineth in length * two thowsande paces. So, after they had passed the straight which deuideth AFRICKE from EVROPE, they possessed almost all SPAYNE, to the mountaines Pyrenei, which doe deuide SPAYNE from GAVLE. Thus order being taken for all things in AFRICKE, and SPAYNE: *Annibal* returned againe to new CARTHAGE, where his armie was readie for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no lenger, he called his men together, and incoraging them with great and

The greatnes of the dominion of Africke.

** This place is false.*

B large promises, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALIE: & made great accompt vnto them of the frendshippe of the GAVLES, and in the end he bad them be of good corage, and set lustely forward. Thereuppon, the next day following he departed from CARTHAGE, and brought his armie all alongest the coast, vnto the riuer of Iberus. It is reported, that the next night following, *Annibal* dreamed he saw a young man, of a maruelous terrible looke & stature, who bad him follow him into ITALIE: but afterwards, that he saw a snake of a wōderful greatnes, making a maruelous noyse: & being desirous to vnderstand what the same might signifie, it was told him that it betokened the destruction of ITALIE. It is not to be marueled at, though the great care & thought he tooke in the day time for the warre of ITALIE, made his mind to run of such fansies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destructiō, or such other

Annibal determineth to inuade Italy.

Annibals dreame at the riuer of Iberus.

C calamities of warre. For they are things that happen often, as *Cicero* the Orator saith: that our thoughts & words do beget such things in our dreame, as *Ennius* the Poet wryteth of *Homer:* to wit, like to those his minde most ran on, or that he talked of most. Now, after *Annibal* had passed ouer the mountaines Pirenei, and that he had also won the GAVLES harts with bountifull gifts: in few dayes he came to the riuer of Rhone. The head of the riuer of Rhone, is not farre from the heades of the riuers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at GENEVA. Then it runneth from thence towardes the West, and deuideth the GAVLES a pretie way: and then being increased by the riuer of Arar (called in French, Saone) and with other riuers in the ende it falleth into the sea with diuers heades, betwext the VOLCES, and the CAVARIANS. The VOLCES, at that time inhabited

The head & course of the riuer of Rhone.

Arar fl.

The Volcæ: people that inhabited about the riuer of Rhone.

D both the sides of the riuer of Rhone, and were full of people, and the richest of all the other GAVLES. They hauing vnderstanding of *Annibals* comming, passed ouer the riuer, and armed them selues, & prepared on the other side to stoppe the CARTHAGINIANS, that they should not passe ouer. Now, though *Annibal* had wonne all the other GAVLES, yet those he coulde neuer winne neither by gifts, nor threats, to cause them rather to proue the frendship of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force. Therefore *Annibal* perceiuing he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commaunded *Hanno* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, secretly to passe ouer the riuer of Rhone, with parte of the armie, and so to set vpon the GAVLES on the sodaine. Thereupon *Hanno* as he was commaunded, made a long iorney, and hauing passed ouer the riuer at passable fords: he shewed him selfe hard by the enemies campe, before they saw him,

E or that they knewe what it was. The GAVLES hearing their showtes and cries behinde them, and hauing their handes full of *Annibal* before them, who had many botes ready to passe ouer his men: they hauing no leasure to consult of the matter, neither to arme them selues to stande to defense, left their campe, and fled for life. So they being driuen from the other side of the riuer, the rest of the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS passed ouer it with safetie. In the meane time, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, that but a litle before was comen vnto MASSILIA, still heard newes of *Annibals* armie. Wherefore, to be more assured of the matter, he sent a bande of choyce horsemen to discouer what the enemies intent was: who making great speede as they were commaunded, met by chaunce with fiue hūdred horsemen of the NVMIDIANS, whom *Annibal* had also sent to bring him word of the ROMANES armie. So, they first sodainly gaue

P. Cornelius Scipio Consul sent against Annibal, and arriued at Massilia.

F charge vpon the NVMIDIANS, and after a hotte and valliant conflict betwene both the parties, in the end the ROMANES ouercomming them, they made them flie, but with great losse of their men: howebeit the greatest losse and slaughter fell vpon the enemies. So *Annibal* by

this meanes founde where the ROMANES lay, and ſtoode in a great dout with him ſelfe, whither he ſhoulde keepe on his way into ITALIE, or elſe lead his armie againſt the Conſul that then was, and ſo to proue his happe & ſucceſſe. At length, debating many wayes in his mind, and vncertaine which way he would determine: the Ambaſſadors of the BOIANS perſwaded him to leaue all other deuiſes, and to goe on into ITALIE. For before that *Annibal* had paſſed ouer the mountaines Pirenei, the BOIANS hauing by craft taken the ROMANES Ambaſſadors, and done great miſchiefe vnto *Manlius* the Prætor, and intiſed the INSVBRIANS alſo: they were reuolted from the ROMANES, and tooke parte with *Annibal*, and onely bicauſe the ROMANES had repleniſhed the cities of PLACENTIA, and CREMONA with people, and had made them Colonies to ROME. So *Annibal* being ruled by their counſell, raiſed his campe, and keping the riuers ſide, ſtill going againſt the riuer: in few dayes he came to the place which the GAVLES doe call the Iland, the which the riuer of Arar and Rhodanus comming from diuers mountaines doe make there. So at this preſent, there is the famous citie of LION in GAVLE, which they ſay was built long time after, by *Plancus Munatius*. From thence he came to the contrie of the ALLOBROGES, and hauing pacified the variance betwext two brethren for the realme, he came through the contrie of the CASTINIANS and VOCONTIANS, to the riuer of Durance. The head of this riuer commeth from the Alpes, and from thence running with a ſwift ſtreame, falleth into the riuer of Rhone: & as it oftentimes chaungeth her courſe, ſo hath it in manner no paſſable forde. Yet *Annibal* hauing paſt it ouer, he led his armie vnto the Alpes, through open and plaine contries, as farre as he coulde: howebeit as he paſſed through them, he had great loſſes, as it is reported. Inſomuche that ſome which were liuing at that time, did affirme, that they heard *Annibal* him ſelfe ſay, that he had loſt aboue thirtie thowſand men, and the moſt parte of his horſemen. For he was forced not only to fight with the inhabitants of the mountaines, but alſo compelled to make wayes through the ſtraights: ſo that in certaine places of the higheſt rockes, he was driuen to make paſſages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had paſſed the Alpes in fifteene dayes ſpace, he came downe into the valley, not farre from the citie of TVRINE. Whereby it ſeemeth to me, that he paſſed ouer the mountaine they commonly called Genua, the which on the one ſide of it hath the riuer of Druentia, and on the other ſide it goeth downe to the city of TVRINE. Now it is hard to ſay truly, what number of men he had when he was comen into ITALIE: bicauſe of mens diuerſities of opinions. For ſome wryte, that he had a hundred thowſand footemen, and twentie thowſand horſemen: others alſo write, that he had twentie thowſand footemen, and ſixe thowſand horſemen, all AFRIKANS and SPANYARDES. But others, reckoning the GAVLES and LIGVRIAS, doe count foure ſcore thowſande footemen, and tenne thowſande horſemen. Yet it is not credible, that his armie was ſo great, as the firſt men report, and ſpecially hauing paſſed through ſo many contries, and alſo receiued ſuch loſſe as he had: neither alſo could his number be ſo ſmall, as the ſecond reporters doe make it, if a man will conſider the famous exploytes and great enterpriſes he did afterwardes. So that I like their opinions beſt, which keepe the meane betwene them both: conſidering that he brought into ITALIE, the better parte of foure ſcore thowſand footemen, and tenne thowſand horſemen, the which he had leauied in SPAYNE: as it is manifeſtly knowen alſo, that a great number of the LIGVRIANS and GAVLES came to ioyne with him, for the great malice they bare vnto the ROMANES, that gaue no place nor grounde vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. So *Annibal* being comen from TVRINE, into the contrie of the INSVBRIANS: he was met withall by *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who marching with wonderfull ſpeede from MASSILIA, and hauing paſſed the riuers of Po and Teſin, he camped not farre from the enemie. So ſhortly after, both the Generalls being comen into the field to view eche others campe, the horſemen of either ſide grew to skirmiſh, which continued long, and was not to be diſcerned which of them had the better. Howbeit in the end, the ROMANES ſeeing the Conſul hurt, and alſo that the horſemen of the NVMIDIANS, by litle and litle came to compaſſe them in: they were driuen to geue ground, and ſo pretily retyred, defending the Conſul the beſt they could to ſaue him, and ſo at length recouered their campe. It is reported that *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, was ſaued at that time through his ſonnes helpe, who afterwardes was called AFRICAN, and at that time was but

The Boians & Inſubrians, reuolt from the Romanes, & take parte with Annibal.

Ingdunum, built by Plancus Munatius.
Druentia fl.

Annibal made waies through the rockes of the mountaines, by force of fire and vineger.
The valley of Taurinus.
Annibals comming into Italie by Piedmont, not farre from Turine.

Anniballs army in Italie.

Annibals firſt conflict with the Romanes, and victorie.
P. C. Scipio Conſul hurt, and ſaued

A but a young ſtripling: whoſe praiſe though it was wonderfull in ſo greene a youth, yet it is likelie to be true, bicauſe of the famous and valliant actes he did afterwardes. Nowe *Scipio* hauing proued how much his enemie was ſtronger then him ſelfe in horſemen: he determined to place his campe ſo, as his footemen might be in beſt ſafety, & alſo fight with greateſt aduantage. And therefore the next night following he paſſed the riuer of Po, and made as litle noyſe as he coulde, and went vnto PLACENTIA. The like ſhortlie after did *T. Sempronius Longus*, who had bene reſtored from baniſhment by the Senate, and ſent for out of SICILIA: bicauſe both the Conſuls ſhould gouerne the common wealth by one ſelfe authoritie. *Annibal* alſo followed them both with all his armie, and pitched his campe neere vnto the riuer of Trebia: hoping that bicauſe both campes lay ſo neere together, ſome occaſion would be ofB fred to fight, the which he chieflie deſired, both bicauſe he coulde not long maintaine warre for lacke of vittells, as alſo that he miſtruſted the fickelnes of the GAVLES. Who, like as they ſoone fell in league and frendſhip with him, drawen vnto it with hope of chaunge, and with the fame alſo of his victorie obtained: ſo he miſtruſted that vpon any light occaſion (as if the warre ſhould continue any long time in their contrie) they would turne all the hate they bare vnto the ROMANES, againſt him, as the only author of this warre. For theſe reſpectes therefore, he deuiſed all the meanes he could to come to battell. In the meane time, *Sempronius* the other Conſul, met with a troupe of the enemies, loden with ſpoyle, ſtragling vp and downe the fieldes, whom he charged, and put to flight. So imagining the like ſucceſſe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall: he had good hope of victorie, if once both the C armies might come to fight. Therefore being maruelous deſirous to doe ſome noble enterpriſe before *Scipio* were recouered of his hurt, and that the new Conſul ſhould be choſen: he determined to ioyne battell againſt the will of his other colleague and fellowe Conſul *Scipio*, who thought nothing could be to leſſe purpoſe, then to put all the ſtate and common wealth in ieopardie, ſpeciallie hauing all the whole GAVLES in maner in the field againſt him. Now, *Annibal* had ſecret intelligence of all this variance, by ſpialls he had ſent into the enemies campe. Wherefore, he being politike and ſuttle as he was, found out a place ſtraight betwene both campes, couered ouer with buſhes and briers, and there he placed his brother *Mago* to lye in ambuſh, with a companie of choſen men. Then he commaunded the horſemen of the NVMIDIANS, to ſcurrie to the trenches of the ROMANES, to intiſe him to come to battell: and D thereupon made the reſidue of his armie to eate, and ſo put them in verie good order of battell, to be readie vpon any occaſion offered. Now the Conſul *Sempronius*, at the firſt tumult of the NVMIDIANS, ſodainly ſent his horſemen to encounter them, and after them put out ſix thowſande footemen, and in the ende, came him ſelfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the middeſt of winter, and extreame cold, and ſpeciallie in the places incloſed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appenine. Nowe the NVMIDIANS as they were commaunded, intiſed the ROMANES by litle and litle on this ſide the riuer of Trebia, vntill they came to the place where they might diſcerne their enſignes: and then they ſodainlie turned vpon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the NVMIDIANS, oftentimes to flie of ſet purpoſe, and then to ſtay vpon the ſodaine when they ſee time, to charge E their enemie more hottely and fiercely then before. Whereuppon *Sempronius* incontinently gathered his horſemen together, and did ſet his men in battell ray, as time required, to geue charge vpon his enemie, that ſtayed for him in order of battell. For *Annibal* had caſt his men into ſquadrons, readie vpon any occaſion. The skirmiſh beganne firſt by the light horſemen, & afterwards increaſed hotter by ſupplie of the men of armes: howbeit the ROMANE Knights being vnable to beare the ſhocke of the enemies, they were quickelie broken. So that the legions maintained the battell with ſuch furie & noble corage, that they had bene able to haue reſiſted, ſo they had fought but with footemen onely. But on the one ſide, the horſemen and Elephants made them affraied, and on the other ſide the footemen followed them verie luſtely, and fought with great furie againſt famiſhed and frozen men. Wherefore the ROMANES F notwithſtanding, ſuffring all the miſeries that vexed them on euerie ſide, with an vnſpeakable corage and magnanimitie, ſuch as was aboue their force and ſtrength: they fought ſtill, vntill that *Mago* comming out of his ambuſh, came and ſodainly aſſailed them with great ſhowtes

from his enemies by his ſonne, who was afterwards called African.

Padus fl.

P. Cornelius Scipio, and T. Sempronius Longus, Conſulls againſt Annibal.

Trebia fl.

Ambuſh laied by Annibal to entrappe Sempronius.

Annibal fought with Sempronius the Conſul, at the riuer of Trebia.

The Numidians craft in flying.

and cries, and that the middle ſquadron of the CARTHAGINIANS alſo (through *Annibals* A
cõmaundement) flew vpon the CENOMANIANS. Then the ROMANES ſeeing their confederats
flie, their harts were done, and vtterly diſcoraged. It is ſayd that there were tenne thowſande
footemen of the ROMANES got to PLACENTIA, and came through the enemies. The reſt of
the armie that fledde, were moſt parte of them ſlaine by the CARTHAGINIANS. The Conſul
Annibals victorie of the Conſul Sempronius. *Sempronius* alſo ſcaped verie narowlie from the enemies. The victorie coſt *Annibal* the ſetting
on alſo: for he loſt a great number of his men, and the moſt parte of all his Elephantes were
ſlaine. After this battell, *Annibal* ouercame all the contrie, and did put all to fire and ſworde,
and tooke alſo certaine townes: and with a few of his men made a great number of the con-
trie men flie, that were diſorderlie gathered together in battell. Then at the beginning of the
ſpring, he brought his army into the field ſooner then time required: & meaning to goe into B
THVSCAN, he was driuen backe by a great tempeſt at the verie toppe of the height of the Ap-
penine, and ſo compelled to bring his armie about PLACENTIA: howbeit ſhortly after he put
himſelfe againe into the fields for diuers vrgent & neceſſary cauſes. For had he not ſaued him
ſelfe by that policie, he had almoſt bene taken tardie by the ambuſh of the GAVLES: who be-
ing angry with him that the warre continued ſo long in their contry, they ſought to be reuen-
ged of him, as the only author & occaſion of the warre. Therefore perceiuing it was time for
him to auoyde this daunger, he made all the haſt he could to leade his armie into ſome other
prouince. Furthermore, he thought it would increaſe his eſtimacion much amõg ſtraũgers, &
alſo greatly encorage his owne people, if he could make the power of the CARTHAGINIANS
to ſeeme ſo great, & alſo their Captaine to be of ſo noble a corage, as to dare to make warre ſo C
neere to the citie of ROME. All things therefore ſet a part, he marched with his campe by the
mountaine Appenine, and ſo comming through the contry of the LIGVRIANS, he came into
THVSCAN, by the way that bringeth them into the champion contry, & to the mariſſes about
Arnus fl. the riuer of Arnus. The riuer of Arnus at that time was very high, and had ouerflowen all the
fields thereabouts. *Annibal* therefore marching with ſo great an army as he had, could not a-
voyde it, but that he muſt needes loſe a number of his men & horſe, before he could get out of
Annibal loſt one of his eyes in the mariſhes, by the riuer of Arnus. thoſe euill fauored mariſſes. Inſomuch that he him ſelfe loſt one of his eyes, by reaſon of the
great paines he had taken day & night without ſleepe or reſt, and alſo through the euill ayer:
though he was caried vpon a high Elephants back, which only was left him of all that he had
brought with him. In the meane time, *C. Flaminius* Conſul, to whom the charge of *Sẽpronius* D
army was geuen: he was come vnto ARETIVM againſt the Senates minde, who were marue-
C. Flaminius, & Cn. Seruilius, Conſuls. louſly offended with him, bicauſe he left his cõpanion *Cn. Seruilius* at ROME, & went vnto his
prouince by ſtelth as it were, without the furniture of a Conſul & his officers. This was a very
haſty man of nature, & one whom the people had brought to that dignity & office: ſo that he
was become ſo prowde & inſolent that men might ſee he would hazard all things without wit
or iudgement. *Annibal* hauing intelligence hereof, thought it the beſt way to anger the Con-
ſul, & to do what he could poſſible to allure him into the field, before his fellow Conſul ſhould
come to ioyne with him. Therfore, he marching forward with his campe through the contry
of FESVLA, & ARETIVM, he burnt & ſpoiled all the contry thereabout, & filled them all with
Montes Cortonenſes. feare, neuer leauing to deſtroy all before him, vntil he came to the mountaines Cortonenſes, E
Lacus Thraſimenus. & ſo to the lake called Thraſimene. When he had viewed the place, he went about to ſurpriſe
his enemy by ſome ambuſh: wherupon he conueied certen horſemen vnder the hills, hard by
the ſtraight that goeth vnto Thraſimene, and behind the mountaines alſo, he placed his light
horſemẽ. Thẽ he him ſelfe with the reſt of his army came downe into the field, ſuppoſing that
The iudgement of a ſouldier. the Conſul would not be quiet: and ſo it fell out. For hot ſtirring heades are eaſely intrapped,
& fall into the enemies ambuſh, & oftentimes do put all in hazard, bicauſe they will follow no
counſell nor good aduiſe. *C. Flaminius* therefore, ſeeing their contry vtterly ſpoiled, the corne
deſtroyed and cut downe, and the houſes burnt: he made great haſt to lead his armie againſt
the enemie, contrarie to all mens minds, who would haue had him taried for his companion
Cn. Seruilius the other Conſul. So euen at ſunne ſet, when he was come to the ſtraightes of F
the lake of Thraſimene, he cauſed his campe to ſtay there, although his men were not wea-
rie with the long iorney they had taken by the way. So the next morning by breake of day,

making

A making no view of the contrie, he went ouer the mountaines. Then *Annibal* who long before was prepared for this, did but ſtay for the oportunitie to worke his feate: when he ſaw the ROMANES come into the plaine, he gaue a ſignall vnto all his men to geue charge vpon the enemie. Thereuppon the CARTHAGINIANS breaking out on euerie ſide, came before and behinde, and on the flanckes to aſſaile the enemie, being ſhut in betwene the lake and the mountaines. Now in contrarie maner, the ROMANES beginning to fight out of order, they fought incloſed together, that they could not ſee one an other, as if it had bene darke: ſo that it is to be wondered at, how, and with what minde they fought it out ſo long, conſidering they were compaſſed in on euerie ſide. For they fought it out aboue three howres ſpace, with ſuch fury and corage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that preſent time, neither B did they offer to flie or ſtirre a foote: vntil they heard that the Conſul *C. Flaminius* going from rancke to rancke to encourage his men, was ſlaine by a man of armes called *Ducarius*. Then when they had loſt their Generall, and being voyde of all hope: they fled, ſome towardes the mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which diuers of them flying, were ouertaken & ſlaine. So there were ſlaine * fifteene thowſand in the field, & there ſcaped about ten thowſand. Furthermore the report went, that there were ſix thowſande footemen which forciblie (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and there ſtayed on a hill till the battell was ended, and at length came downe vpon *Annibals* promiſe: but they were betrayed, and ſlaine, euery mothers ſonne of them. After this great victorie, *Annibal* did let diuers ITALIAN priſoners goe free without raunſome paying, after he had vſed them maruelous curteouſlie: C bicauſe that the fame of his clemencie & curteſie ſhould be knowen vnto all nations, whereas in deede his owne nature was contrarie to all vertues. For he was haſtie and cruell of nature, and from his youth was brought vp in warres, and exerciſed in murther, treaſon, & ambuſhes layed for enemies: and neuer cared for law, order, nor ciuill gouernment. So by this meanes he became one of the cruelleſt Captaines, the moſt ſuttell, and craftieſt to deceiue and intrap his enemie, that euer was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the enemie: ſo thoſe whom he could not ouercome in warre by plaine force, he went about to intrappe by ſlight and policie. The which appeareth true by this preſent battell, and alſo by the other he fought againſt the Conſul *Sempronius*, by the riuer of Trebia. But let vs returne to our matter, and leaue this talke till an other time. Now when the newes of the ouerthrow and death of the Conſul *Flaminius* was reported at ROME, hauing loſt the moſt parte of his armie: there was great mone D and lamentation made through all the citie of ROME. Some bewailing the common miſerie of the common wealth, others lamenting their priuate particular loſſe, & ſome alſo ſorowing for both together. But in deede it was a woefull ſight, to ſee a world of men & women to run to the gates of the citie, euerie one priuatly asking for their kinne and frends. Some do write, that there were two women, who being very ſorie and penſife, diſpairing of the ſafetie of their ſonnes, dyed ſodainly for the extreame ioy they had, when beyond their expectacion & hope they ſawe their ſonnes aliue and ſafe. At the ſelfe ſame time, *Cn. Seruilius*, the other Conſul with *C. Flaminius*, did ſend him foure thowſand horſemen, not vnderſtanding yet of the battell that was fought by the lake of Thraſymene. But when they heard of the ouerthrowe of E their men by the way, and therefore thought to haue fled into VMBRIA: they were compaſſed in by the horſemen of the enemies, and ſo brought vnto *Annibal*. Nowe the Empire of ROME being brought into ſo great extreamitie and daunger, bicauſe of ſo many ſmall loſſes one in the necke of an other: it was ordeined, that an extraordinarie Gouernor or Magiſtrate ſhould be choſen, who ſhould be created Dictator: an office ſpecially vſed to be reſerued for the laſt hope and remedie, in moſt extreame daunger and perill, of the ſtate and common wealth. But bicauſe the Conſul *Seruilius* could not returne at that time to ROME, all the waies being kept by the enemie: the people contrarie to their cuſtome, created *Q. Fabius* Dictator, (who afterwards attained the ſurname of *Maximus*, to ſay, verie great) who likewiſe did name *M. Minutius* Generall of the horſemen. Now this *Fabius* was a graue and wiſe counſeller, and F of great authoritie and eſtimacion in the common wealth: inſomuche as the citizens had all their hope and confidence in him onely, perſwading them ſelues, that the honor of ROME might be better preſerued vnder the gouernment and conduct of ſuch a Generall, rather then

Battell betweene Annibal and C. Flaminius the Conſul, by the lake of Thraſymene.

The Romanes were ſo earneſt in fight, that they heard not the noiſe of an earthquake.

C. Flaminius the Conſul ſlaine

** Plutarke in the life of Fabius Maximus, addeth to as many priſoners.*

Annibals craftines to diſſemble vertue.

The naturall diſpoſition of Annibal.

Extreame ioy cauſeth ſodaine death

The office of Dictator, of what effect.

Q. Fabius Maximus, created Dictator.

vnder the gouernment of any other man whatsoeuer. So *Fabius* knowing it very well, after he had carefullie and diligentlie geuen order for all thinges necessarie: he departed from ROME, and when he had receiued the armie of the late Consul *Cn. Seruilius*, he added vnto them two other legions, and so went vnto the enemie. Nowe *Annibal* was gone from the lake of Thrasymene, and went directly towardes the citie of SPOLETVM, to see if he could take it at the first assault. But when he saw that the townes men stoode vpon the rampers of the walls, and valliantlie defended them selues: he then left the towne, and destroyed the contrie as he went, and burnt houses and villages, and so went into APVLIA, through the marches of ANCONA, and the contries of the MARSIANS and PELIGNIANS. The Dictator followed him at the heeles, and camped hard by the citie of ARPY, not farre from the campe of the enemie, to thend to drawe out the warre at length. For the rashnesse and foolehardines of the former Captaines affore time, had brought the state of ROME into such miserie: that they thought it a victorie vnto them, not to be ouercome by the enemie, that had so often ouercome them. Whereby all thinges were turned straight with the chaunge and alteracion of the Captaine. For, though *Annibal* had set his men in battell ray, and afterwardes perceiuing his enemie sturred not, went and destroyed the contrie, hoping thereby to intise the Dictator to fight, when he should see the contrie of his confederates so spoyled, as it was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithstanding, was not moued withall, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. *Annibal* was in a marueilous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often remoued his campe, to the ende that going diuers wayes, some occasion or oportunitie might fall out to deceiue the enemie, or else to geue battell. So when he had passed the mountaine Appenine, he came vnto SAMNIVM. But bicause shortlie after, some of CAMPANIA, who hauing bene taken prisoners by the lake of Thrasymene, had bene set at libertie without raunsome: they putting him in hope that he might take the citie of CAPVA, he made his armie march forward, and tooke a guide that knew the contrie, to bring him vnto CASINVM. Nowe the guide ouerhearing CASINVM, vnderstoode it CASILINVM, & so mistaking the sound of the word, brought the armie a cleane contrary way vnto CALENTINVM, and CALENVM, and from thence about STELLA. So when they came into a contry enuironned about with mountaines and riuers, *Annibal* knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the guide to death. *Fabius* the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this pacientlie, and was contented to geue *Annibal* libertie to take his pleasure which way he woulde: vntill he had gotten the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, where he placed his garrison, being places of great aduantage and commodity. So the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS was in manner compassed in euery way, and they must needes haue dyed for famine in that place, or else haue fled, to their great shame and dishonor: had not *Annibal* by this stratageame preuented the daunger. Who knowing the daunger all his armie stoode in, and hauing spied a fit time for it: he commaunded his souldiers to bring forth two thowsand oxen which they had gotten in spoyle in the fields, hauing great store of them, and then tying torches or fire linckes vnto their hornes, he appointed the nimblest men he had to light them, and to driue the oxen vp the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the reliefe of the first watche. All this was duely executed according to his commaundement, and the oxen running vp to the toppe of the mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them fayer and softly. Now the ROMANES that had long before placed a strong garrison vpon the mountaines, they were affrayed of this straunge sight, and mistrusting some ambushe, they foorthwith forsooke their peeces and holdes. *Fabius* him selfe mistrusting also that it was some stratageame of the enemie, kept his men within the campe, and coulde not well tell what to say to it. In the meane time, *Annibal* got ouer the mountaine, not farre from the bathes of Swessa, which the contrie men doe call the tower of the bathes, and brought all his armie safe into ALBA: and shortlie after, he marched directlie as though he woulde goe to ROME, howbeit he sodainlie turned out of the way, and went presentlie into APVLIA. There he tooke the citie of GLERENVM, a verie riche and wealthie towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him harde, and came and camped by LAVRINVM, not farre from the CARTHAGINIANS campe. So he being sent for to ROME about waighty affaires

Hastines of Captaines oftentimes very hurtfull.

The guide cruelly put to death by Annibal.

Annibals stratageame in the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, against Q. Fabius Dictator.

Certaine bathes at Swessa, called the tower of the bathes. Glerenum: a citie in Apulia.

A affaires of the ſtate, there was no remedy but he muſt needes depart thence with all the ſpede he coulde: howebeit before he went, he left *Marcus Minutius* Generall of the horſemen, his Lieutenaunt of all the armie, and commaunded him in his abſence not once to ſturre, nor meddle with the enemie. For he was fullie bent to follow his firſt determination, which was: not to vexe the enemy, nor to fight with him, though he were prouoked to it. Howbeit *Marcus Minutius* litle regarding the Dictators commaundement, his backe was no ſoner turned, but hē ſet vpon a companie of the enemies diſperſed in the fielde a forraging, and ſlue a great number of them: and fought with the reſt, euen into their campe. The rumor of this skirmiſh flew ſtraight to Rome, and there was ſuch great accompt made of it, that it was eſteemed for a victorie: and the common people were ſo ioyfull of it, that they ſtraight made the power of
B the Lieutenant, equall with the Dictator *Fabius*: the which was neuer heard of before. *Fabius* paciently bearing this extreame iniurie with a noble courage, hauing no way deſerued it: he returned againe vnto the campe. Thus there were two Dictators at one ſelfe time (a thing neuer ſeene nor heard of before) who after they had deuided the army betwene them, either of them commaunded his army a parte, as the Conſuls were wont to doe before. *Marcus Minutius* thereupon grew to ſuch a pride and hawtie mind, that one day he ventred to geue battell, and made not his companion *Fabius* a counſell withall: the which *Annibal* hauing ſo often ouercome, durſt ſcantly haue enterpriſed. So he led his army into ſuch a place, where the enemie had compaſſed them in: inſomuche that *Annibal* ſlue them at his pleaſure, without any hope left them to eſcape, if *Fabius* had not comen in time (as he did) to aide them, rather re-

Two Dictators together neuer heard of before.

C ſpecting the honor of his contrie, then remembring the priuate iniurie he had receiued. For he comming freſh with his armie to the battell, made *Annibal* affrayed, that the Romane legions had libertie to retire with ſafetie. Whereby *Fabius* wanne great fame for his wiſedome and valliantneſſe, both of his owne ſouldiers, as alſo of the enemies them ſelues. For it was reported that *Annibal* ſhould ſay, returning into his campe: that in this battell he had ouercomen *M. Minutius*, but withall, that he was alſo ouercomen by *Fabius*. And *Minutius* ſelfe alſo confeſſing *Fabius* wiſedom, & conſidering that (according to *Heſiodus* ſaying) it was good reaſon to obey a better man then him ſelfe: he came with all his armie vnto *Fabius* campe, & renouncing his authority, came and humbly ſaluted *Fabius* as his father, and all that day there was great ioy, and reioycing among the ſouldiers. So both the armies being placed in garri-
D ſon for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two newe Conſuls created: *L. Paulus AEmylius*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, one that of a meane man (through the fauour of the common people) was brought to be Conſul. So they had libertie and commiſſion to leauie a greater armie then the Generalls before them had done. Whereby the legions were newly ſupplied, and alſo others added vnto them, more then were before. Now when the Conſuls were come into the armie, as they were of ſeuerall diſpoſitions, ſo did they alſo obſerue diuers manners in their gouernment. *Lucius Paulus*, who was a wiſe graue man, and one that purpoſed to followe *Fabius* counſell and facions: he did deſire to drawe out the warre in length, and to ſtay the enemie without fighting. *Varro* on the other ſide was a haſtie man, and venturous, and deſired nothinge but to fight. So it chaunced, that not
E longe after it was knowen, to the great coſt and daunger of the citie of Rome, what difference there was betwext the modeſtie of *AEmilius*, and the foolehardineſſe of *Varro*. For *Annibal* beinge affrayed of ſome ſturre and tumult in his campe for lacke of vittells, he departed from Gerenvm, and goinge into the warmeſt places of Apvlia, came and camped with all his armie, by a village called Cannes. So he was followed with both the Conſulls, who came and camped ſeuerallie harde by him, but ſo neere one to an other, that there was but the riuer of Aufide that parted them. This riuer as it is reported, doth alone deuide the mowntayne of the Appenine, and taketh his heade on that ſide of the mountayne that lyeth to the ſea ſide, from whence it runneth to the ſea Adriaticum. Nowe, *Lucius Paulus* findinge that it was impoſſible for *Annibal* beinge in a
F ſtraunge countrey to mayntayne ſo greate an armie of ſuche ſundrie nations together: he was fullie bent to tracte time, and to auoyde battell, perſwadinge him ſelfe that it was the right and onelie way to ouercome him, being as muche to the enemies diſaduauntage,

L. Paulus AEmylius, and C. Terentius Varro, Conſuls.

The difference betwext L. Paulus, and C. Ter. Varro.

Aufidus fl.

as alſo maruelous proffitable and beneficiall for the common wealth. And ſure if *C. Terentius Varro*, had caried that minde, it had bene out of all doubt, that *Annibals* armie had bene ouerthrowen by the ROMANES, without ſtroke ſtriking. Howebeit he had ſuche a light head of his owne, and was ſo fickle minded, that he neither regarded wiſe counſell, nor *Paulus AEmylius* authoritie: but in contrarie manner woulde fall out with him, and alſo complayned before the ſouldiers, for that he kept his men pent vp, and idle, whileſt the enemie did put foorth his men to the field in battell ray. So when his turne came, that he was abſolutelie to commaunde the whole armie, (for they both had abſolute power by turnes) he paſſed ouer the riuer of Aufide by breake of day, and gaue the ſignall of battell without the priuitie of his companion *AEmylius*, who rather followed him againſt his will, then willinglie, bicauſe he coulde doe none otherwiſe. So he cauſed a skarlet coate of armes to be put out verie earlie in the morning, for ſignall of battell. *Annibal* on the other ſide as glad of it as might be poſſible, that he had occaſion offered him to fight, (conſidering that the continuall delaying of battell did alter all his purpoſe) he paſſed his armie ouer the riuer, and had ſtraight put them in verie good order. For he had taken great ſpoyles of his enemies to furniſhe him ſelfe verie brauelie. Nowe the armie of the ROMANES ſtoode Southward, inſomuche that the Southwinde (which the men of the contrie call Vulturnus) blewe full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrarie manner had the vauntage of the winde and Sunne vpon their backes, and their battell ſtoode in this manner. The AFRIKANS were placed in both the winges, and the GAVLES and SPANYARDES ſet in ſquadron in the middeſt. The light horſemen firſt beganne the skirmiſhe, and after them followed the men of armes: and bicauſe the ſpace betwext the riuer and the footemen was verie narrow, ſo as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time, though it laſted not long. So, the horſemen of the ROMANES being ouerthrowen, the footemen came with ſuche a luſtie corage to receiue the charge, that they thought they ſhoulde not haue day enough to fight. Howbeit the ouer earneſt deſire they had to ouercome their enemies, made their ouerthrowe more miſerable, then their ioy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the GAVLES and SPANYARDES, (who as we haue ſayd before kept the battell) not being able any lenger to withſtand the force of the ROMANES, they retired towardes the AFRIKANES in the wings. The ROMANES perceiuing that, ran vpon the enemy with all the fury they could, and had them in chaſe and fought with them, till they were gotten in the middeſt of them. Then the CARTHAGINIANS that were in both wings, came & compaſſed them in before they were aware. Moreouer, there were fiue hundred of the NVMIDIAN horſemen, that cullerably fled vnto the Conſuls, who receiued them very curteouſly, & placed them in the rereward of the army. They ſeeing their time, ſhewed behind the enemies, & did ſodainly geue them charge. Then the army of the ROMANES was vtterly ouerthrowen, & *Annibal* obtained victory. *Liuie* writeth that there were ſlaine in this battell * forty thouſand footmen, and aboue two thowſand ſeuen hundred horſemen. *Polybius* ſaith, that there were many more ſlaine. Well, letting this matter paſſe, it is certaine that the ROMANES had neuer greater loſſe, neither in the firſt warre with AFRICKE, nor in the ſeconde by the CARTHAGINIANS, as this ouerthrowe that was geuen at CANNES. For there was ſlaine, the Conſul *Paulus AEmylius* him ſelfe, a man vndoubtedlie deſeruing great praiſe, and that ſerued his contrie and common wealth euen to the hower of death: *Cn. Seruilius*, Conſul the yeare before, he was alſo ſlaine there, and many other that had bene Conſuls, Prætors, and others of ſuch like dignitie, Captaines, Chiefetaines, and many other Senators and honeſt citizens, and that ſuche a number of them, that the verie crueltie it ſelfe of the enemie was ſatisfied. The Conſull *Terentius Varro*, who was the onelie author of all this warre and ſlaughter, ſeeinge the enemie victor euerie waye, he ſaued him ſelfe by flyinge. And *Tuditanus* a Chiefetaine of a bande, comminge through his enemies with a good companie of his men, he came vnto CANVSIVM. Thither came alſo about tenne thowſande men, that had eſcaped from their enemies, as out of a daungerous ſtorme: by whoſe conſent, the charge of the whole armie was geuen vnto *Appius Pulcher*, and alſo vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, who afterwardes did ende this warre. Thus was the ende of the battell fought by CANNES. Newes flewe ſtraight to ROME of this ouerthrowe, the

Battell at Cannes.

A ſtrata-geame of Annibal.

* *Plutarke in the life of Fabius ſayth, that there were fiftie thowſand ſlaine, and foureteene thowſande taken priſoners.*

Paulus AEmylius Conſul, ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.

Great ſlaughter at the battell of Cannes.

A the which though they iuſtly filled all the citie with ſorowe and calamitie, yet the Senate and people of ROME kept alwaies their countenance and greatnes, euen in this extreame miſerie. Inſomuch that they had not only good hope to kepe their city ſafe, but furthermore they leauied a new army & made young men to beare armor, & yet left not SICILIA and SPAYNE vnprouided in the meane time: ſo that they made the world to wonder at them, to conſider theſe things how they could in ſo great calamity & trouble haue ſo noble harts, & ſuch wiſe counſel. But to let paſſe the former ouerthrowes, & great loſſes they ſuſteined at TICINVM, at TREBIA, and at the lake of Thraſimene: what nation or people could haue borne this laſt plague, whereby the whole force & power of the ROMANES was in maner vtterly deſtroied and ouerthrowen? and yet the people of ROME ſo held it out, & that with ſo great wiſedom & counſell:

The conſtancy of the Romanes in extreamities.

The Romanes loſt three great battells to Annibal, at Ticinum, Trebia, and Thraſimene.

B that they neither lacked manhood, nor magnanimity. Beſides, to help them the more, *Annibal* being cõqueror, trifling time in taking his leiſure, & refreſhing his army: he gaue the ROMANES leaſure that were ouercomen to take breath againe, & to reſtore them ſelues. For doutleſſe, if *Annibal* being conqueror, had immediatly after the victorie obtained, brought his armie directly to ROME: ſurely the ROMANES had bene vtterly vndone, or at the leaſt had bene cõpelled to haue put all in venter. So, it is reported, that *Annibal* oftentimes afterwardes repented himſelfe he followed not his victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counſell which wiſhed him to let his ſouldiers reſt, then *Maharbals* aduiſe, general of his horſemen, who would haue had him gone ſtraight to ROME, and ſo to haue ended all this warre. But he ſeing *Annibals* delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now cõmon in euery mans mouth:

Maharball generall of Annibals horſemen.

Maharbals ſaying to Annibal.

C *Annibal*, thou knoweſt how to ouercome, but thou knoweſt not how to vſe victory. But what? all things are not (as *Neſtor* ſaith in *Homer*) geuen to men all together. For ſome had no skill to ouercome, others knew not how to follow their victory, & ſome alſo could not kepe that they had won. *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES that made warre with the ROMANES, was one of the famouſeſt Captaines that euer was: yet, as men write of him, though he was maruelous fortunate to cõquer realmes, he could neuer kepe thẽ. Euen ſo in like maner, ſome Captaines haue bene indued with excellent vertues, & yet notwithſtanding haue bene inſufficiẽt in martial affaires, deſeruing praiſe in a Captaine: as we may read in diuers hiſtories. Now after this battell fought by CANNES, the ATTELLANIANS, the CALATINIANS, the SAMNITES, & after thẽ alſo, the BRVTIANS & LVCANIANS, & diuers other nations & people of ITALY, caried away with

Pyrrhus could not keepe the realmes he conquered.

D the fame of this great victory: they al came & yelded vnto *Annibal*. And the city of CAPVA alſo, (the which *Annibal* was deſirous to haue won long before) forſaking their old frends & confederats, made new league & frendſhip with *Annibal*, the which wan him great eſtimacion with other nations. For at that time the city of CAPVA was very populous & of great power, & the chiefeſt city of eſtimacion of all ITALY, next vnto ROME. Now to tel you in few words what is reported of CAPVA, it is certaine that it was a Colony of the THVSCANES, the which was firſt called, VVLTVRNVM, & after that CAPVA, by the name of their Gouernor called *Capius*: or otherwiſe, (as it is moſt likely) bicauſe of the fieldes round about it. For on euery ſide of it, there are goodly pleaſaunt fieldes, full of all kindes of frutes growing on the earth, called in Greeke, Kepi. Furthermore, all the contry is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the

The citie of Capua, how ſo called.

E ſea there dwell the SVESSANIANS, the CVMANIANS, and the NEAPOLITANS. On firme land alſo towards the North, are the CALENTINIANS, and the CALENIANS. On the Eaſt and South ſide, the DAVNIANS and NOLANIANS. Furthermore, the place is of a ſtrong ſcituacion, and on the one ſide is compaſſed in with the ſea, and on the other ſide with great high mountaines. Now the CAMPANIANS floriſhed maruelouſly at that time: and therefore, ſeeing the ROMANES in maner vtterly vndone by the battel they had loſt at CANNES, they quickly tooke parte with the ſtronger, as it commonly falleth out: and furthermore, beſides that they made league with *Annibal*, they receiued him into their city with great triumphe, hoping that the warre being ended, they ſhould be the chiefeſt & wealthieſt of all ITALY. But marke how men are commonly deceiued in their expectacion. Now, when *Annibal* came into the city of

F CAPVA, there was a worlde of people that went to ſee him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had wonne of the enemie. So being come into the citie, they brought him vnto *Pacuuius* houſe, his verie familiar frende,

who was a man of great wealth and authoritie, as any among all the CAMPANIANS. Then he made him a notable banket, to the which no citizens were bidden, sauing onely *Iubellius Taurea*, a stowt man, and the sonne of *Pacuuius* his hoast: who through his fathers meanes, with much a doe, was reconciled to *Annibal*, for that *Annibal* hated him as he did, bicause he followed *Decius Magius*, who alwayes tooke the ROMANES parte. But now, let vs consider a litle I pray you, how great men somtime vnwares are subiect to great daungers and misfortunes. For this young man dissembling his reconciliacion with *Annibal*, watching time & occasion notwithstanding to do him some displeasure, in the time of this feast, while they were making merie: he tooke his father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the fauor and good will againe of the ROMANES, the which they had lost through their great wickednesse. Then he tolde him howe he was determined to kill *Annibal*, the enemy of his contrie, and all ITALIE besides. His father that was a man of great countenance, and authoritie, was maruelously amazed withall, to heare what his sonne said: wherfore imbracing him with the teares running downe his cheekes, he praied him to leaue of his sword, and to let his gheste be safe in his house. The which his sonne in the end yeelded to with great a doe. Thus *Annibal* hauing before withstoode all the force of his enemies, the ambushes of the GAVLES, and hauing brought with him also a great army from the sea, and the furdest parte of SPAYNE, through so many great and mightie nations: he scaped killing verie narrowlie by the hande of a young man, whileste he was at the table making merie. The next morning *Annibal* had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promises, and tolde them many thinges, which the CAMPANIANS easelie beleued, and therefore flattered them selues, that they should be Lords of all ITALIE: howbeit they reckoned beside their hoast. And to conclude, they did so cowardly submit them selues to *Annibal*: that it seemed they had not onely suffered him to come into their citie, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, like men that neither remembred, nor regarded their libertie. And this appeareth plainlie by one example I will shew you amongest many. *Annibal* willed them to deliuer him *Decius Magius*, the head of the contrarie faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not only obeyed with all humilitie, but worst of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the market place, in the presence of all the people: who, bicause he woulde not forsake the auncient league and frendshippe with the ROMANES, had shewed him selfe a more faithfull citizen to his contrie and common wealth, then vnto the barbarous people. Now whileste theese thinges passed thus in CAPVA, *Mago* (*Annibals* brother) went to CARTHAGE, to report the newes of his happie victorie to his contrie men, which they had wonne of the enemies: and with all, before the Senate to declare the noble exploytes of armes done by *Annibal*, and to proue the words true he spake, he poored out at the comming in of the Senate house, the golden rings which had bene taken from the ROMANE Knightes: of the which there were (as some doe report) aboue a bushell full, and as other some doe wryte, aboue three bushells and a halfe. After that, he praied a new supply for *Annibals* army: the which was graunted him by the Senate with greater ioy, thē afterwards it was sent. For the CARTHAGINIANS perswading them selues by the things present, that the warre would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was fayer: they thereuppon decreed to continue the warre, and to aide *Annibals* attempts, by leauying of souldiers. Now no mā withstood this new supply to be sent to *Annibal*, but *Hanno*, a perpetuall enemie of the Barcinian faction. Howbeit the CARTHAGINIANS wayed not his counsell and aduise then, though it tended to peace, and was good counsel for them, as oftentimes before he had vsed the like. So when *Annibal* had made league with the CAMPANIANS, he led his campe before the citie of NOLA, hoping they would yeeld of them selues without compulsion. And certainlie so had it come to passe, had not the sodaine comming thither of *Marcellus* the Prætor bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the sedition, & repulsed the enemy that was comming into the citie, by a saily he made vpon him at three seuerall gates, chasing & killing them euen to their campe, with great losse. This is that noble Captaine and valliant souldier *Marcellus*, who with a noble corage made the world knowe that *Annibal* was not inuincible. *Annibal* perceiuing that there was no other way, but to let NOLA alone till an other time: he came to ACERRES, and tooke and spoiled it without resistance. Then going on further

Conspiracy against Annibal at Capua.

Marcellus victorie of Annibal at the citie of Nola.

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Two factions in Naples.

For in NOLA, the people and Senate were at variance the one againſt the other, as they were A
likewiſe in diuers other cities of ITALIE. The common people deſirous of chaunge, fauored
Annibal: and the noble men, and men of authority, tooke part with the people of ROME. So
when *Annibal* went to take the citie of NOLA, *Marcellus* met him with his army in battell ray,
as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, euen at the firſt meeting. There
the ROMANES ouercame, and draue the enemie with ſuch manhood and readines: that if the
horſemen which had taken an other way had comen in in time, as *Marcellus* commaunded
them: no queſtion the CARTHAGINIANS had bene vtterly ouerthrowen. *Annibal* after he had
retired his army into his campe with great ſlaughter, he ſhortly after departed thence, & went
into the contry of the SALENTINIANS. For certaine young TARENTINES that had bene taken
priſoners in former battells, where the ROMANES had bene ouerthrowen, and that were after- B
wards deliuered free without raunſome: they to ſhew them ſelues thankeful, had put *Annibal*
in hope to deliuer him the city of TARENTVM, ſo he would but bring his army before the city.
Annibal intiſed by their promiſes, did what he could to obteine it, bicauſe he might haue ſome
city vpon the ſea in his power, the which he had deſired of long time. And in deede, of all the
cities vpon the ſea coaſt, there was none ſo meete as TARENTVM, to bring aide out of GRECE
thither, & alſo to furniſh the cãpe with many things that were to be occupied daily. So, thogh
this thing was drawen out in length, by the garriſon of the ROMANES that valliantlie reſiſted:
yet *Annibal* neuer gaue ouer his enterpriſe, vntill that *Nico* and *Philomenes* the authors of the
The citie of Tarentum deliuered vnto Annibal by treaſon.
treaſon, had deliuered him the citie into his handes. The ROMANES kept only the caſtell, the
which is in manner enuironned with the ſea on three ſides: and on the fourth ſide, that lay v- C
pon the firme lande, it was verie ſtrong with rampers and bulwarkes. *Annibal* perceiuing that
he coulde doe no good on that ſide, bicauſe of their great ſtrength: he determined to ſhut vp
the mouth of the hauen of TARENTVM, hoping that was the only way to make the ROMANES
yeld, when their vittells ſhould be cut from them. Yet the enterpriſe ſeemed very hard, bicauſe
the enemies had all the ſtraights of the hauen in their power, and the ſhippes alſo that ſhould
beſiege the iſſue of the hauen, were ſhut vp in a litle narrow place, and were to be drawen out
of the hauen, at the foote of the caſtell, to bring them into the next ſea. But when neuer a
man of the TARENTINES could deuiſe how to bring this enterpriſe to paſſe: *Annibal* him ſelfe
perceiued that theſe ſhippes might be drawen out of the hauen with certaine engines, & then
to cart them through the city to the ſea. So hauing ſet cunning workemen in hande with the D
matter, the ſhippes within few daies after were taken out of the hauen, and caried into the ſea,
Tarentum wonne by Annibal.
and then came and ſhewed before the barre of the hauen. Thus the citie of TARENTVM be-
ing won againe, after the ROMANES had kept it the ſpace of a hundred yeares: *Annibal* leauing
the caſtell beſieged both by ſea and land, he returned vnto SAMNIVM. For the Conſuls of the
ROMANES had ſpoyled and ſtripped the CAMPANIANS that went out to forrage, and hauing
brought their army before CAPVA, they determined (if it might be) to win it by ſiege. Where-
fore *Annibal* being very ſory for the ſiege of CAPVA, he came with al his army againſt the ene-
my: & ſeeing ſhortly after that the ROMANES did not refuſe to fight, they both marched for-
ward. And doutleſſe to fight it would haue proued a bloody battell, had not *Sempronius* army
ſeuered them as he did, which came into CAMPANIA vnder the conduct of *Cn. Cornelius*, after E
they had loſt *Sempronius Gracchus* in the cõtry of LVKE. For, they ſeeing this army farre of, be-
fore they could know who they were, the ROMANES & CARTHAGINIANS both were affraied,
& ſo retired into their campe. Afterwards the Conſuls went into ſeuerall cõtries, the one into
LVKE, and the other towards CVMES, to make *Annibal* remoue from CAPVA: who went into
LVCANIA, & foũd occaſiõ to fight with *M. Centenius*, who very fondly & deſperatly did hazard
his army left him in charge, againſt a ſuttell and daungerous enemy. The battell being begon,
M. Centenius was ſlaine valiantly fighting, & few other eſcaped. After this alſo, there hapned
an other loſſe. For *Annibal* returning ſhortly after into APVLIA, he met with an other army of
the ROMANES, the which *Fabius* the Prætor led, who alſo intrapped that army by ambuſhes, &
ſlue the moſt of thẽ: ſo that of twenty thouſand mẽ, two thouſand ſcant ſcaped the edge of the F
ſword. In the meane time the Conſuls perceiuing that *Annibal* was gone, they came with all
their army vnto CAPVA, & did beſiege it roũd. This being come to *Annibals* eare, he came with
his

A his army into CAMPANIA, in very good order, & wel appointed: & at his firſt comming, he ſet vpon the campe of the ROMANES, hauing firſt willed the CAMPANIANS at the ſelfe ſame inſtant to make a ſalye out on thē. The ROMANE Conſuls at the firſt tumult of their enemies, deuided the army betwene them, and went againſt them. The CAMPANIANS were eaſily driuen againe into the citie: howbeit againſt *Annibal*, the battell was very bloudy. For if euer he proued him ſelfe a valiant Captaine or noble ſouldier, that day he ſhewed it. He attempted alſo to ſurpriſe the ROMANES by ſome ſtratageame. For as his men were about to breake into the ROMANES campe, he ſent one thither that had the Latine tongue excellently well, who cryed out, as by commaundement of the Conſuls, that the ROMANES ſhould ſaue them ſelues in the next Mountaines, conſidering they had almoſt loſt all their campe and ſtrength. This crye B made on the ſodaine, had eaſily moued them that heard it, if the ROMANES being throughly acquainted with *Annibals* ſuttelties, had not found out his deceit. Wherefore, one of them incoraging an other, they made the enemy retyre, and compelled him in deſpite of his beard to flie into his campe. When *Annibal* had done what he could by all deuiſe and practiſe poſſible to rayſe their ſeege from CAPVA, and perceiuing all would not ſerue, being ſory for the daunger of his confederats: he then determined to call a counſell, the which he had paſſed ouer a long time, hauing reſerued it for the laſt refuge. For he truſſed vp his cariage, and marched away with his army, and as quietly as he could he paſſed ouer the riuer of Vulturnus, and coaſting through the contries of the SIDICINIANS, ATIFANIANS, and CASSINIANS, he came to ROME with enſignes diſplayed, hoping thereby he ſhould make them rayſe their ſeege, be- C ing ſo earneſtly bent to winne CAPVA. This flying ſtraight to ROME by currers, they were ſo affrayd there, as ROME was neuer in the like feare it ſtoode in then. For they ſaw their mortall enemy come to them with enſignes diſplayed, whome they had ſo often proued, almoſt to the vtter deſtruction of their Empire: and now they ſaw him preſent, whome they could not reſiſt being abſent, threatning to bring the Senate and people of ROME into ſubiection. So all ROME being in feare and tumult, it was ordeyned that *Fuluius Flaccus* (one of the Conſuls lying before CAPVA) ſhould be ſent for home. And that the new Conſuls, *Sulpicius Galba*, and *Cornelius Centimalus*, ſhoulde lye in campe out of the citie: and that *C. Calphurnius* Prætor, ſhould put a ſtronge garriſon into the capitoll, and alſo that the Citizens that had borne any office or dignitie, ſhould be appoynted by their countenaunce and authoritie, to pacifie the D ſodaine tumults that might happen in the city. So *Annibal* marched forward without ſtaying, till he came to the riuer of Anienes, and there camped within 24. furlong of ROME: and ſhortly after that, he came with two thowſand horſe ſo neare vnto ROME, that riding from the gate Collina, vnto *Hercules* temple, he had leyſure to view at his pleaſure, the ſituacion and walles of ſo great a citie. *Fuluius Flaccus* ſeeing that, could not abide it, but ſtraight ſent out certen men of armes of the ROMANES againſt him: who comming with great furie to giue charge vpon him as they were commaunded, they eaſily ſent him packing. The next morning, *Annibal* brought his army out of the campe, and did ſet them in battell raye, determining to fight preſently, if he could allure the enemy to battell. The ROMANES on the other ſide did the like, So, both armies marched one againſt the other with ſuch life and corage, that to ſee them, E they appeared men that feared no daunger, ſo they might obteine the victorie that day. For on the one ſide, the CARTHAGINIANS were to fight (in maner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended vpon this battell, as beeing the laſt they ſhould fight. The ROMANES in contrary manner, they were to fight for their contry, libertie, and their goods, to ſee whether they could keepe them, or that they ſhould come to their enemies handes. Howbeit there fell out a thing worthy of memorie. For, as they were ready ſet in battell raye, tarying but for the ſignall of battell to giue charge: there fell ſuch a wonderfull great ſhower and ſtorme vpon them, that both of them were driuen in ſpight of their teethes, to bringe backe their army into their forts againe. The next day following in like manner, vnto the which it ſeemed the battel had bene deferred: when they had againe both of thē ſet their men in battel F raye, there fell the like ſtorme vpon them, the which did as much hurt the ROMANES & CARTHAGINIANS, as the firſt: ſo that it forced them onely to looke to ſaue them ſelues, and not to thinke otherwiſe to fight. *Annibal* perceiuing this, he turned to his friends and told them, that

Annibals ſtratageame.

Vulturnus fl.

Sulpicius Galba, Cornelius Centimalus, Conſuls.

Anienes fl.

Annibal commeth to inuade Rome.

A wonder.

the first time he thought not to winne ROME, and that at the second time the occasion was taken from him. So there was a thinge that greatly troubled *Annibal*, and that was this. That though he came so neare to ROME, with an army of horsemen and footemen: yet he heard that the ROMANES had sent ayde into SPAYNE, and that they had redeemed the contry where he had bene, at a farre greater prise then reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he caused all the goldsmithes and banckers shoppes of the ROMANE citizens to be sold by the Cryer. But afterwards, casting with him selfe what a hard enterprise it was to take the citie of ROME, or els being affrayde to lacke vittells: (for he had stored him selfe onely but for tenne dayes) he raysed his campe, and remouing thence, came to the holy woode of the goddesse *Feronia*, and rifled the riche temple there, and afterwardes went thence into the contry of the BRVTIANS and LVCANIANS. The CAPVANS hauing intelligence thereof, being left out of all hope: they yelded vp their citie vnto the ROMANES. The citie of CAPVA beeing thus yelded vp, and brought againe to the subiection of the ROMANES, it was of great importance to all the people of ITALY, and withall brought a great desire of chaunge. *Annibal* him selfe also following euill counsell, did spoyle and destroy many cities he could not keepe: whereby he did sturre vp the harts of diuers nations against him. For where before when he was Conqueror, he had often let prisoners goe without ransom paying, through which liberalitie he had won the harts of many men: euen so at that present time, his barbarous crueltie made diuers cities (misliking to be subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS) to rebell against him, and to take part with the ROMANES. Amongest them was SALAPIA, the which was yelded vp vnto the Consul *Marcellus*, by *Blacius* meanes, chiefe of all the ROMANE faction: and a band also of choyce horsemen which was left there in garrison, were in manner slaine euery man of them. This is the citie where *Annibal* fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reproue his immoderat lust and lasciuiousnes. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the continencie of this Captaine, say that he did neuer eate lying, and neuer drancke aboue a pint of wine, nether when he came to make warre in ITALY, nor after that he returned into AFRICK. Some there be also that say, *Annibal* was cruell, and vnconstant, and subiect to diuers such other vices: howbeit they make no manner of mention of his chastitie or incontinencie. But they report that his wife was a SPANYARD, borne in CASTVLO, a good towne: and that the CARTHAGINIANS graunted her many things, and trusted her very much, bicause of the great faith and constancie of that nation. Now *Annibal* after he had lost (as we haue told you) the citie of SALAPIA: he found the meanes to cry quittance, and to make the ROMANES lose more then he had lost. For at the selfe same time, *Fuluius* Viceconsul, lay beseeging of HERDONEA, hoping to winne the citie without resistance. And bicause he stoode in no feare of any enemy round about him, (for *Annibal* was gone into the contry of the BRVTIANS) he kept no watch, and was altogether negligent in martiall affayres, contrary to the nature of the ROMANE Captaines. *Annibal* being aduertised thereof by spialls, would not lose such a goodly opportunitie: and therefore comming into APVLIA with his armye ready, he came so hastely vnto HERDONEA, that he had almost stollen vpon *Fuluius*, vnprouided in his campe. Howbeit the ROMANES valiantly receiued the first charge with such corage, that they fought it out lenger then it was looked for. Notwithstanding, in the ende, as the ROMANES two yeare before that had bene ouercome not farre from thence, with their Consul *Fuluius*: euen so likewise vnder the conduct of this *Fuluius* Viceconsul, the ROMANE legions were vtterly ouerthrowen, and their Captaine slaine, with the most part of his armye. The Consul *Marcellus* was at that time in the citie of SAMNIVM, who being aduertised of this great ouerthrow, desired to be euen with him: and though it seemed he came too late to helpe things past remedie, yet he brought his army into the contry of the LVCANIANS, whether he vnderstood *Annibal* was gone after his victorie, and came and camped directly ouer against his enemye, and soone after came to battell. The which the CARTHAGINIANS refused not, but gaue such a fierce onset on either side, that they fought it out till Sunne set, and no man knew who had the better, and so the night parted them. The next morning the ROMANES shewing againe in field in battell raye, made it knowen that the enemies were affrayd of them: For *Annibal* kept his men within the campe, and the next night following stale away without any noyse, and went

Salapia, a city where Annibal fell in loue.

The death of Fuluius Viceconsul.

A went into APVLIA. *Marcellus* alſo followed him foote by foote, and ſought to put all to haſard by ſome notable battell: for he bare him ſelfe thus in hand, that of all the ROMANE Captaines there was none machable with *Annibal* but him ſelfe, either in counſell, wit, or policie: or els in martiall diſcipline, or warlike ſtratageames. Howbeit the winter following kept him, that he could not fight any ſet battell with the enemie: for after he had made a fewe light skirmiſhes, bicauſe he would not trouble his ſouldiers any more in vaine, he beſtowed them in garriſon for the winter time. At the beginning of the next ſpringe, procured partly by *Fabius* letters (who was one of the new Conſuls for that yeare,) and partly alſo through his owne diſpoſition: he brought out his garriſons ſooner then they were looked for, and came with his army againſt *Annibal*, who lay at that time at CANVSIVM. Now it chaunced, that through the *Diuers conflicts of the Romanes with Annibal.*

B neareneſs of both their campes, and the good deſire they both had to fight: in fewe dayes they fought three ſeuerall times. The firſt battell, when they had fought it out till night, in manner with like hope of both ſides, and that it could not be iudged which of them had the better: they both of purpoſe retyred into their campe againe. The ſecond day *Annibal* was conquerer, after he had ſlayne almoſt two thowſand ſeuen hundred enemies, and put the reſidue of the army to flight. The third day, the ROMANES to recouer the ſhame and diſhonor they had loſt the day before: they were the firſt that prayed they might fight, and ſo *Marcellus* led them out to battell. *Annibal* wondring at their valiantnes, ſayd vnto his people: that he delt with an *Annibals wordes of Marcellus.*

enemy that could nether be quiet Conquerer, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloudy and cruell then any that was before: bicauſe the ROMANES did their beſt to be reuenged

C of their loſſe, and the CARTHAGINIANS on the other ſide were mad in their mindes, to ſee that the vanquiſhed durſt prouoke the vanquiſhers vnto battell. In the ende, the ROMANES being ſharpely reproued, and alſo perſwaded by *Marcellus* to ſticke to it valliantly like men, that the newes of their victorie might come to ROME, before the newes of their ouerthrowe: they flue in among the preſſe of their enemies, and neuer left fighting, till that after they had thriſe broken their enemies, they made them all flie. At the ſelfe ſame time *Fabius Maximus* tooke the citie of TARENTVM againe, almoſt after the ſelfe ſame ſort it was loſt. This being reported vnto *Annibal*, he ſayd: the ROMANES haue alſo their *Annibal*. The next yeare following, *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus* were choſen Conſuls, who preparing to put them ſelues in readi- *Marcellus, & Criſpinus: Conſuls.*

nes for warre; they led both the armies againſt the enemy. *Annibal* diſpayring that he was not

D able to reſiſt them in battel, he ſought all the wits he had to deuiſe ſome way to intrappe them by ſutteltie, whome he could not ouercome by battel. So *Annibals* head being occupied thus, there was offred him a better occaſion to bring this enterpriſe to paſſe, then he looked for. Be- *Annibal layeth ambuſhe for the Romanes.*

twene both campes, there was a prety groue, in the which *Annibal* layed certen bands of the NVMIDIANS in ambuſhe, to intrappe the enemies paſſing to and fro. On the other ſide, the Conſuls by conſent of them all, thought it beſt to ſend to view this groue, and to keepe it if neede required: leaſt in leauing it behind them, the enemies ſhould come, & ſo be vpon their iacks afterwards. Now before they remoued their armye, both the Conſuls went out of their campe, with a ſmall company of horſemen with them, to view the ſituacion of this place: and ſo going on very vndiſcreetely, and worſe appoynted then became men of their authoritie &

E place, they vnfortunatly fell into *Annibals* ambuſh. So, when they ſaw them ſelues in a momẽt compaſſed about on euery ſide with enemies, that they could not goe forward, and were alſo fought withall behind: they defended them ſelues the beſt they could, rather by compulſion, then of any determination they had to fight. So *Marcellus* was ſlaine fighting valiantly: and *The death of Marcellus.*

Criſpinus the other Conſul alſo very ſore hurt, who hardly ſcaped the enemies hands. *Annibal* being aduertiſed that *Marcellus* was ſlaine, who was the chiefeſt man of all the ROMANE captaines, that had moſt hindered the happy ſucceſſe of his victories, and had beſides troubled him moſt: he preſently went and camped there where the battell was fought, and when he had found *Marcellus* body, he gaue it honorable pompe and funerall. Hereby we may ſee how *The power of magnanimitie*

magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, are eſteemed of all men: conſidering that the cruell and

F moſt mortall enemye, gaue honorable buriall to ſo noble and excellent a Captaine. The ROMANES in the meane time ſeeing one of their Conſuls dead, and the other Conſul very ſore hurt: they drew ſtraight to the next mountaines, and camped in a ſtrong place. Howbeit *Cri-*

Spinus had sent to the next townes of the mountaines, to aduertise them that *Marcellus* his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ringe he sealed his letters withall: wherefore he wished them to beware of any letters written in *Marcellus* name. *Crispinus* Messenger came but newly vnto SALAPIA, when letters were brought also from *Annibal* in the behalfe of *Marcellus*, to tell them that he woulde be there the next night. The SALAPIANS knowing his craft, they sent his Messenger away, & carefully looked for *Annibals* comming. About the fourth watche of the night, *Annibal* came to the citie of SALAPIA, who of purpose had put all the ROMANES that had fled, in the vauntgard, bicause that they speaking the Latin tongue, might make them beleue that *Marcellus* was there in person. So when the Citizens had suffred six hundred of them to come in, they shut to the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the armye, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the citie. Thus *Annibal* beeing in a maruelous rage he had missed of his purpose: he remoued thence, and went into the contry of the BRVTIANS, to ayde the LOCRIANS that were beseeged by the ROMANES, both by sea and by land. After all these thinges, at the earnest request of the Senate and people, two new Consuls were created, both famous Captaines, and valiant souldiers, *Marcus Liuius*, & *Claudius Nero*: who hauing deuided the army betwixt them, went vnto their seuerall charge and prouinces. *Claudius Nero* went into the contry of the SALENTINIANS, and *M. Liuius* into GAVLE, against *Hasdrubal* BARCINIAN, who was come ouer the Alpes, & made haste to ioyne with his brother *Annibal*, bringing with him a great army both of footemen and horsemen. Nowe it chaunced at the same time, that *Annibal* had receyued great losse by *Claudius* the Consul. For first of all, he ouercame him in the contry of the LVCANIANS, vsing the like policies and fetches that *Annibal* did. Afterwardes againe, meeting with *Annibal* in APVLIA, by the citie of VENVSIA: he fought such a lustye battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the fielde. By reason of these great losses, *Annibal* sodainely went to METAPONT, to renew his army againe. So hauing remayned there a few dayes, he receiued the army from *Hanno*, the which he ioyned vnto his, & then returned vnto VENVSIA. *C. Nero* lay not farre from VENVSIA with his campe: who hauing intercepted letters of his enemies, he vnderstoode by them that *Hasdrubal* was at hand with his armye. Thereuppon, he bethought him selfe night and day, what policie he might vse to preuent the ioyning of two so great armies together as these. So after he had taken aduise of him self, he followed in sight, a daungerous determination: but peraduenture necessary, as the time required. For, leauing the campe vnto the charge of his Lieuetenant, he tooke part of the armye with him, and making great iorneyes, came to PICENVM (being the marches of ANCONA) so that on the sixt day he came to SENA. There both the Consuls ioyned their forces together, and setting vpon *Hasdrubal* by the riuer of Metaurum, they had very good lucke at that battell. For, as it is reported, there were six and fifty thowsand of the enemies slayne on that daye: so that they almost had as great an ouerthrow, as the ROMANES had receiued before at the battell of CANNES. Now *Claudius Nero*, after this famous victorie, returning as speedily vnto VENVSIA as he went thence, he set vp *Hasdrubals* head, where the enemies kept their watche: and did let certen prisoners goe, to carye newes to *Annibal* of this great ouerthrow. For afterwardes it was knowen, that *Annibal* knew nothing yet of *Claudius* secret enterprise, nor of the speedy execution and great slaughter he had made. Whereat sure I can but wonder, that so suttill a Captaine as *Annibal*, could be deceiued by *Claudius*, considering both their campes lay so neare together: so that he first heard the newes of the ouerthrow of his brother, and all his armye, before he vnderstoode any thing of the Consuls departure, or heard of his returne againe to the campe. Now *Annibal* hauing not onely receiued a generall, but also a perticular great losse by the death of his brother: he sayd then he plainely saw the chaunge & alteracion of the CARTHAGINIANS good fortune, and shortly after remoued his campe, and went thence into the contry of the BRVTIANS. For he knew that this great ouerthrow giuen by the riuer of Metaurum, was a maruelous incoragement to the ROMANES, and would also be a great logge in his way, for the succesſe of all this warre. This notwithstanding, he gathered together all his power he had left in ITALY, after so many great battells and conflicts, and so many cities taken: and mainteyned the warre with an inuincible courage. But the most straungest thinge in *Annibal*

Marcus Liuius, and C. Nero: Consuls

Sena, a citie of Apulia. Metaurum fl. M. Liuius, & C. Nero Consuls ouercame Hasdrubal, & slue 56000. of his men.

The chaunge and alteration of the Carthaginians good fortune.

was

A was this: that through his authoritie or wiſedom, he kept all his army in peace and amitie together, (being a medley of SPANYARDS, AFRICANES, GAVLES, and of diuers other nations) and neuer man heard that there was any brawle or tumult amonge them. Howbeit the ROMANES them ſelues, after they had wonne SICILIA, SARDINIA, and SPAYNE againe, they could neuer vtterly ouercome him, nor driue him out of ITALY, before they had ſent *P. Cornelius Scipio* into AFRICK: who making warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, he brought them to ſuch great extremitie, that they were driuen to ſend for *Annibal* home out of ITALY. *Annibal* at that time, (as I haue ſayd before) was in the contry of the BRVTIANS, making warre by inrodes and ſodaine inuaſions, rather then by any fought battell: ſauing that once there was a battell fought in haſte betwixt him and the Conſul *Sempronius*, and immediatly after he came

The praiſe of Annibals great wiſdom in the gouernment of his army.

P. C. Scipio inuaded Carthage.

B and ſet vpon the ſame *Sempronius* with all his armye. At the firſt battell, *Annibal* had the victorie: but at the ſecond, *Sempronius* ouercame him. Since that time, I can finde in no Græke nor Latyn Author, that *Annibal* did any famous acte in ITALY worthy memorie. For beeing ſent for into AFRICKE by the CARTHAGINIANS, he left ITALY, ſixteene yeares after this AFRICK warre was begonne, greatly complayning of the Senate of CARTHAGE, and of him ſelfe alſo. Of the Senate, bicauſe that all the time he had bene in his enemies contry ſo long, they had allowed him ſo litle money: and ſo ſcanted him beſides with all other thinges neceſſary for the warres: And of him ſelfe, bicauſe that after he had ſo often ouercome the ROMANES, he had alwayes delayed time after the victorie, and had giuen the enemy libertie to gather force againe. It is reported alſo, that before he imbarked and tooke ſea, he ſet vp a triumphing arche

The laſt battell Annibal fought in Italy was with Sempronius, in the which he ouercame Annibal.

Annibal ſent for to returne into Africk, after he had warred 16. yeares in Italy.

C or piller, by the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, in the which were briefly grauen his noble victories, both in the Punick and Græke tongue. So when he was departed out of ITALY, the wind ſerued him well, that in few dayes he arriued at LEPTIS, and landing all his army, he firſt came to ADRVMENTVM, and afterwards vnto ZAMA. There receiuing aduertiſement how the affayres of the CARTHAGINIANS proſpered: he thought it beſt to deuiſe ſome way to end this warre. For this cauſe he ſent vnto *Scipio*, to pray him to appoynt him ſome conuenient place where they might both meete, and talke together, of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainely knowen, whether *Annibal* did this of his owne head, or by commaundement from the Senate. *Scipio* refuſed not to come to parley. Wherefore at the day appoynted, there met two

Annibals arche of triumphe.

Annibal departeth out of Italy.

Annibal and Scipions meeting, & talke.

D famous generalls of mighty nations, in a great plaine together, either of them hauing his Interpreter, to talke together of diuers matters touching peace and warre. For, *Annibal* was altogether bent to peace: bicauſe he ſaw the affayres of the CARTHAGINIANS waxe worſe & worſe euery day: that they had loſt SICILIA, SARDINIA, and SPAYNE: bicauſe the warre was brought out of ITALY into AFRICK: bicauſe *Syphax* (a mighty king) was taken priſoner of the ROMANES: and alſo bicauſe that their laſt hope conſiſted in the army he had brought into AFRICK: which was the onely remayne and reliefe of ſo long a warre as he had made in ITALY: and alſo bicauſe that the CARTHAGINIANS had ſo ſmall a power left (both of ſtraungers, and alſo of Citizens) that there were ſcarſe men enough to defende the citie of CARTHAGE. So he did his beſt to perſwade *Scipio*, with a long oration he made, rather to agree to peace, then to reſolue of warre. Howbeit *Scipio* that liued in hope to bringe this warre

E to a good ende, he would not ſeeme to giue eare to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either ſide, in the ende they brake of, and made no agreement. Shortly after, was this famous battell ſtriken by the citie of ZAMA, in the which the ROMANES obtayned victorie. For firſt of all, they made the CARTHAGINIANS Elephants turne vpon their owne army, ſo that they did put all *Annibals* horſemen out of order. And *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa*, who made both the winges, increaſing their feare, gaue the horſemen no leyſure to gather them ſelues in order againe. Howbeit the footemen fought it out a long time, & with a maruelous great corage: inſomuch that the CARTHAGINIANS (truſting in their former victories) thought that all the ſafetie and preſeruation of AFRICK, was all in their handes, and therefore they layed about them like men. The ROMANES on the other ſide had as great harts

Scipioes victory of the Carthaginians at the battell of Zama.

F as they, and beſides, they ſtoode in the better hope. Howbeit one thing in deede did the ROMANES great ſeruice to helpe them to the victorie: and that was, *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſaes* returne from the chaſe of the horſemen, who ruſhed in to the battell of the enemie with great

furye, and did put them in a maruelous feare. For at their comming, the CARTHAGINIANS harts were done, and they saw no other remedie for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slayne that day, aboue twenty thowsand CARTHAGINIANS in the field, and as many more prisoners. *Annibal* their generall, after he had taryed to see the ende of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great slaughter. Afterwardes when he was sent for to CARTHAGE, to helpe to saue his contry: he perswaded the Senate not to hope any more in warres, but did counsell them, that setting all deuises a part, they should send vnto *Scipio* the ROMANE Captaine, to make peace with him vpon any condicion. When the tenne Ambassadors had brought the capitulacion and agreement vnto CARTHAGE of the articles of peace: it is reported that there was one *Gisgo*, who misliking to heare talke of peace, he made an oration, and perswaded all he could to renew warre against the ROMANES. Wherefore *Annibal* perceiuing that diuers men confirmed his opinion, and being much offended to see such beasts, and men of no vnderstanding, to dare to speake of such matters, in so daungerous a time: he cast him downe headlong, whilest he was yet in his oration. So when he sawe that the Citizens, and all the whole assembly, thought this too presumptuous a part of him, & vnmeete altogether for a free citie: he him selfe got vp into the pulpit for orations, and sayd. Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth hath bene alway out of CARTHAGE, & brought vp all his life time in warres, be ignoraunt of the lawes and ordinaunces of the citie. After that, he spake so wisely to the articles of peace, that the CARTHAGINIANS being immediatly moued by the authoritie of so great a person: they all agreed to accept the condicions which the vanquisher, & the necessitie of time offred them. The articles out of dout were very extreame, and such as the vanquished are wont to receiue with all extreamitie by the conquerors. But besides all other things, the CARTHAGINIANS were boũd to pay the ROMANES an annuell tribute, vntill a certen time were ronne out. So when the daye came that the first pencion was to be payd to the ROMANES, and that euery man grudged when the subsedy was spoken of: some saye that *Annibal* being offended with the vaine teares of the CARTHAGINIANS, he fell a laughing. And when *Hasdrubal Hædus* reproued him bicause he laughed in such a common calamitie of all the citie, he aunswered: that it was no laughture nor reioycing from the hart, but a scorning of their fond teares, that wept when there was lesse cause (and onely bicause it touched euery priuate mans purse) then before, when the ROMANES tooke from the CARTHAGINIANS their shippes, armor, and weapons, and their spoyles of the great victories which they had wonne before, and now gaue lawes and ordinaunces vnto them that were vanquished. I know some Authors write, that *Annibal* immediatly after he had lost the battell, fled into ASIA, for that he was affrayde they woulde deliuer him into *Scipioes* hands, that perhaps might demaund him of them. But whether that was done sodainely, or some time after the battel was lost at ZAMA, it makes no great matter: considering that all the world knoweth, that when he sawe things brought to extremitie, he presently fled into ASIA vnto king *Antiochus*. So is it most true, that king *Antiochus* receiued him with great curtesie, and vsed him very honorably: insomuch as he made him of counsell with him all in all, both in priuate and publike causes. For the name of *Annibal* caried great reputacion with all men: besides that, he had a common and mortal hate to the ROMANES, which was a pricking spurre still to moue warre against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy hower into that contry, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king against them, but also to set warres at libertie against the ROMANES. So he tolde him, that the onely way to make warre with the ROMANES, was to goe into ITALY to leauy ITALIAN souldiers, by whome onely, that victorious contry of all other nations might be subdued. He requested of the king a hundred shippes, sixteene thowsand footemen, and a thowsand horsemen onely. With this small army he promised to inuade ITALY, and that he would marueilously trouble the ITALYANS, whome he knew yet to stand in no small feare of him, for the very sound of his name onely: bicause of the late warres he had made there, so freshe yet in memorie. Furthermore, he tooke hart againe vnto him to renew the warres of AFRICK, if the king would licence him to sende men vnto CARTHAGE, to stirre vp the BARCINIAN faction, whome he knew hated the ROMANES to death. When he had gotten the king to graunt him his request, he called *Ariston* TYRIAN

The flying of Annibal.

Annibal could not abide to heare fooles talke of warre.

Annibal in his misery, fled vnto king Antiochus into Asia.

A TYRIAN vnto him, a fine ſuttell fellowe, and meete for ſuch a purpoſe: to whome he made large promiſes, and perſwaded him to goe to CARTHAGE to his friends, and to cary them letters from him. Thus *Annibal* being a baniſhed man, and fled out of his contry, rayſed warre in all partes againſt the ROMANES. And ſurely his counſell had taken good effect, had king *Antiochus* rather followed his aduiſe, as he did at the firſt, then the vaine perſwaſions of his fine Courtiers. But enuy, a common plague frequenting Princes Courts, bred *Annibal* great enemies. For they beeing affrayd that by his counſells he ſhould growe in great fauor with the king, (for he was a wiſe and politike Captaine) and that thereby he ſhould beare great ſway and authoritie: to preuent it, they lacked no deuiſe to bringe him in diſgrace with the king. And it ſo chaunced at that time, that *P. Villius*, who came Ambaſſador vnto EPHESVS, he B had often conference with *Annibal*. Hereuppon his priuie enemies tooke occaſion to accuſe him, and withall, the king him ſelfe became ſo ielous of it, that from thence forth he neuer more called him to counſell. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo, as ſome doe report, *P. Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN (who was one of the Ambaſſadors ſent vnto king *Antiochus*) talking familierly with *Annibal*, prayed him amongeſt other thinges to tell him truely, whome he thought the worthieſt Captaine of all others. *Annibal* aunſwered him. Firſt he thought *Alexander*, king of MACEDON the chiefeſt: next vnto him, *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES: and thirdly, him ſelfe. Then *Scipio* AFRICAN ſmyling, asked him: what wouldeſt thou ſaye, *Annibal*, if thou haddeſt ouercome me? Truely ſayd he, then I would be chiefeſt my ſelfe. This aunſwer pleaſed *Scipio* maruelous well, bicauſe he ſaw he was nether diſpiſed, nor yet brought C to be compared with the other, but left alone as peereles, by ſome ſecret flattery of *Annibal*. After theſe things, *Annibal* found occaſion to talke with king *Antiochus*, and beganne to lay open his life vnto him from his youth, and to bewray the malice he had alwayes borne vnto the ROMANES: whereby he ſo ſatisfied the king, that he was againe receiued into his grace and fauor, which he had almoſt vtterly loſt. Thereuppon the king was determined to haue made him Admirall of his armye by ſea, the which he had put in readines for ITALY, and alſo to make proofe of his great corage and ſeruice, whome he knewe to be a worthy man, and a mortall enemy to the ROMANES. But one *Thoas*, Prince of the ÆTOLIANS, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or els for that his fancye was ſuch: he altered the kinges minde, and cleane changed his purpoſe, the which was a matter of greate importance for the warre he D pretended to make. For he gaue counſell vnto *Antiochus*, that he ſhould goe him ſelfe into GRÆCE, and direct his owne affayres: and that he ſhould not ſuffer another to cary away the honor & glory of this warre. So king *Antiochus* ſhortly after went into GRÆCE, to make warre with the ROMANES. Within fewe dayes after, when he conſulted whether he ſhoulde make league with the THESSALIANS, *Annibals* opinio was ſpecially asked: who ſpake ſo wiſely touching the ſtate of the THESSALIANS, & the chiefeſt matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, and gaue their conſents vnto it. Now his opinion was, that they ſhould not neede much to care for the THESSALIANS, but rather to make all the meanes they could, to get king *Philip* of MACEDON to take their part: or els to perſwade him to be a Newter, and to take nether parte. Furthermore, he gaue counſell to make warre with the ROMANES in their E owne contry, & offred him ſelfe to ayde him the beſt he could. Euery man gaue good eare to his words, but his opinion was rather comended, then followed. Wherefore euery man maruelled, that ſuch a Captaine as he, that had ſo many yeares made warre with the ROMANES (who had in manner coquered all the world) ſhould then be ſo light ſet by of the king, when it ſpecially ſtood him vpon, to haue ſuch a mans help & couſel. For, what captaine liuing could a man haue fouid more skilful or politike, or meter to make war with the ROMANES, then him? Howbeit the king made no reckoning of him, at the firſt beginning of this warre: but ſhortly after, diſdaining al their couſell, he cofeſſed that *Annibal* only ſaw what was to be done. For after the ROMANES had obtained victory in the war he made in GRÆCE: *Antiochus* fled out of EVROPE into EPHESVS, where making mery, & there following pleaſure, he hoped to liue in F peace, litle thinking the ROMANES would come with any army into ASIA. Now, theſe flattering courtiers ſtil fed his humor: a perpetual plague to kings & Princes, that ſuffer them ſelues to be flattered, & are cotited to be deceiued, bicauſe they giue good eare to that that pleaſeth

Enuy, the cõmon plague and poyſon of Princes Courtes.

Scipio Africanus met with Annibal at Epheſus.

Annibals iudgement of the moſt famous Captaines.

Annibal couſelleth king Antiochus to make warre with the Romanes.

King Antiochus iudgement of Annibal.

them. But *Annibal*, who knewe the power and ambition of the ROMANES, perſwaded the king to hope for any thing rather then peace, and bad him truſt to it, that the ROMANES would neuer ſtay, till they had proued whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in AFRICK, and EVROPE. *Antiochus* perſwaded by the authority of ſuch a man, ſtraight commaunded *Polyxenidas*, a very ſeruiceable man, and skilfull in ſea ſeruice, that he ſhould goe meete with the army of the ROMANES that was comming thither. Then he ſent *Annibal* into SYRIA, to leauy a great number of ſhippes together, and afterwards made him, and *Apollonius*, (one of his fauored Courtiers) generalls of this armye by ſea: who notwithſtanding that *Polyxenidas* was put to the worſt by the ROMANES, they went and ſet vpon the RHODIANS, that were confederats with them. *Annibal* in this battell aſſayling *Eudamus* the Captaine of the RHODIANS, that led the left wing: he had already compaſſed in the Admirall galley, and doubtles had obtayned the victorie, but that the other wing came in to reſcue, after they had followed *Apollonius* in chaſe, and tooke the victorie from him, that was his owne. After this battell by ſea, which had no great good ſucceſſe: we doe not find that *Annibal* did any thing worthy memorie. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome, beſides other condicions, the ROMANES offred him: they deſired that *Annibal* (the mortall enemy of their contry) ſhould be deliuered vnto them. *Annibal* foreſeeing this long before, he ſodainely ſtale from *Antiochus*, after this notable battell that was fought by MAGNESIA, where the kings power was ouerthrowen. So, after *Annibal* had wandred vp and downe a long time, he fled at length vnto *Pruſias*, king of BITHYNIA, for ſuccor. Nowe he did not ſo much truſt to his friendſhippe, but bicauſe he ſought for the meeteſt place he coulde come by, as alſo for the ſafeſt, the which he moſt deſired: conſidering that the ROMANES had the moſt part of the ſea and land in their ſubiection. Some ſay, that after king *Antiochus* was ouercome, *Annibal* went into CRETA vnto the GORTYNIANS: and that the rumor ranne immediatly, he had brought a great maſſe of gold and ſiluer with him. Wherefore being affrayd leaſt the CRETANS ſhould offer him ſome violence, he deuiſed this ſhifte to ſcape the daunger. he filled earthen pots with lead, gilt, and ſent them into the temple of *Diana*, ſayning that he was maruelous carefull for them, as though all his treaſure had bene there. On the other ſide he had hid all his gold in images of braſſe, the which he had left careſly lying on the grouñd in the houſe. In the meane time, whileſt they watched the temple carefully, that theſe earthen pots ſhould not be caried away without their priuitie: *Annibal* hoyſed ſayle, and fled into BITHYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a village vpon the ſea ſide, which the contry men call LIBYSSA, of the which by ſome mens ſaying, there ranne an olde oracle and prophecy in this ſort.

Annibal made generall of Antiochus army by ſea, together with Apollonius.

Annibal fled to Pruſias king of Bithynia.

The land of Libyſſa ſhall couer vnder mouvlde
The valliant corps of Annibal, vvhen he is dead and colde.

There *Annibal* lay, not ſpending his time idely, but paſſing it away in exerciſing of the maryners, riding of horſes, and trayning of his ſouldiers. Some Authors alſo do write, that at that time *Pruſias* made warre with *Eumenes*, king of PERGAMVM, who was a confederate and friend of the ROMANES: and that he made *Annibal* his Lieuetenant generall of his army by ſea: who aſſayling *Eumenes* with a new found and vnknowen deuiſe, wanne the victory of the battell by ſea. For before they began to fight, it is reported that *Annibal* had gotten an infinite number of ſnakes into earthen pots, and when the battell was begonne, and they buſily tending their fight: he threw thoſe pots with ſnakes into the enemies ſhippes, and that by this fearefull and ſtraunge deuiſe he made them flie. Now whether this was true or not, the olde chronicles do make no manner of mention, but onely *AEmylius* and *Trogus*. And therefore I report me to the Authors. So, the newes of the diſſention betwixt theſe two kings, (*Pruſias*, and *Eumenes*) being brought to ROME: the Senate ſent *T. Q. Flaminius* Ambaſſador into ASIA, whoſe name was famous for the noble victories he had obtayned in GRÆCE, to the ende (as I coniecture) to make peace betwixt theſe two kings. *Flaminius* being come vnto king *Pruſias*, he was maruelouſly offended, and ſory in his mind to ſee *Annibal* yet aliue, (that was the mortalleſt enemy of the ROMANES) after the cõqueſts of ſo many nations, & the ſacking of ſo many people: therfore, he was very earneſtly in hand with king *Pruſias*, to deliuer him *Annibal*. *Annibal* from the firſt beginning miſtruſted king *Pruſias* inconſtancye very much, and therefore had digged

Annibal, king Pruſias generall by ſea, againſt Eumenes, king of Pergamum. A ſtraunge deuiſe of ſnakes put in earthen pots, and throwen into the enemies ſhippes. Titus Quintius Flaminius ſent Ambaſſador into Aſia.

diuers

A diuers vaults in his houſe, and made ſeuen ſeuerall vents to flie out at, if he were ſodainely taken. The report of *Flaminius* cõming did encreaſe his ſuſpition the more, for that he thought him the greateſt enemy he had in ROME: both generally for the hate he bare vnto all the ROMANES, as alſo perticularly for the remembraunce of his father *Flaminius*, that was ſlayne in the battell fought by the lake of Thraſymene. So *Annibal* being full of care and griefe (as it is reported) he found deuiſes to eſcape, the which ſtood him to no purpoſe againſt ſuch a great power. For when the kings gard which were ſent to take him, had cõpaſſed his houſe about: *Annibal* thought to flie at their firſt comming, and to ſaue him ſelfe by the ſecreteſt vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the gard, then he determined to rid him ſelfe out of the ROMANES handes, by deſtroying him ſelfe. So, ſome doe report, that he was
B ſtrangled by one of his men, whome he had commaunded to helpe to diſpatche him. Others write againe, that he had droncke bulles blond, and when he had droncke it, dyed, as *Clitarchus*, and *Stratocles* doe falſely report of *Themiſtocles*. Howbeit *Titus Liuius*, that famous Hiſtoriographer writeth, that *Annibal* called for the poyſon he had ready for ſuch a miſchiefe, and that holding this deadly drinke in his hand, before he dranke he ſayd: Cõme on, let vs rid the ROMANES of this payne and care, ſith their ſpight and malice is ſo great, to haſten the death of a poore old man that is halfe dead already. The auncient ROMANES aduertiſed *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES, who came with enſeignes diſplayed to the very walls of the citie of ROME, that he ſhould looke to him ſelfe, and beware of poyſoning: and theſe ROMANES nowe doe make a friende forgetting his kingly ſtate and faithfull promiſe, vilely to betraye his
C poore gheſt. After he had ſayd, bitterly curſing king *Pruſias*, he poyſoned him ſelfe, being three ſcore & tenne yeare olde, as ſome writers doe teſtifie. His body was buried in a tombe of ſtone by LIBYSSA, on the which was ingrauen no more but this: *Here lyeth Annibal*. The ROMANES beeing aduertiſed of his death, euery man ſayde his opinion, as his fancye ſerued him. Some greatly blamed *T. Q. Flaminius* crueltie, who to make him ſelfe famous by ſome notable acte, (as he thought) made a poore olde man put him ſelfe to death, that was in manner half dead by age, and beſides, was paſt doing the ſtate of ROME any more hurt, they being Conquerors in manner of all the world. But ſome againe on the other ſide, commended *Flaminius* for it, & ſayd it was a good deede of him, to rid the ROMANES of their mortall enemye: who though he had but a weake body, yet he lacked no wit, wiſe counſell, and great experience in warres,
D to intiſe king *Pruſias* to make warre, and to moleſt all ASIA beſides with newe warres. For at that time, the power of the king of BITHYNIA was ſo great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, *Mithridates* king of the ſame BITHYNIA, did maruelouſly moleſt the ROMANES both by ſea and by land, & moreouer fought battells with *L. Lucullus*, and *Cn. Pompey*, famous Captaines of the ROMANES. And ſo the ROMANES might alſo be affrayd of king *Pruſias*, and ſpecially hauing *Annibal* his Captaine. So ſome iudge, that *Q. Flaminius* was ſpecially ſent Ambaſſador vnto king *Pruſias*, ſecretly to practiſe *Annibals* death. Howbeit it is to be ſuppoſed, that *Q. Flaminius* was not ſo deſirous to haue *Annibal* ſo ſodainely put to death, as he would haue bene glad otherwiſe to haue brought him againe to ROME, that had done ſuch miſchiefe to his contry: and this had bene a great benefit for ROME, and much honor alſo vn-
E to him ſelfe. Such was the death of *Annibal* the CARTHAGINIAN, a famous man doubtles, & highly to be commended for martiall prayſe, ſetting his other vertues a ſide. So we may eaſily iudge, of what power and force his noble mind, his great wiſedom and corage, and his perfit skill of martiall diſcipline was in all thinges. For in all the warre the CARTHAGINIANS had ſo vehemently, and with ſuch great preparation enterpriſed: they neuer thought them ſelues ouercome, till *Annibal* was ouerthrowen at that great battel by ZAMA. So it appeareth, that all their ſtrength and skill of warres began, & alſo ended, with
F *Annibal* their Captaine.

Annibal poyſoned him ſelfe, being 70. yeare old.

Annibals tombe by Libyſſa.

The praiſe of Annibal.

THE LIFE OF
Scipio African.

The parētage of Scipio.

Vblius Scipio a PATRICIAN, of the familye of the *Cornely*, who was the first ROMANE Captaine against whome *Annibal* fought in ITALY: was the father of *Cornelius Scipio* afterwards surnamed AFRICAN, the first so called, bicause he had conquered that nation. The same *Scipio*, after he had obtayned many great victories in SPAYNE, and done notable feates of armes: was in the ende slayne with a wound he had in a battell against his enemies, as he was plying and incoraging of his men from place to place, thronging in the greatest daunger and fury of the battell. Shortly after did his brother *Cn. Scipio* also ende his life, much after one selfe manner, and was slayne valliantly fighting. So these two Captaines, besides the fame they achieued by their noble deedes, left behind them great prayse of their faithfulnes, modestie, and corage: the which made them not onely wished for of their souldiers that were then liuing, but also of all the SPANYARDS besides. *Cn. Scipio* had a sonne called *P. Cornelius Nasica*, one that had bene Consul and had also triumphed: who beeing but a younge man, was thought the meetest man of all the citie of ROME to receyue *Idæa*, the mother of the goddes. This *Publius* had two sonnes, the so famous *Scipioes*: of the which the one was called ASIAN, bicause he conquered ASIA: and the other AFRICAN, bicause he subdued AFRICK at that famous battell of ZAMA, where he ouerthrewe *Annibal* and the CARTHAGINIANS, as we sayd before. Whose life we purpose nowe to write, not so much to make the glory of his name (so famous by all the Græke & Latyn Authors) the greater by our history: as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deeds, & moral vertues, to thend that all Princes & noble Captaines in reading it, should behold the liuely image of perfit vertue, which may moue an earnest desire in thē to follow the example of *P. Cornelius Scipioes* life, who from his childhod gaue great hope & shew of a noble nature, & excellent vertue, after he followed the instruction of martiall discipline, vnder the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the second warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, followed the campe being but seuenteene yeare old, & in a very short time grew so toward, & forward in al things, in riding, in watching, in taking all maner of paynes like a soldier, that he wan great cōmendacion of his own father, & besides, great estimation also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharp wit, & noble corage: that it made him beloued, & also feared of his

The first souldierfare of P. Cor. Scipio, being but seuenteene yeare olde.

A his enemies. For this *Scipio* was present at the battell of the horsemen, where *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul fought with *Annibal*, by the riuer of Thesin: & some writers doe affirme, that *Cornelius* the father being hurt, was almost taken by the enemye, had not his sonne *Scipio* saued him, who had then but a litle downe on his beard, he was so young. After that also, at the battel that was fought by CANNES, to the great losse, & in maner vtter destruction of the Empire of ROME, when the ten thowsand men that fled to CANVSIVM, had all together with one cõsent referred the gouernment of the army vnto *Appius Pulcher*, that had bene Ædilis, and vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, that was yet but very young: the same *Scipio* shewed then by his deedes, what noble mind and corage was in him. For when he saw certen young men consul. together betwene them selues to forsake ITALY: he thrust in among them, & drawing out his sword, made
B them all sweare they would not forsake their contry. These, and such like deedes done by him with a liuely corage & noble mind, being then but a young man: wanne him such fauor with the ROMANES, that not respecting his young yeares, nor their auncient custõ, they called him forward, & laid offices of great charge & gouernment vpon him. Insomuch that when he sued for the office of Ædilis before his due time, notwithstanding that the Tribunes of the people were against his sute, bicause he was so younge a man: yet the people suffered him to be brought from tribe to tribe, & so was presently chosen Ædilis with the most voyces. So after his father & Vncle, (both famous and noble Captaines) had bene slaine one after the other in SPAYNE, & that the ROMANES were in consultacion to appoynt some worthy captaine in the
C roome: they could finde no man that durst vndertake this so daungerous warre, considering the losse of two so great captaines before. Wherfore the whole assẽbly being called to choose a Viceconsul, all the other Princes & peeres of the Realme being silent at so worthy a motion: *Scipio* onely of all the rest, being but foure & twenty yeare old, stoode vp in the middest of thẽ, & said, with a good hope & confidence he would willingly take the charge vpon him. He had no sooner offred this promise, but he was presently made Viceconsul of SPAYNE, with the wõderful good wil & fauor of the people, who gaue him all their voyces. Howbeit the Senators afterwards considering better of the matter, against what captaines & natiõs he should make warre: they thought it vnpossible so younge a man coulde performe so waighty a charge. Wherefore mens minds were wonderfully chaunged againe on the sodeine, as if the tribes of the people had repented them of their voices & election. *Scipio* perceiuing it, called an assem-
D bly presently, & made such an oration of his age, and discipline of warres, that euery man that heard him wondred at him, & the people began againe to renew the good hope they had of him for the warres. For he had not only a noble corage in him, beeing indued with many singuler vertues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, & very comly of person, and had besides a pleasaunt countenaunce: all which things together, are great meanes to winne him the loue and good will of euery man. Moreouer, euen in his gesture and behauior, there was a certaine princely grace. Now, the glory of martiall discipline, being ioyned vnto those his rare gifts of mind and nature: it was to be doubted, whether his ciuil vertues made him more acceptable vnto straungers, then wonderful for his skil in warres. Furthermore, he had filled the common peoples harts with a certen superstitious feare, bicause he did daily (after he had takẽ the mans
E gowne) vse to goe vp to the Capitoll, & so into the church without any company: insomuch that all men began to thinke that he learned some secret thinges in the temple, which others might not know, as they were perswaded long before, that *Numa Pompilius* was taught by the Nymphe *AEgeria*. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like opinion of *Scipio*, as in olde time they had of *Alexander* king of MACEDON, to wete: that oftentimes there was a snake seene in his mothers chamber. But let these things go. *Scipio* departing out of ITALY with ten thowsand fooremen, & a fleete of thirty gallies, euery one of thẽ hauing fiue owers to a bank: he sailed into SPAYNE, & in few dayes arriuing at EMPORIA, he landed his men, and marched by land to TARRACON. There he kept a counsell, and many Ambassadors of the cities their confederats came thither, who being curteously receyued, returned to their lodgings with
F such aunswer as they liked. After this, *Scipio* beeing carefully bent to prosecute the warre he had taken vpon him, he thought it best to ioyne the remayne of the olde bandes with his army, which had bene saued through the manhood and valiantnes of *Lucius Martius*. For after

P. Scipio rescued his father from being taken of the enemies.

Honors done to Scipio, being but a young man.

Scipio Viceconsul at 24. yeares of age.

Scipioes great mind and goodly personage.

Scipioes iorney into Spayne.

both the *Scipioes* were ſlayne, and both SPAYNES almoſt loſt, and the ROMANE legions alſo ouerthrowen and put to flight: *L. Martius* a ROMANE Knight, hauing gathered together the remnant of both armies, reſiſted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies puffed vp with glory of the victorie they had gotten, and with great valiantnes, and vnſpeakeable induſtry he mainteyned warre in SPAYNE, againſt three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS. Now *Scipio* being comen to this army that lay in garriſon for the winter time, euery man did certainly perſwade them ſelues that the warre ſhould proſper: and when they ſawe him, they remembred their old Captaines, inſomuch that there was neuer a ſouldier could haue his fill, with looking vpon this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the ſouldiers for their noble corage, not diſpayring for the calamitie of their contry: he greatly honored *Lucius Martius*, to ſhewe, that who ſo truſteth in his owne vertues, needе not enuy the glory of another man. So winter being paſt, he tooke the old and newe bands out of the garriſons, and firſt of all determined to goe and lay ſiege vnto new CARTHAGE. For of all the cities of SPAYNE it was the wealthieſt, and none more meeter to make warre both by ſea & land, then that. Moreouer, the captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS had beſtowed in this citie all their munition, and greateſt treaſure: and left a ſtrong garriſon, both in the citie, and caſtel. But the Captaines them ſelues were deuided in diuers contries, to the end that they three might kepe the whole region from ſpoile, leaſt of all looking then that CARTHAGE ſhould be beſeeged. So *Scipio* hauing put all in readines, he came to beſeege new CARTHAGE with all his army both by ſea and land. This ſemed to be a maruelous hard enterpriſe, and would continue long, both bicauſe the citie was very ſtrong of it ſelfe, and alſo for that the men within it were ſo coragious: that they did not onely thinke them ſelues able to defend the citie, but their harts ſerued them alſo to make ſalyes out vpon the enemie, and to skirmiſh with them, euen to the very trenches of the ROMANES campe. Howbeit it happeneth often, that what a man can not attaine by force, he may winne by induſtrie. Now *Scipio* knew, that the lake or mer which is not farre from the walls of CARTHAGE, did ebbe and flowe with the tyde, and that it was paſſable by forde on that ſide where they might eaſilieſt come to the walles: So, he thinking to imbrace this occaſion, and that he could not poſſibly meete with a better deuiſe to take CARTHAGE: when he ſaw his time, he ſet his men in battell ray, and hauing deuided them into ſeuerall ſquadrons, gaue a more deſperat aſſault vnto the citie, then he had done before. In the meane time, he choſe out a band of the valianteſt men he had, and commaunded them to wade ouer the lake, and to ſcale the walles on that ſide, where they within the towne made leaſt accompt of it. So, theſe ſouldiers that were commaunded to giue this attempt, after they had paſſed ouer the lake without any let or trouble: they found that part of the wall without any watche or garde, bicauſe the greateſt fury of the fight, was on the other ſide of the citie. Therefore they eaſily getting vp on the wal, came and aſſayled the enemies behind them. The citizens, and thoſe of the garriſon, perceyuing they were vnwares fallen into that great daunger: they immediatly forſooke the walles, and ſeeing them ſelues charged on euery ſide, betooke them to their legges, and fled. The ROMANES purſued them ſo hottely, that they wanne the citie, and ſacked it: where they found a wonderfull great ſpoyle, and aboundance of all things neceſſary for warre. *Scipio* greatly prayſed his ſouldiers, & did reward them, for that they had done ſo valiant ſeruice. Howbeit when he ſhould come to giue the ſcaling crowne of the wals, vnto the firſt man that got vp vpon the wall: there were two ſouldiers at ſuch variance for the matter, that all the army was in daunger of diuiſion and mutinie vpon that occaſion. Thereuppon *Scipio* called his men together, and in open aſſembly told them, that he knewe they both got vp on the wall together, and ſo gaue them both a ſcaling crowne: & by this meanes their tumult was preſently pacified. Afterwards he ſent vnto all the cities of SPAYNE, the hoſtages that were found in the city, which were a maruelous number: the which wanne him great fame for his curteſie and clemency, whereby he allured many nations to yeld them ſelues vnto the ROMANES, and to forſake the CARTHAGINIANS. But one thinge aboue all the reſt, chiefly increaſed his prayſe, and wanne him great loue and good will, as a myrror and example of all vertue. There was a young Lady taken priſoner, that in beautie excelled all the women in CARTHAGE: whome he carefully cauſed to be kept, and preſerued from violence and diſhonor. And afterwards when he knew

The valiantnes of Lucius Martius a Romane knight.

Scipio beſeegeth new Carthage in Spayne.

Scipio wanne the citie of new Carthage by aſſault.

The great chaſtitie of Scipio.

that

A that ſhe was maried vnto *Luceius*, Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: he ſent for her husbande that was a verie young man, and deliuered her vnto him, vntouched, or dishonored. *Luceius* not forgetting his noble curteſie vnto her, did let all his ſubiects vnderſtand the great bounty, modeſtie, and rare excellencie of all kinde of vertues that were in this ROMANE Generall: and ſhortly after he returned againe to the ROMANES campe, with a great number of horſemen.

The three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS (*Mago*, *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN, and the other *Haſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*) knowing that the loſſe of new CARTHAGE did them great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other ſtraunge nations, as alſo by the coniecture diuers made of the ſucceſſe of this warre: they firſt practiſed to diſſemble the loſſe of it, and then in ſpeach to make light of it as much as they could. *Scipio* hauing ioined vnto him diuers B nations and Princes of SPAYNE, (among the which were the two litle kings, *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*) vnderſtanding where *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN lay: he marched towards him with his armie, to fight with him, before *Mago* and the other *Haſdrubal* came to ioyne with him. *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN lay in campe by the riuer of Beſula, & was verie deſirous to fight, truſting wholly to his ſtrength and army. But when he heard that *Scipio* was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of pretie ſtrength. The ROMANE legions followed him, and gaue him no reſpit, but purſued ſo neere, that they came and aſſaulted his campe at their firſt comming. So they fought it out vpon the trenches and rampers, as if they had bene at the aſſault of a citie. The CARTHAGINIANS truſting to the ſtrength of the place, and driuen vnto it of neceſſitie, (the which maketh cowards moſt deſperat) they valliantly reſiſted their enemies the beſt they C could. The ROMANES in contrarie maner, being valliant, and full of good hope, fought it out luſtely like men, and the fight was ſo muche more cruell, for that it was in the ſight of their Generall *Scipio*, and of all the armie beſides: inſomuch that their valliant ſeruice there could not be hidden. Therefore they neuer gaue ouer the aſſault, vntill that hauing done their vttermoſt endeuor, they got vp vpon the rampers, and entred in diuers places into the enemies campe, and made them flie. *Haſdrubal*, Captaine of the CARTHAGINIANS, ſaued him ſelfe by flying, with a few with him, before the ROMANES entred into their fort. After this battell, *Scipio* according to his maner, cauſed all the ſpaniſh priſoners to be brought before him, and then gaue them libertie to depart, without paying of raunſome. Among the priſoners, there was a young gentleman of the kings blood, and nephew vnto *Maſiniſſa*, whom when he had D vſed verie honorably, he ſent vnto *Maſiniſſa*, with great and rich gifts: to ſhew thereby, that a Generall of an army ſhould be as bountifull & full of ciuill vertues, as otherwiſe skilfull & expert in martiall diſcipline. For the ende of warre is victorie: the benefit whereof conſiſteth in bountie, and clemencie. From thence commeth the glorie and all other praiſes due to Captaines: as it happened in thoſe things whereof we now treate. For a great number of SPANYARDS being preſent, wondering at the great clemencie of the Generall of the ROMANES: they coulde doe no leſſe but call him king, to honor and recompence his vertue. But *Scipio* ſtrake that word dead ſtraight, the which was no common ſound to the ROMANES eares, and therefore he would by no meanes allow that title, which he knewe to be hatefull to the noble men of his contrie, and alſo vnmeete for the libertie of the ROMANES. He onely prayed the SPE NYARDS, that if they had any mind & deſire not to ſhew them ſelues vnthankefull to him: that then they would be faithfull and louing to the people of ROME. So whileſt theſe things were done by *Scipio*, the other two Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, (*Mago*, and *Haſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*) after they vnderſtoode of the ouerthrowe of their men by the riuer of Beſula: they made all the ſpeede they could to ioyne together, and ſhortly after came and met with *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN, to conſult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had layed their heades together, and conſidered all thinges, they concluded thus: that *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN ſhould go into ITALIE to his brother *Annibal*, where the warre was greateſt: and that *Mago*, and the other *Haſdrubal* ſhoulde remaine in SPAYNE, ſhoulde ſende for aide from CARTHAGE, & ſhould not fight with the ROMANES vntill all their forces looked for were aſF ſembled, and ſo might make a great and puiſant armie. When *Haſdrubal* was gone into ITALIE, *Hanno* was ſent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practiſing in his iorney to make the CELTIBERIANS to rebell, *M. Syllanus* came and ſet vpon him by *Scipioes* commaundement,

Mago, Haſdrubal Barcinian, Haſdrubal Giſgo, the three famous Captaines of the Carthaginians.

Beſula fl.

Scipioes liberalitie to his enemies.

Vertues meete for a General.

Scipio called king, by the Spanyards.

Haſdrubal ſent into Italie to his brother Annibal with an army.

Hanno, the chiefe of the contrarie faction vnto Hasdrubal Barcinian, ouercomen in battell, and take prisoner.

and was so fortunate, that he ouercame him in battell, and tooke him prisoner. Nowe there A was a citie which the contrie men called ORINGE, the which was verie wealthie, and meete to renewe the warre. *Lucius Scipio* was sent thither with parte of the armie to besiege it: but finding it a verie strong scituacion, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he enuironned the towne, and within few dayes tooke and sacked it. Winter came on a pace, and the time of the yeare made them both to retire into their garrisons, for the winter. So *Scipio* hauing had so good fortune in this warre, he went vnto TARRACON: *Mago*, and the other *Hasdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisgo*, went to the sea side. The next sommer, warres growing more bloody and cruell then before in the lower SPAYNE, the ROMANES and CARTHAGINIANS met, and ioyned battell by the riuer of Besula, and fought set battells. After they had fought a long time together, *Scipio* at length got the victorie, & made the enemies flie: (of the which there were B slaine a great number in the field) and geuing them no leasure to gather together againe, and to make head against him, he fought with them, and followed the chase so hottely, that *Hasdrubal* and *Mago* were driuen to leaue the maine land, and to flie to GADES, after they had lost all their armie. In the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a young man of a noble corage, and verie wise, called *Masinissa*, who finding meanes to haue secret conference with *Syllanus*, he was the first man that offred him frendshippe, either being brought to it through *Scipioes* liberalitie, or else bicause he thought the time was come, that it was the surest way to take part with the ROMANES, which were the conquerors. It is that *Masinissa* that afterwards, (through the goodnes of the ROMANES) became the great and mighty king of NVMIDIA, and in deede he was diuers wayes a profitable frende vnto the ROMANES. Furthermore, the selfe C same yeare, (which was the fourteenth of the seconde warre with the AFRICANS) SPAYNE was the first nation and people of the vpland men dwelling in the hart of the realme, that was conquered vnder the happie conduct of the Viceconsul *Scipio*: howbeit it was the last realme that was made a prouince long time after, by *Augustus Cæsar*. Now *Scipio* not contenting him selfe with the great victories he had obteined, in verie short time in SPAYNE (for he had an imagination & good hope also to cõquer AFRICKE) he thought that his best way, to make all the meanes he could possible to get *Syphax*, king of the MASÆSYLIANS, a frend to the ROMANES. Wherefore after he had felt the kinges minde, perceiuing that he was well inclined to make league with the ROMANES: he presently set all his other affaires aside, and sailed into AFRIKE with two gallies onely, at fiue owers to a bancke. At the selfe same time also came *Hasdrubal*, D the sonne of *Gisgo* thither, from GADES: so that both these valliant & lusty Captaines came of purpose to the king, enuying one the other, to craue the kinges good will, vnto their contrie and common wealth. *Syphax* welcomed them both into his Court, and did vse them verie honorably and curteously, and appointed that they should both eate at one table, and lye in one selfe chamber, bicause the one shoulde not thinke his enterteinment better then the other. It is reported, that *Hasdrubal* wondering at the magnanimity and great wisedom of *Scipio* that was present, he considered with him selfe the great daunger the citie of CARTHAGE and all AFRIKE besides was in, through that mans meanes: for he saw him yet a young man, quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, and that had continuallie obtained such victories, and therefore considering the lustie youth of this gentleman, he imagined that it E was vnpossible to perswade him to imbrace peace, rather then warre. Besides, he was affraied also that *Syphax*, moued by the personage and authoritie of him that was present, would take parte with the ROMANES: and in deede his minde gaue him rightlie, for so it happened. For though *Syphax* at the first shewed him selfe indifferent to them both, and had moued talke to end the warre betwext the ROMANES and the CARTHAGINIANS: yet afterwards when *Scipio* tolde him he coulde conclude no peace without consent of the Senate of ROME, he reiected *Hasdrubal*, and inclining to *Scipioes* request, he made league with the people of ROME. So *Scipio* being returned againe into SPAYNE, him selfe partely by force, and partely also by *L. Martius* meanes, conquered ILITVRGIVM, CASTVLO, and certaine other places that refused to yeeld them selues vnto the ROMANES. And to the end nothing should be lacking for all kinde F of sports and pleasures, after he had so fortunatelie obtained so many famous victories: when he was come to newe CARTHAGE, he caused the fensers to prepare them selues to fight with great

Masinissa offereth his frendshippe vnto the Romanes.

Syphax king of the Masæsylians.

Hasdrubals iudgement of Scipio.

Syphax, king of the Masæsylians, maketh league with the Romanes.

A great pompe, where there were many great eſtates, not only to ſee that paſtime, but alſo they them ſelues to handle the weapons in perſon. But amongeſt other SPANYARDES of noble houſes, there were two called, *Corbis*, & *Orſua*, which were at ſtrife together for the kingdom: but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being ſlaine by the others hand. The fight was verie lamentable & grieuous to the beholders: but the death of him that was ſlaine, troubled them much more, for they were both couſin germaines. After all this, *Scipio* hauing his mind ſtill occupied in matters of greater waight and importance, then thoſe which he had already brought to paſſe: he fell ſicke. His ſickenes being caried through all SPAYNE, and as it happeneth often, his diſeaſe being reported to be muche greater and daungerous then it was in deede: thereuppon, not only the nations of SPAYNE beganne to riſe in hope of chaunge, but

The vnfortunate fight of two couſin germanes.

B the armie ſelfe alſo of the ROMANES, the which he had left at SVCRO. Firſt of all, martiall diſcipline was corrupted, through the abſence of the Generall. Afterwardes alſo, the report of his ſickenes, and daunger of his life being ſpred abroad in the armie, raiſed ſuche a rebellion among them: that ſome of them litle regarding the authoritie and commaundement of the head Captaines of the bands, they draue them away, and choſe two meane ſouldiers for their Captaines, who preſumptuouſlie tooke vpon them the name geuen vnto them by men of no authority, and yet with more arrogancie, made the bundells of roddes and axes to be caried before them. Such follie doth furie and vaine ambicion oftentimes worke in mens minds. On the other ſide, the SPANYARDS ſlept not, and ſpecially *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: who aſpiring to the kingdom of SPAYNE, came to *Scipio* when he was conqueror, after he had taken newe

The rebellion of the Romane ſouldiers againſt their Captaines, in Scipioes ſickneſs.

Mandonius: Indibilis, two kinges of Spayne.

C CARTHAGE. But afterwards, being offended to ſee the power of the ROMANES increaſe daily, they ſought occaſion to make ſome alteracion. So after they had heard, not onely of *Scipioes* ſicknes, but alſo how he was at deathes dore, and did beleue it: they preſentlie leauied an armie, and went and made warre with the SVESSITANS which were confederates of the ROMANES. But *Scipio* being recouered againe of his ſickenes, like as vpon the falſe rumor of his death euery man beganne to riſe: euen ſo after the truth was knowen in deede of his recouerie, they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durſt proceede any further in their rebellion. *Scipio* being more skilfull in martialll diſcipline, then acquainted with ſedition and rebellion: although he was maruelouſly offended with the ſouldiers that had committed this follie, yet in the end, leaſt following his anger, men ſhould haue thought him to haue exce-

Scipioes wiſedome ſuppreſſing his anger.

D ded all boundes of reaſon in puniſhing of them, he referred all vnto the counſell. The moſt parte of them gaue aduiſe, that the authors of the rebellion ſhoulde be puniſhed, and all the reſt pardoned: for by this meanes ſayd they, the puniſhment ſhall light vpon a few that haue deſerued it, and all the reſt ſhall take example by them. *Scipio* followed that aduiſe, and preſently ſent for all the ſeditious bands, to come to new CARTHAGE to receiue their pay. The ſouldiers obeyed his commaundement, ſome of them making their fault leſſe then it was, as men doe often flatter them ſelues: others alſo truſting to the Captaines clemencie, as knowing him not to be extreame in puniſhment. For *Scipio* was wont to ſay, that he had rather ſaue the life of one ROMANE citizen, then to kill a thowſand enemies. The rumor ranne alſo, that *Scipio* had an other armie readie, the which he looked for to ioyne with them, and then

Scipioes great wiſedome in puniſhing the offendors.

Scipioes care of his contrie men.

E to ſet vpon the kings, (*Mandonius* & *Indibilis*) who made warre with the SVESSITANS. Theſe ſouldiers departing frō SVCRO, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came vnto CARTHAGE. Howbeit the next day after they were come into the towne, they were brought into the market place: where their armor and weapons being taken from them, they were enuironned with all the legions armie. Then the ROMANE Generall ſitting in place of iudgement, ſhewed him ſelfe before all the cōpany in as good health & good diſpoſition of bodie, as euer he was in all his youth. Then he made a ſharp & bitter oration, full of grieuous complaints: inſomuch as there was not one of all the ſouldiers that were vnarmed, that durſt caſt vp their eyes, or looke their Generall in the face, they were ſo aſhamed. For their conſciences did accuſe them for the fault they had committed, and the feare of death did take their wits and ſences from

F them, & the preſence of their gratious Captaine, made them bluſh as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offendors. Wherefore there was a generall and ſorowfull ſilence of all men. So after he had ended his oration, he cauſed the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be

Scipio did put the authors of the rebellion to death.

brought forth before the whole assembly, who, after they had bene whipped according to the maner, were presently beheaded, the which was a fearefull and lamentable sight to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, *Scipio* made all the other souldiers to be sworne againe, and then went and proclaimed warre against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*. For they considering with them selues, howe the ROMANE souldiers that had rebelled in the campe, were put to death: they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leauied an army of twentie thowsand footemen, & two thowsand horsemen, and came downe with them against the ROMANES. *Scipio* hauing intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increase their army, & that other nations could rebel: he departed from CARTHAGE, & went with as great speede as he could to meete with the enemy. The kings were camped in a very strong place, and trusted so to their army, that they were not determined to prouoke the enemy, nor also to refuse the battel if it were offred them. Howbeit it chaunced by the nerenes of both campes, that within few dayes, they being prouoked by the ROMANES, came downe & set their men in battell ray, & ioyned battell with *Scipio*: so that a good while together, the fight was very bloody & cruel. But at length the SPANYARDS seeing them selues compassed in behinde, and being driuen to fight in a ring to defend the enemy on euery side, they were ouercome: so that the third parte of them scarcely saued them selues by flying. *Mandonius* & *Indibilis* seeing them selues vtterly vndone, & that there was no hope nor remedy left: they sent Ambassadors vnto *Scipio*, humbly to pray him to receiue them to mercy, and to pardon them. But *Scipio* knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the ROMANES, yet thinking it more honorable to ouercome the enemie by curtesie and clemency, then by force: he did pardon them, and only cõmaunded them to geue him money to pay his souldiers. In the meane time *Massinissa* came from GADES, & landed: bicause he would him selfe in person confirme the frendshipe he had offered *Scipio* in his absence, by the meanes of *M. Syllanus*, and also speake with him face to face, whom he iudged to be a worthie man, for the famous victories he had obteined. And in truth *Massinissa* was not deceiued in the opinion he had of the valliantnes & vertues of *Scipio*, but found him the selfe same man whom he before had imagined him to be in his minde: the which but seldom happeneth so notwithstanding. For besides the great rare giftes of nature that *Scipio* had aboue all others, there was in him also a certaine Princely grace and maiestie. Furthermore, he was maruelous gentle & curteous vnto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to winne euerie man. He was verie graue in his gesture and behauiour, and euer ware long heare. *Massinissa* being come to salute him, when he sawe him, he had him in suche admiration as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes of him, nor haue his fill of looking on him. So he thanked him maruelously for sending his Nephewe vnto him, and promised him that his deedes shoulde confirme and witnesse the frendshippe agreed vppon betwene them: the which he euer after inuiolablie kept vnto the ROMANES, euen to the hower of his death. So all the nations of SPAYNE became subiect to the Empire of ROME, or at the least their confederates: whereupon those of GADES also following the example of others, came and yeelded them selues vnto the ROMANES. This is a verie auncient nation, and if we may credit the reporte of it: as CARTHAGE was in AFRIKE, and THEBES in BOEOTIA, so was GADES vpon the sea, a Colony of the TYRIANS. *Scipio* after he had conquered all SPAYNE, and driuen out the CARTHAGINIANS, considering that there remained nothing more for him to doe: he left the gouernment of the prouince vnto *L. Lentulus*, and to *Manlius Acidinus*, and returned to ROME. When he was arriued at ROME, the Senate gaue him audience out of the citie, in the temple of *Bellona*. There, when he had particularly told thē of the things he had valliantly, & fortunately brought to end: & further, that he had ouercome foure Captaines in diuers foughtē fields & also put to flight foure armies of the enemies, & driuē the CARTHAGINIANS out of both SPAYNES, & that there was no nation left in all those parts, but was subdued to the ROMANES, the Senate gaue iudgement, that all these things were worthy of a noble triumphe. But bicause neuer man yet was suffred to enter into ROME in triūphe, for any victories he had obtained, whilest he was only but Viceconsul, and had not yet bene Consul: the Senators thought it not good, and *Scipio* him selfe also made no great sute for it, bicause he would not be an occasion to bring in any newe custome,

A noble thing to ouercome the enemie by clemencie.

Massinissa cometh vnto Scipio.

A Princely Maiestie in Scipioes personage.

The antiquitie of those of Gades.

Scipioes noble deedes.

Scipioes returne out of Spayne to Rome.

and

A and to breake the olde. So when he came into the citie, he was afterwardes declared Conſul, with the great good will and conſent of the whole aſſemblie. It is reported that there neuer came ſuch a world of people to ROME, as were there at that time, not only for the aſſemblies ſake, but more to ſee *P. Cor. Scipio.* Wherefore, not the ROMANES onely, but all the ſtraungers alſo that were there, all their eyes were vpon *Scipio*, and ſayd both openly and priuately: that they ſhould ſend him into AFRIKE, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, at home in their owne contrie. *Scipio* alſo being of the ſame opinion, ſaid, that he would aske aduiſe of the people, if the Senate would be againſt ſuch a worthie enterpriſe. For amongeſt the peres and Senators, there were ſome that vehemently inueyed againſt that opinion, and among the reſt, *Fabius Maximus* ſpeciallie, a man of great fame and authoritie. *Scipio* went forward with B the matter, and thwarted him, and ſhewed many reaſons that there was no way to ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, and to driue *Annibal* out of ITALIE, but that only: and that all other counſells were in vaine, and vnproffitable. After this matter was long debated in counſell, SICILIA was appointed vnto *Scipio:* and the whole Senate gaue him commiſſion to go with all his armie into AFRIKE, if he thought it meete and proffitable for the common wealth. The decree of the Senate being publiſhed, euerie mans minde ranne of ſo great enterpriſes, that they perſwaded them ſelues AFRIKE was alreadie their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit *Scipio* ſaw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this iorney, bicauſe of the pouertie of the common treaſure, and for lacke of young men: the flower and choyce of the which was vtterlie gone, by the former great loſſes and ouerthrowes *Annibal* had geuen C them. Howebeit to ſatisfie euerie mans expectacion of him, he made all the poſſible ſpeede he could, to prepare thinges neceſſarie for the warres. So diuers people of THVSCAN, and of the VMBRIANS, offered to helpe him to their beſt power: ſome of them gaue him timber to builde his ſhippes, others holpe him with armor, and others alſo furniſhed him with corne, and all other kinde of vittells and munition for his armie. The ſhippes being built, and all the armie by ſea put in readines, in the ſpace of fiue and fortie dayes, a thing incredible to many: *Scipio* departed out of ITALIE, and ſailed towards SICILE. But when he came to take muſter of his armie, he ſpeciallie choſe thoſe that had ſerued long time in the warres, vnder the conduct of *M. Marcellus*, the which were all eſteemed for verie expert ſouldiers. And for the SICILIANS, he partely wanne them by curteſie, and partely by compulſion compelled them to D geue him aide for the warre he tooke in hand, the which he ment to make in AFRIKE, when the time of the yeare ſhould ſerue for it. Among other things, it is reported that *Scipio* choſe out of diuers cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the nobleſt houſes of all the ſayd prouince, and commaunded them to meete at a certaine day appointed, euerie man with horſe and armor. Then comming at the day appointed, according to his commaundement: the Conſul bad them chooſe whether they would followe him in the warres of AFRIKE, or elſe deliuer vp their armor & horſe, to as many other ROMANES as they were in number. So when they all prayed they might be diſmiſſed from the warre, *Scipio* appointed three hundred other young ROMANES in their places, whom he had brought out of ITALIE with him vnarmed, bicauſe he would mount and arme them at the SICILIANS coſt, as in deede it chaunced. Af- E terwards, they did him great ſeruice in AFRIKE, in many great battells. Now time was come on for *Scipio* to put his armie in garriſon for the winter time, when he came to SYRACVSA, taking order not only for the preparation of warre, but alſo for the affaires of SICILIA. There when it was tolde him by complaint of diuers, that there was a great companie of ITALIAN ſouldiers in that citie, who would not reſtore the ſpoiles which they had gotten in the warres, but kept them ſtil in their hands, notwithſtanding that the Senate had enioyned them by ſpeciall commaundement to make reſtitution to the SYRACVSANS: he ſtraight compelled them by proclamation, to accompliſhe the Senates commaundement. Whereby he wanne all the peoples hartes of SICILIA, and was reported to be a iuſt and vpright Conſul. In the meane time he was aduertiſed by *Caius Lelius*, that returned out of AFRIKE with great ſpoyle: howe F king *Maſiniſſa* was very deſirous of his comming thither, and that he inſtantly prayed him he would come into AFRIKE, as ſoone as he coulde poſſible, ſo it were without the preiudice of the common wealth. Moreouer, that diuers nations and people of AFRIKE had the like de-

Scipio made Conſul.

Scipio prepared his armie and nauy by ſea, in 45. dayes.

Scipioes policie in Sicilia.

sire: who hating the gouernment of the CARTHAGINIANS, desired nothing more, then some A
good occasion to rebell. Nowe this iorney was not deferred through *Scipioes* fault or negligence, considering that such a Captaine could hardly be founde that was more carefull and diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affaires of SICILIA, and the oportunitie he had to recouer LOCRES againe, did hinder him that he coulde not bring his purpose to passe according to his minde. Furthermore, his Lieutenaunt *Pleminius* disorder grieued him much: bicause that hauing left him at LOCRES, he fell to all sortes of insolencie, as to deflowre women, and to spoyle the poore citizens: insomuch that they being maruelously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subiect to the gouernment of so vile & wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of LOCRES being arriued at ROME, and exhibiting their complaintes in open Senate of the B
great wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* did them: the noble men tooke the matter so grieuously, that they made bitter decrees, not only against the same *Pleminius*, but also against *P. C. Scipio* himselfe. Wherupon *Scipioes* enemies hauing gotten matter enough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the iniuries offred the LOCRIANS, with the licentiousnesse of *Pleminius*, and with the rebellions of his souldiers also: and that he had suffred all these things more negligently, then became the office or duety of a Consul. They added thereto moreouer, that his army he had in SICILE was altogether vnruly & vnseruiceable, & regarded not the ordinances of the campe: and that the Captaine him selfe was careless, & altogether geuen ouer to pleasure and idlenes. But aboue all others, *Fabius Maximus* was his heauy enemy, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceeded the bounds C
of all modesty and reason, and thought good to call him presently home out of SICILIA, and to dismisse him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, & extreame. Wherefore following *Quintus Metellus* counsell, the Senators appointed ten Ambassadors to go into SICILIA, to make diligent inquiery, whether the accusations obiected against *Scipio* were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they should commaund him in the name of the Senate presently to returne into ITALY. And on the other side, if they foūd that he was vniustly accused, and only through the procurement of his malicious enemies & detracters: then that they should send him to his armie, and encorage him valliantly to go forward with this warre. So when the Ambassadors were arriued in SICILIA, after they had made diligent inquiery according to the articles of their commission: they coulde not finde that *Scipio* was D
faultie in any thing, sauing that he had too lightly passed ouer the wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* had done vnto the LOCRIANS. For *Scipio* was verie liberall in rewarding of his men, and exceeding curteous and mercifull also in punishing of them. But when they saw his army, his shippes, and all his other furniture and munition for warre: it is reported that they wondred so much to see the great aboundance and good order taken for all thinges, that when they returned to ROME, they greatly commended *Scipio*; and reiecting all the accusations of his accusers, they did promise the Senate and people of ROME, assured hope of victory. So when all these home troubles at ROME were taken away, there chaunced other outward troubles a broad that grieued him much. For the Ambassadors of king *Syphax* came and told him that
their maister had made new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, & was become frend to *Has-* E
drubal, whose daughter he had maried: and therefore that he wished him if he ment to do his contry good, to make no attempt vpon AFRIKE, for he was determined to reckon the CARTHAGINIANS frends his, & also to set vpon them whom the CARTHAGINIANS account their enemies. *Scipio* quickelie returned the Ambassadors againe vnto *Syphax*, bicause the effect of their comming should not be blowen abroad in his campe: & gaue them letters, in the which he praied king *Syphax*, that remembring his league and faithfull promise, he should beware he attempted nothing vnworthy the name of a ROMANE, and faith of a king. Afterwards calling his men together, he told thē, that the Ambassadors of king *Syphax* were come into SICILE, to complaine of his long tarying, as *Masiniſſa* had done before. Therefore he was to hasten his iorney to goe into AFRIKE, and thereupon cōmaunded all his souldiers to put them selues in F
readines, and to prouide all things necessary for their iorney. The Consuls commaundement being published through all SICILE, there repaired immediatlie vnto *Lilybea* a multitude of people

P. C. Scipio accused.

Q. Fabius Maximus, a great aduersary vnto Scipio.

Scipioes nature.

King Syphax reuolteth frō the Romanes.

A people,not only of those that were to saile into AFRIKE,but of others also that came to see the fleete & army of the ROMANES: bicause they neuer saw an army better furnished, nor set out with all things necessary for warre, nor better replenished with souldiers,then that. So *Scipio*, all things being ready,imbarked at LILYBEA with so earnest a desire to passe ouer the sea,that neither owers nor wind did content his minde.Yet he was brought in few daies sailing, to the promontory or mountaine called Sayer, and there he put all his men a land. The newes of his arriual flying straight to CARTHAGE,all the city was presently in such an vprore,that sodainly they sounded the alarom,and garded the gates & walls,as appeareth by testimony of some in writing. For from *M.Regulus* time,vnto that present day,it was almost fifty yeares space since any ROMANE Captaine euer entred AFRIKE with force of armes. And therefore it was no
B maruell though they were affrayed,and grew to vprore. The name of *Scipio* did encrease their feare the more, bicause the CARTHAGINIANS had no Captaine matchable with him. *Hasdrubal* the sonne of *Gisgo* had the name at that time of a lusty Captaine,whom they knew had notwithstanding bene ouercome, and driuen out of SPAYNE by *Scipio*. Howbeit putting all the hope & safety of their contry in him,& in king *Syphax* that mighty king:they neuer left intreating the one,nor perswading the other, to come & helpe the affaires of AFRIKE, with all the spede they could possible.So,whilest they two were preparing to ioyne both their armies together,*Annibal* the sonne of *Hamilcar*, being appointed to kepe the next contry adioyning to it,came against the ROMANES. *Scipio* after he had destroyed the contry, & enriched his army with great spoyle:he camped by the city of VTICA,to see if it were possible for him to win
C so noble and wealthy a city, and being besides so commodious for the warres both by sea and land. At the selfe same time *Massinissa* came to the ROMANES campe, and was inflamed with a vehement desire to make warre against king *Syphax*, by whom he had before bene driuen out of his kingdom & inheritance. *Scipio*, that had knowen him in SPAYNE, a young Prince of an excellent wit, and quicke & valliant of his hand: he sent him to discouer the army of the enemies, before the CARTHAGINIANS could gather any greater power, and willed him to vse all the deuise and meanes he coulde possible to intise *Hanno* to fight. *Massinissa* as he was commaunded,began to prouoke the enemy,and drawing him out by litle & litle, he brought him where *Scipio* lay with all his legions armed, looking for a good hower to fight. The armie of the enemies was nowe wearied, when the ROMANES came to set vpon them with their freshe
D army. *Hanno* at the first onset was ouercomen, & slaine,with most of his men: and all the rest fled,and dispersed them selues here and there,where they thought they might best scape. After this victory,*Scipio* returning backe againe to besiege the city of VTICA: the sodaine comming of *Hasdrubal* and king *Syphax*,made him to leaue of his enterprise,for that they brought with them a great army both of footemen & horsemen,and came and camped not farre from the ROMANES. *Scipio* perceiuing that, raised his siege immediatly, and came and fortified his campe vpon a hill,from whence he might go & fight with the enemy,and molest them of VTICA,and also keepe his shippes safe that road at ancker.Howbeit the time of the yeare being comen, that both armies were to dispose their men in garrisons for the winter season: he determined to send vnto king *Syphax* to feele his minde,and to make him leaue the frendshippe
E of the CARTHAGINIANS if it were possible. For he knew well it was his mariage with *Sophonisba*, that through her flattering perswasions had brought him to that furie, that he had not only forsaken the frendshippe of the ROMANES,but also ment to destroy them,contrary to his faith and promise: and that if he had once satisfied the heate of his loue with her, he thought then he might be called home againe. *Syphax* hauing vnderstoode *Scipioes* message sent him, he answered,that in dede it was time not only to leaue the league with the CARTHAGINIANS, but also to geue vp all thought of warre: and so promised, that he would be a good meane to make peace. *Scipio* gaue good eare vnto it, and caught holde of an excellent fine deuise. He chose the valliantest souldiers in his army, apparelled them like slaues, and made them waite vpon the Ambassadors, and gaue them instructions what they shoulde doe. These fellowes,
F whilest the Ambassadors and king *Syphax* were in talke together about the articles and condicions of peace, and that the consultation helde lenger then it was wont to doe: they went and walked vp and downe through the enemies campe, to see all the wayes and entries into

The ready & faithfull good will of Massinissa to the Romanes.

Hanno ouercomen and slaine.

Sophonisba, king Syphax wife.

Scipioes craft.

it, according vnto *Scipioes* instructions. After they had done this diuers times, they came a- A
gaine to *Scipio*. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, *Scipio* seemed to make preparation for warres, (as being out of hope of any peace) & to make his army ready by sea, preparing engines of batterie to returne to besiege VTICA, as he had done before. He gaue out this rumor through all the contry, to perswade his enemies that it was true: howbeit hauing called the Captaines & pety Captaines of his army together, he made them priuy to his intent & enterprise. He told them that both the enemies campes lay not farre a sunder, of the which, the one of them had all their tents & cabbons of wodde: and the building of the other campe was all of reedes, so that they were both easie to be burnt. Wherupon hauing sent for *Masinissa*, and *Caius Lælius* to come vnto him, he gaue them charge about midnight to geue a- B
larom vnto *Syphax* campe, and to set it a fire: and that he him selfe on the other side, would set vpon the CARTHAGINIANS campe. They two obeying *Scipioes* commaundement, performed his will without delay, & came at the hower appointed thē to assaile the NVMIDIANS campe, and so did set the houses of reedes afire, which tooke fire in such sort, as the flame was immediatly rounde about the campe. The NVMIDIANS at the first, thinking the fire had comen by misfortune, ranne thither straight vnarmed to quench it. But when they found them selues among the legions of the ROMANES, and that there was nothing but killing downe right, seeing them selues so compassed in on all sides, they saw their best remedie was to flie. On the other side also, where *Scipioes* army was: the CARTHAGINIAANS campe was almost all burnt, an the enemies put to flight with such cruell slaughter, that some wryters affirme there were slaine that night about fortie thowsand men, as well CARTHAGINIANS as NVMIDIANS. This C
great ouerthrow and slaughter being caried to CARTHAGE, did put the citizens there in such a feare and terror, that some thought best to send for *Annibal* out of ITALIE: and others gaue aduise to make peace with *Scipio*. Howbeit the BARCINIAN faction which was rich and wealthy, & altogether against the peace makers: they so preuailed, that they leauied a new power to begin warre againe. King *Syphax* and *Hasdrubal*, hauing leauied a great multitude of footemen and horsemen againe, renewed their armie sooner then was looked for, and came againe to pitche their campe directly ouer against the enemies. *Scipio* hauing vnderstanding of that, would not tary, but determined to geue them battell, whilest his men were in good hart, and willing to fight. So it chaunced at the first, by the neerenes of both their campes, that there were certaine skirmishes: but in the end, the armies came to ioyne battell, and the ROMANES D
fought with such corage & terror, that at the first onset, they made the NVMIDIANS & CARTHAGINIANS flie, and slue the most part of them. *Hasdrubal* and *Syphax* scaped, by flying out of the slaughter. *Scipio* sent *Masinissa*, & *Caius Lælius* with the light horsemen to giue them chase. *Syphax* being comen into NVMIDIA, & from thence into his owne realme & kingdom he leauied an army in hast, of all sorts of people, & came to meete with *Masinissa* & *Caius Lælius*, and was not affrayed to geue them battell. But it was a fond parte of him, considering that he was nothing like so strong as his enemy, neither for nūber of fighting men, nor yet in likelyhood of souldiers. For neither the souldiers, nor Captaines of his army were matchable with the souldiers & Captaines of the ROMANES cāpe: & therfore king *Syphax* was easily ouercome by such skilful souldiers, & moreouer was him selfe taken in battel, with many other great noble men, E
whom *Masinissa* wold hardly haue looked for: & thē they were brought vnto *Scipio*. At the first there was a maruelous ioy amōg thē, when it was told thē that king *Syphax* should be brought prisoner vnto the cāpe: but afterwards when they saw him bound, they were al sory to see him in such pityfull state, remēbring his former greatnes & regall maiesty. For they called to mind how famous the name of this king had bene but a litle before, what wonderful great wealth he had, & also the power of so great a realme & kingdom. Howbeit *Scipio* the ROMANE Consul, receiued him very curteously, & gently asked him what he ment to chaunge his mind in that sort, & what moued him to make warre with the ROMANES. Then the king remēbring his former frendship & faithful promise broken, he boldly told him, that it was the loue he bare to his wife *Sophonisba*, who only had procured him to deale so dishonorably with the ROMANES: how- F
beit, that he had so smarted for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promise. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreame misery,

A maruelous great slaughter of the Carthaginiās.

Syphax, king of the Masæsyliani, ouercome, & takē in battell.

A sery, to see that his mortall enemy *Masinissa* was also taken with that franzie and mad humor, wherewith he before was possessed. For after *Syphax* was ouercome and taken, *Masinissa* went vnto CYRTHA, the chiefe city of the realme, the which he wan, and found *Sophonisba* there, with whom he fell in fancy: who after she had finely wrapped him in with her deceitfull flatteries and kindnes, he promised her also to deliuer her out of the ROMANES hands: & bicause he might the better performe his promise made, he tooke her to his wife, & maried her. Whē *Scipio* was informed of these things, it grieued him maruelously. For it was knowen to all men, that *Syphax* was ouercome vnder the conduct, & through the ROMANES meanes: and therefore all that was belonging to *Syphax*, was at the disposition of the ROMANES. Wherefore if *Masinissa* had without *Scipioes* consent, vndertaken to defend *Sophonisbaes* quarrell: then it ap-

B peared plainly, he despised the authority of the Consul, & the maiesty of the people of ROME. Furthermore, his filthie lust did agrauate his fault the more, the which seemed so much more intollerable, by how much the continency of the ROMANE Consul was the greater, the which *Masinissa* saw daily before his eyes, and might haue bene a paterne and example vnto him. For *Scipio*, besides many other proofes and shewes of his vertues, in all places where he obtayned victory, he alwayes kept the women vndefiled, which were taken prisoners. So, *Scipio* being much offended with *Masinissa*, (though he shewed it not before company) receiued him very louingly at his returne to the campe: yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he so sharply reproued him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a seuere Captaine. Whereupon *Masinissa* went into his tent and wept, & could not tell what way

C he should take: howbeit shortly after, perceiuing that it was vnpossible for him to keepe promise with *Sophonisba*, which grieued him to the hart: he sent her poyson, & a message withall, the which she dranke immediatly, & so willingly made her selfe away. Furthermore, the CARTHAGINIANS after they had receiued such wonderfull great losses and ouerthrowes, one after an other, perceiuing that their affaires were brought to suche a straight and extreamitie, that they were no more to looke after the inlarging of their dominions, but only to cōsider which way they might keepe their owne contry: they sent for *Annibal* to come out of ITALIE. Who returning with great speede into AFRIKE, before he did any thing else, he thought good first to talke with *P. Scipio* about peace: either bicause he was affrayed of the good fortune of this young man, or else for that he mistrusted he coulde not otherwise helpe his contrie and com-

D mon wealth, which he saw decaying, & like to be destroied. Wherfore a place was appointed, where they might meete according to his desire: where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this warre. In the end, *Scipio* offred *Annibal* such condicions of peace, that by them it appeared the ROMANES were not wearie of warre, and that *Scipio* him selfe being a young man, had better hope to obtaine victorie, then great desire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being set aside, they brake of their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthie Captaines of the most noble nations that could be, prepared them selues to battell, either to geue or take away in short time from their cōmon weales, the seigniorie and Empire of all the worlde. The place where they imployed all their force, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the citie of ZAMA: in the

E which the ROMANES being conquerors, did first make the Elephants flie, then the horsemen, and in the ende brake so fiercely into the footemen, that they ouerthrew all the armie. It is reported that there were slaine and taken by the ROMANES, aboue fortie thowsande CARTHAGINIANS. *Annibal* fled out of the fury of the battell, & saued him selfe, though that day he had shewed him selfe like a valliant and famous Captaine. For at this battell he had set his armie in better order then euer he had done before, and had strengthened it, both with the commoditie of the place, and relefe besides: and euen in the verie furie and terror of the battell he so besturred him selfe among his souldiers, that the enemies them selues did commend & praise him, for a noble Captaine. After this victory, *Scipio* meeting with *Vermina* king *Syphax* sonne, that brought aide to the CARTHAGINIANS: he put him to flight, and came and brought

F his army to the walls and hauen of CARTHAGE, thinking (as in deede it fel out) that the CARTHAGINIANS would sue to him for peace. For, as the CARTHAGINIANS before had bene very good souldiers, & readie to make warres: so were they now become timerous & faint harted,

Masinissa wan the city of Cyrtha, where he fell in loue with Sophonisba, king Syphax wife.

The great & rare continency of Scipio.

Sophonisba poysoned her selfe, through Masinissaes procurements.

Annibal sent for into Italy, to returne into Afrike.

Battell at Zama, and Scipioes victorie of the Carthaginians.

The waise of Annibal.

ſpecially when they ſaw their Generall *Annibal* ouercomen, in whom they chiefly repoſed all A
their hope and truſt, for defenſe of their contrie. Wherefore they being (as I haue ſayed)
out of hart, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Scipio*, to pray him that according to his accuſtomed cle-
mencie he woulde graunt them peace. Nowe was great ſute made at ROME, to haue the go-
uernment of the prouince of AFRIKE, and one of the newe Conſuls made haſt to come and
make warre, with ſuch charge and preparation as was meete for his dignitie and calling: and
therefore *Scipio* doubting that an other ſhoulde carie away the glorie for ending of ſo great a
warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the CARTHAGINIAN Ambaſſadors requeſtes.
So, the capitulaciō of the articles of peace was offred vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, according
to the conquerors mind: and beſides all other things, the whole fleete of all their ſhippes and
gallies (in the which conſiſted much their hope) were taken from them. For when the whole B
fleete was burnt, it was ſuch a lamentable ſight vnto them all, that there was no other thing
but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if CARTHAGE had bene deſtroied and
Fiue hundred ſhippes of the Carthaginiās burnt by Scipio. raſed to the very ground. For as ſome doe write, there were fiue hundred ſhippes burnt of all
ſortes. Theſe things therefore ſhould make vs all beware of humaine frayeltie, the which we
often forget in our proſperitie. For they that before perſwaded them ſelues to conquer the
world, after they had wonne ſo many great battells and victories of the enemie, and in maner
conquered all ITALIE, and ſo valliantly beſides beſieged the city of ROME: were in ſhort time
after brought to ſuch miſery and extreamity, that all their power and force being ouercome,
they had left them no more but the walls of CARTHAGE, and yet they were not ſure to keepe
them, but through the ſpeciall grace and fauor of the enemie. After theſe things were done, C
Scipio by decree of the Senate, did not only reſtore king *Maſiniſſa* to his realme againe, but alſo
adding thereunto the beſt part of all king *Syphax* contrie, they made him one of the mightieſt
kings of all AFRIKE: and afterwards he gaue honorable gifts vnto euery man as he had deſer-
Scipioes returne to Rome. ued. In fine, after he had ſet all the affaires of AFRIKE at good ſtay, he brought his army backe
againe into ITALIE: at what time there came to ROME a world of people, to ſee ſo great and
famous a Captaine, returning from ſuch wonderfull great victories. So he entred into ROME
Scipioes triumphe at Rome, for the Carthaginians. with pompe of triumphe, *Terentius Culeo* following of him with a hatte on his head, bicauſe
that through his fauor and frendſhip he was taken out of bondage. *Polybius* wryteth, that king
Syphax was led in triumphe: howbeit ſome ſay he dyed before *Scipio* triumphed. In deede di-
uers that did triumphe, ſome before him during the warres of the CARTHAGINIANS, and o- D
thers afterwards in the warres of MACEDONIA & ASIA, they made greater ſhew of plate, both
of gold and ſiluer in their triumphe, and led alſo a greater number of priſoners: howbeit one
onely *Annibal* that was ouercome, and the glorie of ſo great a warre ended, did make the tri-
umphe of *P. Scipio* ſo excellent and famous, that it farre paſſed all the golde and magnificent
pompe of all others triumphes. For after AFRIKE was conquered, no nation then was aſha-
med to be ouercome by the ROMANES. For he made this prouince, as it were a bridge and o-
pen paſſage to increaſe and enlarge the Empire of ROME, both in MACEDON, and alſo in A-
SIA, and in other parts of the world beſides. Now *Scipio* (whom I may rightly call AFRICAN,
after the conqueſt of AFRIKE) being returned to ROME, he lacked no temporall dignities nor
honors. For in the counſell holden for the election of Cenſors, although there were diuers o- E
Scipio, and AElius Petus, choſen Cenſors. thers of the nobleſt houſes of ROME that ſued for that office: yet he him ſelfe, and *AElius Pe-*
tus were preferred before all the reſt, and after they were created Cenſors, they did gouerne
in their office like good men, and with good quietnes. Afterwards the Cenſors that followed
Scipio Prince of the Senate. them, did ſtill one after an other chooſe *Scipio* AFRICAN Prince of the Senate: the which di-
gnitie was wont to be geuen to them only, that obtained the type of all honor, through their
great conqueſts and benefits done to their contry. Shortly after, he was againe choſen Con-
Scipio and Sempronius Longus choſen Conſuls. ſul with *Sempronius Longus*, the ſonne of that *Sempronius* whome *Annibal* ouercame in that
great ouerthrow, at the battell by the riuer of Trebia. They two were the firſt (as it is repor-
ted) that deuided the noble men and Senators from the people, in the ſhowe place to ſee paſ-
time. This ſeparation was verie odious to the people of ROME, and they were marueloulſlie F
offended with the Conſuls for it: bicauſe they tooke it, that increaſing the honor of the ſtate
of the Senators, they thereby did diſcountenaunce and imbaſe them. Some ſay alſo, that

Scipio

A *Scipio* AFRICAN afterwardes repented him ſelfe that he had taken away the olde cuſtome, and brought in a newe. At that time there fell out greate variaunce betwext *Maſiniſſa* and the CARTHAGINIANS touching their borders and confines. Whereuppon the Senate ſent *Scipio* thither with two other commiſſioners: who after they had hearde the cauſe of their quarrell, they left the matter as they founde it, and would proceede no further in it. And this they did, bicauſe that the CARTHAGINIANS being troubled with ciuil warres at home, ſhould take vpon them no other warres abroade, neither ſhoulde haue leaſure to attempt any alteracion otherwiſe. For the ROMANES had great warre with king *Antiochus*, & *Annibal* CARTHAGINIAN was there with him, who ſtill ſtirred vp the olde enemies againſt the ROMANES, and practiſed to raiſe vp new enemies againſt them, & in all thinges to counſell the CARTHAGI-
B NIANS to caſt away the yoke of bondage, which the ROMANES had brought them into vnder the title of peace, & to proue the frendſhip of the kings. Howbeit ſhortly after, the ROMANES hauing obtained victorie, and driuen king *Antiochus* out of GRÆCE: they intended alſo to conquer ASIA: and therefore all their hope was in *Scipio* AFRICAN, as a man that was borne to ende warres of great importaunce. Howbeit *Lucius Scipio*, and *Caius Lælius* were Conſuls, & either of them made ſute for the gouernment of ASIA. The matter being conſulted vpon, the Senate ſtoode doubtfull what iudgement they ſhould geue, betwext two ſo famous men. Howbeit, bicauſe *Lælius* was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater eſtimacion: the Senate beganne to take his parte. But when *P. Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the elder brother of *Lucius Scipio*, prayed the Senate that they would not diſhonor his houſe ſo, and tolde them
C that his brother had great vertues in him, and was beſides verie wiſe, and that he him ſelfe alſo woulde be his Lieutenaunt: he had no ſooner ſpoken the wordes, but the Senators receiued him with great ioy, and preſentlie did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordayned in open Senate, that *Lucius Scipio* ſhoulde goe into GRÆCE to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, and that from thence he ſhoulde goe into ASIA, if he thought good, to make warre with king *Antiochus*: and alſo that he ſhoulde take his brother *Scipio* AFRICAN with him, bicauſe he ſhoulde goe againſt *Annibal*, that was in *Antiochus* armie. Who can but wonder at the loue and naturall affection of *Publius Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the which he firſt ſhewed from his youth vnto his father *Cornelius*, and afterwardes alſo vnto his brother *Lucius Scipio*, conſidering the great thinges he had done? For, notwithſtanding he was that A-
D FRICAN by name that had ouercomen *Annibal*, that had triumphed ouer the CARTHAGINIANS, and excelled all others in praiſe of martiall diſcipline: yet of his owne good nature he made him ſelfe inferiour to his younger brother, bicauſe he might haue the honour of obtayninge the gouernment of that prouince from his fellowe Conſul *Lælius*, that was ſo well beloued, and of ſo great eſtimacion. *Lucius Scipio* the Conſul brought great honor to his contrie by that warre, for that he followed the ſownde and faithfull counſell of his brother. For firſt of all goinge into GRÆCE, he tooke truce for ſixe monethes with the ÆTOLIANS, through the aduiſe of his brother AFRICAN: who counſelled him, that ſetting all thinges a parte, he ſhoulde ſtraight goe into ASIA, where the warre was ryfeſt. Afterwards alſo he wanne *Pruſias* king of BITHYNIA from *Antiochus* frendſhippe, who before
E was wauing vp & downe, doutfull which ſide to take, and all through his brother AFRICANS meanes and practiſe. So the authoritie of the AFRICAN was verie great, and all thoſe that woulde obtaine any thing of the Conſul, came firſt to the AFRICAN to be their meane and interceſſor. Nowe when he came into ASIA, *Antiochus* Ambaſſador, and *Heraclides* BIZANTINE, came vnto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly tolde their meſſage, perceiuing that they could not obtaine reaſonable condicions of peace: they priuately talked with *Scipio* AFRICAN as they were commaunded, and practiſed the beſt they coulde to make him king *Antiochus* frende. For they tolde him, that *Antiochus* would ſende him his younger ſonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he woulde willinglie make him his companion in the gouernment of all his realme, only reſeruing the name and title of the king.
F Howebeit *P. Scipio*, excelling no leſſe in faithfulneſſe and bountie, then in many other vertues, after he had aunſwered them to all other matters, he tolde them, that for his ſonne he woulde take him for a maruelous frendlie giſte: and that for a priuate good turne,

The craftie counſell of Scipio.

The naturall loue of Scipio African to his brother L. Scipio.

The fidelitie and loue of P. Scipio to his countrie.

he would doe the beſt he could to requite him with the like. Howbeit, that he would counſell A
the king aboue all things to leaue of thought of warre, and to receiue thoſe offers and condi-
cions of peace, which the Senate and people of ROME would offer him. Shortly after, *Antio-
chus* ſent *P. Scipio* his ſonne according to his promiſe: who (as it is reported) had bene taken
priſoner from the firſt beginning of the warre, as he went from CHALCIDE, vnto ORICVM:
or as other wryters ſay, as he paſſed by in a pinnaſe. Yet ſome holde opinion, that he was ta-
ken as he went to diſcouer the counſell of the enemies, and that he was then ſent againe vn-
to his father, lying ſicke at the citie of ELEA. This great curteſie of king *Antiochus* was mar-
uelous well thought of of the AFRICAN, and not without cauſe: for to ſee his ſonne after
he had bene away ſo long, it did greatlie lighten his ſpirites, and diſeaſed bodie. But *P. Scipio*,
to ſhewe ſome token of a thankefull minde, prayed the Ambaſſadors that came vnto him, B
greatlie to thanke king *Antiochus* for the exceeding pleaſure he had done him, to ſende him
his ſonne. Afterwardes he gaue *Antiochus* aduiſe alſo that he ſhould not geue battell, till he
vnderſtoode of his returne from ELEA to the campe. So *Antiochus* being perſwaded by the
authoritie of ſo worthie a man, he kept cloſe in his campe for a certaine time, and determi-
ned to drawe the warre out at length, hoping in the ende that he might come to ſpeake with
the Conſul, by the AFRICANS meanes. But afterwardes, the Conſul camping hard by MA-
GNESIA, did ſo vexe and prouoke the enemie, that the king came out to battell, and ſette his
men in battell ray. It is reported that *Annibal* him ſelfe was preſent at the battell, being one
of the Generalls for the king. So *Antiochus* being ouercome, and his armie diſcomfited,
perceiuing that there was no helpe in his affaires: he came vnto the AFRICAN, (who being C
newlie recouered of his ſickenes, came to the campe within a litle after the field was wonne)
and by his meanes obtayned of the Conſul to be contented to talke of peace. When *Antio-
chus* Ambaſſadors were come to the campe, and that they had humblie craued pardon in the
behalfe of their king, and alſo prayed that they would geue them ſuche condicions of peace,
as they beſt liked of: *Scipio* AFRICAN with the conſent of them all aunſwered them, that it
was not the manner of the ROMANES to yeeld to aduerſitie, neither alſo to be prowde in pro-
ſperitie: and therefore that he nowe made him the ſelfe ſame offers and condicions of peace,
which he did before the victorie. That the king ſhoulde not meddle with EVROPE, that he
ſhould ſurrender vp all he had in ASIA from the mountaine Taurus, vnto the riuer of Tanais:
that he ſhoulde pay tribute twentie yeres together: that he ſhoulde alſo put in ſuche oſtages D
as the Conſul would chooſe out: and that ſpecially aboue all the reſt, they ſhould deliuer *An-
nibal* CARTHAGINIAN vnto the Conſul, who was the only author and procurer of this warre.
But he, as we haue wrytten in his life, perceiuing that king *Antiochus* armie was ouerthro-
wen both by ſea and by lande, eſcaped the ROMANES handes, and went vnto *Pruſias* king of
BITHYNIA. *Antiochus* hauing accepted the offers and condicions of peace, ſayd, that the RO-
MANES vſed him verie fauourablie, to ridde him of ſo great care, and to appoint him ſo
ſmall a kingdome. For great kingdomes, and ouermuch wealth which euerie man coueteth,
are full of great and ſundrie troubles: inſomuch that *Theocritus* wordes are as true, as other-
wiſe excellently written.

Antiochus being ouercome, accepteth condicions of peace.

Great kingdomes and wealth are ful of troubles.

The things I vvish are nother vvelth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crovvne, E
Nor yet of ſvviftnes and of ſtrength to beare avvay renovvne:
But ſinging vvith a mery hart in ſimple shed, to looke
Aloofe vpon the troublous ſeas, that are ſo hard to brooke.

So when the mightie king of ASIA was ouercomen, and that ſo great a warre was ſo ea-
ſelie ended beyonde all mens opinion: the Conſul *L. Scipio* returned to ROME, and made his
entrie into the citie, ſhewing a great and honorable triumphe. He alſo deſerued the ſur-
name of the prouince and contrie ſubdued by him. So that as his elder brother before was
called AFRICAN, for that he had conquered AFRIKE: euen ſo was *Lucius Scipio* ſurnamed
ASIAN, for conquering ASIA vnto ROME. And *P. Scipio*, through whoſe counſell his bro-
ther *Lucius* had brought his warres to happie ende, he went not cleere without honor alſo. F
For ſhortlie after, two noble Cenſors, *T. Q. Flaminius*, and *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* choſe
him Prince of the Senate the thirde time. Nowe at that time, the houſe and familie of the

L. Scipio ſurnamed Aſian, for his cõqueſt of Aſia.

T. Q. Flaminius, M. C. Marcellus Cenſors.

Scipioes

A *Scipioes* and *Cornelians* florished, with supreame degree of honor: and the authoritie of *Scipio* AFRICAN was growen to such height and greatnes, as no priuate man could wishe to be any greater in a free citie. Howbeit the secret malice of wicked harts, which could no lenger abide this greatnes and authoritie, began at length to burst out, and to light vpon those that were the authors of so great things. For two Tribunes of the people, suborned (as it is reported) by *Porcius Cato* they accused *P. Scipio* AFRICAN for keeping backe king *Antiochus* money, and bicause he brought it not into the common chamber or treasurye. *Scipio* AFRICAN knowing his innocencie, being called by the Magistrate, shewed him selfe obedient, and came into the market place with a bold countenaunce, and there made an oration, declaring what thinges he had done for the benefit and commoditie of his contry and common wealth. The rehersal
B of these thinges did not mislike the common people that were present: bicause he did it rather to auoyd the daunger prepared for him, then otherwise for any vaine glory or ostentation. Howbeit the Tribunes not being so contented, were vehement against him, and spared no iniurious words, but accused him as though he had in deede bene in fault, howbeit vpon suspition, rather then of any due proofe. The next morning being commaunded to come before them againe, he appeared at the hower appoynted, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole assembly, and went vp to the pulpit for orations. When he saw that euery man kept silence, then he spake in this manner. I remember my Lordes, that on such a day as this, I wanne that famous victory of *Annibal* and the CARTHAGINIANS, and therefore leauing aside this contention, I thinke it good we go vnto the Capitol to giue God
C thankes for the victorie. So he departed thence, and all the whole assembly followed him, not onely to the Capitoll, but also to all the other temples of the citie, leauing the two Tribunes all alone with their Sergeaunts. That daye was the very last daye of all the AFRICANS good fortune, for the great assembly and multitude of people that wayted vpon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that day forward he determined to get him into the contry, farre from all ambition, and the company of people: and so went vnto LINTERNVM in a maruelous rage, that for reward of his so great seruice, and so sundry benefits as he had brought vnto his contry, he receiued but shame and reproache: or els, for that in deede being as he was of a noble minde, he thought it more honor willingly to giue place to his enemies, then to seeke to mainteyne his greatnes by force of armes. So when the Tribunes did accuse
D him of contempt, and that his brother *Lucius* did excuse his absence by reason of his sickenes: *Tiberius Gracchus*, one of the Tribunes that was against the AFRICAN, tooke his excuse (beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did so well defende *Scipioes* cause, sometime honorably praysing him, another time also threatning his enemies: that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were maruelously offended for the great iniurie they did him. Some doe write, that *P. Scipio* him selfe, before he went vnto LINTERNVM, did with his owne hands teare the booke his brother had brought vnto the Senate, to deliuer the accompt of his charge: and that he did it not for any deceit nor pride, but with that selfe boldnes of mind he had aforetime vsed to the treasurers, when he did against the lawe require the keyes of the common treasure, to supply the present neede of the state. Nowe some there be
E also that saye, it was not the AFRICAN, but *Scipio* ASIAN that was accused before the Tribunes: and that *Scipio* AFRICAN was sent in commission at that time into THVSCAN. Who, vnderstanding of his brothers accusation at his returne to ROME, and finding his brother *Lucius* condemned, and the Sergeaunts wayting on him to cary him, being bound, into prison: he was in suche a rage withall, that he rescued his brother by force out of the Sergeaunts hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beside, that *Tiberius Gracchus* one of the Tribunes, complayning first that the authoritie of the Tribuneship was troden vnder feete by a priuate person: he afterwardes letting fall all the malice and enuy he bare vnto the *Scipioes*, defended their cause, bicause the Tribunes should rather seeme to be ouercome by a Tribune, then by a priuate person. They sayd moreouer, that the selfe same daye the Se-
F nate supped in the Capitoll, he perswaded the AFRICAN to let *Tiberius Gracchus* mary his younger Daughter. This promise was no sooner made, but *P. Scipio* comming home to his house, tolde his wife that he had bestowed their Daughter: Whereuppon she being angry,

The time of the florishing of the Cornelij

The inconstancy of these worldly things. Great men must enuied.

The last fortunate day of the Africans good fortune.

The voluntary banishment of P. Scipio from Rome.

T. Gracchus Tribune.

Diuers opinions about the accusation of the African.

told him againe, that he ſhould not haue married her without conſent of her mother, though he could haue beſtowed her vpon *Tiberius Gracchus*. This aũſwer liked *Scipio* maruelous wel, when he ſaw that his wife was of his mind, touching the mariage of their Daughter. I knowe it is thought of ſome, that it was attributed to *Tiberius* the ſonne, and to *Appius Claudius* his father in lawe. For *Polybius*, and other auncient writers affirme, that *Cornelia*, the mother of *Caius* and *Tiberius Gracchi*, was maried vnto *Gracchus* after the AFRICANS death. For *Scipio* AFRICAN was maried vnto *AEmylia* the Daughter of *L. Paulus AEmylius* Conſul, that was ſlayne at the battell of CANNES. By her he had two Daughters, of the which the eldeſt was maried vnto *P. Cornelius Naſica*, and the younger vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, either before, or after the death of his father. Nowe towching his ſonne, there is litle mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty to be true. We haue ſpoken of his younger ſonne that was taken by king *Antiochus*, and afterwards franckly ſent vnto his father: of whome notwithſtanding afterwards I find no mention in writing, ſauing that ſome ſay he was afterwards Prætor, and that he came to this office by meanes of *Cicereius* his fathers Secretary. There appeareth in writing alſo, that the younger AFRICAN was adopted by the ſonne of *P. Scipio*. *Cicero* in his booke intituled *Cato Maior* ſayth, how weake (ſayd he) was the ſonne of *P.* AFRICAN that adopted thee his ſonne? And in his ſixth booke alſo *de repub. AEmylius* the father exhorteth *Scipio* his ſonne, to follow iuſtice and piety, as his grandfather *Scipio* AFRICAN had done. And touching the death of *P. Scipio* AFRICAN, writers doe diuerſly varye: for ſome ſay that he dyed, and was buryed at ROME. And for proofe thereof they doe bringe forth the monument that was ſet vp for him by the gate Capena, ouer the which ſtoode three ſtatues or images, two whereof were the images of *P.* and *Lucius Scipio*, and the third was of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And ſurely that which *Cicero* wrote, ſeemeth to confirme it true: our *Ennius*, ſayd he, was maruelouſly beloued of AFRICAN the great, and therefore it is thought that he was buryed in *Scipioes* tombe. Other authors write alſo (and ſurely they agree beſt with the common report) that *Scipio* AFRICAN dyed at LINTERNVM, and that there he was buried at his owne appoyntment: bicauſe his contry ſo vnthankfully acknowledging his ſeruice, ſhould do him no honor at his death: and that there they ſet him vp a tombe, and his ſtatue vpon that, the which afterwards was blowen downe by a tempeſt of wind, and the which *Liuie* him ſelfe witneſſeth he ſaw. Furthermore, by CAIETA this Epitaphe was grauen in a plate of copper, ſet in a marbell tombe.

The Africans wife, & children.

Diuers opinions touching the death of P. Scipio.

Statues of the two Scipioes and Ennius the Poet, by the gate Capena at Rome.

Scipio African dyed at Linternum.

The man that vanquisht Annibal and conquerd Carthage tovvne,
And eke increaſt the Romanes both in Empire and renovvne,
Lyes heere a heape of duſt and earth hid vnderneath this ſtone:
His deedes, his provveſſe, and his life, are altogether gone.
VVhom nother Europe could vvithſtand, nor Africk in time paſt,
(Behold mans frailtie) heere he lyes in litle roome at laſt.

The Epitaphe of Scipio African.

Now touching the time of his death, hauing made great ſearche for it, I haue found in certaine Græke Authors, that the AFRICAN liued foure and fifty yeares, and dyed ſhortly after. Furthermore, he was a noble Captaine, and worthy of all commendacion for martiall diſcipline, and beſides excelled in all other vertues: the which did ſo delight his mind, that he was wont to ſay, he was neuer leſſe idle, then when he tooke his eaſe: nether more ſolitary, then when he was alone. For ſome times he would withdraw him ſelfe out of the aſſembly, & from all mens company, and thought him ſelf ſafe when he was alone. The fame of his noble deedes was ſo great, that whereſoeuer he went, all ſortes of people would come and ſee him. The common report went, that when he was at LINTERNVM, there came certaine rouers vnto him to ſee ſo famous a man, and to kiſſe that ſo faithfull and victorious a hand. For vertue hath great force and power with all ſortes of people: bicauſe it doth not onely make the good, but the euil alſo to loue and honor it.

Scipio African 54. yeare old at the time of his death.

The power of vertue.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Annibal with P. Scipio African.*

A NOW let vs compare *Annibal* and *Scipioes* deedes together, as touching their ciuill discipline. First, if we remember their deedes in warres, it is manifest that both of them haue bene great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they haue not onely bene comparable with the noblest Kinges and Princes in their time (being also in that age when warres florished most) but with those also that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at them, that they hauing great and heauy enemies in their contry, (who sought to ouerthrow all their doings and enterprises) could possibly goe thorough with so great matters, and to obtayne such happie and famous victories, in straunge and for-
B reyne warres. Therefore passing ouer all other matters, what a doe had *P. Scipio*, before he could obtayne to be sent into AFRICK, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS? *Fabius Maximus*, and other noble men of the citie being greatly against it? Againe, what enemy had *Annibal* of *Hanno*, who was Prince and head of the contrary faction against him? Now, they both hauing ouercomen such great troubles at home, did notwithstanding bringe thinges to end worthy perpetuall memorie: not by chaunce, as it hapneth vnto many, but through their industrie, great wisedom, and counsell. So, diuers doe wonder greatly at *Annibals* corage and noble mind: who after he had sacked the citie of SAGVNTVS, came boldly from the furdest part of the world into ITALY, and brought with him a great army of footemen and horsemen, and came to make warre with a great state and common wealth, the which his predecessors
C alwayes dreaded: and after he had wonne many battells, and slayne sundry Consuls and Captaines of the ROMANES, he came and camped hard by the citie of ROME it selfe, and procured straunge kings and farre nations to make warre with the ROMANES. He that was able to doe so great things as these, men can not otherwise thinke of him, but that he was a great and valiant Captaine. Others also speaking of *Scipio*, doe greatly prayse and commend him for the foure Chieftaines he ouercame, and for the foure great armies which he defeated, and put to flight in SPAYNE, and also for that he ouercame and tooke that great king *Syphax* prisoner. In fine, they come to prayse that famous battell in the which *Scipio* ouercame *Annibal* at ZAMA. For if *Fabius* (sayd they) were praysed, bicause he was not ouercome by *Annibal*: what estimation will they make of the AFRICAN, that in a pitched battell ouercame that so famous &
D dreadfull Captaine *Annibal*, and also did ende so daungerous a warre? Besides also, that *Scipio* did alwayes make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemy in plaine field. Where *Annibal* in contrary manner did alwayes vse craft and suttelty, and was full of stratageames & policie. And therefore all Authors, both Græke and Latyn, doe count him very fine and suttell. Furthermore, they greatly commend *Annibal* for that he maynteyned his army of so sun-

dry nations, ſo long time in peace, as he had warre with the ROMANES: and yet that there A
was neuer any mutinie or rebellion in his campe. On the other ſide they blame him againe,
bicauſe he did not follow his victory, when he had ouercomen the ROMANES at that famous
battell of CANNES: and alſo bicauſe he ſpoyled his ſouldiers with too much eaſe, and the
pleaſures of CAMPANIA and APVLIA, whereby they were ſo chaunged, that they ſeemed to
be other ſouldiers then thoſe that had ouercomen the ROMANES, at the ſundry battells of
TREBIA, THRASYMENE, and CANNES. All writers doe reproue theſe thinges in *Annibal*, but
ſpecially his crueltie. For amongeſt other thinges, what crueltie was it of him to make a wo-
man with her children to come from ARPI to his campe, and afterwardes to burne them a-
liue? What ſhall a man ſay of them whome he cruelly put to death, in the temple of *Iuno La-*
cinia, when he departed out of ITALY? For *Scipio* AFRICAN on the other ſide, if we ſhall ra- B
ther credit the beſt authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malitious wri-
ters: we may ſay he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely liuely and vali-
ant in fight, but alſo curteous and mercifull after victorye. For oftentimes his enemies proued
his valiantnes, the vanquiſhed his mercy and clemency, & all other men his faithfulnes. Now
therfore, let vs tel you what his continency & liberalitie was, the which he ſhewed in SPAYNE
vnto a young Lady taken priſoner, and vnto *Luceius* Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: doth it
not deſerue great prayſe? Nowe for their priuate doings, they were both vertuouſly brought
vp, and both of them imbraced learned men. For as it is reported, *Annibal* was very familiar
with *Socillus* LACEDÆMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with *Ennius* the Poet. Some ſaye alſo,
that *Annibal* was ſo wel learned in the Græke tongue, that he wrote an hiſtorie in Græke tou- C
ching the deedes of *Manlius Volſo*. Now truely I doe agree with *Cicero*, that ſayd in his booke
Phormio Peripatetician reading Philoſophie in Epheſus. *de Oratore*, that *Annibal* heard *Phormio* PERIPATETICIAN in EPHESVS, diſcourſing very large-
ly of the office and duety of a Chieftaine and generall, and of the martiall lawes & ordinaun-
ces: and that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philoſopher, he ſhould
aunſwer in no very perfit Græke, but yet in Græke, that he had ſeene many old doting fooles,
but that he had neuer ſeene a greater doterd then *Phormio*. Furthermore, both of them had
an excellent grace in their talke, & *Annibal* had a ſharpe tawnting wit in his aunſwers. When
king *Antiochus* on a time prepared to make warre with the ROMANES, and had put his army
into the field, not ſo well furniſhed with armor and weapon, as with gold and ſiluer: he asked
Annibal, if he thought his army ſufficient for the ROMANES? yea (Sir) q. he, that they be, were D
Annibals witty aunſwer, vnto king Antiochus. the enemies neuer ſo couetous. This may truely be ſayd of *Annibal*, that he obtayned many
great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the deſtruction of his contry. *Scipio* in
contrary manner did preſerue his contry in ſuch ſafetie, and alſo did ſo much increaſe the do-
minions thereof: that as many as ſhall looke into his deſert, they can not but call ROME vn-
thankefull, which liked rather that the AFRICAN (preſeruer of the citie) ſhould goe out of
ROME, then that they would repreſſe the fury and inſolency of a few. And for myne owne o-
pinion, I can not thinke well of that citie, that ſo vnthankfully hath ſuffred ſo worthy and in-
nocent a perſon to be iniured: and ſo would I alſo haue thought it more blame worthy, if the
citie had bene an ayder of the iniurye offred him. In fine, the Senate (as all men doe report)
gaue great thankes vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, bicauſe he did defend the *Scipions* cauſe: and the E
common people alſo following the AFRICAN, when he viſited all the temples of ROME, and
left the Tribunes alone that accuſed him, did thereby ſhewe how much they did loue and ho-
nor the name of the *Scipioes*. And therefore, if we ſhould iudge the Citizens harts and good
wills by thoſe things, men would rather condemne them for cowards, to haue ſuffered ſuch
outrage, then vnthankfull for forgetting of his benefits: for there were very few that conſen-
ted to ſo wicked a deede, and all of them in manner were very ſory for it. Howbeit *Scipio*, that
was a man of a great minde, not much regarding the malice of his enemies: was content ra-
ther to leaue the citie, then by ciuill warres to deſtroy it. For he would not come againſt his
contry with enſignes diſplaied, nether would he ſolicite ſtraunge nations and mighty kings to
come with force, and their ayde, to deſtroy the citie, the which he had beautified with ſo ma- F
ny ſpoyles and triumphes: as *Martius Coriolanus*, *Alcibiades*, and diuers others did, by record
of auncient ſtories. For we may eaſily perceiue howe carefull he was to preſerue the libertie

of

A of ROME, bicause when he was in SPAYNE, he refused the title and name of king which was offred him: and for that he was maruelous angry with the people of ROME, bicause they would haue made him perpetuall Consul and Dictator: and considering also that he commaunded they should set vp no statue of him, nether in the place of the assembly, nor in the iudgement seate, nor in the Capitoll. All which honors afterwardes were giuen by the Citizens vnto *Cæsar*, that had ouercomen *Pompey*. These were the ciuill vertues of the AFRICAN, which were great and true prayses of continency. Now therefore, to deliuer you the summe and effect of all these thinges: these two so famous Captaines are not so much to be compared together in their ciuill vertues (in the which *Scipio* chiefly excelled) as in the discipline of warres, and in the glory of their famous victories. To conB clude, their deathes were somewhat a like: for they both dyed out of their contries, although *Scipio* was not condemned by his contry as *Annibal* was, but would by voluntary banishment dye out of the citie.

The ende of the whole volume of Plutarkes liues.

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